Contrastive rhetoric of Japanese and English:

A critical approach

by

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ABSTRACT

Contrastive rhetoric of Japanese and English: A critical approach

Ryuko Kubota, OISE, University of Toronto, Ph.D. 1992

Two hypotheses have been formulated by contrastive rhetoric research; (1) each language has culturally specific rhetorical conventions, and (2) the rhetorical conventions of students' L1 interfere with their ESL writing. In this view, English rhetoric is celebrated as linear and logical, while the rhetoric of other languages is given exotic, static and unitary labels, and ESL students are viewed as passive recipients of "cultural rhetoric". Japanese rhetoric is characterized as inductive, influenced by *ki-sho-ten-ketsu*, and very different from English. This thesis challenges both theoretically and empirically contrastive rhetoric's view of Japanese language, culture, and ESL students, and provides teachers with some insights into critical literacy.

On the theoretical level, I suggest that the forms of language be viewed as dynamic and multiple, and yet socially and historically constituted through power relations both within and between cultures. Also, students must be viewed as human agents who engage in writing with their own experiences and intentions and yet within social contexts.

An empirical study compared, according to organizational quality levels, Japanese and English L1 essays (22 expository and 24 persuasive) written by Japanese and Canadian university students. Although there were some differences between the two languages in the kinds and frequencies of rhetorical structures used, the Japanese essays with inductive patterns tended to be rated poorly, and the two languages shared a distribution pattern of rhetorical structures. The examination of individual Japanese students' L1 and ESL essays on the same topic revealed transfer of writing skills rather than L1 rhetorical interference, and that students' use of similar or dissimilar rhetorical structures for the two languages was related to their varying perceptions about L1 and L2 rhetoric, the amount of experience in English composition and their command of English.

These results are situated in competing discourses on Japanese and English found in the Japanese academic community which reflect and constitute economic, political and academic relations of Japan and the West. It is suggested that dominant forms of English must be taught with critical consciousness of how they contribute to constructing our particular world-view, in order to transform inequalities that exist in the world.

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1. INTRODUCTION

"Contrastive rhetoric" in recent research of educational linguistics is a field of study which compares rhetorical styles of various written languages.[1] It was initiated by the seminal work of Kaplan (1966). In his study, Kaplan made an assumption that rhetoric is a manifestation of culture-specific logic or, in a popular sense, thinking pattern, and he analyzed and described some rhetorical characteristics of university-level ESL essays written by students with different first language backgrounds. Since then, a number of studies have investigated the cultural patterns of rhetoric observed in various languages or varieties of a language.

The hypotheses underlying contrastive rhetoric are summarized as: (1) each language or culture has rhetorical conventions that are unique to itself; and (2) the rhetorical conventions of students' L1 interfere with their ESL writing (Kaplan 1966, 1972, 1988; Grabe and Kaplan 1989). While these hypotheses may be legitimate in a relative sense (that is, a certain language may exhibit some distinctive rhetorical patterns in certain genres to some extent; and some writers may use such patterns in their ESL writing to a certain degree), they tend to be conceptualized in absolute terms; in other words, cultural rhetoric is viewed as a static, exotic and normative system divorced from the dynamics of history and power struggle that a particular language has been undergoing, and students are viewed as homogeneous recipients and users of the unitary system of their L1. In this view, various cultural rhetorical styles are rendered neither equal nor value-free; English is regarded as a language of development and a superior canon, while the rhetorical forms of other cultures are devalued and viewed as problematic. A very different view from the above situates language and culture in the site where competing ways of making sense of the world are struggling for power and constructing multiple forms of language and culture in history, and regards students as human agents who engage in the act of writing with their own histories and intentions. In this view, forms of rhetoric in a culture are not unitary but

[1] In contrastive rhetoric, the term "rhetoric" is defined as the choice of linguistic and structural aspects of written discourse; the "choice with respect to the uses of languages as opposed to those used that are determined by lexical and grammatical strictures" (Purves 1988:9).

plural and historically constituted, and yet they are not merely reflections of individual minds--they are socially and ideologically constructed. The limited view of contrastive rhetoric researchers that fails to take into account the relations among language, history, the human agency of students as well as social, political and academic relations of power within and between cultures both reflects and creates theoretical and methodological problems in research. Furthermore, the ESL writing pedagogical goal and approach offered by contrastive rhetoric lends itself to a conservative discourse in which the norm of English rhetoric is transmitted and students are asked to become loyal members of the target academic community. These limitations of contrastive rhetoric must be seriously challenged.

A very different perspective of ESL writing pedagogy is empowerment of ESL students by engaging them in critical literacy. Critical literacy allows students to learn the dominant form of rhetoric with critical consciousness of how power relations privilege one form of rhetoric while devaluing others. and to become agents for change (Freire 1970a 1970b, 1973, 1985; Freire and Macedo 1987; Giroux 1983, 1988a; Aronowitz and Giroux 1985; Shor 1936, 1987; Bizzell 1982a; Berlin 1988; Walsh 1991b). Engaging ESL students in critical literacy can be facilitated by teachers' understanding of what are the privileged or marginalized forms of rhetoric in the students' target language as well as L1. It can also be facilitated through the understanding of why ESL students write in English the way they do not by attributing the inept L2 rhetoric entirely to the students' L1 rhetorical conventions but by viewing students as human agents who bring unique experiences, knowledge, skills, perceptions and attitudes concerning L1 and L2 writing which, nonetheless, are constituted in social, political and ideological contexts.

In this thesis, I am taking a view of research as a means for social transformation rather than discovery of a law-like universal truth that can predict certain human behaviors and direct practice. This orientation to research has been advocated by researchers such as Carr and Kemmis (1986) and Popkewitz (1984) in educational research, Wodak (1990) in critical linguistics and Pennycook (1990b) in critical applied linguistics. In this approach, what is taken for granted is to be seriously questioned and one must arrive at a new understanding of the world and aim at transforming the conditions that we live in.

This view coupled with the perspective of critical literacy has directed me to critique the currently available knowledge of contrastive rhetoric. First, my criticism is directed to the limitations of existing studies on a theoretical level through a review of literature on contrastive rhetoric since Kaplan (1966). Second, the two hypotheses of contrastive rhetoric are questioned through an empirical study. The study compares the rhetorical structures of L1 Japanese and English essays with different organizational qualities written by university students, and investigates the ways in which Japanese students as individuals engage in writing in English by taking into account their different abilities, experiences and perceptions about Japanese and English rhetoric. The aim of the empirical study is also to provide the teachers who engage in critical literacy with some knowledge of the privileged and underprivileged forms of rhetoric in students' target language as well as L1, and the ways in which students as human agents engage in the act of writing being influenced by various social and individual factors. Third, I will take my critique further and attempt to connect the results of the study with broader social, political and ideological contexts. In other words, an attempt is made to untangle the complexity of the results that emerged from the empirical study by relating them to competing discourses that organize social and individual practices which both reflect and reinforce economic, political, academic and military relations of power between Japan and the West.

In the following Chapter 2, I will review previous contrastive rhetoric studies on various languages with respect to the two hypotheses in order to provide an overview as to what kind of labels are assigned to these languages and how ESL writing is viewed in this framework. In Chapter 3, based on the review, I will construct a critique of contrastive rhetoric on a theoretical level. Chapter 4 reviews and discusses pedagogical issues related to contrastive rhetoric and teaching ESL writing. In Chapter 5, the purposes and research questions of the present empirical study are presented. Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 discuss the methods and the results of the study respectively. Chapter 8 discusses the results of the study in relation to the two hypotheses and offers pedagogical implications. Finally in Chapter 9, the results are connected with discourses in broader social, political and ideological contexts.

2. PREVIOUS STUDIES OF CONTRASTIVE RHETORIC

There are a number of studies conducted in the contemporary research of contrastive rhetoric since Kaplan (1966). In the following, previous studies of contrastive rhetoric since Kaplan (1966) will be reviewed with respect to the two hypotheses: i.e., (1) each language or culture has certain rhetorical conventions that are unique to itself; and (2) the rhetorical conventions of students' L1 interfere with their L2 writing. Although the present study explores contrastive rhetoric of Japanese and English, not only studies on Japanese but also studies on other languages will be reviewed in this chapter in order to build a foundation for my critique in Chapter 3. The studies referred to here will be restricted to the ones since Kaplan's work which have influenced the ways the rhetorical characteristics of different languages are conceptualized in current educational studies of second language composition.

2.1. The first hypothesis

In the following, previous studies of contrastive rhetoric on different languages will be reviewed. I am attempting here to show how rhetorical features of a certain language are represented within the framework of contrastive rhetoric that follows Kaplan's seminal work and what kinds of counter-arguments have been made.

2.1.1. Arabic

Historical accounts on Arabic rhetoric have been made by researchers such as Kaplan (1966, 1967, 1972) and Ostler (1987). It has been claimed that the characteristic of Arabic is a series of parallel construction that consists of coordinate clauses, and that this characteristic is strongly influenced by the classical form of the language manifested in texts such as the *Old Testament* and *Koran*, and of the ancient oratorical prose called "saj."

Kaplan (1966, 1967, 1972) presents the evidence of parallelism by showing some examples of Arabic-speaking ESL students' essays. Empirical research has been conducted by Ostler (1987, 1990). Ostler (1987) compared English essays written by

Saudi Arabian students entering a U. S. university with English paragraphs randomly selected from books. The result of her T-unit analysis showed that there was a significant difference between Arabic and English in the number of coordinate clauses. The results of her Discourse Bloc Analysis adopted from Pitkin (1969) and Kaplan (1972) showed that (1) almost one fourth of the Arabic students' essays began with a superordinate, a statement only globally related to the topic of the paper, while none of the English paragraphs did; and (2) the number of Discourse Units (supporting ideas) was considerably greater in Arabic than in English. Ostler concludes that these features reflect classical Arabic styles. The findings of Ostler (1990) confirmed the above characteristics. She compared English essays written by Arabic, Spanish and Japanese-speaking students with the ones written by English-speaking students. The syntactic analysis distinguished the Arabic corpus from others by its greater use of parallel constructions (coordinate clauses) and relative clauses. A Discourse Bloc analysis showed that the Arabic essays tended to have a very elaborated introduction and topic sentence and to develop more discourse units than English essays.

Burtoff (1983) compared English essays written by English-speaking, Japanese-speaking and Arabic-speaking students. Burtoff's inter-propositional analysis of logical relations demonstrated that the essays written by these three groups shared all of the relational categories and some of the rhetorical strategies. There were, however, some culturally preferred strategies: Arabic writing tended to be short and include extensive subordinate arguments or supporting information, and to include serial and parallel subordinate arguments. In writing on a "culturally-loaded" topic ("The role of old people"), Arabic writing tended to explain with the use of examples and organize information in arguments of equal weight, i.e., in parallel constructions. Based on these findings, Burtoff argues that Kaplan's original notion that each language has a culturally *specific* rhetorical pattern needs to be revised--rhetorical strategies used are universal but there are some culturally *preferred* patterns in terms of the frequency of use.

The label "parallelism" assigned to Arabic and other Semitic languages, however, is questioned by Bar-Lev (1986). Bar-Lev contends that the characteristic of Semitic languages is not parallelism but fluidity; i.e., flat, serial clause-connection formed by the

use of "so" or "and." According to Bar-Lev, the use of "and" in an Arabic student's English essay shown in Kaplan (1966) does not reflect the characteristic of psalms as suggested by Kaplan, but that of the *narrative* types of Biblical Hebrew which demonstrate "fluidity." Bar-Lev also claims that the larger semantic category of "so" and "and" in Arabic than in English proves the characteristic of "fluidity."

Another argument against Kaplan is made by Sa'adeddin (1989). He claims that Arabic has two main modes of text development; i.e., *aural* (characterized by repetition, plain lexis, exaggeration, loose packaging of information) and *visual* (characterized by logical, linear and concise development of ideas); and that the choice of the mode is conditioned by the social function of the text. He argues, by providing examples, that the most preferred mode for scholarly writing in Arabic is visual rather than aural as in the case of English.

With regard to narrative writing, Söter (1988) compared stories written by Grade 6 and 11 English-speaking, Arabic-speaking and Vietnamese-speaking students. It was found that Arabic-speaking students' stories tended to include more detailed description and descriptive digressiveness.

In summary, researchers generally agree that Arabic writing is characterized by parallelism and elaboration, and some of them identify the influence from classical Arabic styles and texts. However, some researchers argue against either such labeling or characterization of the preferred rhetorical style.

2.1.2. Chinese

Kaplan (1966) claims that Chinese as well as Korean writing is characterized by "indirection" in the sense that the subject is expressed from a variety of tangential views and never discussed directly. In Kaplan (1972), he claims that Chinese writing is strongly influenced by the Eight Legged Essay, which was used as a standard form in the civil service examination from the mid 15th century until 1905. Kaplan, then, presents four English essays written by Chinese students. According to Kaplan, these essays correspond closely to the classical eight-unit style, and from the English point of view they fail to get to the point and stick with it.

Another rhetorical style that is claimed to characterize Chinese writing is a four-unit style which originates in classical Chinese poetry; that is, *chi* (introduction of topic), *cheng* (elucidation of topic), *juan* (turning to another viewpoint), and *he* (summary or conclusion) (Mo 1982, Tsao 1983).[2] Referring to Tsao (1983), Hinds (1990) claims that *chi* is merely a general introduction of the theme rather than a thesis statement in the English sense and that the typical deductive style favored in the West does not seem to be preferred in Chinese writing. Hinds claims that his example, in which the author's argument does not lead the readers directly to his opinion that appears at the very end, exhibits an incoherent development to Western readers but not to Chinese readers because of their cultural expectations of the organization. Hinds proposes the notion of "delayed introduction of purpose" or "quasi-inductive" for Chinese as well as other Asian languages (Japanese, Korean, and Thai), whereby the writer presents a set of observations which are loosely connected to the main issue with the expectation that the readers will eventually evaluate the writer's observations. Hinds' account on Chinese writing is similar to Kaplan's notion of "indirection" in the sense that the writer does not state his/her opinion explicitly.

Mohan and Lo (1986), on the other hand, question Kaplan's claim for "indirection" and the influence of the Eight Legged Essay. According to Mohan and Lo, the Eight Legged Essay is only one of the classical written styles which are classified under the *wen-yan* style. Moreover, after the replacement of the *wen-yan* style by the *bai-hua* style (spoken language style) in 1919, it is the *bai-hua* style that is taught at school. Mohan and Lo also claim that both modern and classical Chinese prose taught at school exhibits a direct, rather than indirect, organization of development similar to English. They further speculate that "academic writing is more universal than was previously thought" (p. 529).

Another challenge to Kaplan's view was given by Taylor and Tingguang (1991). They criticized the view that culture and language are fixed and constituted by a unitary system, and conducted a study in which the introduction of published articles in the four fields of the scientific discipline and two genres (experimental vs. theoretical or

[2] It is claimed that this style is also used in Japanese as *ki-sho-ten-ketsu* (Hinds 1980, 1981, 1983a, 1983b, 1984, 1987, 1990) and Korean as *ki-sung-chon-kyul* (Eggington 1987).

methodological) were analyzed based on Swales' (1984) schematic structure of introduction that consists of four moves. There were three sample groups: English articles written by English speakers, English articles and Chinese articles written by Chinese speakers. The results show that the three groups shared the four-move pattern, and yet, there were some differences between the English speakers and the Chinese speakers; i.e., Chinese speakers deleted the summary of previous work more often and they used elaboration less often. A difference between the disciplines was observed across the three groups. The researchers conclude that there is no "Chinese way" of writing science specific to the Chinese language.

The characteristics of Chinese text organization identified by some researchers are "indirect" and "quasi-inductive." Similar to Arabic, they are thought to be influenced by some classical rhetorical styles. Some researchers, however, disagree with such characteristics and point out similarities between Chinese and English.

2.1.3. Thai

Bickner and Peyasantiwong (1988) compared English essays written by high school students in the U. S. and Thai essays written by high school students in Thailand. Some of their major findings are: (1) while English essays had a personal tone with the use of slang and colloquialism, Thai essays tended to be impersonal and formal; and (2) both Thai and English essays tended to begin with a topic sentence, but Thai essays tended to include definition of terms and discussion of the topic from various perspectives, while English essays did not.

Indrasuta (1988) compared three groups of narrative compositions: English compositions written by American students (AM group), Thai compositions written by Thai students (TT group) and English compositions written by the same Thai students (TH group). It was found that the AM group and the TT group did not differ significantly in the use of cohesive ties. Some differences, however, were found in narrative components; the kinds of settings used by the TT group and the AM group were different; the TT group used explicit themes more often than the AM group; the TT group used fewer scenes of the real world; and the TT group used more figurative language. On the discourse level, the

TT group exhibited a more frequent use of description of the writers' mental states. The TH group was not identical to the TT group, but was identified as more similar to the TT on the discourse level than the syntactic level.

Hinds (1990) points out the use of repetition in a published essay in Thai. Hinds also claims that the discourse feature, "delayed introduction of purpose" or "quasi inductive," characterizes Thai writing as well.

Unlike Arabic and Chinese, there is no distinct label assigned to Thai except for Hinds' category that encompasses some of the other oriental languages. However, "formality" seems to be a common feature identified by these studies.

2.1.4. Korean

Eggington (1987), referring to Kaplan (1972), claims that the characteristic of Korean writing is indirection and a non-linear development of ideas. According to Eggington, a rhetorical structure preferred by Koreans is the four-unit style, *ki-sung-chon-kyul*, which is the same as Chinese *chi-cheng-juan-he* mentioned above. Although Korean academic writing often omits the middle part, *chon*, resulting in a "beginning-development-end" pattern similar to English organization, the Korean interpretation of each part, Eggington claims, appears to be different from the American equivalents. Eggington further maintains that Korean scholars who have studied in English-speaking universities tend to write in a linear style, while other Korean scholars tend to write in a non-linear way; i.e., no thesis statement, only listing points loosely around the implicit theme.

Eggington conducted a study based on his hypothesis that Korean university students who had no academic training in English-speaking universities would be able to reproduce information presented in Korean texts in a non-linear Korean pattern better than in a linear English pattern. The results of the recall protocol showed a significant advantage of the non-linear pattern over the linear pattern for delayed recall. Eggington speculates that Korean written communication may be suffering because a significant portion of Korean academic prose is written in a linear pattern and yet Koreans have difficulty in comprehending texts with this pattern.

Hinds (1990) gives credit to the claim made by Eggington (1987) that a thesis

statement in Korean writing is often not introduced till the end of a text. Hinds presents an example that exhibits this pattern and claims that Korean writing is also characterized by "delayed introduction of purpose."

Scarcella and Lee (1989) investigated the relation between Korean students' length of residence in the U.S. and the rhetoric used in their essays by comparing essays written by students with a long-term U.S. residence (LT), students with a short-term U.S. residence (ST), English-speaking students, and monolingual Korean students in Seoul. The results show that the STs used statement of personal opinion and thesis less frequently than the LTs, while the English-speaking group used it most frequently among the four groups and the Korean monolingual group never used it. Scarcella and Lee state that this result is consistent with the claim for indirectness made by Kaplan (1966), Eggington (1987) and Hinds (1987). Other features observed were STs' frequent reference to past events, and STs' and Korean monolingual students' reluctance to display or show off their knowledge of a topic.

The above researchers agree that Korean is characterized by indirect and non-linear organization. The four-unit classical pattern is also identified as a cultural pattern.

2.1.5. Japanese

A researcher whose work on Japanese rhetoric has been often cited is John Hinds. According to Hinds (1983a), a common organizational framework for Japanese compositions is "*ki-sho-ten-ketsu*," same as the Chinese and Korean four-unit pattern mentioned above, and what characterizes Japanese writing is unexpected topic shifts introduced by "*ten*" paragraphs.[3] In order to illustrate this, Hinds presents an essay which was written for a newspaper column, "Tensei Jingo (Vox Populi, Vox Dei)" and was translated into English for the English version of the newspaper. Hinds points out that the organization of this essay is very different from English expository prose because of the presence of a sudden topic change introduced by a *ten* paragraph. He also claims that the conclusion of the essay is different from the English norm in that it is neither a summary

[3] A "*ten*" paragraph is explained as follows: "At the point where this development (*ki* and *sho*) is finished, turn the idea to a subtheme where there is a connection, but not a directly connected association (to the major theme)." (Hinds 1983a:188)

nor a synthesis but merely an indication of a doubt or a question. In order to prove his point that such a rhetorical style is specific to Japanese culture, Hinds asked Japanese-speaking readers and English-speaking readers to evaluate several "Tensei Jingo" essays on "unity," "focus" and "coherence." He found that the Japanese readers consistently gave the essays higher marks than the English readers. Although Hinds admits some problems of translation, he identifies the existence of a rhetorical pattern specific to Japanese.

Hinds (1987) extends his explanation of Japanese expository prose by proposing a notion, "reader-responsibility." Presenting an article from "Tensei Jingo," he claims that the rhetorical organization used in the essay (i.e., presentation of old information in a *ten* paragraph without any referent for it) makes the reader responsible for finding the link between the topic of the *ten* paragraph and the main theme. Thus, in Japanese, it is the reader, not the writer, who is responsible for making connections between arguments.

Hinds (1990) introduces another notion, "delayed introduction of purpose" or "quasi-inductive," which, he claims, characterizes not only Japanese but also Chinese, Korean and Thai. Hinds, again, presents two essays form "Tensei Jingo" and maintains that the main ideas do not appear till the end and the paragraphs before the main ideas do not constitute the reasons or evidence for them.

Kobayashi (1984) compared expository and narrative compositions written by four groups of students: Japanese university students writing in Japanese (JJJ), Japanese English-major students writing in English (JEJ), Japanese ESL students in the U.S. writing in English (JEA), and American students writing in English (AEA). Each mode (expository and narrative) had two different prompts, verbal and visual. A major focus of analysis is the arrangement of the general statement and specifics. Kobayashi found that the JJJ used the *specific-to-general* organizational pattern more often than the AEA, while the AEA used the *general-to-specific* pattern more often than the JJJ. More detailed results are that: (1) the JJJ's predominant pattern for the expository and narrative tasks with visual prompts was the *specific-to-general* pattern whereas the AEA's was *general-to-specific*; (2) the patterns most frequently used by JJJ's for the narrative with a verbal prompt were *general-to-specific* and *specific-to-general*, and that for the expository with verbal prompt was *general-to-specific*, while the AEA's predominant pattern for both modes with verbal

prompts was *general-to-specific*.[4] Kobayashi also found that the JEJ's patterns were close to the JJJ's while the JEA's were close to the AEA's. The Japanese students' frequent use of *specific-to-general* corresponds to Hind's notion of "delayed introduction of purpose" or "quasi-inductive."

Oi (1984) used three groups of students; i.e., Japanese students in Japan writing in Japanese, Japanese students in Japan writing in English, and American students in the U.S. writing in English. Oi's examination of macro-level rhetorical features revealed that; (1) similar to Kobayashi's findings, Japanese students writing in Japanese tended to use the *specific-to-general* pattern, while American students used the *general-to-specific* pattern more often; and (2) Japanese students tended to mix argumentations ("for," "against" or "neutral to" the argument), while American students tended to use a linear pattern. Micro-level features of Japanese essays found were (1) frequent use of conjunctions; (2) repetition of the same words; and (3) frequent use of hedges such as "I feel/think/suppose."

Burtoff (1983) examined logical relations between propositions in English essays written by English-speaking, Japanese-speaking and Arabic-speaking students. Some of the preferred Japanese strategies identified were: (1) ending text with a generalization; (2) use of causal chain to order information; and (3) use of the *adversative* relation. In writing about a "culturally loaded" topic ("The role of old people"), Japanese writing tended to explain why, use immediate repetition of a fact or idea for emphasis, and include logically-related (supporting) information more than other groups. Burtoff 's finding that a text tends to end with a generalization corresponds to the findings of Kobayashi and Oi. The finding of a frequent use of logically-related information seems to contradict Hinds' claim for unconnectedness. However, Burtoff 's analysis was primarily concerned with interpropositional relations, not features at a macro-level.

Ostler (1990) found some characteristics of English essays written by Japanese students compared with the ones written by Arabic, Spanish and English-speaking

[4] Kobayashi speculates three reasons for the Japanese preference of *specific-to-general*: (1) The homogeneous relationship between the writer and the audience which allows the audience to wait for a final assertion that is to be made at the end; (2) emphasis on harmony in Japanese culture vs. emphasis on self-assertion in American culture; and (3) the Japanese view of writing as self-expression, in which a writer reveals his or her feelings or ideas in a relatively unstructured form, vs. the American view of writing as "transactional" (Britton et. al. 1975) where the purpose of writing is to inform or influence the readers.

students; e.g., small number of words in a sentence and a lack of syntactic elaborations (less use of relative clauses, nominals, passives, etc.).[5] Ostler also identified a frequent use of inductive organization among Japanese essays, which corresponds to other researchers' findings.

There are some studies on Japanese letter writing compared with other languages (Jerkins and Hinds 1987; Oi and Sato 1990). Their results revealed some salient differences in format, language use and content between languages.

In summary, one feature that is commonly identified by the above researchers as a characteristic of Japanese writing is "induction." Similar to Chinese and Korean, the classical four-unit pattern is considered to be an influential pattern.

2.1.6. Hindi

Kachru (1983) presents some examples to illustrate the point that the structure of expository prose in Hindi is spiral rather than linear in that various episodes are linked by means of digressions. Kachru (1988), however, argues that not all written Hindi texts exhibit the "spiral" structure--some exhibit a "linear" style similar to English. Moreover, these two types can be identified in both of the quite different genres: literary criticism and scientific writing. The point that an English-style organization exists in Hindi is parallel to the claims made by Sa'adeddin (1989) about Arabic and Mohan and Lo (1985) about Chinese.

2.1.7. English

English rhetoric is described through two different types of research of contrastive rhetoric since Kaplan (1966): one is theoretical or prescriptive and the other is empirical or descriptive. From a theoretical and historical point of view, Kaplan (1966, 1972) states that English rhetoric is influenced by the Greek philosophers and Roman, medieval European and later Western thinkers. The nature of English exposition is described as linear in the sense that a paragraph begins with a topic statement supported by examples and illustrations, and contains ideas all of which are related to the central theme. Kaplan

[5] Ostler, however, does not specify in her study the levels of the students' English proficiency.

also mention the existence of both deductive and inductive patterns of development. Kaplan (1988) and Grabe and Kaplan (1989) mentions that writing instruction in the U.S. reflects two traditions: Aristotelian (syllogistic) and Galilean (taxonomic) (Wilkerson 1986), and the emphasis on a logical and technological world view from the eighteenth through the twentieth centuries (Berlin 1984). Oddly enough, however, Kaplan (1966, 1967, 1972) never offers examples of English-speaking students' writing while presenting examples of ESL students' essays.

Hinds (1987) proposes a typology of written communication in terms of the writer-audience relationship. According to Hinds, English is primarily a writer-responsible language which requires the writer to take the responsibility of making clear and well-organized statements.

Eggington (1987) gives an explanation of the organization of the Korean paragraph with the English rhetorical style which he used in his recall experiment. According to Eggington, it "follows a hierarchical subordinate-coordinate structure" (p.163).

Descriptive analyses of English rhetoric, on the other hand, are conducted in some empirical studies. Perhaps because the initial interest in contrastive rhetoric emerged from ESL pedagogical needs (Kaplan 1988), English rhetoric tends to be studied as a reference category with which other languages are compared. The characteristics found in English rhetoric can be summarized as follows: (1) Deductive: English expository writing tends to be organized deductively (Kobayashi 1984, Oi 1984) and "front-loaded" (Ostler 1987, 1990). (2) Logical: English expository prose tends to be logically developed (Burtoff 1983) and linearly progressed with little mixture of arguments (e.g., for, against) (Oi 1984); and narrative prose tends to be developed with little digression (Söter 1988). (3) Direct and assertive: Scarcella and Lee (1989) identified statements of personal opinion and thesis in all English essays examined. (4) Impersonal: this category does not seem to be agreed on; Kobayashi (1984) found that for the tasks with verbal prompts, American students made thesis statements of a text-restating type (summarizing) as opposed to a text-relating type (relating to personal experiences) more often than Japanese students. Bickner and Peyasantiwong (1988), however, found that English high school writers used more personal, conversational tones than Thai high school writers.

2.1.8. Other languages

Kaplan (1966, 1972) claims that Romance languages are characterized by digression and Russian by long sentences and irrelevant information. Santana-Seda (1974) compared Spanish with English and found little difference in the occurrence of logical categories and some, yet not distinctive, preference of coordinate sequences and digressive information in Spanish. Clyne (1981, 1983, 1987) examines German and claims that the organization of German written discourse is less linear than English. Pandharipande (1983) claims that Marathi, which is spoken in India, uses a circular discourse structure. Bartelt (1981, 1983) observes the tendency of lexical redundancy among American Indian students' writing in English.

2.2. The second hypothesis

Previous studies of contrastive rhetoric that explored culturally specific rhetorical styles have been reviewed so far. I will now turn to the second hypothesis of contrastive rhetoric; i.e., L1-L2 negative transfer (interference) of rhetoric, and review previous studies according to the research methodology which led to their conclusions: (1) a method of examining ESL texts only, and (2) a method of examining both L1 and L2 texts. Next, an argument against negative transfer of L1 rhetoric to L2 writing will be reviewed. Finally, some studies which support L1-L2 positive transfer from the perspective of cognitive ability of composing will be reviewed.

2.2.1. L1-L2 transfer (interference) through examinations of ESL texts

Kaplan (1966, 1967, 1972), by presenting some English essays written by ESL students, points out rhetorical features that deviate from the English norm. He argues that every language has a different thought pattern, and assumes that all ESL students are competent writers in their L1 and therefore they use L1 rhetorical conventions in L2 writing. The assumption that ESL students are competent writers in their L1 is apparent in the following statement: "...the fact that a student is able to compose in one language does not mean the student can compose in any other language" (Kaplan 1988:296; a similar remark in Grabe and Kaplan 1989).

Ostler compared English essays written by native speakers of English with ESL essays written by speakers of other languages (Ostler 1987, 1990). Ostler (1987) claims that the distinct rhetorical features found among ESL essays written by Arabic speakers show the influence of Classical Arabic, and confirms L1-L2 transfer. Ostler (1990) hypothesizes that if distinct patterns emerged from the English texts written by four language groups (i.e., English, Arabic, Spanish and Japanese), they would provide evidence that such rhetorical patterns exist in their L1 and carry over into L2 writing. The rhetorical differences found among these four groups led her to conclude that ESL students write according to the styles preferred by their own cultures.

Burtoff (1983) also compared English essays written by native speakers of English and other language groups. Burtoff claims that some rhetorical differences found between groups confirm culturally preferred text organization. The assumption here seems also that the rhetorical patterns used in ESL essays reflect students' transfer of L1 rhetoric. Burtoff, however, points out the failure to take into account essay quality as one of the limitations of her study: i.e., the rhetorical strategies observed in the essays do not necessarily reflect the culturally "acceptable" rhetoric.

Söter (1988) found some different rhetorical patterns in English stories written by different groups of students. Söter, however, is cautious about attributing the differences to the students' culture. She refers to some literature which points out the influence of a foreign language on a particular society (e.g., influence of Chinese on Vietnamese), and points out the failure to examine L1 texts in her study.

In summary, the general assumption in the studies which only examined L2 texts is that the presence of distinctive patterns among the L2 texts is the manifestation of L1 rhetoric and thus L1-L2 transfer can be confirmed.

2.2.2. L1-L2 transfer (interference) through examinations of L1 and L2 texts

Studies on transfer which examined both L1 and L2 texts written by students from a particular language group are Kobayashi (1984), Oi (1984), and Indrasuta (1988).

Kobayashi (1984) examined four groups: JJJ, JEJ, JEA, and AEA (see the above

section 2.1.5.). She found that the essays written by the JEJ were close to the essays written by the JJJ, whereas the JEA were close to the AEA both in terms of rhetorical pattern and the kind of thesis statement. Kobayashi, thus, confirms the JEJ's transfer from L1 (Japanese) to L2 (English) (p. 113, 170).

Oi (1984) examined essays written by three groups of university students: Japanese students writing in Japanese, Japanese students writing in English, and American students writing in English. Oi also confirmed L1 to L2 transfer based on the similarities in some lexical features and organizational patterns that were identified between the two Japanese groups (p.102).

While Kobayashi (1984) and Oi (1984) identified transfer on the basis of the similarity between one Japanese group writing in Japanese and another Japanese group writing in English, Indrasuta (1988) compared narrative compositions in Thai and English written by the same Thai students. The tallied data revealed similarities between the ESL compositions and L1 Thai compositions with regard to narrative style and function. Indrasuta thus confirms transfer. However, a certain unique pattern in the ESL compositions was also identified with regard to the use of cohesive ties, and this is claimed to be a manifestation of interlanguage.

Studies which fall into this category investigate transfer by using the data either from two separate groups, one writing in L1 and the other writing in L2, or from one group writing in both L1 and L2. Transfer is identified by some similarities found between the two languages. However, two groups of essays (L1 and L2) are not identical in terms of their rhetorical patterns.

2.2.3. Counter-argument of L1-L2 transfer (interference)

Mohan and Lo (1985) argue that the lack of English writing skills of students from Hong Kong is not due to their cultural thought pattern but to some developmental factors. Mohan and Lo show some similar patterns of organization between English texts and Chinese texts to argue against Kaplan's claim for transfer of rhetoric. They maintain that the major cause of students' writing problems is the instructional emphasis on sentence-level accuracy rather than discourse organization, which results in students' lack of

awareness of where their problems lie. It is suggested that, because of some similarities between Chinese and English, "transfer of rhetorical organization is more likely to help than to interfere," and "the positive role of literacy in the native language needs to be investigated" (p. 529).

2.2.4. L1-L2 positive transfer

The studies in the field of contrastive rhetoric which have been reviewed so far are primarily concerned with the product of writing, and they tend to support L1-L2 negative transfer of rhetoric. However, another field of study which is concerned with the cognitive aspect of writing identifies L1-L2 positive transfer of cognitive abilities. Researchers who examined strategies used in both L1 and L2 writing agree that the writing processes of L2 are comparable to those of L1 (Arndt 1987, Jones and Tetroe 1987, Yau 1987). Some researchers have observed ESL students' writing strategies and suggested that they are similar to the strategies employed by L1 English writers (Raimes 1985, 1987, Zamel 1983). A study conducted by Cumming (1988) suggests a positive effect of writing expertise (L1 writing ability) on the quality of discourse organization and content of ESL compositions as well as on decision-making and problem-solving behaviors while writing. Some studies on bilingualism also suggests L1-L2 positive transfer of cognitive skills in academic literacy, i.e., both reading and writing (Cumming, Rebuffot and Ledwell 1989, Cummins 1980, 1981, 1984; Cummins and Swain 1986; Cummins and Nakajima 1987; Harley et. al. 1990; Cummins et. al. 1990; Canale, Frenette and Bélanger 1988; Carson et. al. 1990).

2.3. Summary

Previous studies were reviewed in light of the two hypotheses of contrastive rhetoric: (1) Each language or culture has certain rhetorical conventions that are unique to itself; and (2) the rhetorical conventions of students' L1 interfere with their L2 writing.

With regard to the first hypothesis, there are both theoretical and empirical studies on the rhetorical characteristics of various languages. Some researchers identify certain characteristics with culturally specific classical rhetoric. Many of the empirical studies

generally support the theoretical and intuitive argument of certain cultural characteristics of rhetoric. What is important to point out is that these studies have not only identified differences between various languages and English but also assigned very particular labels that characterize cultural rhetoric; that is, English is linear and logical whereas other languages are non-linear, inductive, spiral, parallel, etc. Some researchers, on the other hand, challenge the predominant views of contrastive rhetoric by pointing out the mislabeling of a certain cultural rhetoric (Bar-Lev 1986) and the existence of the English-style rhetoric in languages other than English (Sa'adeddin 1989; Mohan and Lo 1985; Taylor and Tingguang 1991; Kachru 1988).

With regard to the second hypothesis, L1-L2 transfer of rhetoric is confirmed in the studies which identified the rhetorical differences between English and another language. The confirmation of transfer is made through an examination of either L2 (ESL) essays only or both L1 and L2 essays. A study that does not identify a large rhetorical difference between Chinese and English proposes developmental factors as an explanation of the problems students have in ESL writing (Mohan and Lo 1985). A different body of research which is concerned with cognitive ability of writing identifies L1-L2 positive transfer of writing skills.

From the above review of the literature, it is clear that the field of contrastive rhetoric, similar to many other fields of study, consists of conflicting claims and findings. Yet, the dominant view within the paradigm of contrastive rhetoric seems to be the one that supports the two hypotheses formulated by Kaplan. Also, very few studies have questioned the particular views of culture, language and ESL students that are inherent in many of the contrastive rhetoric studies. In the following chapter, I will critique the views of contrastive rhetoric on culture, language and students.

3. CRITIQUE

As reviewed in the previous chapter, many of the theoretical and empirical studies of contrastive rhetoric have confirmed the two hypotheses formulated by Kaplan. There are, however, serious problems with the hypotheses that limit our understanding of culture, language and why ESL students write in English the way they do. In this chapter, drawing on the critical theory in contemporary education, poststructuralist notion of discourse and a Marxist understanding of language, I will attempt a critique of the underlying assumptions of contrastive rhetoric about culture, language and ESL students' writing in their second language, focusing especially on the Japanese language.

3.1. The first hypothesis: Limited understanding of language and culture

As evident in the above review of literature, previous studies of contrastive rhetoric seek to discover and represent culturally distinctive styles of rhetoric. What is problematic here is a limited understanding of "culture" and "language," which tends to construct a homogeneous representation of the "Other" while legitimating a certain kind of English rhetoric as a canon.

In the argument that modern Arabic rhetoric is characterized by parallelism reflecting *Koran* and "saj"; Chinese by the Eight-Legged Essay; Japanese, Chinese and Korean by indirection reflecting *ki-sho-ten-ketsu*, culture and language are reduced to an exotic, static, unitary and normative category. In other words, language and culture are viewed as a system which can be characterized by a feature that is totally different from and incompatible with English; they are viewed as not having changed for centuries and being observed in all the social situations and all the members of the culture regardless of their backgrounds and intentions. Here, there is no perspective of culture as a dynamic site of struggle where social practices are constituted and transformed by competing interests that are forged in history through power relations both within and between the states (cf. Giroux 1988a:97: Aronowitz and Giroux 1988:191; Giroux 1991:50-51; McLaren 1988:224). On the contrary, the forms of culture and language are historically constructed

by and reflect multiple discourses[1] which asymmetrical relations of power constitute and are inherent within. In this view, as the meaning of the word is plural (Weedon 1987; Volosinov 1973), the forms of language are multiple, reflecting and reinforcing different discourses and ideologies. Here, not all the meanings or forms are equal; some are dominant, while others are marginalized and struggle to transform the conditions of subordination. This leads to the important point that the forms of language in a culture are multiple and yet socially and ideologically organized; they are not a reflection of multiple individual consciousness divorced from social milieu; as Volosinov (1973:21) puts it, they are "conditioned by the social organization of the participants involved and also by the immediate conditions of their interaction" and as Gramsci (1971:349) puts it: "the fact of "language" is in reality the "multiplicity of facts more or less organically coherent and co-ordinated." The point here is that the view of language and culture as a fixed unitary norm must be rejected and a dialectical understanding of multiplicity and social and ideological construction of language and culture is to be sought.

Language and culture are not only constituted socially and ideologically but also historically. This means that the present form of language is a historical product as well as a system that is ceaselessly generating norms (Volosinov 1973:66) and transformed with the transformation of the whole of civilization (Gramsci 1971:451). In this view, language is neither historically fixed nor emergent out of a vacuum; it must be understood as fluid, dynamic and constituted through cultural, religious, political and military conditions and upheavals in history.

Social and historical construction of language is implicated in discourse and power. That rhetoric as an aspect of language (again, it does not presuppose any single form of rhetoric existing in a culture) is socially and historically constituted means that through a historical process it is formed through asymmetrical power relations at various levels which constitute and inhere within multiple discourses that organize our social practices. The notion of discourse and power in history will provide an insight for our understanding of the historical formation of the contemporary Japanese written language which throws doubt

[1] "Discourses," as used here in the poststructuralist sense, are "particular ways of organizing meaning-making practices (Lewis and Simon 1986).

on the notion of the distinctiveness of Japanese rhetoric advocated by some researchers of contrastive rhetoric.

In the following, I will attempt to disclose how an unequal power relation between Japan and the West has constituted discourses and language forms in Japan since the late nineteenth century, and point out that contrastive rhetoric, nevertheless, has constructed distinct cultural images, creating the dichotomy of "us" and "them" while legitimating English rhetoric as a superior form.

3.1.1. Contemporary written Japanese: A historical view

A historical overview of the late nineteenth century in Japan reveals a drastic change in the form of written language influenced by a dominant discourse of westernization and modernization. This was the time when a great amount of western knowledge and technology suddenly flowed into Japan. The dominant discourse at that time was concerned with modernizing Japan to catch up with the U.S. and European countries. Social and political systems underwent a radical change; the western modernization was glorified, while the Japanese values and systems inherited from the previous era were rejected as "backward" (Minami 1980; Befu 1987). The view of the Japanese language was also caught up in this discourse--it was felt that the written style at that time[2] was so distant from the oral language that it was causing an obstacle to modernization.[3] The Oral-Written Correspondence Movement thus started especially among writers who were exposed to Western literature, and by the turn of the century, most of the novels were written in the oral-written correspondence style. A characteristic of this style, Morioka (1972) points out, is the influence of direct translation of texts written in western languages, which brought about some changes in the Japanese language.

In the late nineteenth century, a large amount of western printed material was translated into Japanese.[4] It has been pointed out that translators and writers at that time

[2] The written Japanese language in the middle nineteenth century was predominantly "hentai-kanbun (anomalous Chinese text)"-based "kun" reading style (reading Chinese characters in Japanese pronunciation).

[3] The discourse of modernization was also inherent in some arguments for script reform and standardization of the Japanese language around the same time (Sanada 1987).

[4] According to Ishiwata (1971:359), seventy to eighty percent of books published around 1878 were translations from Western languages.

attempted to keep the structure of the original language intact (Yanabu 1981, 1982; Morioka 1972; Twine 1984; Yamamoto 1965). As a result, they started to use some new lexical items and syntactic devices, e.g., certain conjunctions, third person pronouns, the expressions for present progressive, passive and causative with an inanimate subject. Also, punctuation devices such as the comma, full stop and paragraphing were introduced. These features constituted a new text style, "direct translation of Western text." Morioka (1972) argues that this direct translation text style created the sense of a sentence unit and increased the logical relationship between clauses. Although Morioka's argument for the increase of logic may not be justified unproblematically given the plural meanings of the word "logic," a similar claim that the translation style facilitated the creation of sentence unit in modern Japanese is made by Yanabu (1981, 1982). Yanabu argues that the sentence unit was created by the invention of the sentence endings seen in the direct translation text (infinitive for the present tense; auxiliary, *ta*, for the past tense; and copula, *dearu*--note that Japanese is an SOV language).

It is not only the late nineteenth century when the practice of direct translation is observed. Yanabu (1981) points out that students at secondary schools in Japan today are exposed to a large number of Japanese texts with a style of direct translation from English which appear in the students' English textbook guides. This indicates that many Japanese students are currently exposed to English rhetorical styles through Japanese texts with this particular style.

It is important to note here that unequal power relations are manifested in the practice of translating word by word without changing the structure of a source language rather than reproducing the structure of the source language within the framework of the translator's own language--the inferior language is forced by the superior one to change its form and become similar to the superior, while the superior is not significantly influenced by the inferior (Asad 1986).

The discourse of modernization and westernization influenced language education as well. The direct translation style appeared also in Japanese textbooks published in 1874; they were translated almost word by word from American textbooks, *The First and the Second Reader of the School and Family Series* by Marcius Willson (Yamamoto 1965;

Namekawa 1977). The language curriculum and teaching methods were imported from the U.S. For instance, M. M. Scott, an American educator, visited Japan and introduced a classroom teaching method which eventually replaced the one-to-one teaching style which had been commonly used previously. The radical educational reform based on westernization in the 1870s, however, had to undergo modification because the top-down implementation too radically differed from the traditional approaches. As a result, writing instruction began to put more emphasis on letter writing, which was thought to be more practical (Namekawa 1977:48-49). Nonetheless, throughout the Meiji Period (1868-1912) and the Taisho Period (1912-1926), educational theories in Europe and the U.S. were constantly being introduced (e.g., J. H. Pestalozzi, J. Herbart, F. W. Parker, J. Dewey, S. James, H. Parkhurst) (Namekawa 1977, 1978; Takamori 1979) as well as composition theorists; e.g., G. Campbell, R. Whately, J. F. Genung, A. S. Hill, E. O. Haven, A. Bain, H. Spencer (Namekawa 1977:194). These theorists' classification and definition of the four forms of discourse (description, narration, exposition, and argumentation) were introduced in the Meiji Period (Hayamizu 1976).

The discourse of westernization and modernization which was dominant in the late nineteenth century through the early twentieth century, however, was not the only discourse that existed. There were some academics who opposed the view that regarded the Japanese as inferior (Minami 1980), some educators and writers who tried to promote Chinese or Japanese traditional style of composition, and some who attempted to combine both (Namekawa 1977). Such varying views are present more recently as well. In the study of composition and rhetoric, some scholars such as Morioka (1977), Sawada (1977), Hayamizu (1976), Okuma (1976), Kabashima (1980) base their composition theories on Western rhetoric[5]; Tokoro (1986) suggests studying Japanese rhetoric based on the thought patterns inherent in classical Japanese texts rather than using theories imported from the West or China; Nagano (1972, 1986), Ichikawa (1978), Inoue and Okuma (1985) explore "bunsho-ron" (text grammar), which emerged separately from Western text linguistics or discourse analysis but can be seen as an amalgamation of previous studies on Western and

[5] These academics promote the 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.

Chinese rhetoric done in Japan.

The above historical observation indicates that the Japanese language and language education need to be viewed as situated in discourses in which unequal relations of power between Japan and the West create particular views and forms of language. In this perspective, Japanese language and rhetoric manifest their struggle for power in relation to the West as well as a dramatic change. As such, Japanese rhetoric cannot be reduced to a fixed, exotic and homogeneous cultural pattern that is distinct from English. It is not only Japanese that has been affected by a discourse of modernization and westernization that emerged from unequal power relations. According to Asad (1987), since the early nineteenth century, there has been a growing volume of material translated from French and English into Arabic. As a result, the Arabic language has begun to undergo a lexical, grammatical and semantic transformation. These observations provide contrastive rhetoric research a task of taking into account the impact of a dominant language with social, economic, political and military power on the rhetorical structures of other languages.

In light of unequal power relations of languages and the impact of a dominant language on subordinate languages, the claims made by some of the researchers that the rhetorical style similar to English exists in other languages are legitimate (Hindi--Kachru 1988; Arabic--Sa'adeddin 1989; Chinese--Mohan and Lo 1985 and Taylor and Tingguang 1991). In the case of the Japanese language, although some empirical studies of contrastive rhetoric support the existence of culturally specific rhetorical preference (Hinds 1983a, Kobayashi 1984, Oi 1984), there is also a possibility that the rhetorical styles used for English exist in Japanese and are accepted by Japanese readers and writers. In fact, previous research shows some rhetorical features shared by both Japanese and English. Burtoff (1983) found some interpropositional logical relations that were used in English writing of both English-speakers and Japanese-speakers. Kobayashi's (1984) data also show both *general-to-specific* and *specific-to-general* patterns used in Japanese L1 essays (24% vs. 41% for expository with visual prompts, 50% vs. 20% for expository with verbal prompts, respectively) although the differences in the frequency of these patterns between Japanese L1 essays and English L1 essays were statistically significant.

While cultural differences may be accounted for in terms of different frequencies of

particular rhetorical patterns as previous studies show, this should not lead to a grand statement such as "Japanese texts are very differently organized," as Kaplan (1988:292) puts it. As I have argued so far, rhetoric in a culture is not a unitary, fixed and exotic system; it is formed and transformed through discourse and power in history and rhetorical forms in a culture are multiple and dynamic. In the following, I will point out some of the theoretical and methodological problems of previous research with regard to the first hypothesis that reflect as well as constitute the limited understanding of culture and language: i.e., (1) the identification of a classical prescriptive style with the characteristic of a language; (2) overgeneralization; and (3) using students' L2 texts for the investigation of their L1 rhetoric. These problems will be addressed especially in relation to the studies on Japanese.

3.1.2. A classical prescriptive style as the characteristic of a language

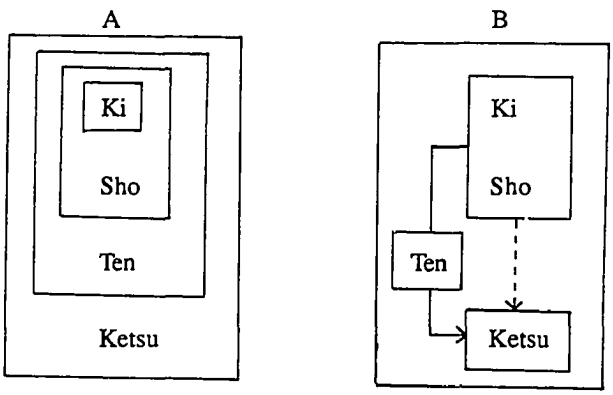
Some of the contrastive rhetoric studies reviewed earlier identify certain cultural rhetoric with classical prescriptive styles or classical texts; e.g., Chinese--the Eight-Legged Essay (Kaplan 1972) or *chi-cheng-juan-he* (Tsao 1983, Mo 1982); Japanese--*ki-sho-ten-ketsu* (Hinds 1983a, 1983b, 1987, 1990); Arabic--the *Old Testament*, the *Koran*, and "saj" (Kaplan 1966, 1967, 1972; Ostler 1987). Although such classical styles or texts certainly exist, the claim that they are manifested in modern expository prose is highly speculative and can be refuted as Mohan and Lo (1985) showed that the Eight-Legged Essay served only a specific function of writing in the past and it is not a currently influential genre. Furthermore, as I have argued earlier, language forms are multiple and dynamic; they do change as they are implicated in the relations of power and history. The view that identifies the whole of contemporary rhetoric with a classical prescriptive style parallels the view of abstract objectivism reified in Saussure's concept of langue that Volosinov (1973) rejects; in this view, for Volosinov, "language is handed down as a ready-made product from generation to generation (p.81)." On the contrary, language "endures, but it endures as a continuous process of becoming" (p.81).

As far as the representation of Japanese rhetoric is concerned, Hinds (1983a, 1987, 1990) has claimed that *ki-sho-ten-ketsu* is characteristic of Japanese expository prose. This

claim is problematic not only because it views language as a static entity but also because *ki-sho-ten-ketsu* in contemporary Japanese has multiple meanings. How is the multiplicity of meaning of *ki-sho-ten-ketsu* manifested in the understanding of and arguments about it among Japanese academics?

First, there is no consensus concerning the nature and function of *ki-sho-ten-ketsu.* Ichikawa (1978:159) refers to a novelist, Kawabata's application of *ki-sho-ten-ketsu* to stories: *ki* as beginning, *sho* as development or crisis of the event or the character, *ten* as climax, and *ketsu* as finale (*sho* and *ten* constitute the middle part). Along the same line, Kokai et. al. (1989:51-59) present an example of a story and interpret it in terms of *ki-sho-ten-ketsu--(ki)*: At school, I learned how amber is made from pine resin, (*sho*): so I came home and buried some pine resin in the yard. (*ten*): After dark, I became so curious to see the resin that I went outside, but came back because I became frightened. (*ketsu*): The next day after school, I couldn't resist myself from seeing it; I dug it out, but it looked so ugly that I threw it away." Okuma (1983:162), on the other hand, refers to a journalist's interpretation: *ki* as "makura" (a preliminary remark), *sho* and *ten* as "sawari" (the point of the story), and *ketsu* as "ochi" (a twist at the end).[6] Kokai and Fukasawa (1981:130) offer two different variations for *ki-sho-ten-ketsu* (Figure 1) according to different genres:

Figure 3-1: Two variations of *ki-sho-ten-ketsu*
(From Kokai and Fukasawa 1981:130)



[6] Okuma further notes that whether or not writing should follow *ki-sho-ten-ketsu* is debatable and he himself sometimes begins writing with a conclusion.

According to Kokai and Fukasawa, A is more suitable for logical (expository or argumentative) writing and B is used more for literary writing. These different interpretations manifest multiple meanings of *ki-sho-ten-ketsu*.

Secondly, not all people accept the style of *ki-sho-ten-ketsu*; for some people it has a negative value and they argue against using it for interpreting or writing texts for certain genres. Tokoro (1986:156-162) questions the widely accepted practice of assigning a prescriptive rhetorical style such as *ki-sho-ten-ketsu* to a Japanese text. He examined an essay from the "Tensei Jingo" column in *Asahi Shinbun* which had been identified as an example of the *ki-sho-ten-ketsu* style by a Japanese grammarian, and argues that the essay is not organized by *ki-sho-ten-ketsu*, but rather a two-unit parallel style. Kabashima (1980:159) maintains that *ki-sho-ten-ketsu* lacks a sense of purpose and it is not appropriate for writing to convince readers. Sawada (1977:104) argues that *ki-sho-ten-ketsu* should not be applied to academic writing because it causes a lack of focus. Ichikawa (1978:159), while recognizing the existence of *ki-sho-ten-ketsu*, claims that expository prose is usually organized by three parts: introduction, body, and conclusion; or four parts: introduction, general discussion, specific discussion, and conclusion. Aihara (1984:37) refers to a book on business writing which recommends a three-unit style, and states that the function of *ten* which is to draw readers' attention to the story by creating unexpectedness is not necessary in the case of business writing.

These conflicting views of *ki-sho-ten-ketsu* demonstrate multiple meanings of it. Just as language change in history, the meaning of *ki-sho-ten-ketsu* changes and it is no longer the same as the meaning used in classical Chinese poetry. Moreover, when *ki-sho-ten-ketsu* is given a particular meaning by a researcher in text analysis, it can go beyond the cultural boundary. For instance, Mo (1982), cited in Hinds (1990), argues that *ki-sho-ten-ketsu* can be also observed in L1 English texts. These enmeshed meanings of *ki-sho-ten-ketsu* not only reject the legitimacy of identifying this style as the characteristic of Japanese prose but also reveal that trying to characterize Japanese rhetoric with *ki-sho-ten-ketsu* is merely an attempt to construct a "difference" from English.

3.1.3. Overgeneralization

When cultural rhetoric is viewed as exotic, a text that demonstrates a peculiar style that seems different from English tends to be regarded as a prototype of that cultural rhetoric and overgeneralized to the entire rhetoric of the culture. The problem of overgeneralization is evident in Hinds' work (1981, 1983a, 1987, 1990), in which published Japanese texts are analyzed.

Hinds claims that Japanese expository prose is characterized by *ki-sho-ten-ketsu*, and especially abrupt topic shifts triggered by the *ten* paragraphs. He illustrates his points by presenting some essays that appeared in the "Tensei Jingo" column in *Asahi Shinbun*, one of the nation-wide newspapers in Japan. These essays are English translations which appeared in the *Asahi Evening News*. Although it appears on the surface that English-speaking readers find these essays incoherent due to some topic shifts, such rhetorical characteristic exhibited in these examples should not be overgeneralized to Japanese expository prose as a whole for the following reasons: (1) "Tensei Jingo" has a specific function which determines its form; (2) it is not only form but also readers' lack of world knowledge that causes a sense of topic shift and incoherence; and (3) the style exhibited in Hinds' examples is not the only style in Japanese expository prose. Hinds fails to address these issues in his studies.

First, the "Tensei Jingo" column is written for a very specific purpose. The column appears at the bottom of the front page of *Asahi Shinbun* and its primary function is commenting on major news items, reflecting on life, nature and environment, and standing for the judgments and opinions of the public (Hikita 1981). It is similar to an editorial as it deals with current political and social issues, but the topic also covers more casual subjects such as people, nature, books and social events. Its major difference from an editorial is that "Tensei Jingo" has a much more familiar tone with the use of humor and satire (Asahi Shinbun Editorial Committee 1980). This background suggests that "Tensei Jingo" is written for the purpose of providing readers with comments on current news as well as entertaining them and creating a sense of solidarity. In this sense, "Tensei Jingo," is generally focused more on involving the interlocutors than on conveying information per

se.[7] Thus, an abrupt topic shift can be understood as a rhetorical device for involving the readers in the text. Aihara (1984) points out that in a Japanese newspaper or magazine column, the author often begins writing with a metaphoric episode instead of the main subject in order to familiarize the readers with the main topic or to avoid the readers' reaction, "Not again!" It is doubtful that this strategy is also used in an expository text that is more focused on conveying information or persuading readers.

The second reason for the illegitimacy of identifying the lack of coherence in Hinds' examples as the characteristic of Japanese expository prose is concerned with world knowledge in reading and writing. The function of "Tensei Jingo" discussed above, i.e., entertaining the readers by involving them in the writer's reactions to current issues, assumes the presence of readers' background knowledge. Hinds' examples are difficult for English-speaking readers to comprehend perhaps not so much because the rhetorical organization causes incoherence as because the readers lack background knowledge. The importance of readers' world knowledge in reading processing has been made evident in research on reading. Roller (1990), reviewing studies on knowledge and structure variables in the processing of expository pose, concludes that structure variables exert their influence only in moderately unfamiliar text; structural cues are not helpful for processing when the text deals with extremely unfamiliar topics. The main reason why Hinds' examples of "Tensei Jingo" are perceived as incoherent by English-speaking readers may well be the readers' (researchers') unfamiliarity with the topics. Thus, such incoherence exhibited in Hinds' examples cannot be overgeneralized as the characteristic of Japanese expository prose as a whole.

The third reason for the inappropriateness of generalizing about Japanese expository prose on the basis of Hinds' examples is that not all "Tensei Jingo" essays exhibit the patterns that Hinds' examples do, and moreover, very few essays written for a different column in the same newspaper exhibit the pattern (Kubota 1990). This indicates that Hinds' examples are simply the ones that exhibit the pattern but not those that would represent Japanese expository prose as a whole.

[7] Tannen (1985) proposes for both oral and written discourse the notion of relative focus on interpersonal involvement vs. information conveyed. In this view, "Tensei Jingo" may be placed more toward the focus on involvement than information compared to other academic expository prose.

Unfortunately, Hinds' claims on *ki-sho-ten-ketsu* and "reader-responsibility" are widely accepted as undoubted facts by other researchers (Kaplan 1988; Grabe and Kaplan 1989; Odlin 1989, Rubin et. al. 1990; Scarcella and Lee 1989); for instance, Odlin (1989:62) states, "According to Hinds, the *ki-sho-ten-ketsu* form.....constitutes a norm of Japanese style." Here, the overgeneralization in Hinds' studies contributes to constructing "difference" and "otherness" of Japanese rhetoric and his claims are accepted as truth in a scientific paradigm and the "difference" and "otherness" are reproduced.

The problem of overgeneralization is observed not only in Hinds' studies on Japanese but also in Eggington's study (1987) on Korean. Eggington chose for recall tasks two Korean paragraphs; one as an example of the non-linear Korean style and the other as an example of the linear English style. Based on the results, Eggington concludes that it seems more difficult for Koreans to retain the information presented in the linear style. However, the examples Eggington used are limited in number and it is questionable whether the contents of the examples are comparable--a different degree of world knowledge required by the two paragraphs may have affected the outcome. Similar to Hinds' studies on Japanese, Eggington's study draws a dichotomy between linear and non-linear styles, and the "difference" between the Korean traditional style and the English style are constructed by overgeneralization from a very limited number and range of examples.

3.1.4. Using students' L2 texts for the investigation of their L1 rhetoric

The view of language as a normative and unitary system that is fixed in all the members of the culture leads to a methodological problem of examining students' L2 instead of L1 texts for identifying the students' L1 cultural rhetoric as evident in some of the previous studies (Kaplan 1966, 1967, 1972; Ostler 1987, 1990; Connor 1990; Burtoff 1983; Söter 1988). The underlying assumption is that different rhetorical patterns exhibited in ESL essays written by students from different L1 backgrounds are the manifestation of their L1 rhetoric. While these studies have identified some rhetorical differences among different groups of ESL students, such differences cannot be attributable exclusively to their L1 rhetoric because of the specific nature of L2 writing.

First, it is possible that certain instructional methods and emphases (e.g., a stress

on sentence-level accuracy rather than overall organization) may be reflected in certain characteristics observed in ESL essays (Mohan and Lo 1985).

Second, greater cognitive demands in L2 writing than in L1 writing may cause distinctive text structures. Uzawa and Cumming (1989) studied some strategies of writing in Japanese as a foreign language employed by Canadian university students. They found that some students tried to lower the standard expected for L1 writing, and some tried to keep up the standard. As a result of the former strategy, the L2 texts produced by the students were characterized by omissions of information, unelaborated lexis, and illogical flow of ideas; and as a result of the latter strategy, the L2 texts tended to become incoherent and include linguistic errors due to the inability to keep up the standard. Uzawa and Cumming argue that L2 students' use of these strategies is a more satisfactory explanation of incoherence in ESL texts than students' use of their L1 rhetoric in their L2 writing.

Third, L2 proficiency may affect L2 text features. Cumming (1988) identified the influence of L2 proficiency on the quality of L2 texts. The studies by Kobayashi (1984) and Scarcella and Lee (1989) revealed that the essays written by students who had more exposure to English were more similar to L1 English essays than the ones written by students who had less exposure.

In addition to the above factors that may affect the structures of L2 texts, L1 writing ability is an important factor to be taken into account. Among many of the researchers of contrastive rhetoric, there is an assumption that the rhetorical patterns exhibited in ESL texts are the rhetorical "norm" or "preferred style" of the students' L1. There is, however, no evidence that every member of a particular language group uses what is considered to be culturally "preferred" rhetoric when writing in L1. This will become apparent when we shift our attention to English mother tongue writing and ask a question, do all students who are native speakers of English write according to what Kaplan proposes as the English norm? The answer is provided by a body of L1 English writing research which demonstrates differences between the texts written by basic writers and the ones written by skilled writers (e.g., Nold and Freedman 1977; Lunsford 1980; Neilson and Piche 1981; Grobe 1981; Neuner 1987; Cooper et. al. 1984; Witte and Faigley 1981; McCulley 1985; Haswell 1986, 1988). What contrastive rhetoric must take into account is how well

students can write in their L1. If a student lacks ability to organize a coherent academic text in his/her L1, incoherence exhibited in the ESL text may simply be a manifestation of the insufficient skills in L1 composing rather than L1 cultural rhetoric. In fact, Cumming's (1988) study indicates that L1 writing ability affects the quality of L2 text organization.

Since there is no evidence that L2 texts directly reflect students' L1 rhetoric or L1 rhetorical norm, a legitimate method for investigating rhetorical differences between languages should involve examination of L1 texts as seen in the studies such as Bickner and Peyasantiwong (1988), Indrasuta (1988), Scarcella and Lee (1989), Kobayashi (1984), Oi (1984), Oi and Sato (1990). Another valid method is studying published texts as in Hinds (1981, 1983a, 1987, 1990), Sa'adeddin (1989), Kachru (1988) and Pandharipande (1983). In this method, however, a researcher must be cautious about a potential lack of readers' background knowledge for text interpretation and overgeneralization.

Ignoring the specific nature of L2 writing and students' L1 writing abilities and making assumptions about L1 rhetorical characteristics based only on students' L2 texts lead to constructing "differences" among cultures. I will now turn to the consequence of the problems addressed above; that is, the construction of "difference" and legitimation of English rhetoric.

3.1.5. Construction of "difference" and legitimation of English rhetoric

The problematic of contrastive rhetoric that has a limited view of language and culture lies in its construction of the rhetoric of the "Other" while legitimating a particular form of English rhetoric. Various languages other than English have been given certain labels by Western researchers' reductionist views, degraded as being illogical and irrational, totally alienated from contemporary English rhetoric and framed within rigid boundaries. On the other hand, the norm of English rhetoric is celebrated as a logical and linear system (Kaplan 1966, 1967, 1972; Ostler 1987; Hinds 1983a, 1987, 1990; Eggington 1987). Despite the fact that the majority of literature I reviewed agrees with such labeling, Kaplan (1987:10) puts less emphasis on actual labeling than on the importance of rhetorical differences:

> .....my suggestion that there is a direct and uninterrupted flow of information in English has been taken as also implying that directness and specificity are highly valued, and, as a consequence, each researcher studying a language other than English has described that language as direct and uninterrupted in its flow of information. *This disagreement is not significant;* rather, the point is that scholars looking at other languages have perceived significant differences between languages in their rhetorical structure, even if, in all fairness, they have not agreed on the nature of the differences. (My emphasis)

Kaplan, here, dismisses the importance of naming and labeling, which are performed through one's position of power and reflect the symbolic meaning of either domination or resistance, and he ends up legitimating the practice of dichotomizing "us" and "them" and constructing "differences."

Not only is English rhetoric celebrated as a linear and logical system but also the knowledge transmitted through it is viewed as a superior form of modern civilization and development. Eggington (1987) believes that the inability of Koreans' retaining information presented in English linear rhetoric hampers modernization and development of Korea. Eggington states:

> Another group of Korean scholars [as opposed to those who have a command of English] ..... have not had the opportunity to acquire English, let alone the preferred rhetorical patterns of English, and thus must rely on their more *fortunate* colleagues to share that information with them. However, as the preceding study has shown, one group in this process of communication is using one written rhetorical pattern while the other group is using a different written rhetorical pattern- a situation which inhibits information recall and *the optimal transfer of vital knowledge*, as well as *the optimal development of the nation*. (p. 167: my emphasis)

Similarly, Kaplan (1986), mentioning the impact of English on the Korean writing system, states that the fact that there are two rhetorical styles in Korean, i.e., traditional Korean rhetorical style and the style closer to the scientific and technical writing in English, "tends to work against the notion of development rather than to enhance it" (p.16). In this discourse of development, the dominant western culture, language and knowledge are identified with the center of civilization and a privileged canon (Giroux 1988c; 1991), while the native culture of the "Other" is viewed as a problem and an obstacle to development.

In the discourse of contrastive rhetoric, English is legitimated as a privileged canon, while other languages are reduced to exotic and inferior categories. The notion of cultural

"differences" of rhetoric is in fact constructed by the interests of western researchers just like the Orient was constructed by western academics, politicians and travellers as an unchanging category absolutely different from the West (Said 1978). 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. In contrastive rhetoric, the political nature of such English rhetoric (Berlin 1984) is rendered neutral or unquestioned, and it is made canonical while other forms (feminist, black, working-class, etc.) are completely excluded.

Many of the studies of contrastive rhetoric actively construct a dichotomy of "us" and "them" ignoring the multiplicity of language forms which reflect asymmetrical power relations, discourses and the forces of history. As a result, "us" is legitimated as superior while "them" is viewed as irrational, problematic and unfortunate. I will now turn to my critique of the second hypothesis of contrastive rhetoric.

3.2. The second hypothesis: Absence of the perspective of human agency / A view of L1 as a deficit

The second hypothesis was concerned with interference of L1 cultural rhetoric with L2 texts. This hypothesis is problematic in that (1) it fails to view students as human agents, and (2) L1 is viewed as a deficit.

First, this hypothesis views students who are from a certain culture as a homogeneous group of individuals who are loyal to a certain cultural norm and transfer it to writing in English. Transfer is considered as a universal phenomenon which can be identified in all humans regardless of their intentions or experiences. In this view, students are viewed as passive recipients of systematic conventions of language and unable to act on experiences or to construct meaning and form of language (cf. Walsh 1991a). This view ignores various different experiences, intentions and subject positions these students bring with them. What is lacking is the perspective of the students as human agents who actively make sense of the world and engage in the production of language. This, however, does not mean that individuals are absolutely free or different from each other in the act of writing in L2; as discussed earlier, the form, use and meaning of language are socially and

historically constituted. This dialectical connection of individual and society is essential in understanding the human agency of ESL students.

The above understanding calls for an investigation of the relationship between what students produce and how the products are constituted by the various experiences and subjectivities of the students which are historically, ideologically and politically constituted in the social context. In this view, one can ask questions such as; "what kind of histories do the students bring with them to L1 and L2 writing?" "what kinds of perceptions concerning L1 and L2 rhetoric do they have?" "how did they come to have their perceptions within the social and historical context?" and "do they resist, accommodate or actively engage in the L1 and L2 rhetoric?" Answers to these questions will raise many issues that have been ignored within the view of the students as passive recipients of static and normative cultural rhetoric.

The second point that needs to be questioned is the notion of negative transfer, or "interference." The notion is problematic because it is implicated in the cultural deprivation theory, in which a dominant culture and form of rhetoric is legitimated while others are denied, leading to a conservative mode of pedagogy which serves maintaining the status quo.

The term "interference" bears several implications. First, English rhetoric is the norm that must be emulated; second, other cultural rhetorical forms are not only different but problematic; third, English is superior and other languages are subordinate to English; and fourth, students from other cultures inevitably lack the knowledge and skills needed for undertaking academic work in English. Underlying this notion of interference appears to be the logic of "cultural deprivation theory," which originated in the 1950s and explains under-achievement of minority students in terms of cultural differences instead of the genetic inheritance of low intelligence (Stein 1986). Giroux (1988a) argues that it is the basis of the pedagogical discourse of need fulfilment where the concept of need represents an *absence* of culturally specific experiences, and the experiences that students bring are labeled as "deviant, underprivileged and uncultured" (p.93). Within this discourse, the students are required to accept that their experiences are totally incompatible with the forms of the dominant culture. The following pedagogical objective suggested by contrastive

rhetoric, for instance, demonstrates this point:

> To make the learner of composition aware: that there are certain writing conventions in the target language; the fact that the learner may be aware of the conventions in the first language does not mean that the learner understands those of the target language (Grabe and Kaplan 1989:277).

Based on the idea that students are deprived of a legitimate form of social life, cultural deprivation theory defines the goal of education in terms of filling in the deficit by providing cultural enrichment, remediation, and basics (Giroux 1988a). Pedagogical suggestions offered by contrastive rhetoric (e.g., Kaplan 1966, 1967, 1972, 1988; Grabe and Kaplan 1989) also tend to stress the need to fill in the deficit by training the students with appropriate forms of rhetoric which students are to learn and become subject to. This mode of pedagogy, in which students are asked to engage in the privileged form of cultural rhetoric with no critical understanding of how it works for the interests of the dominant group, serves to legitimate and maintain the status quo. The problematic nature of the pedagogical implications offered by contrastive rhetoric will be discussed in the next chapter.

I have discussed two problems underlying the second hypothesis; i.e., the absence of the view of students as human agents and the view of L1 as deficit. In the following, I will raise methodological and theoretical limitations of previous studies that emerge from the above two problems; that is, (1) transfer is not identified as a within-subject phenomenon, and (2) the possibility of positive transfer is ignored.

3.2.1. Failure to view transfer as a within-subject phenomenon

The view that students as passive and homogeneous recipients of their static and normative "L1 cultural rhetoric" inevitably use the L1 rhetoric in L2 writing creates a methodological problem in many of the contrastive rhetoric studies investigating L1-L2 rhetorical transfer. As I have reviewed earlier, L1-L2 rhetorical transfer is investigated by the following approaches: (1) examining ESL texts only, (2) examining L1 texts and ESL texts written by separate groups of students, or (3) examining L1 texts and ESL texts written by the same students. The problem is that none of these studies in the field of contrastive rhetoric have investigated *within-subject* transfer of L1 rhetoric to L2 writing.

The first approach is used by researchers such as Kaplan (1966. 1967, 1972), Ostler (1987, 1990), Connor (1990), Söter (1988), Burtoff (1983), who promote the assumption that the culturally distinctive rhetorical style used in students' ESL essays is the reflection of their L1 rhetoric, and confirm L1-L2 transfer. However, this assumption is theoretically flawed because what constitutes L2 rhetoric is not L1 rhetoric per se but a sum of various factors as discussed earlier (e.g., previous English instruction, strategies specific to L2 writing, L2 proficiency and L1 writing ability).

Compared to the first approach with such a serious problem, the second approach (e.g., Kobayashi 1984, Oi 1984, Scarcella and Lee 1989) and the third approach (Indrasuta 1988) seem more valid. In the second approach, however, a claim for transfer is made based on the rhetorical similarity between the two separate groups of students. The assumption here seems that every member of a particular culture would write in a similar way. However, rhetoric is less rule-governed than the micro-level aspects of language such as phonology, morphology and syntax and it is more concerned with choice of individual writers. In addition, L2 writing is a complex activity which involves many individual factors. Thus, it is conceptually inappropriate to conclude that the similarity between the L1 rhetoric used by student A and the L2 rhetoric used by student B indicates transfer. In Kobayashi's study, the similarity found between one Japanese group writing in Japanese and another writing in English can only be interpreted as a similar tendency of the two groups' use of rhetorical style, not a result of individual transfer.

The third approach used by Indrasuta (1988) thus appears the most appropriate for investigating transfer. However, L1-L2 transfer is identified based on tallied data and individual transfer is not examined. Odlin (1989:30) points out that contrastive analysis normally compares "*collective*, not *individual* linguistic behavior," and even if some tendency of transfer is identified, "the manifestation of transfer can vary from one learner to the next." In exploring the influence of L1 rhetoric on L2 texts, individual students' use of L1 and L2 rhetorical styles must be examined not only because it is theoretically sound, but also because students must be viewed as human agents who bring their own life experiences, intentions, values and beliefs, act on them and choose to use certain rhetorical styles within a particular social context.

3.2.2. Overlooking the possibility of positive transfer

I have criticized the view of contrastive rhetoric that regards students' L1 rhetoric as problematic. However, recent research on language transfer investigates not only negative but also positive transfer which is stimulated by cross-linguistic similarities (Odlin 1989; Ringbom 1987). At issue is the importance of investigating "cross-linguistic similarities," which have already been identified in some of the previous studies of contrastive rhetoric, and incorporating them into the investigation of transfer. If similar rhetorical structures are appreciated across cultures, positive transfer is likely to be identified. My earlier discussion of the development of contemporary written Japanese within the discourse of westernization and modernization implies a possibility that English style rhetoric is shared by Japanese as well. If that is the case, positive transfer will likely be identified and the negative value given to students' L1 must be discarded.

I have constructed a critique of contrastive rhetoric research on a theoretical level. I have argued that contrastive rhetoric views culture and language as an exotic, static and normative category and views students as homogeneous groups of people who will inevitably use this normative system of language. In this framework, rhetorical differences among various languages are constructed by some of the researchers and given particular labels and values. Instead, I have proposed a different view of language, culture and students; i.e., the forms of language and culture must be understood as dynamic and plural and they are situated in discourses and asymmetrical relations of power in the social and historical context, and students must be seen as human agents who have their own histories and intentions to act on their experiences, yet within the social context. I have also argued that the negative labels assigned to ESL students' L1 cultural rhetoric lead to a pedagogical emphasis on filling in the deficit. It is this pedagogical issue that I will now turn to.

4. PEDAGOGICAL ISSUES

4.1. Pedagogical suggestions offered by contrastive rhetoric

Researchers who support contrastive rhetoric hypotheses have proposed some teaching techniques for raising students' awareness of English rhetorical conventions and promoting their skills to use them; e.g., rearranging scrambled paragraphs, filling out an outline following some given topic sentences (Kaplan 1966, 1972); imitating models, controlled exercises, filling in missing sentences, composing by following the outline (Kaplan 1967); making students aware of audience, distribution and frequency of different writing tasks, text conventions, "world (cultural) knowledge" and "technical (academic) knowledge," and that writing is a social phenomenon that requires more than control of syntactic and lexical items (Kaplan 1988); identifying topic structures in real texts, limiting topics to match world knowledge (Grabe and Kaplan 1989); explaining chronological and logical sequences, making "point outline," examining formats for various academic assignments (Reid 1984c); paying attention to lexical and morphological structures of edited texts, a discussion among teacher and students about rhetorical differences between English academic prose and the rhetoric in the students' native languages (Reid 1989).

Yet, there are some other suggestions: Burtoff (1983) suggests, based on her finding of some rhetorical structures shared by students from different cultures, that teachers should begin by refining and reinforcing common rhetorical strategies. Kobayashi (1984) found among American writers the tendency toward a formulaic organization, and warns against overemphasizing the *general-to-specific* style. She also suggests that Japanese students be encouraged to use the *specific-to-general* style to explore ideas, and the *general-to-specific* style to organize ideas. In general, however, making rhetorical differences explicit for raising students' awareness is a common conclusion made by researchers of contrastive rhetoric.

While these pedagogical considerations are certainly important for enhancing students' writing skills in English, their underlying assumptions are problematic. In order to uncover the problems, some important questions must be addressed: Why should we

teach the rhetoric of English academic prose? What are the consequences of teaching it?

The answer to the first question seems to be related to the notion that ESL students are culturally deprived. Purves (1988) states that the findings of contrastive rhetoric studies indicate that the "differences among rhetorical patterns do not represent differences in cognitive ability, but differences in cognitive style.....Students lack knowledge of the appropriate structures of the new culture" (p.19). Kaplan (1988) argues that while all human children are born with biological predisposition to acquire a spoken language, written language develops through postbiological evolutionary steps and "it is not universally distributed in the species" (p.287). In dismissing Trueba's argument that a perfectly normal child who has just arrived from a linguistically, socially, or culturally different environment becomes "abnormal" in teachers' eyes due to the inability to produce expected linguistic forms in written language (Trueba 1985), Kaplan implicitly attributes such child's inability entirely to "cultural difference" and promotes the notion that such a child is culturally handicapped or deprived. In these views, the English academic rhetoric must be taught because students are deprived of it, thus, need it.

Then, what are the goals of literacy education promoted by such arguments? It has been argued that there are three goals for literacy education: (1) diminishing language distance between different communicants within society; (2) developing language and cultural loyalty--the respecting and valuing of certain forms but repudiating of non-standard forms; (3) developing an individual mode of expression and interpretation (Kádár-Fülop 1988; Purves and Purves 1986). It is claimed in this view that the first two are the primary goals for common schooling, and "writing is one of the primary manifestations of an individual's acculturation" (Purves and Purves 1986:195). Thus, this view considers the primary goal of writing instruction as acculturation of the student into the target rhetorical community (Purves 1986).

Purves and Purves (1986) also state that the third goal, i.e., developing individuality, is "seldom a conscious goal of instruction for more than a few, what [Kádár-Fülop (1983)] calls the 'cultural-producers'" (p.194). It is obvious here that developing loyalty to the dominant form of language is legitimated as a goal of writing instruction, while the opportunity to develop individual modes of expression is held only by a few

privileged. This position falls in line with Kaplan's remark in his seminal work (1966). Kaplan, citing Sapir, states that there is a danger in spreading a genuine form of culture too thin through imitation adopted by the "other," however,

> in the special case of foreign students who are learning English,.....the imitation which would be an error in most cases is the sought aim. The classes which undertake the training of the "advanced" student can aim for no more. The creativity and imagination which make the difference between competent writing and excellent writing are things which, at least in these circumstances, cannot be taught. The foreign student is an adult in most cases. If these things are teachable, they will already have been taught to him. The English class must not aim too high. Its function is to provide the student with a form within which he may operate, a form acceptable in this time and in this place. (pp. 19-20)

What is problematic is that, while elites are privileged to foster creativity and individual expression, ESL students are denied the privilege, only asked to imitate and conform to the dominant rhetoric, and deprived of the way to express themselves for transforming such inequality. Thus, what is denied is not only their own voices but also an access to the means of proclaiming and retrieving their own voices.

What are the consequences of teaching academic English rhetoric with these goals? Obviously, the voices of certain groups of students are silenced while the dominant form is legitimated as a canon and privileges the dominant group. Unequal distribution of power is unquestioned and the status quo is preserved.

4.2. Argument against contrastive rhetoric

Researchers who identify ESL writers' cognitive strategies as similar to their L1 strategies or English native speakers' tend to dismiss contrastive rhetoric and argue that ESL writers should be encouraged to make use of the writing strategies that they already have (Cumming 1988, Raimes 1987, Yau 1987, Zamel 1983). Zamel (1982, 1983), a proponent of process-oriented writing, opposes the formulaic and linear instructional model of contrastive rhetoric and proposes more emphasis on generating meaning. The trend toward a process-oriented approach in ESL in the 80's which was influenced by L1 English writing research on cognitive process of writing (e.g., Flower and Hayes 1977, 1981) seems to be partly a reaction against the traditional approach to ESL writing which had a heavy emphasis on the accuracy of syntactic and lexical "forms" and which was teacher,

instead of learner, centered. And since contrastive rhetoric tends to propose pedagogical suggestions which are focused on rhetorical "forms," process orientations have been reacting against them.

However, process orientation in ESL has been objected to not only from the point of view of contrastive rhetoric but also from the point of view that it does not prepare students for what is actually required in universities, creating debates between pro-process and anti-process approach in ESL writing instruction (Zamel 1983, 1984; Hamp-Lyons 1986; Liebman-Kleine 1986; Spack 1988; Horowitz 1986a, 1986b; Reid 1984a, 1984b, 1984c). The process orientation of teaching writing is also criticized from a view of critical literacy. It has been argued that the process orientation of teaching writing as a problem-solving approach is likely to turn the social, political and ideological questions into a mere scientific account of writing and the exercise of cognitive problem solving, and to be dissolved in or even legitimate the power relationship within the capitalist and technocratic system (Berlin 1988; Giroux 1983; Bizzell 1982a, 1982b; Freire and Macedo 1987).

The process approach is often coupled with the humanistic or romantic approach to literacy, constituting the whole language approach. In the romantic approach to writing, the focus is placed on meaning rather than form and what is emphasized is authentic self-expression of students' life experiences rather than the learning of certain predetermined knowledge. This approach accepts differing styles of discourse and honors and uses non-standard forms of language which students bring with them (Harman and Edelsky 1989). This liberal view of teaching writing goes counter to the pedagogical suggestions proposed by contrastive rhetoric. This view, however, has been criticized as being divisive of political protest because of its mere emphasis on individual not collective resistance, and also as being easily co-opted by the capitalist values of elites that promote individualism and private interests (Berlin 1988). Furthermore, the romantic approach to literacy, by making students' experiences neutral and unequivocally understood, ignores unequal relations of power which create unequal values attached to various forms of knowledge and language in the real world, and fails to make problematic class, gender or racial inequalities (Giroux 1983; Freire and Macedo 1987; Walsh 1991b).

Besides the above limitations of the process or humanistic approach, the underlying

goal of an approach that opposes contrastive rhetoric seems to undermine its opposition. According to Zamel (1987), ESL teachers can help their students enter the specialized discourse of schooling by "apprenticing students into a world that is otherwise closed to them, by allowing them to behave like scholars making knowledge" (p.710). What is proposed here is essentially the same as what is proposed by contrastive rhetoric; that is, the goal of teaching ESL writing is to initiate the students into the English academic rhetorical community.

Another opposition to contrastive rhetoric comes from the perspective of rhetorical pluralism. Land and Whitley (1989), reacting against contrastive rhetoric's imposition of Standard Written English on ESL students, argue that ESL teachers must change the way they read, respond to and evaluate ESL writers' work. Ironically, however, they stress the importance of the enrichment of the U.S. culture as the goal of their project. Although their call for broadening the boundary of the norm is a breakthrough in the field of contrastive rhetoric, the objective which does not serve the advantage of the subordinate so much as the dominant group should be questioned. Also, the notion of pluralism, treated at the level of increasing dominant readers' tolerance, parallels the position of normative pluralism or multiculturalism advocated since the 1970s. Its apolitical nature, however, is criticized by various academics. It has been argued that the limitations of currently practiced multicultural education lie in its tendency to celebrate ethnic customs and folk lifestyles and cultivate empathy, appreciation and understanding without addressing the problems of sociopolitical domination and subordination (Bullivant 1981; Sleeter and Grant 1987; Rizvi 1986; Olneck 1990). Giroux (1988b) argues:

> postmodernism has a tendency to democratize the notion of difference in a way that echoes a type of vapid liberal pluralism. There is in this discourse the danger of affirming difference simply as an end in itself without acknowledging how difference is formed, erased, and resuscitated within and despite asymmetrical relations of power. Lost here is any understanding of how difference is forged in both domination and opposition. (p. 19)

Rhetorical pluralism certainly must be sought so that ESL students as agents of social change can express themselves with their own voices in the academic community, but it must not be treated only at the level of enhancing tolerance on the part of the readers in the dominant group because this does not necessarily diminish inequality between the central

and the marginal, and such distinction would even legitimate the status quo.

The pedagogical suggestions made by both contrastive rhetoric and its oppositions are limited in that social, political and ideological issues are ignored. An alternative to these views of teaching ESL writing is critical literacy.

4.3. Critical literacy

Critical literacy, advocated by Freire (1970a, 1970b, 1973, 1985), Freire and Macedo (1987), Giroux (1983, 1988a), Shor (1986, 1987), Berlin (1988), Bizzell (1982a), Walsh (1991b), does not dismiss the teaching of the dominant form of English rhetoric when it is applied to teaching ESL writing. Instead, 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.

In critical literacy, literacy is not only understood as the abilities to read and write in a common sense, but as social and political construction. Literacy, in this sense, must be understood not only as liberator but also as weapon (Gee 1988); that is, literacy education does not necessarily guarantee a success in a society but is sometimes used as social control by a dominant group and serves their interests rather than empowering the socially oppressed (Graff 1979, 1987a, 1987b). Literacy is located in culture which is a place of production and reproduction of unequal relations of power that constitute and legitimate a certain kind of knowledge as the norm while oppressing other knowledge as deviant and problematic. Teachers who engage in teaching writing to ESL students then must recognize literacy as a form of social and political reproduction, help their students become free from the knowledge which has been constructed through the asymmetrical relation of power as a "fixed form of wisdom" (Shor 1986), and transform the condition of domination and subordination.

While redemption of one's own voices must be sought, critical literacy does not dismiss teaching of the dominant form of language; it should be taught as a tool that students can use for liberation and transformation. In engaging in writing in a dominant form, teachers and students must critically examine the historically and socially constructed

canon instead of becoming loyal to it. At issue here is fostering critical consciousness through asking questions about what is taken for granted. Giroux (1988c) in discussing a form of critical pedagogy in the age of postmodernism, stresses the point that "knowledge and power come together not merely to reaffirm difference but also to interrogate it" (p.178). In this view, teachers and researchers must not *affirm* difference in order to legitimate the status quo as seen in the discourse of contrastive rhetoric, nor must they merely *reaffirm* difference in a normative pluralistic sense; they must *interrogate* the relation between power and rhetoric in political and ideological terms. By doing so, literacy is used as a liberator.

5. PURPOSES OF THIS STUDY AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

I have reviewed previous studies of contrastive rhetoric, presented a critique and discussed pedagogical issues in teaching ESL writing. Because of the limited view of language, culture and students as writers that contrastive rhetoric holds, the current knowledge constructed by previous studies offers misleading views of "cultural rhetoric" and the way in which ESL students produce their L2 texts. It is therefore necessary to investigate a descriptive nature of rhetoric, instead of constructing exotic and normative cultural rhetoric, by allowing the existence of multiple forms of rhetoric, some of which are privileged and others underprivileged, within discourses and power relations. Also, the investigation of the nature of privileged and underprivileged forms of rhetoric is pedagogically called for from the perspective of critical literacy (Freire and Macedo 1987; Shor 1986; Bizzell 1982a). Demystifying dominant forms of rhetoric is necessary in order for teachers and students to engage critically in it. The need for demystifying and teaching explicitly the forms of language that are used in the society for engaging students in active meaning-making practices and social change is also pointed out by educational linguists in Australia (Christie 1989; Martin 1989). From these perspectives, there is a need for an empirical study which compares academic writing in different languages not for constructing homogeneous cultural characteristics of students' L1 rhetoric, but for understanding privileged and underprivileged forms of rhetoric in students' L1 and L2.

Also, the failure of previous studies to view students as human agents calls for an empirical study that investigates what kind of rhetorical structures each student uses in L1 and L2 writing and why the student used the structure that he/she did by taking into account the student's skills, abilities (e.g., L1 writing ability, syntactic and lexical command in L2), experiences, perceptions about L1 and L2 rhetoric and attitudes toward using the rhetoric.

One of the purposes of this study, thus, is to challenge, by presenting empirical data, the knowledge that has been constructed by the discourse of contrastive rhetoric. Yet, I will go beyond the construction of counter-knowledge, and attempt to understand the complexity and contradictions that emerge from the empirical data, i.e., L1/L2 rhetorical

forms, students' experiences and perceptions, by locating them in competing discourses in the Japanese academic community which reflect and produce unequal economic, political, academic power relations between Japan and the West.

In the present empirical study, English and Japanese academic writing at the university level will be compared. University-level academic writing is focused on because learning to write in English is primarily a concern for the university-level Japanese students who are particularly preparing for or undertaking academic work in English-speaking institutions. The focus of genre in this study is expository prose which generally constitutes academic writing.[1] Exposition, however, is a broad category which includes different subcategories (Grabe 1987). Thus, the category of exposition also must be viewed as containing multiple forms of rhetoric. Two kinds of exposition were chosen for this study based on the classification of Martin (1989); that is, "analytic exposition" and "hortatory exposition" (In this study I will call the former "expository" mode and the latter "persuasive" mode).[2] Martin (1989) identifies *exposition* as part of "factual writing" (as opposed to narrative or expressive writing) which includes *procedure*, *description*, *report*, and *explanation*. Exposition is defined as a mode in which more than one argument (supporting reason) is presented in favor of a thesis. Martin further distinguishes "analytical exposition," the function of which is to persuade readers that the thesis is well formulated, from "hortatory exposition," the function of which is to persuade the reader to do what the thesis recommends. According to Martin, both kinds of exposition are vital in our society because they are primary means of interpreting the world in new ways and changing existing social orders. Nonetheless, the persuasive mode, especially, does not seem to receive instructional emphasis in schools (Connor and Lauer 1988). Thus, making

[1] It is certainly problematic, as DiPardo (1990) points out, to dismiss narrative or Flower's (1979) "writer-based" prose as inferior to expository prose; however, expository prose "continues to be the main focus of most writing instruction at the secondary and college levels" (DiPardo 1990 : 59).

[2] These modes correspond to "referential" and "persuasive" offered by Kinneavy (1971) and D'Angelo (1976). The function of the first mode is to convey reality and situation to the readers and that of the second mode is to convince or persuade the audience. Another classification that corresponds to these modes is offered by Lewis and Forte (1985). They distinguish three modes of written communication based on their different functions; i.e., informative, persuasive, and expressive. The "informative" mode, which corresponds to Martin's analytic exposition, is used to provide information to readers, whereas the "persuasive" mode, which corresponds to Martin's hortatory exposition, is used to change the readers' attitudes, values and beliefs.

explicit what forms in each mode are favored or unfavored will provide students and teachers with a foundation for critically engaging in the appropriate means to construct arguments by which the voices of the students are publicly accepted and heard.

The above backgrounds lead to the following research questions for the present empirical study:

(1) How do the rhetorical structures used in Japanese students' L1 essays and English-speaking students' L1 essays vary according to essay quality and modes (expository and persuasive)?

(2) Does each individual student use similar rhetorical structures for writing in Japanese as L1 and English as L2?
If so, how does the use of the similar rhetorical structures affect the quality of the L2 essay and what factors (e.g., previous training in writing, perceptions about English/Japanese rhetoric, etc.) influence the use of the similar structures?
If not, how does the use of the dissimilar rhetorical structures affect the quality of the L2 essay, and what factors (e.g., previous training, perception, command of grammar and vocabulary, etc.) influence the use of the dissimilar structures?

It is necessary, as the last remark in this chapter, to make specific the approach to research which I am adopting in this study. The paradigm for research observed in contrastive rhetoric studies is a positivistic one in which research findings are treated as law-like generalization or "truth" that resides in culture or human behavior and the "truth" is to inform teachers what or how to teach. In light of my criticism of previous studies of contrastive rhetoric, this positivism must be rejected as some critical educational researchers advocate (e.g., Popkewitz 1984; Carr and Kemmis 1986). Thus, in my attempt to challenge the existing knowledge of contrastive rhetoric through conducting an empirical study, the results must not be generalized to a universal "truth" but must be understood as a local reality of particular people in a certain time and space. In my attempt to go beyond the presentation of counter-knowledge, students' views of L1 and L2 rhetoric, their written products and the way in which they were evaluated will be related to discourses in broader social, cultural and political contexts. The understanding of the relations among the forms of rhetoric, values attached to them, students' act of writing within the political and ideological sphere will give ESL/EFL teachers a valuable insight for engaging in critical literacy and social transformation.

6. METHODS

6.1. Overview

This study involved two groups of students; i.e., Japanese students writing both in Japanese and English, and English-speaking students in Canada writing in English. The students in both groups were undergraduate students mostly in the upper division (third and fourth year), graduate students and returning students who were graduates from degree programs. This selection was based on the assumption that such students would provide data that demonstrate the outcome of academic training in their home country, and that such Japanese students would potentially engage in English writing in English-speaking institutions. Most of the students were majors in humanities or social sciences.

There were two topics for writing; expository and persuasive, which will be discussed later in more detail. Each of the Japanese group and the English group had two subgroups; the expository group writing on the expository topic and the persuasive group writing on the persuasive topic. The writing was done at home. In the case of Japanese students, each of them wrote on either an expository or persuasive topic in both Japanese and English. They were given either the Japanese or English task first and one week later they were asked to write on the same topic in the other language. An attempt was made to counterbalance the order of the languages; that is, half of the students in each of the expository and persuasive groups would write in Japanese first and the other half would write in English first. English-speaking students, on the other hand, wrote only one essay in English in either expository or persuasive mode.

In order to investigate the Japanese students' perceptions about characteristics of Japanese and English rhetorical structures, each Japanese participant was interviewed after they completed the second writing task.

The focus of the text analysis in this study was macro-level or overall structures of discourse (See 6.7.1.). In order to compare Japanese and English rhetorical structures at comparable levels of organizational quality, all the essays, Japanese L1, ESL and English L1, were scored on the dimension of organization. The lexical and syntactic command of

English demonstrated in each ESL essay was also scored. Each essay was analyzed in terms of the location of the main idea, the type of macro-level rhetorical pattern, and the presence or absence of a restatement or summary of the main idea in the conclusion. Japanese and English L1 essays with comparable qualities were compared for investigating differences and similarities in rhetorical features. Each Japanese student's Japanese essay and ESL essay were compared in order to identify whether or not similar rhetorical structures were used. The results of interviews, scores on ESL language and text analysis were examined in order to account for the relationship between the qualities of each student's Japanese and ESL essays and the use of similar or dissimilar rhetorical structures.

Detailed explanations of the participants, procedure for data collection, writing tasks, essay scoring, text analysis and analysis of data are given in the following.

6.2. Participants

6.2.1. The Japanese group

The Japanese group consisted of forty-six Japanese university students; twenty-two in the expository group and twenty-four in the persuasive group. Students were drawn from language-related classes offered in two national universities and four private universities. They were volunteers and not randomly selected (for sampling procedure see 6.5.1.). The participants' background information such as age, major, year at school were obtained by a questionnaire (Appendix A). The age ranged from 20 to 30 in the expository group with an average of 22.1 and from 20 to 23 in the persuasive group with an average of 21.0.

All the Japanese students were majors in humanities or social sciences. This selection was due to a practical constraint; since undergraduate science majors in Japan normally complete their foreign language requirement in their first or second year, it was thought to be very difficult to solicit science majors for participation in the study.

None of the students in each group had past experience of learning English in English-speaking countries for more than two months. In order to focus on the students who would demonstrate typical results of academic training in Japan, the students who studied English overseas for more than two months were excluded from the sample.

However, the data provided by some of them were used as additional information for investigating the influence of good language skills on the quality of ESL organization. One student who wrote 1020 characters (for a required length of 600 to 700 characters) was not included in the sample since all the other students wrote no more than 800 characters.

The profiles of the expository group and the persuasive group are shown in Table 6-1. An attempt was made to obtain an equal distribution of males and females and that of people who wrote Japanese first and those who wrote English first. However, because there were generally more female students than male students in each class and some students withdrew before or after completing the first task, an exactly equal distribution was not obtained.

Table 6-1
Profiles of the expository group and the persuasive group: the Japanese group

	Expository group (N=22)	Persuasive group (N=24)
Order		
Japanese first	9	14
English first	13	10
Sex		
Male	8	10
Female	14	14
Year at school		
Third	15	16
Fourth	3	8
Fifth*	2	-
Returning student	1	-
Graduate	1	
Major		
Education (English teaching)	2	2
Education (Other)	3	7
English	10	8
Law	-	4
Other**	7	3

* Fifth-year means either repeated the fourth-year or had to stay an additional year due to transferring credits from another university.
** Other majors included economics, library science, political science, commerce, Western cultural studies, Eastern cultural studies, linguistics, and foreign languages.

6.2.2. The English-speaking group

A comparable number of English-speaking participants were obtained; that is, twenty-two for the expository group and twenty-four for the persuasive group. The participants were volunteers and mainly drawn from language related classes at two universities in Canada (for sampling procedure, see 6.5.2.). Included in the sample were the students who reported in response to the questionnaire (Appendix B) that English was their mother tongue as well as their strongest language. In order to investigate the English writing performance of the students who would demonstrate typical academic training in English as L1, those who were in French immersion programs for more than six years were excluded from the sample. Also, in order to facilitate and make consistent the evaluation and analysis of the essays, those who wrote more than 380 words (for a required length of 250 to 300 words) were excluded from the sample.

An attempt was made so that this group would be similar to the Japanese group in terms of age, year at school, sex and major. However, because of the English-speaking students' more diverse personal and educational background compared to the Japanese students' as well as a more difficulty of soliciting participation from English-speaking students, the English group was slightly different from the Japanese group; it included more graduate students than the Japanese group, a few first and second year students and a few science and engineering majors (three science or engineering majors in each of the expository and persuasive groups), the average age was higher than the Japanese group, and there were more males than females. The age ranged from 20 to 35 in the expository group with an average of 24.8 and from 20 to 35 in the persuasive group with an average of 23.9. The profiles for the expository and persuasive groups are shown in the following Table 6-2:

Table 6-2
Profiles of the expository group and the persuasive group:
the English group

	Expository group (N=22)	Persuasive group (N=24)
Sex		
Male	12	14
Female	10	10
Year at school		
First	-	1
Second	2	1
Third	8	7
Fourth	6	8
Returning student	1	1
Graduate	5	6
Major (Total count *)		
English	1	5
Japanese	4	1
East Asian studies	5	4
Psychology	2	3
Linguistics	2	1
TESL	1	2
Language education	1	2
Sociology	2	-
Physics	2	-
Anthropology	-	2
Other **	9	7

* Total count of the majors: people in double majors were counted twice.
** Other majors included: philosophy, economics, MBA, political science, law, history of science, fine art history, history, cognitive science, geography, computer science, math, electronic engineering, mechanical engineering, and chemistry.

6.3. Writing tasks

6.3.1. L1 writing tasks

Each Japanese and English-speaking student wrote in his/her L1 on either expository topic or persuasive topic.

The expository topic was expected to elicit a thesis (judgment) with arguments (reasons). Unlike the persuasive mode, however, the expository mode is concerned with analysing the world as it is and defending this interpretation (Martin 1989:16-17). The following prompt was used to elicit this mode in L1 writing:

Please write a composition that conforms to the following situation.
There are no right or wrong answers to this task. This is not a test.

SITUATION:
You are taking a course called "Analysis of Social Issues." Your professor has given you the following writing assignment:

People's concern about violence on TV is growing. As a result, there is a move to restrict it. However, the restriction of violence on TV is a difficult issue. Explain *why*.
(Analyze the issue objectively and discuss *the reason(s)* why. *Do not* present your opinion for or against the restriction.)

Write about 250 to 300 words (one page, double spaced, if typed) (600 to 700 characters in the case of Japanese).

The topic, violence on TV, was chosen based on the assumption that it is a current issue in Japan as well as in Canada, and most people in both cultures have had some thoughts on this topic. A note, "Analyze the issue objectively and discuss *the reason(s)* why. *Do not* present your opinion for or against the restriction," was included in order to prevent people from writing in a persuasive mode.

The persuasive mode also consists of a thesis and arguments. It, however, challenges the world and makes a suggestion as to how it should be changed (Martin 1989:17). In order to minimize the influence of the content of the topics on rhetorical structures in comparing the two modes, the topic area, i.e., "violence on TV," was kept consistent. The following prompt was used:

Please write a composition that conforms to the following situation.
There are no right or wrong answers to this task. This is not a test.

Situation:
You have been asked to write *your opinion* on the following issue for a column called "Opinion" in a campus newspaper:

There is a growing concern about violence on TV. *In your opinion,* should violence on TV be restricted?

Please take a position for or against the restriction.
Try to persuade your audience of your point of view.

Please write about 250 to 300 words (one page, double spaced, if typed) (600 to 700 characters in the case of Japanese).

It was first thought that the prompt should be open-ended such as "Should violence on TV be restricted?" without forcing the writers to take a position. The reason was that a persuasive (or argumentative) topic such as the one used in Cumming (1988) (adopted from the National Assessment of Educational Progress 1978): "Some people believe that a woman's place is in the home. Others do not. Take ONE side of this issue," may reinforce a certain organization of essay; i.e., state one's position first and defend it by contrasting it with the opposed position. While compare/contrast prompts such as the above are commonly used in academic writing as Bridgeman and Carlson (1983) point out, an open-ended prompt was thought to be more appropriate as it may elicit a variety of styles. Yet, the essays elicited by the persuasive prompt must be distinguished from the expository essays. In order to prevent a writer from discussing the difficulty of restricting TV violence as his/her main point for the persuasive topic, the note, "Please take a position for or against the restriction," was added.

The above prompts were given in the students' L1. The required length of the essay was about 600 to 700 characters in Japanese and 250 to 300 words in English. Four sheets of "genko yoshi," manuscript paper with a grid for 400 characters, were attached to the Japanese task sheets. A similar treatment was not given to the English group, but the instruction, "one page, double spaced, if typed," was given instead as a guideline. The students completed the tasks at home.

6.3.2. ESL writing tasks

In this study, it was decided that each Japanese student in the expository and persuasive groups would write in Japanese and English on the same topic. This decision was made in order to overcome the limitations of a previous study.

In the study by Indrasuta (1988), which examined students' writing in both their L1 and L2, participants were asked to write on one topic in their L1 and another different topic in their L2. The two topics, however, were in the same mode; i.e., narration of the writer's past experience. Although such method may prevent the interference of translation, it has a limitation; i.e., it is difficult to determine whether rhetorical differences between two languages, if found at all, are the manifestation of interlanguage as Indrasuta concluded or

the result of different content elicited by different topics. Thus in the present study students were asked to write both L1 and L2 essays on the same topic as was done by Uzawa and Cumming (1989).

In order to prevent the students from translating directly from the first task to the second one, participants were not informed in the beginning that they would be writing on the same topic in both languages, and the second task was handed out one week after the first task was given. The participants were also instructed before they wrote the second essay not to look at a draft or a copy of their first essay even if they had kept one. This instruction was given as follows (in Japanese) at the end of the second task sheet:

> "This topic is the same as the one you wrote on the other day. Your argument can be the same. However, please do not look at a draft of your first essay even if you have one, so that your second essay will not be directly translated from your previous essay."

Also, in order to minimize the influence of the order of the languages, an attempt was made to counterbalance the languages participants wrote in first.

The situations in the prompts were slightly altered from those in the L1 prompts (see below) in order to make the situations realistic for the Japanese students:

ESL expository task
SITUATION:
You are taking an English course called "Analysis of Social Issues" at a university in Japan. Your professor has given you the following writing assignment.
(The rest is the same as the L1 task)

ESL persuasive task
SITUATION:
You have been asked to write *your opinion* in English about the following issue for a column called "Debate" in a newsletter for international students at a university in Japan.
(The rest is the same as the L1 task)

These situations were given in Japanese and the actual topics that followed them were given in English.

Writing was done at home. Since the writing tasks were not intended as tests, the participants were allowed to use dictionaries.

6.4. Interviews with the Japanese participants

The Japanese participants were interviewed in Japanese after they completed the two writing tasks for the investigation of various factors such as their perceptions of Japanese and English rhetoric, their previous experience of learning to write. The interviews were conducted in person after class or on the phone. The following questions were asked to each participant after they completed the two writing tasks:

- Difficulty of the tasks: Was it difficult to write in English/Japanese? Why?

- Intention to write with similar/different organizations or content: Did you try to write in both languages similarly or differently in terms of content and organization?

- Perceptions of Japanese rhetoric and English rhetoric: Do you think Japanese academic texts and English academic texts are similar or different in terms of overall organization? How do you think Japanese academic texts and English academic texts should be organized?

- Past experiences of learning to write in Japanese and English: Have you ever received any instruction in writing in Japanese/English? What kind of instructions were given?

- Attitudes toward Japanese and English writing: Do you like writing in Japanese/ English? Do you write in Japanese/English often?

Each interview was tape-recorded and then transcribed for analysis.

6.5. The procedure for data collection

6.5.1. The Japanese group

The data from Japanese students were collected in the summer of 1991 in Japan. When I had access to a class taught by a professor who had agreed to cooperate, I visited the classroom, solicited students for participation, handed out material, and later collected the completed material. When I did not have access to class, I handed to the professors all the material to be handed out as well as an instruction which described the procedure to follow, and later received all the completed material from the professors.

In class, the purpose of the study and tasks participants would be asked to do were explained and volunteers received the first task along with a letter explaining the study, a consent form, and a questionnaire. Care was taken so that the four different versions of tasks; i.e., expository in Japanese, expository in English, persuasive in Japanese and persuasive in English, would be distributed equally among males and females. The

students were instructed to bring the consent form, questionnaire and the completed first essay to class in the following week. One week later, these were collected and the second task (an English task if the first task was Japanese, a Japanese task if the first task was English) was handed out. The students were asked to bring the second essay to the following week's class. One week later, the second essays were collected in class. Then interviews with participants were conducted in person after class or over the phone.

All the Japanese and ESL essays were typed in order to facilitate scoring and text analysis. All errors were kept unchanged in the typed texts.

6.5.2. The English group

The L1 English data were collected in the summer and fall of 1991 in Canada. A similar procedure to the above was used for soliciting participation; that is, either visiting a class when I was able to do so to ask students for participation or providing an instruction to professors so that they would follow the procedure. A few participants were solicited through a notice that was posted on campus or through a personal contact of one of the participants or mine. A difference from the Japanese group was that this group of students wrote only one essay in their L1. Each volunteer was given a letter explaining the study, a consent form, a questionnaire and a writing task and instructed to complete the essay at home and bring the consent form, questionnaire and essay to the class in the following week. Care was taken so that the expository task and the persuasive task were distributed equally to males and females. After essays were collected, they were typed with all the errors kept unchanged.

6.6. Evaluation of essays

All the essays were evaluated on the dimension of organization. This was because the text analysis in this study was concerned with the macro-level organization as will be discussed in 6.7.1. In the case of ESL essays, language use was also scored because it can be a factor that influences the use of rhetorical structures and the organizational quality of ESL essays. The scoring scheme, the raters, and the scoring procedure are described in the following section.

6.6.1. Scoring schemes

Since one of the purposes of this study is to investigate a relationship between organizational quality of essays and the macro-level rhetorical structures used in the essays, the scheme should not predetermine the rhetorical patterns of good or poor essays. The scheme for organization, thus, had to be general and able to be used for both English and Japanese. Developing such a scheme seemed possible because previous studies which dealt with cross-linguistic essay evaluation have identified some consensus of certain criteria for essay evaluation among different language groups (Purves 1984; Carson et. al. 1990).

Among existing scoring guides such as "ESL composition profile" (Jacobs et. al. 1981) and Test of Written English Scoring Guide (Educational Testing Service 1989), the Holistic Coherence Scale used by Bamberg (1984) seemed to be the most appropriate as a basis of the scoring scheme for the present study. This scale, which ranges 4 (Fully coherent) to 0 (unscorable), was prepared for evaluating coherence of L1 English essays and it includes a detailed description for each score. The present study used the range of 5 (excellent) to 1 (poor). The scoring guide (Appendix C) included a description for each score which was constructed based on Bamberg's scoring scheme. The criteria used in the description were concerned with; whether or not the main idea is stated clearly, whether or not there is a clear sense of beginning and ending, whether or not reader orientation is provided, whether or not the organizational plan is discernible, whether or not there is digression, and whether or not sentences and paragraphs are logically linked.

These criteria seem to be legitimate for scoring Japanese essays as well in light of the criteria offered by Japanese language educators such as Hirai (1971) and Minato (1976). Hirai (1971) proposes eighteen check items as evaluation criteria. Among them, the ones related to organization are as follows: "Is the text clear and easy to understand?" "Does the text contain devices to facilitate understanding of the audience?" "Is there unity in development?" "Is intended information conveyed in well-formed sentences and paragraphs?" "Is the overall organization natural and logical?" Hirai also refers to other sets of scoring criteria; one of which is Yanagiuchi's (1957). The items concerned with organization are: "Is paragraphing good?" "Is the thesis clearly stated?" "Is attention paid

to the beginning and ending?" Minato (1976) lists several scoring guides prepared by Shiga Prefecture Education Center. The one for expository writing includes the following items: "The main idea is presented clearly." "Arguments are arranged in a logical progression." "The relationship between paragraphs and that between a paragraph and the entire text are clear." A scoring guide for argumentative writing includes items such as: "The organization is logical, clear and appropriate for stating the thesis." "The conclusion and supporting ideas constitute a logical relationship." The above scoring criteria which appear in the literature on Japanese writing evaluation confirm the legitimacy of the criteria in the scoring scheme used in the present study.

A scoring scheme for evaluating language use in ESL essays was developed as well based on "ESL composition profile" (Jacobs et. al. 1981). The dimension of vocabulary and language use was evaluated with a range of 5 to 1 (see Appendix D).

6.6.2. Raters

There were two groups of raters: native speakers of Japanese and native speakers of English. Each group consisted of two raters. The Japanese raters were professors of education at a private university in Japan. They had experience of marking Japanese essays which were written as part of entrance examinations administered by the university. The raters who scored the ESL and L1 English essays were graduate students of language education, one of whom had experience in marking both ESL and L1 English essays while the other had experience in scoring ESL essays only.

6.6.3. Scoring procedure

Japanese and English L1 essays were scored only on the dimension of organization whereas ESL essays were scored on the dimensions of organization and language. In the case of Japanese L1 essay scoring, the scheme was first explained to the raters. Both Japanese raters agreed that the criteria in the scheme are valid for evaluating Japanese essay organization. As for ESL scoring, the two schemes, organization and language, were explained and both raters agreed on the criteria. L1 English essay scoring followed the same procedure.

The scoring of the Japanese L1, ESL and English L1 essays was done through the same procedure: After a practice session, each essay was scored by the two raters independently. Instead of rating all essays at once, essays were divided into a few bands. After scoring each band of essays, the raters reported their scores and were asked to share their comments about the essays if there was any. This was done in order to check the scoring criteria that they were using. When a rater felt after sharing comments that a certain essay was not given an accurate score, the rater rescored the essay. Rescoring occurred for 3 out of 44 scoring decisions for Japanese expository essays, 1 out of 48 for Japanese persuasive essays, 2 out of 48 for ESL organization in persuasive essays, and 2 out of 48 for ESL language in persuasive essays.

The interrater reliabilities measured by Cronbach alpha coefficient were: .82 for Japanese L1 expository; .89 for Japanese L1 persuasive; .82 for ESL expository organization; .80 for ESL persuasive organization; .86 for ESL expository language; .87 for ESL persuasive language; .86 for English L1 expository; .78 for English L1 persuasive.

After the scoring was completed, the two raters' scores on each essay were tallied to make a total rating which ranges 10 (excellent) to 2 (poor).

6.7. Text analysis

In this section, I will first discuss the focus of text analysis for the present study, then review some frameworks which have been used in previous studies of contrastive rhetoric and reading research, and finally present a framework for this study.

6.7.1. The focus of analysis

The analysis of essays is concerned with macro-level features which contribute to the organization of macrostructures (macrostructures--semantic global structures, commonly understood as "gist" or "summary," van Dijk 1980; van Dijk and Kintsch 1983) rather than with micro-level features such as lexicon and syntax. The reasons for focusing on the macro-level are twofold: First, previous research on Japanese rhetoric has suggested some characteristics at the macro-level, i.e., a tendency of inductive organization

and unexpected topic shift. Thus, the macro-level seems to be where rhetorical characteristics specific to Japanese are believed to lie. Since the claims made in previous studies on Japanese as discussed in Chapter 2 need to be seriously challenged, the macro-level structures must be examined. Second, uncovering the macro-level rhetorical features will be pedagogically useful. Some studies have identified a substantial influence of macro-level features such as global (as opposed to local) coherence and content on evaluation of writing (L1 writing: Freedman 1979; Charney 1984; Haswell 1986, 1988: and L2 writing: Bridgeman and Carlson 1983; Carlson et. al. 1985; Santos 1988; Janopoulos 1989[1]). The organization of macrostructures needs to be uncovered for pedagogical purposes.

6.7.2. Text analyses used in previous studies

Kaplan (1972) and Ostler (1987, 1990) use the Discourse Bloc Analysis based on Christensen (1965) and Pitkin (1969). In Ostler (1990), the unit of analysis is a discourse string, i.e.,"any fully shaped, finite clause even though it is headed by a subordinator or coordinator," and the relationship of a discourse string with a preceding one is determined by either "subordination," "coordination" or "superordination." "Superordination" marks a new discourse unit and each discourse bloc consists of discourse units. While this analysis appears useful especially for finding rhetorical characteristics which lie in the above three relationships, it does not specify other logical relationships between adjacent ideas and thus it is not suited for investigating other macro-level text features.

Burtoff (1983) devised an interpropositional analysis of logical relationship adopted from categories of logical relations proposed by Milic (1969), Meyer (1975), Halliday and Hasan (1976), and Jacobs (1982). The unit of analysis is a proposition defined as "the meaning of the sentence; it consists of the simple sentence minus any supplemental and/or subordinate elements, such as adverbials" (p.46). The logical relations are divided into two large categories, superordinate and basic. There are two superordinate relations, i.e., *explanation* and *generalization*, which encompass a series of logical relations. There are

[1] Mendelsohn and Cumming (1987), however, found a complex interplay of language use and rhetorical organization performed on evaluation of ESL compositions.

nine basic relations; *specific*, *additional*, *example*, *evidence*, *equivalent*, *cause*, *adversative*, *comparison*, and *temporal*. They describe relationships which normally hold between two consecutive propositions.[2]

Based on the analyzed texts, Burtoff examined three areas both quantitatively and qualitatively: First, the type and the use of the eleven logical relations that appeared in the essays were examined. Second, structuring of the text at a higher level was examined by focusing on types of segments (groups of propositions) and the conjoining of segments. Finally the use of subordinate supporting information (mainly adverbials), which had been removed from propositions, was examined.

Burtoff's framework seems useful for making inter-propositional relations evident. Although two categories, *explanation* and *generalization*, are concerned with more than one proposition, this analysis is primarily focused on the local rather than macro level of discourse. As Burtoff suggests for further research, an analysis focused on the level of segments or macropropositions may reveal other kinds of rhetorical features.

Kobayashi (1984) places a focus on a more specific feature in written text, i.e., the ordering of the general statement and specifics. Criteria for determining a general statement are; (1) that the statement must be either preceded or followed by specifics; and (2) that it is a statement encompassing all the information presented in the composition (p.71). Essays were coded according to the following five patterns: *omission of a general statement* (OM), *general-to-specific* (GS), *specific-to-general* (SG), *a middle general statement* (MG), and *undetermined* (UND). The pattern, *general-to-specific-to-general* (GSG), was considered as a subpattern of GS. In addition to the coding of these patterns, each general statement was coded according to its function: namely, (1) *reproducing*, (2) *revising*, (3) *summarizing*, (4) *extending*, (5) *judging* and (6) *showing result*. These six categories were grouped into three larger categories for analysis: *stating the topic* for (1) and (2); *restating the text information* for (3) and (4); *relating the text information to the writer's own experience* for (5) and (6). The data were analyzed with a 2 by 2 chi-square test for identifying differences between groups.

[2] The categories of logical relations proposed and used by other researchers such as Mann and Thompson (1986, 1988) and Nagano (1972, 1986) are also similar to the ones used by Burtoff (1983).

Kobayashi's analysis is concerned with macro-level discourse organization. It is effective for highlighting salient differences between Japanese and English text organizations because its focus (i.e., the arrangement of general statement and specifics) is finite. However, it can only examine the specific feature that it focuses on. A combination of Kobayashi's and another descriptive text analysis such as Burtoff's (1983) may yield more comprehensive data.

Finally, a prose analysis instrument for reading research developed by Meyer (1975, 1985a, 1985b) seems to complement the limitations seen in the studies by Kobayashi and Burtoff. According to Meyer, a text normally exhibits its top-level structure which demonstrates a logical or rhetorical relationship between macropropositions or the gist of a text. There are five basic relationships: *collection*, *causation*, *response*, *comparison*, and *description*. *Description* and *collection* are often combined when a number of attributes, specifics, or settings are given (Meyer and Freedle 1984:123). These relationships can be illustrated by the following mini-texts shown in Carrell (1984):

Collection of Descriptions:
Our 25th high school reunion was held last year. We saw many old friends, danced until dawn, and agreed to meet again in five years.

Causation:
Sally wasn't eating well, exercising, or resting enough. As a result, she felt weak and run-down and never wanted to do anything.

Problem / Solution:
Pollution is a problem; polluted rivers are health hazards and eyesores. One solution is to bar the dumping of industrial wastes.
(Carrell 1984:444)

Comparison:
It is often said that smoking is related to lung and heart disease, but for some people smoking may relieve tension.
(Modified version of Carrell 1984:444)

Meyer (1985a:270-276) explains each pattern in detail: *Collection* interrelates a list of elements related in some unspecified manner.

Causation shows a causal relationship between ideas where one idea is the antecedent or cause and the other is the consequent or effect, and this includes "condition,"

"result" or "purpose." There are two types: *causation: covariance* interrelates equally weighted arguments, while *causation: explanation* shows relationship where the antecedent conditions or principles are subordinate to the consequent, the event or idea explained. It is found when previously stated information is explained through abstract premises or concrete background event.

In *response: problem/solution*, the arguments (problem and solution) are equally weighted. Variations such as "remark/reply", and "question/answer" are also this type.

The *comparison* relation shows differences and similarities between two or more topics. There are three subtypes: *comparison: alternative* interrelates equally weighted alternative options or equally weighted opposing views. *Comparison: adversative* relates a favored view to less desirable opposing view. *Comparison: analogy* gives an analogy to support an idea or event.

Description relates a topic to more information about it. The following six subtypes are the major ones identified by Meyer: *Description; attribution* describes qualities of a proposition. *Description: specific* gives more specific information about something that was stated in a general way: abstract to concrete; statement to examples, and cues are "namely," "that is,' or "for example." *Description: equivalent* restates the same information in a different way. *Description: manner* describes the way an event or event complex is performed. *Description: evidence* gives evidence through perception of a situation to support some idea. *Description: setting* relates the topic to a specific time, location, etc.

Meyer's model describes a hierarchical content structure of a text in a top-down manner. The top-level structure is identified with a certain logical relationship and the content of the subsequent levels can also be described by the same set of logical relationships. Though this model has primarily been used for investigating the effect of prose organization on reading, it seems applicable to contrastive rhetoric research because it allows the identification of macro-level as well as local structures of a text.

One limitation is that the rhetorical tendencies of Japanese and English identified in the literature, namely inductive versus deductive, are not distinguishable in Meyer's analysis because two different arrangements of premise and statement (i.e., premise -> statement, for induction; statement -> premise, for deduction) are categorized under the

same label, *causation*. In order to distinguish these two types, separate labels need to be assigned.

Another aspect of prose analysis in Meyer (1975) is signaling. Signaling contributes to specifying the type of text organization and orienting readers to the writer's intentions. Four types have been identified (Meyer 1975:77-81, 1985b:76-79):

The first type, *specification of the structure of relations in the content structure*, includes words that explicitly cue the organization plans; for example, "The problem is..." and "The solution to this is..." for *response: problem/solution*; and "On the one hand...; on the other hand...." for *comparison*.

The second type, *preview statements*, prematurely reveal information abstracted from content occurring later in the text. There are two subtypes. The first is the prior enumeration of topics to be discussed later in the text. The second type states ideas or interrelationships among content that are pointed out later in the text.

The third type, *summary statements*, appear at the end of a paragraph or passage and the same words or paraphrased wording for information already presented is stated again.

The last type, *pointer words*, are signaling words that explicitly inform the reader of the author's perspective of a particular idea. Examples are: "The important point is...," "Unfortunately, ..."

Again, in Meyer's studies signaling is examined as a part of reading research; that is, whether the presence of signaling affects retention of the content of a text is investigated. However, signaling can be a focus of analysis in contrastive rhetoric as well because it plays an important role in text organization.

6.7.3. Text analysis for the present study

In this study, three dimensions in each essay were examined: (1) the location of main idea(s); (2) the macro-level rhetorical pattern; and (3) presence or absence of a summary statement. These were used to compare rhetorical features of Japanese and English L1 essays and to identify whether or not the same Japanese student uses similar rhetorical patterns in Japanese and English. Each aspect will be explained in more detail

below and then the coding procedure will be presented.

6.7.3.1. Location of the main idea(s)

A main idea is similar to "general statement" in Kobayashi's study (1984). However, the kinds of "main idea" in the present study were specified according to the topics used. A main idea for the expository topic is concerned with "the reason(s) why the restriction of violence on TV is a difficult issue," whereas one for the persuasive topic is concerned with "the writer's opinion on the restriction of violence on TV (normally an opinion for or against the issue, but an extended opinion on the issue was also identified as a main idea if it can be clearly understood).

The following are the types of location of the main idea for the expository mode and the persuasive mode:

Location of main idea(s): Expository

1. Initial:	The reason(s) for the difficulty of the restriction of violence on TV is stated in the introduction.
2. Middle:	The reason(s) for the difficulty of the restriction of violence on TV is stated in the middle section.
3. Final:	The reason(s) for the difficulty of the restriction of violence on TV is recognized in the conclusion.
4. Collection:	More than one reason for the difficulty of the restriction of violence on TV are enumerated.
5. Comparison:	The reason(s) for the difficulty of the restriction of violence on TV is stated in the relation of contrast or adversative between two views.
6. Obscure:	The reason(s) for the difficulty of the restriction of violence on TV is not clearly stated.

Location of main idea(s): Persuasive

1. Initial:	The writer's opinion on the restriction on violence on TV is stated in the introduction.
2. Middle:	The writer's opinion on the restriction on violence on TV is stated in the middle section.
3. Final:	The writer's opinion on the restriction on violence on TV is stated in the conclusion.
4. Collection:	There is no encompassing statement of the writer's opinion on the restriction of violence on TV but the opinion is expressed in more than one location.
5. Obscure:	The writer's opinion on the restriction of violence on TV is not clearly stated.

When there were two different main ideas in a persuasive essay, both of them were regarded as main ideas and the two locations were denoted (e.g., *Initial* and *Final*).

6.7.3.2. Macro-level rhetorical patterns

The categories for identifying the rhetorical patterns of essays were drawn from the basic logical relationships proposed by Meyer (1975, 1985a, 1985b) (see the above review). Meyer's categories were reduced to a workable number and modified so that induction versus deduction would be distinguished. The present study, thus, uses the following five basic types for macro-level rhetorical patterns: *Collection* (abbreviated as Col), *Comparison* (Comp), *Explanation* (Exp), *Specification* (Spec), and *Induction* (Ind). *Collection* is a pattern that enumerates or lists elements. *Comparison* shows a pattern that contains two elements arranged in a relation of compare/contrast, adversative or alternative. A text structured by *Explanation* has a statement of the theme or main idea, and then it is followed by a supporting reason. A text structured by *Specification* has a statement of the theme or main idea as well as a preview statement of a supporting reason or a point of view for the subsequent argument, and then it is explained in more detail. *Induction* is opposite to *Explanation*; it presents the main idea toward the end based on the preceding argument that constitutes a premise. *Explanation* and *Specification* are subtypes of *Causation* and *Description* respectively in Meyer's categories. In the present study, however, they were given superordinate labels because other subtypes such as *Causation: Covariance*, *Description: manner/attribution/setting/evidence* did not seem to appear at the top-level rhetorical patterns due to the specific contents the topics generate. *Induction* was added in order to distinguish it from the deductive pattern, *Explanation*.

The above five basic patterns and several combinations of two of the patterns were identified as macro-level patterns exhibited in the essays. The patterns for the expository/persuasive Japanese and ESL essays are as follows. The essays which seemed to exhibit neither of these patterns were labeled as "Other".

Macro-level patterns: Expository

1. Col: Reasons for the difficulty of the restriction of violence on TV are enumerated.
2. Comp: Two elements are stated in a relationship of compare/contrast, adversative or alternative.
3. Exp(Col): The theme (that the restriction of TV violence is a difficult issue: the wording can be different) is presented and then supporting reasons are enumerated.
4. Exp(Comp): The theme is presented and then a supporting reason is expressed by comparing or contrasting two elements.
5. Spec: The theme *and* a preview statement of a supporting reason or a point of view for the subsequent argument are presented, and then it is explained in more detail.
6. Spec(Col): The theme *and* a preview statement of supporting reasons or points of view for the subsequent argument are presented, and then they are explained in more detail by enumeration.
7. Spec(Comp): The theme *and* a preview statement of supporting reasons or points of view for the subsequent argument are presented, and then the reason or argument is explained in more detail by comparing or contrasting two elements.
8. Comp->Exp: After a certain content is discussed, the theme is stated in a relationship of compare/contrast, adversative or alternative, and then a supporting reason is stated.
9. Ind: The main idea is placed at the end and the preceding arguments constitute supporting reason(s) for it.
10. Comp->Ind: Two elements are stated in a relationship of compare/contrast, adversative or alternative and then the main idea is drawn in the end.
11. Other: Neither of the above.

Macro-level patterns: Persuasive

1. Col: Equally weighted arguments on the topic are juxtaposed.
2. Comp: Two elements are stated in a relationship of compare/contrast, adversative or alternative.
3. Exp: The writer's opinion on the topic is presented and then a supporting reason is stated.
4. Exp(Col): The writer's opinion on the topic is presented and then supporting reasons are enumerated.
5. Exp(Comp): The writer's opinion on the topic is presented and then a supporting reason is presented by comparing or contrasting two elements.
6. Spec: The writer's opinion *and* a preview statement of a supporting reason or a point of view for the subsequent argument are presented, and then it is explained in more detail.
7. Spec(Col): The writer's opinion *and* a preview statement of supporting reasons or a point of view for the subsequent arguments are presented, and then the reasons or arguments are explained in

more detail by enumeration.

8. Spec(Comp):	The writer's opinion *and* a preview statement of supporting reasons or a point of view for the subsequent arguments are presented, and then the reasons or arguments are explained in more detail by comparing/contrasting two elements.
9. Comp->Exp:	After an opinion which is against the writer's is presented, the writer's opinion is stated and it is supported by a reason.
10. Ind:	The main idea is placed at the end and preceding arguments constitute supporting reason(s) for it.
11. Ind(Col):	The writer's opinion is realized in the final section; the preceding arguments constitute premises or reasons which are arranged in a form of enumeration.
12. Comp->Ind:	After two elements are stated in a relationship of compare/ contrast, adversative or alternative, the writer's opinion is drawn at the end.
13. Other	Neither of the above.

Each essay was identified as one of the above rhetorical patterns.

6.7.3.3. Summary statement

Summary statement is one of the categories of signaling suggested by Meyer (1975; 1985b). It is a summary of information already stated in the text. Presence or absence of such summary statement was identified for each essay based on the following criteria for expository and persuasive tasks:

Summary statement: Expository
+ : The theme (that restriction of violence on TV is a difficult issue: the wording can be different) is re-presented in the conclusion.
- : The theme is not re-presented in the conclusion.
0: The theme and main idea are placed at the end of the essay.

Summary statement: Persuasive
+ : The writer's opinion on the topic (restriction of violence on TV) is re-presented or what was discussed in the text is summarized.
- : The writer's opinion on the topic is not re-presented or what was discussed in the text is not summarized.
0 : The writer's opinion is placed at the end of the essay.

The summary statement was included in text analysis because it seemed to be related to the quality of overall text organization. Another signaling among Meyer's categories which may be concerned with overall organization is preview statement.

However, presence or absence of preview statement did not need to be identified by a separate measure because it was incorporated in the analysis of macro-level rhetorical patterns; that is, if a preview statement is present, the rhetorical pattern becomes *Specification*.

6.7.3.4. Coding

Coding of the location of the main idea(s), the rhetorical pattern and the presence or absence of a summary statement was done by myself. This decision was made because a reliability for the coding criteria seemed to be established. A preliminary test of reliability was conducted involving 22 Japanese and 5 ESL expository essays and 24 Japanese and 5 ESL persuasive essays. The coding categories at the time were slightly different from the ones described above; *Specification* was not included as a a macro-level pattern but it was identified as *Explanation* instead; there was a category of the presence or absence of preview statement; and a summary statement for the persuasive task was defined only by a summary of supporting reason(s) for the writer's opinion on the topic. Identification of the location of main idea(s) was done in the same way as explained above. Four Japanese coders, who were teachers of English in Japan, did the coding. Two of them coded the expository essays and the other two coded the persuasive essays. After a practice session, the Japanese essays divided into a few bands were coded. After each band, each coder's decisions were checked and a discussion took place in order to see if any agreement could be reached. After coding all the Japanese essays, coders coded the ESL essays and discussed each of them. As for the expository essays, the percentage of agreement with my coding was 81.5% for one coder and 86.1% for the other coder. Unresolved decisions after the discussion amounted to 4.6% and 2.8% respectively. In the case of persuasive task, the percentage of agreement with my coding was 82.8% and 85.3%. Unresolved decisions after the discussion were 6.9% and 6.0%.

Two more reliability tests were conducted using the criteria for analysis for the present study described above. One Japanese/English bilingual graduate student coded randomly selected four Japanese and four ESL essays for each of the topics, expository and persuasive. A practice session was given before the actual coding. The rate of

agreement with my coding was 83.3% for both expository and persuasive essays. One graduate student who was a native speaker of English coded twelve randomly-selected essays in the expository mode and eight essays in the persuasive mode. The agreement rate with my coding was 80.6 % for the expository mode and 79.2% for the persuasive mode.

A higher agreement rate might be more desirable for conventional scientific investigation. However, interpretation in reading must not be understood as fixed or uniform; meaning is plural and subject to change (see my discussion on multiplicity of meanings and forms of language in Chapter 3). At the same time, language is situated in a social arena where our ways of using and interpreting language are influenced by a dominant way of understanding the world. Thus, we tend to share similar frames of reference in reading. The range of agreement obtained may be acceptable from this dialectical understanding of plurality of meaning and social nature of language use.

6.8. Analysis of data

The first research question was as follows:

> How do the rhetorical structures used in Japanese students' L1 essays and English-speaking students' L1 essays vary according to essay quality and modes (expository and persuasive)?"

The Japanese and English L1 essays at the same organizational quality level were compared based on the results of text analysis (location of main idea, macro-level pattern, and summary statement). Through the analysis, a comparison between the expository and persuasive modes was also made.

The second research question was as follows:

> Does each individual student use similar rhetorical structures for writing in Japanese as L1 and English as L2?
> If so, how does the use of the similar rhetorical structures affect the quality of L2 essay and what factors (e.g., previous training in writing, perception of English/Japanese rhetoric, etc.) influence the use of the similar structure?
> If not, how does the use of the dissimilar rhetorical structures affect the quality of L2 essay, and what factors (e.g., previous training, perception, command of grammar and vocabulary, etc.) influence the use of the dissimilar structures?

Whether each student used similar/dissimilar rhetorical structures in the Japanese and ESL essays was identified based on the results of the text analysis. Next, the relationship

between the Japanese score and the ESL score on organization was investigated in relation to the use of similar or dissimilar rhetorical structures both on the level of the groups of students (a group of students who used similar structures vs. a group of students who used dissimilar structures) and on the level of individual students. The effect of using a similar or dissimilar rhetorical structure on the ESL organization score was examined by incorporating the results for the first research question; i.e., what kinds of rhetorical structures were regarded as good/poor for Japanese and English? The question as to why each student used similar or dissimilar structures was investigated by taking into account the student's ESL language score and examining the data from interviews and the questionnaire.

7. RESULTS

7.1. Results for the first research question

The first research question was as follows:

> How do the rhetorical structures used in Japanese students' L1 essays and English-speaking students' L1 essays vary according to essay quality and modes (expository and persuasive)?

First of all, Table 7-1 shows the mean scores, the highest and the lowest scores and standard deviations for organization of Japanese and English L1 essays:

Table 7-1
The mean scores, the highest and the lowest scores
and standard deviations for organization

	Expository				*Persuasive*			
	Mean	Highest	Lowest	SD	Mean	Highest	Lowest	SD
Japanese L1	6.4	10	4	2.1	6.2	10	2	2.4
English L1	5.9	9	2	1.8	6.2	9	3	1.9

Two levels of organization qualities--above the mean and below the mean--were used for the comparison between Japanese and English rhetorical structures. The scores (10 the highest and 2 the lowest) in the two groups, i.e., above the mean and below the mean, and the number of essays in each group are as follows:

Table 7-2
The scores in the groups above the mean and below the mean
and the number of essays in each group

	Expository		*Persuasive*	
	Above M (N)	Below M (N)	Above M (N)	Below M (N)
Japanese	10, 9, 8, 7 (10)	6, 5, 4 (12)	10, 9, 8, 7 (12)	6, 5, 4, 3, 2 (12)
English	9, 8, 7, 6 (13)	5, 4, 3, 2 (9)	9, 8, 7 (11)	6, 5, 4, 3 (13)

In the following, the results of the analyses of the three dimensions, i.e., the location of the main idea, macro-level rhetorical patterns, and summary statement, will be presented.

7.1.1. Location of the main idea

The overall results for the expository essays and persuasive essays in both languages are as follows:

Table 7-3
Location of the main idea

	Expository				*Persuasive*			
	Japanese (N=22)		English (N=22)		Japanese (N=24)		English (N=24)	
Location of main idea	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Initial	-	-	12	54.5	11	45.8	12	50.0
Middle	2	9.1	-	-	2	8.3	1	4.2
Final	5	22.7	1	4.5	7	29.2	7	29.2
Initial+Final	-	-	-	-	2	8.3	1	4.2
Collection	13	59.1	7	31.8	-	-	1	4.2
Comparison	1	4.5	1	4.5	-	-	-	-
Obscure	1	4.5	1	4.5	2	8.3	2	8.3

Some differences between Japanese and English emerged. In the case of the expository mode, more than half of the English essays contained their main ideas in the *Initial* position, whereas none of the Japanese essays placed their main ideas in the *Initial* position and the predominant location instead was *Collection*. *Collection* appeared in almost one third of the English essays as well. While close to a quarter of the Japanese essays had their main ideas in the *Final* position, there was only one English essay with the main idea at *Final*.

In the persuasive mode, on the other hand, the Japanese and English groups exhibited a similar pattern--for both languages, the predominant location was *Initial* (about fifty percent) and the second most frequent location was *Final* (about thirty percent).

The next question is how Japanese and English essays compare with respect to the location of the main idea when the different qualities of organization are taken into account. The following is a comparison of the two languages and the two modes according to two levels of quality, i.e., above the mean and below the mean.

Table 7-4
Location of the main idea: Above the mean vs. below the mean

Expository

Location of main idea	Above the mean: Japanese (N=10) n	%	Above the mean: English (N=13) n	%	Below the mean: Japanese (N=12) n	%	Below the mean: English (N=9) n	%
Initial	-	-	8	61.5	-	-	4	44.4
Middle	-	-	-	-	2	16.7	-	-
Final	-	-	-	-	5	41.7	1	11.1
Collection	9	90.0	4	30.8	4	33.3	3	33.3
Comparison	1	10.0	1	7.7	-	-	-	-
Obscure	-	-	-	-	1	8.3	1	11.1

Persuasive

Location of main idea	Above the mean: Japanese (N=12) n	%	Above the mean: English (N=11) n	%	Below the mean: Japanese (N=12) n	%	Below the mean: English (N=13) n	%
Initial	8	66.7	5	45.5	3	25.0	7	53.8
Middle	-	-	1	9.1	2	16.7	-	-
Final	2	16.7	4	36.4	5	41.7	3	23.1
Initial+Final	2	16.7	1	9.1	-	-	-	-
Collection	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	7.7
Obscure	-	-	-	-	2	16.7	2	15.4

In the case of the expository mode, both differences and similarities were observed. Among the essays above the mean, the predominant location for Japanese was *Collection*, while that for English was *Initial* followed by *Collection*. Among the essays below the mean, on the other hand, the percentage of *Collection* among the Japanese group decreased and the most frequent location became *Final*. In fact, all of the five Japanese essays with *Final* fell below the mean score. Among the English essays below the mean, the most frequent location was still *Initial*, but its percentage deciined. In each language, an essay identified as *Obscure* was in the below average group.

As far as the persuasive mode is concerned, among the essays above the mean, although *Initial* was the most frequent location in both languages, the English group exhibited a higher rate of *Final* and a lower rate of *Initial* than the Japanese group. By contrast, Japanese essays below the mean showed a much lower rate of *Initial* and, similar to the expository mode, *Final* was the most common location. Among the English essays

below the mean, the percentage of *Initial* was higher than that of *Final*.

Since the above result, that among the persuasive essays above the mean, more English essays placed the main idea in the *Final* position than Japanese essays, contradicts the findings of previous studies such as Kobayashi (1984) and Oi (1984), the persuasive essays were further divided into three quality groups, High, Medium and Low, as shown in Table 7-5, and both languages were compared. The results are shown in Table 7-6.

Table 7-5
The scores in the High, Medium and Low groups in the *persuasive* mode and the number of essays in each group

	High	(N)	Medium	(N)	Low	(N)
Japanese	10, 9, 8	(8)	7, 6, 5	(9)	4, 3, 2	(7)
English	9, 8	(8)	7, 6, 5	(10)	4, 3	(6)

Table 7-6
Location of the main idea: High, Medium vs. Low
The *persuasive* mode

	HIGH				MEDIUM				LOW			
	Japanese (N= 8)		English (N=8)		Japanese (N=9)		English (N=10)		Japanese (N=7)		English (N=6)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Initial	7	87.5	5	62.5	4	44.4	6	60.0	-	-	1	16.7
Middle	-	-	1	12.5	-	-	-	-	2	28.6	-	-
Final	1	12.5	1	12.5	3	33.3	3	30.0	3	42.9	3	50.0
Initial+Final	-	-	1	12.5	2	22.2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Collection	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	10.0	-	-	-	-
Obscure	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	28.6	2	33.3

This categorization shows similarities between the Japanese and English groups; the predominant location among the High group was *Initial*, that among the Medium group was *Initial* followed by *Final*, and that among the Low group was *Final*. *Obscure* was identified only among the Low group.

To summarize, in the expository mode, the Japanese and English groups demonstrated overall differences, that is, in Japanese, *Collection* was the most frequent location followed by *Final*, whereas in English, *Initial* was the most frequent location followed by *Collection*. A comparison between the essays above mean and the ones below

the mean showed that while English essays contained *Initial* and *Collection* in both above average and below average groups with fewer *Initial* in the below average, *Collection* predominated in the Japanese essays above the mean and *Final* appeared only in the group below the mean. Despite these differences, there were some similarities; in both languages, there was no essay identified as *Middle*, *Final* or *Obscure* in the above average group.

Among the persuasive group, Japanese and English essays showed some overall similarities; i.e., the most common location was *Initial* followed by *Final*. Some similarities were also identified when three quality groups, High, Medium and Low, were compared; i.e., for both languages, *Initial* was the most common location in the High group, *Final* increased in the Medium group, and *Final* became the most common location in the Low group. *Obscure* appeared only among the Low group.

7.1.2. Macro-level rhetorical patterns

The overall result for the macro-level rhetorical patterns is shown in Table 7-7. In the Table 7-8, some of the macro-level patterns are collapsed into larger categories; *Explanation* for Exp, Exp (Col) and Exp (Comp); *Specification* for Spec, Spec (Col) and Spec (Comp); and *Induction* for Ind, Ind(Col) and Comp->Ind.

Table 7-7
Macro-level rhetorical patterns

	Expository (N=22)				*Persuasive* (N=24)			
	Japanese		English		Japanese		English	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Col	6	27.3	-	-	-	-	2	8.3
Comp	1	4.5	-	-	-	-	2	8.3
Exp	-	-	-	-	4	16.7	4	16.7
Exp (Col)	6	27.3	6	27.3	3	12.5	3	12.5
Exp (Comp)	-	-	1	4.5	-	-	-	-
Spec	-	-	1	4.5	3	12.5	-	-
Spec (Col)	-	-	7	31.8	1	4.2	3	12.5
Spec (Comp)	-	-	4	18.4	1	4.2	-	-
Comp->Exp	3	13.6	-	-	1	4.2	-	-
Ind	2	9.1	1	4.5	5	20.8	1	4.2
Ind (Col)	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	20.8
Comp->Ind	1	4.5	-	-	3	12.5	-	-
Other	3	13.6	2	9.1	3	12.5	4	16.7

Table 7-8
Macro-level patterns: Larger categories

	Expository (N=22)				*Persuasive* (N=24)			
	Japanese		English		Japanese		English	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Col	6	27.3	-	-	-	-	2	8.3
Comp	1	4.5	-	-	-	-	2	8.3
Explanation	6	27.3	7	31.8	7	29.2	7	29.2
Specification	-	-	12	54.5	5	20.8	3	12.5
Comp->Exp	3	13.6	-	-	1	4.2	-	-
Induction	3	13.6	1	4.5	8	33.3	6	25.0
Other	3	13.6	2	9.1	3	12.5	4	16.7

The above two tables show differences as well as similarities between the languages and the modes. In the expository mode, while the most common patterns for English were *Specification*, the Japanese group did not use *Specification* at all and used Exp(Col) and Col most frequently. The pattern, Comp->Exp, was identified in three Japanese essays but in no English essays. Both language groups contained the same number of essays with Exp(Col). The use of inductive patterns was not frequent in both languages but there was a slightly higher rate among the Japanese group.

In the persuasive mode, both languages shared the two most common patterns--the subpatterns of *Explanation* and *Induction*. Yet, the two languages were different with respect to the subpatterns of *induction*. In Japanese, the most commonly used subpattern was Ind followed by Comp->Ind, which was not used by L1 English writers at all, while the most common subpattern in the English group was Ind(Col), which did not appear in the Japanese group at all.

Compared to the expository mode, the English persuasive group used *Specification* less frequently and the subpattern identified was only Spec (Col), whereas the Japanese persuasive group used subpatterns of *Specification* among which Spec was the most frequently used subpattern. *Induction* was used more frequently in the persuasive mode than in the expository mode in both languages. Across the mode and language, *Explanation* was used in about 30% of the essays.

Then how do Japanese and English compare in terms of the macro-level rhetorical patterns when the essay quality is taken into account? The following is the rhetorical

patterns that appeared in the above average and below average groups:

Table 7-9
Macro-level patterns: Above the mean vs. below the mean

Expository

	Above the mean				Below the mean			
	Japanese (N=10)		English (N=13)		Japanese (N=12)		English (N=9)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Col	3	30.0	-	-	3	25.0	-	-
Comp	1	10.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Exp (Col)	6	60.0	4	30.8	-	-	2	22.2
Exp (Comp)	-	-	1	7.7	-	-	-	-
Spec	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	11.1
Spec (Col)	-	-	6	46.2	-	-	1	11.1
Spec (Comp)	-	-	2	15.4	-	-	2	22.2
Comp->Exp	-	-	-	-	3	25.0	-	-
ind	-	-	-	-	2	16.7	1	11.1
Comp->Ind	-	-	-	-	1	8.3	-	-
Other	-	-	-	-	3	25.0	2	22.2

Persuasive

	Above the mean				Below the mean			
	Japanese (N=12)		English (N=11)		Japanese (N=12)		English (N=13)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Col	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	15.4
Comp	-	-	1	9.1	-	-	1	7.7
Exp	2	16.7	2	18.2	2	16.7	2	15.4
Exp (Col)	2	16.7	1	9.1	1	8.3	2	15.4
Spec	2	16.7	-	-	1	8.3	-	-
Spec (Col)	1	8.3	2	18.2	-	-	1	7.7
Spec (Comp)	1	8.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Comp->Exp	-	-	-	-	1	8.3	-	-
Ind	2	16.7	1	9.1	3	25.0	-	-
Ind (Col)	-	-	3	27.3	-	-	2	15.4
Comp->Ind	1	8.3	-	-	2	16.7	-	-
Other	1	8.3	1	9.1	2	16.7	3	23.1

Some of the above categories are collapsed into larger categories, *Explanation*, *Specification*, and *Induction*, as in Table 7-10:

Table 7-10
Macro-level patterns: Above the mean vs. below the mean: Larger categories

Expository

	Above the mean				Below the mean			
	Japanese (N=10)		English (N=13)		Japanese (N=12)		English (N=9)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Col	3	30.0	-	-	3	25.0	-	-
Comp	1	10.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Explanation	6	60.0	5	38.5	-	-	2	22.2
Specification	-	-	8	61.5	-	-	4	44.4
Comp->Exp	-	-	-	-	3	25.0	-	-
Induction	-	-	-	-	3	25.0	1	11.1
Other	-	-	-	-	3	25.0	2	22.2

Persuasive

	Above the mean				Below the mean			
	Japanese (N=12)		English (N=11)		Japanese (N=12)		English (N=13)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Col	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	15.4
Comp	-	-	1	9.1	-	-	1	7.7
Explanation	4	33.3	3	27.3	3	25.0	4	30.8
Specification	4	33.3	2	18.2	1	8.3	1	7.7
Comp->Exp	-	-	-	-	1	8.3	-	-
Induction	3	25.0	4	36.4	5	41.7	2	15.4
Other	1	8.3	1	9.1	2	16.7	3	23.1

Among the Japanese expository essays, Exp(Col) was identified only in the above average group, while Comp->Exp and the subpatterns of *Induction* appeared only among the essays below the mean. Col was identified in both above average and below average groups. A close examination of the essays with Col, however, reveals some differences among them: (1) all the Japanese essays with Col above the mean contained a summary statement, whereas none of the essays with Col below the mean did; and (2) while the ones below the mean only listed different points, the ones above the mean exhibited intricate patterns on one level below the macro-level. The patterns identified in three essays with Col above the mean were as follows: the pattern of the essay written by student E8 (E=Expository, 8=Student ID number) was identified as Col(Spec(Comp)+Spec), student E14 used Col(Ind+Spec) (see Appendix G) with a paragraph between the two points which

functions as both conclusion of the first point and preview statement of the second, and student E20 used Col(Spec(Comp)+ +) where two points are compared first and two other points are simply added in the end.

Among the English expository essays, *Specification* and *Explanation* appeared in both above and below average groups but the rate was higher in the above average group than the below average group. Spec(Col) was used more frequently than Spec(Comp) and most of the essays with Spec(Col) appeared in the above average group.

In both languages, the subpatterns of *Explanation* tended to appear among the essays above the mean and the essays identified as Other fell below the mean.

Among the Japanese persuasive essays above the mean, the most common patterns were *Explanation* and *Specification* followed by *Induction*. Among the below average Japanese essays, the use of *Explanation* and *Specification* decreased, and *Induction* became the predominant pattern.

Among the English persuasive essays above the mean, the most common patterns were the subpatterns of *Induction* followed by the subpatterns of *Explanation* and Spec(Col). Among the below average English essays, *Explanation* became the most frequent pattern.

The persuasive essays were further divided into three quality groups, High, Medium, and Low, following the analysis of the location of main idea.

Table 7-11
Macro-level patterns: High, Medium vs. Low

	Persuasive HIGH				MEDIUM				LOW			
	Japanese (N= 8)		English (N=8)		Japanese (N=9)		English (N=10)		Japanese (N=7)		English (N=6)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Col	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	10.0	-	-	1	16.7
Comp	-	-	1	12.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	16.7
Exp	1	12.5	2	25.0	2	22.2	2	20.0	1	14.3	-	-
Exp(Col)	2	25.0	1	12.5	1	11.1	2	20.0	-	-	-	-
Spec	2	25.0	-	-	1	11.1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Spec(Col)	1	12.5	2	25.0	-	-	1	10.0	-	-	-	-
Spec (Comp)	1	12.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Comp->Exp	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	14.3	-	-
Ind	1	12.5	-	-	3	33.3	1	10.0	1	14.3	-	-
Ind(Col)	-	-	1	12.5	-	-	2	20.0	-	-	2	33.3
Comp->Ind	-	-	-	-	1	11.1	-	-	2	28.6	-	-
Other	-	-	1	12.5	1	11.1	1	10.0	2	28.6	2	33.3

Table 7-12
Macro-level patterns: High, Medium vs. Low: Larger categories

	Persuasive HIGH				MEDIUM				LOW			
	Japanese (N= 8)		English (N=8)		Japanese (N=9)		English (N=10)		Japanese (N=7)		English (N=6)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Col	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	10.0	-	-	1	16.7
Comp	-	-	1	12.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	16.7
Explanation	3	37.5	3	37.5	3	33.3	4	40.0	1	14.3	-	-
Specification	4	50.0	2	25.0	1	11.1	1	10.0	-	-	-	-
Comp->Exp	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	14.3	-	-
Induction	1	12.5	1	12.5	4	44.4	3	30.0	3	42.9	2	33.3
Other	-	-	1	12.5	1	11.1	1	10.0	2	28.6	2	33.3

The above analysis reveals some similarities between Japanese and English--among the High group, *Explanation* and *Specification* were the patterns most frequently identified; among the Medium group, while the percentage of *Explanation* remained almost the same, *Specification* decreased and *Induction* increased; and among the Low group, *Induction* and Other were the most common patterns for both Japanese and English.

To summarize, the major differences between Japanese and English were: (1)

Specification in the expository mode: it was not identified among the Japanese group, whereas it was a predominant pattern among English essays (especially Spec(Col)) although it appeared less frequently among the below average essays than the above average essays; (2) *Specification* in the persuasive mode: in the Japanese group, Spec was the most common subpattern of *Specification*, while only Spec(Col) was used in the English group; (3) Col in the expository mode: it was identified among the Japanese essays both above and below the mean (although there were some qualitative differences between the essays with Col above the mean and those below the mean), whereas none of the English expository essays exhibited the pattern; (4) Comp->Exp: it appeared only among the Japanese essays and more instances were identified in the expository mode than in the persuasive mode. However, this pattern was identified only among the essays below the mean; (5) *Induction* in the expository and persuasive modes: *Induction* was identified in both languages in both modes but the frequency was higher in Japanese than English across the mode and in the persuasive mode than the expository mode across the language; (6) differences in the subpatterns of *Induction*: while Ind was identified across the language and the mode, Comp-> Ind was identified only in the Japanese expository and persuasive modes and Ind(Col) was identified only in the English persuasive mode. Yet, Comp->Ind tended to appear among the Japanese essays below the mean; and (7) Col and Comp in the English persuasive essays: although the number was small, they appeared in the English persuasive group but not in the Japanese persuasive group.

Some patterns which were identified only in Japanese (Japanese-specific) can be drawn from the data. They were: Col (6 instances), Comp->Exp (3 instances) and Comp (1 instance) and Comp->Ind (1 instance) in the expository mode; and Spec (3 instances), Comp->Ind (3 instances), Spec(Comp) (1 instance) and Comp->Exp (1 instance) in the persuasive mode. Since Col and Comp were identified in the English persuasive mode and Spec was identified in the English expository mode, the Japanese-specific patterns across the mode identified in this study were Comp->Exp and Comp->Ind.

On the other hand, the patterns identified only among the English essays were: Spec(Col) (7 instances), Spec(Comp) (4 instances), Exp(Comp) (1 instance) and Spec (1 instance) in the expository mode; and Ind(Col) (5 instances), Col (2 instances) and Comp

(2 instances) in the persuasive mode. English-specific patterns across the mode were Exp(Comp) and Ind(Col).

There were some similarities between Japanese and English: (1) Exp(Col) was identified among both Japanese and English expository essays above the mean although the Japanese group showed a higher frequency; (2) in the persuasive mode, *Explanation* appeared in about 30% of the essays in both languages; (3) when the persuasive essays were divided into three quality groups, Japanese and English demonstrated a similar tendency--*Explanation* and *Specification* were the most common patterns for the High group, *Specification* decreased and *Induction* increased in the Medium group, and *Induction* became the most common pattern in the Low group; (3) the frequency of *Induction* tended to be low in the highest quality range--in the expository mode in both languages, all the essays with *Induction* fell below the mean, and in the persuasive mode, the High group contained only one instance of *Induction* in each language group; and (4) the patterns identified as Other tended to appear in the essays below rather than above the mean across the language and the mode.

7.1.3. Presence or absence of a summary statement

The results of the analysis of the presence or absence of summary statement are shown below:

Table 7-13
Presence or absence of a summary statement

	Expository (N=22)				*Persuasive* (N=24)			
	Japanese		English		Japanese		English	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
+	11	50.0	17	77.3	11	45.8	11	45.8
-	6	27.3	4	18.2	4	16.7	5	20.8
0	5	22.7	1	4.5	9	37.5	8	33.3

+: A summary statement is present.
-: A summary statement is absent.
0: The main idea is placed at the final position.

Table 7-14
Presence or absence of a summary statement:
Above the mean vs. below the mean

Expository

	Above the mean				Below the mean			
	Japanese (N=10)		English (N=13)		Japanese (N=12)		English (N=9)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
+	9	90.0	13	100.0	2	16.7	4	44.4
-	1	10.0	-	-	5	41.7	4	44.4
0	-	-	-	-	5	41.7	1	11.1

Persuasive

	Above the mean				Below the mean			
	Japanese (N=12)		English (N=11)		Japanese (N=12)		English (N=13)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
+	7	58.3	6	54.5	4	33.3	5	38.5
-	1	8.3	-	-	3	25.0	5	38.5
0	4	33.3	5	45.5	5	41.7	3	23.1

Although there were slightly more Japanese expository essays without a summary statement than the English ones and there were slightly more English persuasive essays without a summary statement than the Japanese ones, there were some similarities across the language and the mode; the essays without a summary statement usually appeared in the below average group in both languages and almost all the essays above the mean, except for the ones with the main idea stated at the *Final* position, had a summary statement.

7.2. Results for the second research question

The second research question was as follows:

> Does each individual student use similar rhetorical structures for writing Japanese as L1 and English as L2?
> If so, how does the use of the similar rhetorical structures affect the quality of the L2 essay and what factors (e.g., previous training in writing, perception about English/Japanese rhetoric, etc.) influence the use of the similar structures?
> If not, how does the use of the dissimilar rhetorical structures affect the quality of the L2 essay, and what factors (e.g., previous training, perception, command of grammar and vocabulary, etc.) influence the use of the dissimilar structures?

In the following, the questions will be explored as to whether or not each student used similar or dissimilar rhetorical structures, how the use of the similar or dissimilar structures affected the quality of ESL essays, and what factors influenced the use of the similar or dissimilar structures.

7.2.1. Students' use of similar/dissimilar rhetorical structures

Whether or not similar rhetorical structures were used for each pair of essays (Japanese and ESL) written by the same student was determined by the location of the main idea and the macro-level rhetorical pattern. If the two essays were the same with respect to these two criteria, they were identified as "Similar," and if they were different, they were identified as "Dissimilar." The summary statement was not taken into account because it was considered as supplemental data to the other two, and the majority of the pairs of essays which exhibited the same location of the main idea and the same macro-level rhetorical pattern had the same coding for the presence or absence of a summary statement (there were three pairs that were exceptions).

In the expository group (N=22), twelve pairs of essays were identified as "Similar" and ten were identified as "Dissimilar." In the persuasive group (N=24), eleven pairs were identified as "Similar" and thirteen were identified as "Dissimilar." How, then, did the use of similar or dissimilar rhetorical structures influence the ESL organization score?

7.2.2. The effect of using similar/dissimilar rhetorical structures on the ESL organization score

7.2.2.1. Analysis of "Similar" group vs. "Dissimilar" group

First of all, the mean, the highest and the lowest scores as well as the standard deviations for the Japanese and ESL essays were as follows:

Table 7-15
Mean scores, standard deviations and the highest and lowest scores for Japanese and ESL essays

	Expository				*Persuasive*			
	Mean	SD	High	Low	Mean	SD	High	Low
Japanese Organization	6.4	2.1	10	4	6.2	2.4	10	2
ESL Organization	4.7	1.6	7	2	4.9	1.3	7	2
ESL Language	5.5	1.3	9	4	5.3	1.4	7	3

These mean scores show a better organization quality of Japanese essays than ESL essays in both modes.

When a comparison was made between the mean scores for Japanese and ESL essays written by the "Similar" group (students who used similar rhetorical structures) and the mean scores for Japanese and ESL essays written by the "Dissimilar" group, the "Similar" group in each mode showed a larger decrease in quality from Japanese to ESL than the "Dissimilar" group as shown below:

Table 7-16
Mean scores for organization: "Similar" group vs. "Dissimilar" group

	Expository		*Persuasive*	
	"Similar"	"Dissimilar"	"Similar"	"Dissimilar"
Japanese organization	6.8	5.9	7.3	5.3
ESL organization	4.8	4.6	5.3	4.5

In order to examine if the use of similar or dissimilar structures significantly affect this decrease in quality from Japanese to ESL, a MANOVA was conducted. Table 7-17 and Table 7-18 show the results for the expository mode and the persuasive mode respectively.

Table 7-17
MANOVA for Japanese and ESL organization scores related to "Similar" and "Dissimilar" rhetorical structures: Expository

Source	SS	d.f.	MS	F	sig. of F
Within cells	24.51	20	1.23		
Languages	32.82	1	32.82	26.78	.000
Similarity by languages	1.67	1	1.67	1.37	.256

Table 7-18
MANOVA for Japanese and ESL organization scores related to "Similar" and "Dissimilar" rhetorical structures: Persuasive

Source	SS	d.f.	MS	F	sig. of F
Within cells	32.15	22	1.46		
Languages	21.33	1	21.33	14.60	.001
Similarity by languages	4.51	1	4.51	3.09	.093

These results show that there was not a significant interaction effect between the use of similar/dissimilar rhetorical structures and the organization scores for Japanese and English in each mode.

The above results also show a main effect of languages in both expository and persuasive modes. The relationship between the students' Japanese organization scores and English organization scores in each mode was further obtained by Pearson product-moment correlation. A positive correlation was found for the expository mode (.65 P=.001) and for the persuasive mode (.68 P=.0003). In Figure 1 (Appendix E) and Figure 2 (Appendix F), the Japanese and ESL organization scores of the students in the expository group and the persuasive group respectively are plotted. Regression analyses yielded a slope of .50 for the expository group and a slope of .39 for the persuasive group. The symbol "s" indicates the students who used a similar rhetorical structure.

7.2.2.2. Analysis of individual students in the "Similar"/"Dissimilar" groups

The above analysis of the effect of the use of similar/dissimilar rhetorical structures

revealed a larger drop from the Japanese score to the ESL score on organization in the "Similar" group than the "Dissimilar" group, but the interaction effect of the use of similar/dissimilar rhetorical structures and the organization scores was statistically marginal. Next, it is necessary to investigate the relationship between the rhetorical structures used and their effects on the ESL scores on the individual level. In the following, each individual student's score pattern and the rhetorical structures used for both languages will be examined. The observation of the "Similar" group will be followed by the "Dissimilar" group.

7.2.2.2.1. Analysis of individual students in the "Similar" group

Among the "Similar" group, different effects of using a particular rhetorical structure on the ESL score were identified according to the following categories: (1) negative transfer of L1-specific rhetorical structure rated above the mean in Japanese resulting in an ESL score below the mean (negative transfer of L1-specific rhetoric); (2) transfer of L1-specific or L1/TL (target language) common rhetorical structure rated below the mean in Japanese resulting in an ESL score below the mean (negative transfer of poor rhetoric); (3) transfer of L1-specific or L1/TL common rhetorical structure rated as average in Japanese resulting in an average ESL score (average to average transfer); (4) transfer of L1-specific or L1/TL common rhetorical structure rated above average in Japanese resulting in an ESL score above the mean (positive transfer); and (5) non-transfer of L1/TL common rhetorical structure rated above average in Japanese resulting in an ESL score below the mean (non-transfer). The third "average to average transfer" was applied to the pair of essays which were rated 6 on Japanese organization and 5 on ESL organization. The ratings of this pair were so close to the mean scores that it was necessary to create a separate category, "average to average transfer." The following Table 7-19 shows the effects of the rhetorical pattern on the ESL organization score, the student's scores on Japanese organization, ESL organization and ESL language, and the macro-level pattern identified in both Japanese and ESL essays written by the students in the "Similar" group.

Table 7-19
The effects of the rhetorical pattern on the ESL organization score, Japanese and ESL scores, and the macro-level pattern: "Similar" Group

Effects	*Student ID*	*Scores* J	E(Org.)	E(Lang.)	*Macro-level pattern*
(1) Negative transfer of L1-specific rhetoric	-	-	-	-	-
(2) Negative transfer of poor rhetoric	E 3	6	4	5	Col
	E 7	4	2	4	Ind
	E17	4	3	4	Col
	E23	4	3	4	Col
	E28	4	3	5	Other
	P10	2	3	5	Other
	P18	5	4	4	Exp(Col)
	P22	6	4	4	Ind
(3) Average to average transfer	E16	6	5	6	Comp->Exp
(4) Positive transfer	E13	9	7	6	Exp(Col)
	E14	9	5	7	Col
	E15	9	6	5	Exp(Col)
	E18	10	7	6	Exp(Col)
	E19	9	5	6	Exp(Col)
	E35	8	7	9	Exp(Col)
	P 2	10	6	6	Spec(Comp)
	P 8	9	7	7	Exp(Col)
	P11	7	6	6	Other
	P13	8	5	4	Spec
	P14	9	6	6	Spec
	P16	8	6	4	Exp(Col)
	P19	7	7	7	Ind
(5) Non-transfer	P21	9	4	4	Exp

As these data show, there was no instance of negative transfer of L1-specific rhetoric rated above the mean. The kind of negative transfer observed, instead, was that of poor rhetoric. In this category, the Japanese-specific pattern, Col, was used in some of the expository essays, resulting in low scores in both languages. Another Japanese-specific pattern, Comp->Exp, was observed in the case of average to average transfer and the use of this pattern did not affect the ESL score negatively.

There were a number of instances of positive transfer. Among them, however,

there were three students (E14, E19, and P13) who scored high on Japanese but marginally above the mean on ESL organization. Particularly, the case of student E14 is suspected as an instance of negative transfer because the macro-level pattern of his essays was identified as Col which was Japanese-specific in the expository mode. A detailed examination of his Japanese and English essays, however, revealed a difference in organization. As mentioned earlier, the pattern he used in Japanese can be described in more detail as Col(Ind+Spec), where two points of argument are effectively linked by a paragraph which functions as drawing a conclusion from the first point and stating a point of view for the second. In English, no such linking paragraph was present. Although he scored 7 on ESL language, his lack of experience in composing in English seems to be related to his rather low ESL organization score. Student E14 commented in the interview that he had not done "eisakubun" (English writing), which he meant translation of Japanese sentences into English, for the past couple of years, and moreover it was his first time to write such a long text in English. He said when writing in English, he was frustrated because he did not have the language to express what he wanted to say.

Similar to E14, student P13 scored high on Japanese but marginally above average on ESL organization, and used Spec, which appeared only among the Japanese persuasive essays (although other subpatterns of *Specification* were identified among the L1 English persuasive essays). This student's rather low ESL organization score seems to reflect his insufficient command of English as well as lack of composing experience in English--he scored 4 on ESL language, which belongs to the lowest range in the sample, and he commented that it was difficult for him to express what he wanted to say in the sequence of sentences, and that, similar to the student E14, it was his first time to write an essay in English.

Student E19 also scored high on Japanese but marginally above the mean on ESL organization. As she used Exp(Col), which was L1/TL common rhetoric, her case is close to the student P21's (see Appendix G); i.e., non-transfer of L1/TL common rhetoric. When both E19 and P21 are examined, they seem to share common characteristics with the students E14 and P13; their considerably low ESL organization scores seem to be related to their command of English and composing experience in English. E19 scored 6 on ESL

language but her ESL essay contained only 92 words and was one of the shortest. She said that although she had some experience of writing letters in English before, it was her first time to write an essay in English. The student P21 scored 4 on ESL language and said that although he had written in English before, it was quite difficult for him to write in English because he could not come up with words to express his ideas.

These students who scored marginally above average or below average even though their Japanese scores were in the highest range (E14, E19, P13, and P21) lacked experience in English composition and/or command of language which seem to have affected some aspects of their ESL essays such as the lack of effective link between paragraphs and short undeveloped argument.

That the lack of composing experience in English and insufficient command of language may more significantly affect the quality of ESL organization than particular rhetorical structures do can be further confirmed by the following two cases in which the ESL scores were higher than their predicted scores (or above the slope in Figure 1 and 2 in Appendixes E and F). Student E35 used Exp(Col) and scored 8 on Japanese, 7 on ESL organization and 9 on ESL language. Student P19 used Ind and scored 7 on Japanese, 7 on ESL organization and 7 on ESL language. While E35 used a pattern, Exp(Col), which appeared in both Japanese and English groups, P19 used a pattern, Ind, which appeared more often among the Japanese group than the English group, and yet received the highest score on ESL organization in the sample. Both of these students were experienced in composing in English. Student E35, a Ph.D. student in Spanish, said in the interview that he has more opportunities to read English than to write it, but he usually writes one paper in English per term. Student P19 has used English fairly often; he said that he has been corresponding with his brother-in-law, who is an American, since he was in junior high school, and now he belongs to an ESS (English Speaking Society) at his university, in which he sometimes writes a draft in English for a debate. He said,

> "It was more difficult to write in English. Actual writing didn't take very long but it took me a long time to think about the organization. In Japanese, ideas sounded connected even if there was a small jump of logic, but in English anything off would stand out, so it took over an hour to brainstorm first."

It seems that this student's strong ESL language skills, experience in writing, and careful

planning contributed to the high ESL organization score. These two cases demonstrate the possibility that what affects the ESL organization quality is not so much a particular rhetorical style the students use as their command of English and experience in composing in English.

7.2.2.2.2. Analysis of individual students in the "Dissimilar" group

The next question is how the use of dissimilar rhetorical patterns affected ESL organization scores. The relation between the Japanese score and the ESL organization score and different effects of using particular dissimilar rhetorical structures on the ESL organization score were identified according to the following categories: (1) Japanese and ESL organization scores rated below the mean (Same effect: negative); (2) an average Japanese score and an average ESL organization score (Same effect: average); (3) Japanese and ESL organization scores rated above the mean (Same effect: positive); (4) a Japanese score below the mean and an ESL organization score above the mean (Positive effect: from below to above); and (5) a Japanese score above the mean and an ESL organization score below the mean (Negative effect: from above to below). As one of the categories for the "Similar" group, the second "Same effect: average" applies to an essay which was rated 6 on Japanese organization and 5 on ESL organization. The following Table 7-20 shows the effects of using dissimilar structures on the ESL organization quality, scores and macro-level patterns.

Table 7-20
The effects of the rhetorical pattern on the ESL organization score, Japanese and ESL scores, and the macro-level patterns: "Dissimilar" Group

Effects	*Student ID*	*Scores*			*Macro-level patterns*	
		J	E(Org.)	E(Lang.)	Japanese	ESL
(1) Same effect: negative	E11	5	2	4	Comp->Exp	Col
	E29	4	4	4	Ind	Exp(Col)
	E30*	5	4	7	Other	Other
	P 4**	4	4	6	Exp	Exp
	P 5	2	2	3	Other	Ind
	P 7	5	4	4	Spec	Exp
	P12	4	3	5	Comp->Exp	Exp
	P15	3	3	6	Comp->Ind	Exp(Comp)
(2) Same effect: average	P20***	6	5	6	Exp	Exp
(3) Same effect: positive	E 5	7	5	5	Exp(Col)	Spec
	E20	8	5	6	Col	Ind
	E34	7	6	7	Comp	Col
	P 3	7	5	6	Comp->Ind	Other
	P17	7	7	5	Exp	Other
	P31	10	6	6	Spec(Col)	Exp(Col)
(4) Positive effect: from below to above	E 4	5	5	5	Comp->Exp	Exp(Col)
	E 6	6	7	5	Other	Comp->Ind
	E12	4	5	6	Comp->Ind	Ind
	P23	4	5	8	Ind	Exp
	P25	4	5	4	Comp->Ind	Other
	P33	5	6	7	Ind	Spec
(5) Negative effect from above to below	E 8	8	3	4	Col	Exp(Col)
	P 1	8	4	4	Ind	Exp

* E30's location of the main idea was *Middle* in Japanese and *Initial* in English.
** P4's location of the main idea was *Middle* in Japanese and *Initial* in English.
*** P20's location of the main idea was *Initial* in Japanese and *Middle* in English.

These data show that, as with the "Similar" group, there were a number of cases where the use of dissimilar rhetorical structures resulted in the same effect, either negative, average or positive. Unlike the "Similar" group, however, there were some cases in which the use of dissimilar structures resulted in a score above the mean on ESL organization although the Japanese score was below the mean. Conversely, there were a couple of cases in which the Japanese score was above the mean but the ESL score fell below the mean. The following cases will be examined in detail below: (1) the cases categorized under

"same effect" in which a Japanese-specific structure was used or there was a large drop in quality from Japanese to English; (2) the cases of positive effect from a Japanese score below the mean to an ESL score above the mean; and (3) the cases of negative effect from a Japanese score above the mean to an ESL score below the mean.

7.2.2.2.2.1. "Same effect"

First, among the cases of the same effect, two students used Japanese-specific structures in their ESL essays: E11--Col (see Appendix G) and E34--Col. While E11 demonstrated a large decline in quality from Japanese to English, E34 did not. Although they appear to be the cases of the negative effect of using L1-specific rhetoric on the quality of ESL organization, the large decline in quality seems to be more related to the students' insufficient English skills than the rhetorical pattern that they used.

Student E11 scored 5 on Japanese, 2 on ESL organization and used the patterns, Comp->Exp for Japanese and Col for English. The ESL language score was 4, which was in the lowest range. An interview with the student revealed her lack of English vocabulary, concern about filling a page in English and little attention to the organization when writing in English. She said,

> "It was difficult. In English, I couldn't express what I had in my mind partly because of my limited vocabulary. I wrote them (Japanese and English) differently, because when writing in Japanese, I could first think about the organization like *ki-sho-ten-ketsu* and what I was going to write about, but in English, I've never written anything with a number of words specified...I didn't know how much to write, so I just kept writing simple words. I don't think there was any coherence....I was just adding a word after word, and I was only concerned about reaching the required length."

In this student's ESL essay, the theme (that the restriction of TV violence is difficult) was presented rather vaguely and the reasons were stated in an implicit manner. On the contrary, her Japanese essay presented the theme in the middle and the reason was discussed toward the end. It seems that her considerably low ESL organization score was mainly influenced by the lack of English skills and composing experience in English which prevented her from attending to organization.

Contrary to the above student, student E34 used Col in his ESL essay but did not demonstrate a large gap between his Japanese score and ESL score (7 vs. 6). This seems

to be related to his good command of English which was reflected in his ESL language score, 7. Also, he had previous experiences in English composition--he commented that he had written reaction papers to literary works and practiced writing on given topics in English.

The essays written by student E20 demonstrated a large drop from Japanese to ESL organization scores (8 to 5). This may be related to the pattern she used in her ESL essay; i.e., Ind, which appeared in both language groups but only among the essays below the mean. Although her ESL language score was 6, which was above the mean, she apparently misinterpreted the word, "violence." In the interview, she said that she took the definition of the word "violence" as "undue alteration of meaning or fact," which she found in her dictionary. She also commented that it was her first time to write an essay in English although she had taken English language classes at her university.

The above cases indicate that ESL language skills and composing experience in English as well as L1 writing skills are more important factors that affect the quality of ESL organization than the use of particular rhetorical patterns.

7.2.2.2.2.2. "Positive effect from below average to above average"

The second point under examination is the cases of positive effect from below the mean to above the mean. Six cases were identified, while no case as such was observed in the "Similar" group. This phenomenon seems to reflect one or a combination of the following; (1) a better organizational quality of the ESL essay compared to the Japanese counterpart (student E6); (3) good ESL language skills (P23 and P33); and (2) a negative effect on Japanese organization but a positive effect on ESL organization caused by conscious or unconscious use of dissimilar structures based on one's perception about culturally-preferred rhetorical patterns or one's own preference of a particular pattern (E4, E12, P23, P33 and P25).

First, the organization exhibited in the ESL essay written by student E6 (see Appendix G) seems to be more cohesive than the one exhibited in his Japanese essay. This student scored 6 on Japanese but 7 on ESL organization and used Other for Japanese and Comp->Ind for English. The location of the main idea was coded as *Collection* for

Japanese and *Final* for ESL. His Japanese essay begins with introducing the topic of 'the influence of TV violence on people,' and two points; i.e., (i) difficulty of proving the link between the increase of crime and TV violence and (ii) different degrees of restricting pornography in different countries as an analogy of the difficulty of restricting TV violence; are simply juxtaposed. In his English essay, however, there was a clear contrast between 'some people think TV violence causes crime' and 'some people enjoy TV violence' marked by a connector, 'On the other hand,' and the conclusion, 'we cannot say that it negatively influences people,' is drawn toward the end. The more cohesive organization of his English essay, even though it is a pattern observed only in the Japanese group, seems to have resulted in a higher ESL organization score than the Japanese counterpart. The use of this organization, however, was not a result of the student's conscious attempt; in the interview, he said that he tried to write both essays similarly, and that he thinks the way both Japanese and English essays should be organized is to state the main point first and then explain it.

The second factor that may account for the positive effect of from below the mean to above the mean is good ESL language skills, as demonstrated in the ESL language scores of students P23 and P33 (8 and 7 respectively), as well as their previous experience in composing in English. Student P23 said she often wrote journals in English when she was in secondary schools. Student P33 said she took an English language course in which she was required to write essays in English on given topics.

The third factor--i.e., a conscious or unconscious use of different structures influenced by the student's perceptions or preference of Japanese and English text organizations--was evident in the cases of students, E4, E12, P23, P33 and P25.

Students E4, P23 and P33 consciously used different patterns. Student E4 (scored 5 on Japanese, 5 on ESL organization, 5 on ESL language, and used Comp->Exp with the main idea placed at the *Final* position for Japanese and Exp(Col) for English) said he tried to make the thesis clear in English and to make the words flow in Japanese. He said he did so because he thinks that English texts are more logical than Japanese texts and contain the main point in the beginning, while Japanese texts are organized by *ki-sho-ten-ketsu* (meaning that *ketsu*, the conclusion or the main point, comes at the end) and a smooth flow

of words is regarded as more important. This student had some experiences of using English in debates in an ESS, and also was leaving for the U.S. to study at a university for one year.

Student P23 (scored 4, 5, 8, and used Ind for Japanese and Exp for English) said she wrote so that her opinion comes in the beginning in English but at the end in Japanese. She said she consciously did so because she had noticed the difference between the two languages through reading books. However, she thinks that for Japanese academic writing, the English style, i.e., to state one's opinion first and then support it, is better. She said that she first realized the effectiveness of stating one's opinion at the outset in elementary school where her class sometimes had a debate on a certain issue. However, she commented that different styles should be used depending on the audience:

> "When you write to the general public, you'll probably more likely attract their attention by using the Japanese style. So I guess it depends on the audience."

This may also be the reason why she used different structures--she regarded the persuasive task, the setting of which was to write for a campus newspaper, as writing to the general public. Her ESL language score was the highest among the persuasive group, which also seems to have contributed to her high ESL organization score.

Similar to the above student, student P33 (see Appendix G) used Ind for Japanese and Spec for English and scored 5 on Japanese, 6 on ESL organization and 7 on ESL language. The use of the dissimilar patterns reflected her conscious attempt; according to her, after she learned from a Japanese professor of English that the main idea in English is stated in the beginning, she tried that style in the Test of Written English (the writing section of TOEFL). She then began to receive higher scores than before. She thinks, on the other hand, that a Japanese text should place the main idea at the end because she learned about *ki-sho-ten-ketsu* in high school. The use of Spec in English and her good language skills seem to explain the higher score on ESL organization than her Japanese score.

What is common among E4, P23 and P33 is that they consciously placed the main idea in the *Final* position in Japanese but *Initial* position in ESL. However, this attempt did not exert a positive effect so much on Japanese as on English. This reflects the result of the

text analysis that placing the main idea at the *Final* position more likely led to poor evaluation of Japanese organization. These students apparently used a structure which was not very much preferred by the Japanese raters. Thus, they seem to have been misled by the notion that the Japanese prefer an inductive pattern.

Student E12 said she did not consciously use the dissimilar structures but her use of them seems to reflect her perceptions about Japanese and English rhetorical features. She scored 4 on Japanese, 5 on ESL organization and 6 on ESL language and used Comp->Ind for Japanese and Ind for English and the location of main idea was *Final* for both languages. Her ESL and Japanese essays were similar in that the location of the main idea was placed at the final position. But there was a difference in the organization; in the ESL essay, she presents the theme after the introduction; "I try to think why the restriction of violence on TV is the issue." Then she discusses the issue of "the liberty (freedom) of expression" in her middle paragraph. At the end, the issue is realized as the reason for the difficulty of the restriction. On the other hand, the majority of her Japanese essay is spent for addressing the fact that violence on TV has been increasing and people's concern is rising. The notion of freedom of expression does not appear until the concluding paragraph in an adversative relationship with what she has stated. In the last sentence she finally writes, "The difficulty of the issue lies in the fact that freedom of expression is dependent on one's conscience."

In the interview, this student said that she tried to write both essays in the same way but they became different. She thinks that a preferred organization for both Japanese and English expository prose is "conclusion (meaning 'main point') -> concrete examples -> summary," but in other kinds of Japanese prose the conclusion tends to appear at the end. She, however, preferred a particular style:

> "When I write for myself, I like the style with an unexpected twist at the end....My teacher at yobiko (private preparatory school for entering university) encouraged us to improve our strengths rather than telling us to write this way or that way. The style I like is something like Kuniko Mukoda's, you write this and that and finally at the end everything is brought together. My teacher liked my essays with that kind of style and it's the style I want to be able to use."

The organization exhibited in her Japanese essay seems more consistent with the style she likes than the one she regards as typical for expository prose. Her Japanese essay with the

style she prefers, however, was not rated highly by the Japanese raters. On the other hand, her English essay received a higher score than the Japanese essay perhaps because the English essay exhibited more unity in the content--that is, the 'twist' at the end did not sound abrupt.

Student P25 (scored 4 on Japanese, 5 on ESL organization, 4 on ESL language: see Appendix G) was not conscious of using dissimilar structures (Comp->Ind for Japanese and Other for English; the location of the main idea was *Final* for Japanese and *Initial* for English). Her English essay exhibited a complex organization which may be described as "Exp A -> Comp (B vs. A)." In the interview, she said;

> "I think English is more logical than Japanese. Japanese should be written logically as well, but I don't know the exact difference....When I learned organization in an English composition class, we learned that we must write logically in English, and I try to write in that way....In Japanese things are often written ambiguously. In English, I think people tend to write 'yes' or 'no' unambiguously."

She thinks, however, that both Japanese and English should be written logically. The rhetorical structure she used in her ESL essay seems to reflect her perception of how English texts should be written and have exerted a positive effect on ESL organization.

What is common for both P12 and P25 is their unconscious use of the dissimilar structures, which nevertheless seems to reflect a personal preference of Japanese text organization or a perception about preferred text organization in English.

7.2.2.2.2.3. "Negative effect from above average to below average"

There were two students, E8 and P1, who used dissimilar structures and whose Japanese scores were above the mean but ESL organization scores fell below the mean. In both cases, what affected the gap in quality seems to be their insufficient command of English. E8 scored 8 on Japanese, 3 on ESL organization and 4 on ESL language and used Col for Japanese and Exp(Col) for ESL. In the interview, she expressed a difficulty she experienced in writing in English;

> "Even though I wanted to write the same thing (as what I wrote in Japanese), I couldn't write what I wanted to say because I didn't have enough vocabulary."

She said that she tried to write the two essays in the same way but they might have become

different. One surface difference between her two essays was paragraphing; in Japanese, there were four paragraphs, while in English, almost every sentence constituted a new line without any indentation. She said she rarely writes in English; she has practiced writing isolated sentences in English writing class, but it was her first time to write an essay in English.

Student P1 scored 8 on Japanese, 4 on ESL organization and 4 on ESL language and used Ind for Japanese and Exp for ESL. She commented that Japanese texts tend to place the main point at the end, whereas English texts do in the beginning, but she said,

> "I like the English style better. I don't remember how I wrote this time, but I try to write what I want to say in the beginning for both Japanese and English...Last year I took an English class taught by an American teacher and she told us to write the main point first. I thought that style was much clearer."

In her case, the use of Exp in her ESL essay, which is what she thinks a better style, did not help her obtain a high score on ESL organization. This seems to be due to her poor language skills; she scored only 4 on ESL language. Similar to the essays written by student E8, each sentence in her ESL essay started at the new line while her Japanese essay was written in three paragraphs.

In the above cases, both of the students used the patterns that were more common among the Japanese group than the L1 English group for their Japanese essays and the patterns that were common among the L1 English group for their English essays. Yet, their ESL organization scores were considerably lower than the Japanese scores. This seems to be due to their insufficient command of English and, in the case of E8, lack of composing experience in English.

The score pattern of P1 compared with that of P23 and P33 seems to justify the assumption that language skills rather than the use of a specific rhetorical structure affect the quality of ESL organization. These three students used similar rhetorical patterns for the two languages; that is, Ind for Japanese and either Exp or Spec for English; and yet, P1, whose ESL language score was 4, received the ESL organization score below the mean, while P23 and P33, whose ESL language scores were 8 and 7 respectively, received the ESL organization scores above the mean.

7.2.2.3. Explanations for the ceiling effect

No case of negative transfer of L1-specific rhetoric to ESL organization was identified in the sample. A number of cases, instead, indicated transfer of ability to organize a text. Yet, the fact that the highest ESL organization score did not exceed 7 in both modes is unsettling. It is thus necessary to investigate the factors that were influencing this ceiling effect. There were some cases with a large decline in quality from Japanese to English, and a major cause of this may have been insufficient command of English and a lack of experience in English composition rather than a particular rhetorical structure used in the ESL essay. It seems that this speculation can be extended to the explanation of the ceiling effect.

The data obtained by the questionnaire and the interviews reveal the following factors that seem to influence the lower organizational quality of ESL essays than that of Japanese essays: (1) the lack of experience English composition; and (2) the lack of English language skills, such as knowledge of vocabulary and command of grammar. In the following discussion, the focus will be placed mainly on the students who obtained scores on Japanese organization above the mean in the expository and persuasive modes.

First, it was found that, despite the fact that all the students have been learning English for at least seven years (six years at the secondary school, and at least one year at university), not all of them have had the experience of composing in English. Based on the data from the questionnaire and the interviews, students were identified whether or not they have had any experience of composing in English (e.g., writing essays, journals, letters, stories that describe pictures, etc.). Table 7-21 shows the numbers of the students who had or did not have composing experience among all the students in the sample and among the students who scored above the mean on Japanese organization.

Table 7-21
The number of the students who had or did not have composing experience in English

Expository

	All students (N=22)		*Above average group* (N=10)	
	Had experience	Did not have experience	Had experience	Did not have experience
Secondary school	7	15	2	8
University	15	7	6	4
Secondary through univ.	17	5	7	3

Persuasive

	All students (N=24)		*Above average group* (N=12)	
	Had experience	Did not have experience	Had experience	Did not have experience
Secondary school	6	18	2	10
University	10	14	5	7
Secondary through univ.	14	10	6	6

The above observation reveals the fact that about thirty percent and fifty percent of the people who scored above the mean in the expository group and the persuasive group respectively had no composing experience in English throughout their secondary and university education.

That some people did not have composing experience does not mean that they had no experience of writing in English. All the students except one responded that they had learned what is called, "eisakubun" (English writing), at secondary school and/or university. But people with no composing experience throughout their secondary and university education indicated that they have only learned how to translate isolated Japanese sentences or short passages into English in their "eisakubun" classes. For example, student E8 (scored 8 on Japanese, 3 on ESL organization, and 4 on ESL language) said she had written English sentences as translation from Japanese but she had never written an essay in English. She found it difficult and frustrating to write in English because of her limited vocabulary. Student E14 (scored 9, 5 and 7) said he had not written English since the time when he was studying for university entrance examinations and furthermore it was his first time to write an essay in English. He found writing frustrating because he was unable to express himself in English. Student P13 (scored 8, 5 and 4) also said that it was

his first time to write an essay in English, and it was difficult for him to link sentences to express his ideas. Student P31 (10, 6, and 6: see Appendix G) said it was the first time in his life to write an essay in English and that he was faced with a technical problem in writing in English.

The students who had no previous experience in composing an essay generally expressed difficulties and frustration. The causal relationship between a lack of experience in English composition and poorer organization of their ESL essays than their Japanese essays can only be speculated upon, but the lack of the experience does seem to be one of the factors that influences the quality of students' English essays.

The second factor, which is closely related to the first, is the lack of English language skills such as knowledge of vocabulary and command of grammar. Insufficient second language skill seems to bring about the lack of attention to organization, simple organization and inadequate paragraphing in their ESL essays, and misinterpretation of the prompt.

Among the people who mentioned their limited knowledge of vocabulary, student E18 (10, 7, and 6) said although she had some experience of writing essays in English, she found it difficult to write because she did not know the right words to use. Student P14 (9, 6, and 6) did not know enough vocabulary and had to consult a dictionary many times (see Appendix G). Student P21 (9, 4, and 4) said although he had written essays in English in high school, he found a tremendous amount of difficulty because he could not come up with the right words to use.

Some people commented that they paid more attention to constructing sentences than to overall organization. Student P1 (8, 4 and 4) said while she was able to write her ideas straightforwardly in Japanese, she had to pay attention to various things such as words, sentence structures and the word order when writing in English. Student P3 (7, 5 and 6) said she attended to writing sentences rather than to the content when writing in English. Student E5 (7, 5 and 5) said she was more concerned with constructing sentences than thinking about the content when she wrote in English, and a week later when she wrote in Japanese, she was able to generate more points of argument. Student E30 (5, 4 and 7) said that he stumbled at basic usages such as prepositions and articles and became

less able to think while writing in English than writing in Japanese.

Some students mentioned that they made the English text simpler than the Japanese text, which may correspond to the strategy identified as "lowering the standard" by Uzawa and Cumming (1989). Student E15 (9, 6 and 5) said when writing in Japanese she usually thinks about what kind of organization to use, but when writing in English she tends to make the organization simple. In her Japanese essay, the introduction talks about an episode of a film and then a few reasons for the topic are discussed in the order of increasing importance. Her ESL essay, on the other hand, begins with the statement of the topic, that the restriction of TV violence is a difficult issue, and explains the reasons in the order of increasing importance. Student E7 (4, 2 and 4) said because she is not used to writing in English and does not know the language very well, she thought she would write in a simple way (see Appendix G).

As mentioned earlier, students E8 (8, 3 and 4) and P1 (8, 4 and 4) wrote their ESL essays with almost every sentence constituting a new line, while they wrote their Japanese essays with a few paragraphs. Student E20 (8, 5 and 6), also as mentioned earlier, misinterpreted the word, "violence" as "undue alteration of meaning or fact." Also, this student had no previous experience in English composition.

Two aspects, i.e., the lack of composing experience in English and the lack of ESL language skills, have been suggested as factors that influenced the ceiling effect. In fact, the ESL language scores obtained by people who received high ratings on Japanese organization were rather low--all but one who scored 9 or 10 on their Japanese organization scored no greater than 6 on ESL language in each mode. The assumption that insufficient command of English is related to this ceiling effect may be justified by the data provided by some of the students who have been excluded from the sample because of their experience of studying English abroad for more than two months.

Some of these students received high scores for the organization in both languages as well as for the ESL language.[1] There were three students whose essays exhibited this score pattern as shown below:

[1] The essays written by these students were scored only during the scoring practice session.

Table 7-22
The scores and rhetorical structures of three students
who studied abroad for more than two months

Student ID	*Scores*			*Macro-Level Patterns/Summary Statement*			
	Japanese	ESL(Org)	ESL(Lang)	Japanese		ESL	
E36	9	9	8	Spec	+	Comp->Ind	0
E37	9	9	9	Exp(Col)	+	Spec(Col)	+
P35	9	9	7	Exp(Col)	+	Exp(Col)	+

Student E36 studied at an American high school for eleven months. She used dissimilar rhetorical structures; Spec for Japanese, and Comp->Ind for English. Although Comp->Ind was a pattern which was observed only in the L1 Japanese group, her ESL essay was rated highly. Student E37 studied at a high school in the U.S. for four years and three months. Her Japanese and ESL essays were similar in that reasons were enumerated, but slightly different in that a point of view for the reasons was stated in her ESL essay while it was not in her Japanese essay. The patterns she used were observed both in Japanese and English L1 essays above the mean. Student P35 attended an American university for ten months. The same pattern, Exp(Col) was used.

What is common among the above students is high scores on ESL language as well as Japanese and ESL organization. These data support the claim that one of the reasons why the students whose Japanese scores were in the highest range received only a score of 7 at highest on ESL organization is because they lacked ESL language skills.

7.2.2.4. Summary of the effect of using similar/dissimilar rhetorical structures on the ESL scores

The comparison of the effect of using similar/dissimilar rhetorical structures on the ESL scores between the "Similar" group and the "Dissimilar" group revealed a larger decline from the Japanese mean score to the ESL organization mean score among the "Similar" group than among the "Dissimilar" group, but the result of the MANOVA did not show a significant interaction effect between the use of similar/dissimilar rhetorical structures and the organization scores for Japanese and English in each task. There was instead a positive correlation between the Japanese scores and ESL organization scores in

each mode.

When individual students' use of rhetorical structures and score patterns were examined, no instance of negative transfer of L1-specific rhetoric rated above average was identified among the "Similar" group. As the positive correlation found between students' scores on Japanese and ESL organization indicates, there were a number of cases of positive transfer of the use of good L1 rhetoric and negative transfer of the use of poor L1 rhetoric.

Among the "Dissimilar" group, like the "Similar" group, the use of dissimilar structures resulted in the same effect on the organization quality of both languages in a number of cases. Unlike the "Similar" group, there were some cases where the Japanese essay received a score below the mean but the ESL essay received a score above the mean. One of the factors that may account for this phenomenon is students' conscious or unconscious use of dissimilar structures which was influenced by their perceptions about how English and Japanese texts should be written, a personal preference of a Japanese style or a certain idea about how an English text is usually organized. Interestingly, what they thought was a preferred pattern for Japanese (e.g., flow of words rather than logic, the main idea stated in the end) did not positively influence the Japanese ratings but the use of what they thought was preferred for English (e.g., logical organization, the main point stated in the beginning) resulted in a better score than the one predicted from the Japanese score.

In both "Similar" and "Dissimilar" groups, there were a few students who used Japanese-specific patterns in their ESL essays. However, these students' ESL essays tended to be similar to their Japanese essays in terms of quality, and no case was identified in which ESL ratings became considerably lower than the predicted score due to the use of such particular structure.

In both "Similar" and "Dissimilar" groups, there were a small number of cases in which the organization quality dropped from the highest range in Japanese to marginally above the mean in ESL. Yet, the decline seems to be explained by insufficient command of English as well as the lack of composing experience in English rather than the particular rhetorical structures that the students used.

The general tendency for the students to score more poorly on ESL organization than on Japanese seems to be explained by students' lack of composing experience in English and lack of ESL language skills rather than particular rhetorical structures that they used. This was confirmed by the data provided by some of the students who studied English abroad and demonstrated good English language skills as well as good Japanese and ESL organization skills.

7.2.3. Factors affecting the use of similar/dissimilar rhetorical structures

From the above observations, some factors affecting the use dissimilar rhetorical structures have already emerged. One factor was insufficient command of English which resulted in an inability to pay attention to the organization and misinterpretation of the prompt. Another factor was conscious or unconscious use of dissimilar structures based on one's perception or preference of the rhetorical characteristics of Japanese and English.

In this section, the factors affecting the use of similar/dissimilar rhetorical structures will be investigated through the interview data, focusing especially on the students' perceptions about how Japanese texts and English texts are normally organized and how they should be organized. Then, the factors that seem to have influenced the construction of the students' perceptions will be investigated.

7.2.3.1. Factors affecting the use of similar rhetorical structures

In the "Similar" group, some students said they tried to use similar structures, but their perceptions varied as to what kind of rhetorical structures are usually used and should be used in both languages. Some thought that Japanese and English academic texts are generally organized differently, but Japanese texts should be organized in the way English texts are. For example, student P21 (scored 9 on Japanese, 4 on ESL organization, 4 on ESL language, and used Exp) said,

> "This is just a knowledge, not my own observation, but I heard that in English the main idea comes first and then supporting evidence and examples are given. But in Japanese, it's not good to present the main idea first, so it's a pattern where the process of reaching the conclusion at the end is regarded as important."

However, this student thinks that a preferred style for Japanese is:

"the one with the main point in the beginning. It's clearer. If it's not taken as too emotional, then I think that style is better."

Student P2 (scored 10, 6, 6, and used Spec(Comp)) also had the same perception previously as to how Japanese and English are usually organized. However, she said,

"Now, when I write in Japanese, I try to say the main point first...With that style, I can present arguments more logically and consistently without a digression."

According to her, she was influenced by an English class in which English organization was explained by the teacher; she thought the English style was effective because the main idea is unblurred.

Some students said that Japanese and English texts are generally organized differently and they should be written as such. Student E16 (scored 6, 5, 6, and used Comp->Exp) commented that Japanese texts tend to be inductive and English deductive, but unlike the above two students, she said that what one wants to say should be stated at the end in Japanese but at the beginning in English. She said she tries to do so within a sentence when she writes in English (Note that Japanese is an SOV language with the S often omitted, whereas English is SVO). In spite of this view of hers, her Japanese and ESL essays exhibited similar structures. A few other students also pointed out general differences between Japanese and English texts but they said they tried to write similarly in both languages.

Some of the other students also regarded Japanese as inductive and English as deductive in general but they thought the organization that should be used in Japanese varies depending on the genre or purpose. For example, student P14 (scored 9, 6, 6, and used Spec) said in argumentative writing, one's position should be presented first. Student E18 (scored 10, 7, 6, and used Exp(Col): see Appendix G) commented that Japanese texts are usually organized by *ki-sho-ten-ketsu* with the main point stated at the end, whereas English is organized deductively. Yet, she said that she would use the English style for a short Japanese composition like summary writing. To the question, "what kind of organization should be used in Japanese and English writing?" she responded:

"When I ask myself, 'Why is there a word like *ki-sho-ten-ketsu* in Japanese?' I feel maybe I have to write in that way."

This statement is an interesting example that demonstrates how language constructs a certain view and behavior.

Also, student E35 (scored 8, 7, 9, and used Exp(Col)), a Ph.D. student, pointed out the general tendency of an inductive style in Japanese and a deductive style in English. He commented, however, that the ways in which Japanese and English texts should be written depend on the purpose and the field of study; that is, in both Japanese and English, a deductive style is preferred in scientific writing, whereas inductive organization is preferred in art and literature.

There were some students who said they wrote in different ways for the two languages but the text analysis yielded similar structures. Among them, Student E15 (scored 9, 6, 5, and used Exp(Col)) said that she tried to place the conclusion at the end in Japanese but at the beginning in English, and that she learned such characteristics in her high school classes. Her Japanese essay, reflecting her conscious attempt, contains a long introduction about an action movie, a few reasons for the difficulty of restricting TV violence in the next paragraph, and finally the reason which she thinks the most important. Her ESL essay, on the other hand, begins with the topic and explains the reasons in separate paragraphs with the most important one placed at the end. When asked what kind of organization is preferred in Japanese academic writing, she responded:

> "I think it depends on the content. In literary writing, I think it's better to sustain the readers' attention and put the conclusion at the end, but as far as argumentative writing for persuading an audience is concerned, people prefer the style with the conclusion in the beginning. But if you want to create a Japanese taste, I still think it's better to hold the conclusion till the end."

In her case, the two essays certainly exhibited a rhetorical difference reflecting her conscious attempt, but the similar structures identified at the macro-level also seem to reflect an inevitable similarity elicited by the particular mode which was in a way what she calls "argumentative writing."

Also, student P19 (scored 7, 7, 7, and used Ind) regarded Japanese and English texts as generally different and intended to write differently in Japanese and English. His two essays, in fact, were different in content but the rhetorical patterns were identified as similar. To the question whether Japanese and English academic texts are generally similar

or different, he responded;

> "I think they're different. This is from what I've read, not what came out of my own experience, but I think the difference lies in whether there's a logic or not. I'm practicing public speaking at ESS and my seniors told me English has a straight logic, and if English logic can be described as blocks arranged one by one, Japanese is more like a spiral one."

Here, there is a striking correspondence between this student's perceived images of Japanese and English rhetoric (spiral vs. straight) and Kaplan's (1966, 1972) representation of Oriental languages and English.

He said, in addition, that he tried to create a flow within and between paragraphs in English while he let the words come out in Japanese. However, he expressed ambivalent feelings toward the use of the logical style of English. He said;

> "I think in writing Japanese, the message can be conveyed more effectively if you use the western style. As far as English goes, the message is certainly made clear but it doesn't penetrate deep down into my mind...I feel some reservation toward the use of the English style because it's too direct and it may hurt feelings of the Japanese people..."

It may be that the use of the pattern, Ind, for both languages despite his conscious attempt to write differently is a result of his refusal of the English style.

To summarize the observations made so far, the above mentioned students among the "Similar" group pointed out that Japanese texts are inductive or indirect and English texts are deductive or logical. Some of them thought Japanese should be written like English, while others thought it should be written inductively. Yet, others commented that the organization depends on the genre or purpose and sometimes Japanese should be written deductively. A couple of students pointed out general differences between the two languages and tried to write two essays differently, but the rhetorical structures were identified as similar. In one case, this seemed to reflect the organizational similarity between the two languages in argumentative writing as the student pointed out, and in the other case, the student's ambivalent feeling toward the use of the English style seemed to result in using an indirect style in both languages.

Contrary to the above students who pointed out differences between Japanese and English, some of the students in the "Similar" group thought that Japanese and English share similar organizational structures and they should be written with a similar pattern.

For example, student E13 (scored 9, 7, 6, and used Exp(Col)) said that in both languages texts should be written clearly and succinctly with different contents put into separate paragraphs. What is of interest is how he used the notion of *ki-sho-ten-ketsu*; he said,

> "When I learned essay writing for university entrance exams, I was told to brainstorm first and write an outline and then do the actual writing. ("Do you still do the same now?") Yes, first I think about paragraphs..what to write in each paragraph....there are four, aren't there? Umm... ("*Ki-sho-ten-ketsu*?") Yes, something like *ki-sho-ten-ketsu*."

It seems that this student regards *ki-sho-ten-ketsu* as a device for organizing the content, not so much as an inductive style.

Student P13 (scored 8, 5, 4, and used Spec) said when asked about organizations of Japanese and English:

> "I think they're similar. If you write with the most important point in mind, the style will become similar. The arrangement of materials might be different depending on the writer. I think the method of debate is more advanced in America, but if you try to prove your conclusion, the style becomes similar."

His view of an ideal organization was:

> "to state your opinion first and provide supporting reasons using examples, and to organize logically."

His view of Japanese and English seems to be reflected in his essays in the two languages.

Student P19 (scored 9, 5, 6, and used Exp(Col)) said that the arrangement of materials is similar in the two languages. She said she learned in a "shoronbun" (a short essay in Japanese assigned in examinations such as the one for university entrance) class about *ki-sho-ten-ketsu* and was taught to write to attract audience. She could not articulate the organization that she thinks should be used for English. Although her perception about Japanese and English text organization was not as clear as the above students, the pattern of her essays, i.e., the statement of topic and enumeration of reasons, reflects her view that the arrangement of arguments is similar for the two languages.

Other students who had a similar perception to E13 and P13's provided the following labels for the ways both languages should be written: "raising an issue -> analyzing it -> conclusion"; "posing a problem -> explanation -> conclusion"; "opinion -> supporting reasons"; "clear"; and "logical."

In summary, one factor influencing the use of similar rhetorical structures in both languages was students' conscious attempt to do so. And they did so because: (1) they think (some) Japanese texts should be written in a way similar to English, or (2) they think Japanese and English share similar rhetorical characteristics. The essays written by one student, however, exhibited similar structures despite his attempt to write differently. This may be due to his refusal to use the English style. Yet, some of the students in the Similar" group tried to write in both languages similarly even though they thought that the two languages should be written with different organizations.

7.2.3.2. Factors affecting the use of dissimilar structures

Some of the students who used dissimilar structures did so consciously or unconsciously based on their particular views of Japanese and English rhetoric as discussed earlier. The students who attempted to use different structures consciously were students E4 (scored 5 on Japanese, 5 on ESL organization, 5 on ESL language, and used Comp->Exp with the main idea placed in the *Final* position for Japanese and Exp(Col) for English), P23 (scored 4, 5, 8, and used Ind for Japanese and Exp for English) and P33 (scored 5, 6, 7, and used Ind for Japanese and Spec for English). They commented on general differences in text organization between the two languages (e.g., the flow of words is emphasized and the main point is stated at the end in Japanese; arguments are logical and clear and the main point is stated at the beginning in English). There were a couple of students (E12 and P25) as discussed earlier who did not make a conscious attempt to write in a different way, but their use of dissimilar structures seemed to reflect a personal preference of a particular style for Japanese or the view that English text should be organized logically. However, as pointed out earlier, these students' conscious or unconscious use of dissimilar structures resulted in an ESL organization score above the mean but a Japanese score below the mean.

There were a few more students who used different structures consciously or unconsciously based on their perceptions about how Japanese and English texts are and should be organized, but the use of different structures did not affect the quality of their ESL essays so much. For instance, student E29 (scored 4, 4, 4, and used Ind for Japanese

Exp(Col) for English) commented that while the main point is and should be placed at the end in Japanese, it is and should be placed at the beginning in English. But she conceded that such Japanese organization may not be so clear. She said she tried to write her essays with different organizations. Student P12 (4, 3, 4, and used Comp->Exp for Japanese and Exp for English) said that she attempted to write the two essays similarly. Yet, she thinks that in Japanese the main point is and should be placed in the end, and the beginning should function as attracting the readers' attention, while in English the most important point is and should be placed at the beginning. She commented that she learned the difference in an English writing course at the university. She said,

> "At that time, I learned that the organizations of compositions and expressions are completely different between Japanese and English."

Another factor influencing the use of dissimilar structures is related to students' limited ability to understand and manipulate English. Some students said their essays became different even though they did not try to make them so. Student E11, as mentioned earlier, was so concerned about reaching the required length that she could not pay attention to the organization. In the case of student E20, her misinterpretation of the expository prompt resulted in the use of dissimilar structures. Student E5 (scored 7, 5, 5, and used Exp(Col) for Japanese; Spec for English) said when she wrote in English first, she was distracted by the language use and could not pay attention to the content as much as she wanted to. When she wrote in Japanese a week later, she could think about other points of argument. Incidentally, this student also pointed out the general difference in the location of the main idea between Japanese and English, but she thinks that Japanese is more adept in expressing subtle feelings. Student P7 (scored 5, 4, 4, and used Spec for Japanese and Exp for English) said she tried to organize the two essays similarly. However, she commented on her different habits of writing in the two languages:

> "It was difficult to think about the content...but maybe it was more difficult to write in Japanese because I tried to write well. In English, I only use the sentence structures that I know because I don't know how I can improve what I write on the paper....In Japanese, I think about the overall organization--from the beginning to the end. In English, I rarely think about overall organization. I just write line by line."

Neither her Japanese nor her ESL essay had paragraph breaks, which seems to have

negatively affected both of her organization scores. Yet, her essays were identified as dissimilar because of the preview statement which was present in Japanese but absent in English. Her effort to attend to the overall organization in Japanese and each sentence in English may have influenced the use of different structures.

There was one student, P5 (see Appendix G), who said he used dissimilar structures because he did not remember what organization he used in his first essay. However, in his case, what he wrote seems to have been influenced by his resistance to any prescribed styles. He scored 2 on Japanese, 2 on ESL organization, 3 on ESL language and used Other with *Obscure* as the location of the main idea for Japanese and Ind for ESL. He said that he thinks that Japanese and English texts are organized similarly in general and a good organization is the one in which "the writer's mind and body are dancing." He continued:

> "We write when we want to write, so to me paragraph organization or prescriptive style is a non-issue."

This student said he used dissimilar structures simply because he forgot how he wrote the first essay. Yet, underlying this seems to be his resistance to any prescribed style. What he has produced is full of abstract ideas and presumption of readers' background knowledge, which Flower (1979) would call a characteristic of "writer-based prose." However, what he produced may be better understood as manifestation of his resistance to norms and prescriptions.

Other students in the "Dissimilar" group, despite the fact that their two essays were identified as dissimilar through the text analysis in the present study, said that they tried to write in a similar way or that they wrote similarly although they did not attempt to do so consciously. This may be simply because the students did not remember exactly how they wrote or because there was a gap between the focus of the analysis and the students' interpretation of "writing similarly." Among these students, some pointed out a general difference between Japanese and English text organizations; e.g., Japanese text is ambiguous, indirect; English text is logical, has the main idea stated in the beginning, but such features of English should be applied to Japanese (P1, P25), or such difference should be reflected in writing in English and Japanese (E34). Other students, on the other

hand, thought that Japanese and English texts are similarly organized in general and should be written with a similar organization; they pointed out features such as; "opinion -> supporting argument -> conclusion"; "clear"; "unity in the paragraph"; "stating an opinion clearly"; and "conveying an intended message accurately."

In summary, some of the students who used dissimilar structures for Japanese and English did so consciously because they thought that English texts are logical or deductive while Japanese texts are inductive, and that they should be organized differently. A couple of students seem to have used different structures unconsciously based on a personal preference of an inductive pattern for Japanese or a perception that English texts should be logically organized. However, the conscious or unconscious use of dissimilar structures tended to result in a Japanese score below the mean but an ESL score above the mean. Some of the other students ended up using different structures because of the difficulty they experienced with the use of English. One student's use of dissimilar structures seems to have been influenced by his resistance to norms and prescriptive styles. Others did not attempt to use dissimilar structures but the text analysis yielded differences. Among them, some pointed out rhetorical differences between Japanese and English, while others thought that Japanese and English texts are and should be organized similarly.

7.2.3.3. Factors influencing the construction of students' perceptions

In the above analysis of the factors contributing to the use of similar/dissimilar rhetorical structures, students' various perceptions about Japanese and English rhetorical styles have been discussed. A question arises as to what has influenced them to think the way they do. The factors influencing the construction of students' perceptions will be investigated below among the following groups of students; (1) those who think that Japanese and English texts are differently organized; (2) those who think that Japanese and English texts are similarly organized; and (3) other students.

More than half of the students in this study indicated that Japanese and English texts are generally organized differently, and most of these students commented that the main idea is stated in the end in Japanese while it is stated in the beginning in English. Other

characteristics for Japanese provided by some of these students were: a Japanese text is circumlocutory (students E8, E30, P3, P7, P11, P12), ambiguous (E28, P3), circular or spiral (P19), long and complex (P11), has a long introduction (P1), indirect (E34) and has an emphasis on the flow of words (E4). Other characteristics for English that emerged were: an English text is logical (E4, P19, P25), direct (E8, E28, E30, P11), cohesive and not digressive (E5, P8), succinct (E8, P3) and clear and easy to understand (P11).

Among the above students, (1) 19 students (including both Expository and Persuasive groups) said that they learned the difference between the two languages from their English teachers at high school, yobiko, or university; (2) 6 students said they learned it from books on Japanese and/or English; (3) 4 students said they noticed it by reading in English and/or Japanese; (4) 2 students said they noticed it by practicing writing "shoronbun"; (5) one student said he learned it from senior members of the English Speaking Society; and (6) 2 students said they did not remember how they came to think the way they do.

Almost one fourth of the students indicated that Japanese texts and English texts share similar features and similar organization should be used for both languages. Among these students, the following labels for ideal text features emerged: clarity and unity in a paragraph (E13, P31), succinctness (E13), logical and structural organization (P13, P18), the writer's position stated clearly and conveyed accurately (P20), opinion -> supporting reasons -> conclusion (E20, P15, P17), raising an issue -> analysis -> conclusion (E11), stating the topic or opinion -> sorting arguments -> conclusion (E7), opinion -> evidence or reason (P13, P18), and problem -> elaboration -> conclusion (P16).

Among the above students, (1) 5 students indicated that they became aware of such features when they learned how to write "shoronbun"; (2) 2 students said they noticed such features naturally while studying at high school or university; (3) one student said he probably learned from books on how to write in Japanese; (4) one student said he noticed by reading academic articles in Japanese; (5) one student said he learned from his friends in writing papers for university courses; and (6) one student said she became aware of the features when being asked in the interview.

Among other students than the above, student E14 said that the format of academic

papers is the same internationally. Although he was not sure how English texts should be organized, he said he heard from a Japanese professor that a Japanese academic paper should have a review of literature and then the writer's opinion should follow. He also mentioned that he learned inductive as well as deductive styles when he was taking a course on writing "shoronbun" at yobiko. Student E19 said that the arrangement of materials seems to be similar in the two languages but could not articulate how an English text should be organized. As far as Japanese organization is concerned, she said she learned in a "shoronbun" class that *ki-sho-ten-ketsu* or a style that attracts the audience is good. Student P4 said although he does not know exactly how an English text is expected to be organized, he has noticed a similarity in paragraphing between the two languages through reading academic papers in English. Student E17 said English and Japanese text organization is different but she could not specify how. Yet, she said she thinks the preferred organization, "Introduction->Body->Conclusion," is the same for Japanese and English. She learned this style when learning to write "shoronbun."

In general, the students' knowledge about how Japanese and English texts are and should be organized seems to be formed through the influence of their teachers and peers, books on the Japanese and English languages, their own readings in English and Japanese and learning to write "shoronbun" in Japanese. It is important to note here that many of the students who pointed out the difference between Japanese and English text organizations said that they learned it from their teachers and books on the Japanese and English languages. On the other hand, many of the students who thought that the two languages share a similar characteristic in terms of organization became aware of the appropriate organization through learning to write for Japanese essay exams. The different influences these two groups have received can be understood by locating them in contesting discourses and ideologies that will be discussed later in Chapter 9.

8. DISCUSSION

In this chapter, the results of the empirical study which were reported in the previous chapter will be discussed in relation to the two hypotheses of contrastive rhetoric. I will also draw some pedagogical implications from the discussion. Before discussing the results, I will summarize the results of the study.

8.1. Summary of the results

8.1.1. The results for the first research question

(1) How do the rhetorical structures vary between L1 Japanese and L1 English essays in the *expository* mode?

There were both differences and similarities between Japanese and English L1 essays.

The differences were as follows:
(i) In the Japanese group, *Collection* was the most common location of the main idea followed by *Final* (*Final*, however, appeared only among the below average Japanese essays), whereas in the English group, *Initial* was the most common location followed by *Collection*.
(ii) The most common macro-level rhetorical patterns for Japanese were Col and Exp(Col), whereas those for English were the subpatterns of *Specification* (i.e., Spec(Col), Spec(Comp) and Spec) followed by Exp(Col).
(ii) There were macro-level rhetorical patterns identified only in the Japanese or English group. The patterns that were identified in more than one essay in each language were: in the Japanese group, Col, which appeared in both above and below average groups, and Comp-> Exp, which appeared only among the essays below the mean; and in the English group, Spec(Col), which tended to appear above the mean, and Spec(Comp), which appeared equally in both above and below average groups.

Despite these differences, there were some similarities:
(i) The frequency of the pattern, Exp(Col), was the same for both languages (27.3%).
(ii) Both language groups shared some features when essays above the mean and the ones below the mean were compared:
- While the essays below the mean contained the ones with the location of main idea identified as *Final* or *Obscure*, none of the essays above the mean contained the ones with the location identified as *Final*, *Middle* or *Obscure*.
- The pattern Exp(Col) tended to appear in the essays above the mean.
- The patterns identified as Other appeared only among the below average essays.
- The essays without a summary statement tended to fall below the mean.

(2) How do the rhetorical structures vary between L1 Japanese and L1 English essays in the *persuasive* mode?

There were both differences and similarities between Japanese and English essays.

The differences were as follows:

(i) *Specification* was found in both languages, but in the Japanese group, Spec was the most common subpattern, while only Spec(Col) was identified in English.

(ii) *Induction* appeared in both languages but the frequency was slightly higher in Japanese.

(iii) There were macro-level rhetorical patterns identified only in Japanese or English. The patterns that were identified in more than one essay in each language group were: in Japanese, Comp->Ind, which tended to appear in the below average group, and Spec, which tended to appear in the above average group; and in English, Ind(Col), which appeared in both above and below average groups.

There were some similarities as follows:

(i) The most common location of the main idea was *Initial* (about fifty percent), and the next was *Final* (about thirty percent).

(ii) The frequency of *Explanation*, a larger category of macro-level patterns, was the same (about thirty percent).

(iii) The essays without a summary statement tended to fall below the mean.

(iv) Similar features emerged when Japanese and English were compared according to three levels of quality, High, Medium and Low:

- The most common location of the main idea among the High group was *Initial*, that among the Medium group was *Initial* followed by *Final*, and that among the Low group was *Final*.
- *Obscure* was identified only among the Low group in both languages.
- While the most common macro-level patterns for the High group were *Explanation* and *Specification*, *Specification* decreased and *Induction* increased in the Medium group and *Induction* became the most common pattern in the Low group.
- The patterns identified as Other tended to appear in the lower quality range.

(3) How do the modes (expository and persuasive) compare with respect to the rhetorical structures ?

(i) In both language groups, *Final* as the location of the main idea and *Induction*, a larger category of macro-level patterns, appeared more frequently in the persuasive mode than in the expository mode.

(ii) In both language groups, Exp(Col) was identified more frequently in the expository mode than in the persuasive mode.

(iii) In the English group, *Specification* was more frequently identified in the expository mode than in the persuasive mode.

(iv) In the Japanese group, *Specification* appeared only in the persuasive mode.

(v) Across the mode and the language, the essays without a summary statement tended to fall below the mean.

8.1.2. The results for the second research question

(1) Does each individual student use a similar rhetorical structure?

The use of similar rhetorical structures was identified in about half of the Japanese students in each mode (12 out of 22 in expository, and 11 out of 24 in persuasive).

(2) How does the use of the similar/dissimilar rhetorical structure affect the quality of the L2 essay?

There was a larger gap between the Japanese score and the ESL score in the "Similar" group than in the "Dissimilar" group in both modes. However, there was not a significant interaction effect between the use of similar/dissimilar rhetorical structures and the organization scores for the two languages in each mode. There was instead a positive correlation between the students' Japanese scores and ESL organization scores in each mode.

The analysis of individual students among the "Similar" group revealed no instance of negative transfer of Japanese-specific rhetorical structures. There were a few instances where the use of similar structures resulted in a considerably lower ESL score than the Japanese score. However, this phenomenon seems to be related to the students' insufficient command of English and/or the lack of composing experience in English.

The analysis of individual students among the "Dissimilar" group revealed some instances with a large decline in organization scores from Japanese to ESL, but this seems to be explained by students' poor command of English as well as their lack of composing experience in English.

In the "Dissimilar" group, there were some students who scored below the mean on Japanese but above the mean on English. This phenomenon seems to have been caused by one of or a combination of the following: (1) better organization in ESL than in Japanese despite the use of a Japanese-specific structure; (2) students' conscious or unconscious use of the structures that they thought were culturally preferred; (3) good English language skills.

In both "Similar" and "Dissimilar" groups, there were a number of instances where the use of similar or dissimilar structures resulted in similar qualities relative to each of the L1 Japanese and ESL samples, which indicates the transfer of writing abilities.

The generally lower ESL organization scores than the Japanese scores seem to be related to students' lack of composing experience and lack of ESL language skills rather than particular rhetorical structures that they used. This was confirmed by high Japanese and ESL organization scores obtained by some of the students who had studied English overseas.

(3) What factors influence the use of the similar/dissimilar structure?

Among the "Similar" group, the use of similar structures seems to be related to the students' perceptions that: (1) Japanese and English texts are generally organized differently but (some of the) Japanese texts should be written with the organization used for English, and (2) Japanese and English texts are generally organized similarly.

There was a case in the "Similar" group where a student's ambivalent feelings toward English rhetoric (logical but too direct) seems to have resulted in his using similar structures in spite of his attempt to write the two languages differently.

Among the "Dissimilar" group, the use of dissimilar structures seems to be related to the following factors: (1) conscious or unconscious attempt to use different structures based on students' preference of or perceptions about Japanese and English structures; (2) insufficient command of English that caused misinterpretation of the prompt, inadequate paragraphing or a failure to attend to the organization.

One student who used dissimilar structures scored the lowest in both languages. His use of dissimilar structures seems to be related to his resistance to prescribed norms.

Students' perceptions that Japanese and English texts are generally organized differently seems to have been constructed by listening to their English teachers and peers, reading books on Japanese and/or English, reading in English and/or Japanese, practicing writing "shoronbun". On the other hand, students' perceptions that Japanese and English are generally organized similarly seem to have been constructed by learning how to write "shoronbun," studying at high school or university, reading books on how to write in Japanese, reading academic articles in Japanese, learning from peers.

8.2. Connections to the hypotheses of contrastive rhetoric

8.2.1. The first hypothesis

The first hypothesis of contrastive rhetoric was that "each language or culture has rhetorical conventions that are unique to itself." In this study, there were some macro-level patterns that were observed only in the Japanese group or in the English group. Before discussing these patterns, it should be noted that none of the results of this study must be interpreted as the typical or finite features observed in the two cultures. This is not only because in a scientific sense this study lacks external validity as sampling was not random, but also in my own view, the results of this study represent only local realities. This study involved only a certain number of students, raters, and analyzers who brought their own specific experiences and subjectivities to the specific tasks at a certain time and space. Thus, the results of this study can represent only part of the diverse human experiences and their practices in history. There are a number of other possible features and categories that are constitutive of the two cultures.

With the above conditions in mind, I will discuss some implications of the present study to the field of contrastive rhetoric. There were some patterns specific to the Japanese sample. When both expository and persuasive modes are collapsed, the patterns observed in the Japanese L1 essays but not in L1 English essays were Comp->Exp, which was identified in three expository essays and one persuasive essay, and Comp->Ind, which was identified in one expository essay and three persuasive essays. The pattern, Comp->Exp, in the expository mode introduces a certain content which is often a background of the issue, then brings up the topic which is contrasted with the first content, and then a

supporting reason is stated. This pattern thus tends to include a long introduction before the writer gets to the point. The pattern, Comp->Ind, in the persuasive mode introduces two elements in a relationship of compare/contrast or adversative and then the main idea is drawn in the end. The first element tends to be an antithesis of the second point which eventually leads to the conclusion, and thus it is difficult to predict where the argument goes. These features correspond to some of the findings of previous studies; that Japanese students prefer an inductive pattern and they never get to the point (Ostler 1990), and that Japanese is characterized by a sudden topic shift (Hinds 1983, 1987, 1990). However, in the present study the essays with such patterns were the minority, and moreover, many of them were rated below average.

Another rhetorical feature of Japanese that has been identified by many of the previous studies (Hinds 1990, Kobayashi 1984, Oi 1984, Ostler 1990) and needs to be discussed here is the tendency to place the main idea in the final position. In this study, the Japanese expository group contained more essays with the main idea placed in the *Final* position than the English counterpart. However, all of the Japanese expository essays with the main idea in the *Final* position received scores below the mean. This indicates that although placing the main idea at the end may more likely happen in Japanese than in English given an expository topic such as the one used in this study, it may not be a "preferred" style. In the persuasive mode in both languages, although there were about an equal number of English and Japanese essays with the main idea placed in the *Final* position, such essays appeared more often in the Medium group than in the High group, and in the Low group than in the Medium group. This indicates that in writing on a persuasive topic such as the one used in this study, it may be that placing the main idea at the end is not a style specific only to Japanese nor is it necessarily a preferred style.

Placing the main idea in the *Final* position often overlaps the use of *Induction*, one of the larger categories or macro-level patterns. When the subpatterns of *Induction* were examined, however, there was a difference between the Japanese and English groups especially in the persuasive mode; i.e., in Japanese, Ind and Comp->Ind were used, while in English, Ind(Col) was observed most often. This indicates that when Japanese students use an inductive pattern, they tend to either formulate one elaborated argument which will

eventually lead to a conclusion, or introduce an argument opposite to the subsequent one and then based on the contrast with the first argument, draw the main opinion at the end. On the other hand, native speakers of English tend to present more than one argument which constitute supporting reasons for the opinion drawn at the end. The pattern Ind(Col) seems to correspond to what Hinds (1990) proposes the inductive pattern expected by the English-speaking reader; i.e., the style in which each point made by the writer will constitute a reason, the sum of which will argue for the conclusion in the final paragraph. By contrast, the first argument in the pattern, Comp->Ind, is not a direct supporting argument for the conclusion. However, in this study, Comp->Ind was neither a pattern used by the majority of the Japanese students nor a pattern rated highly by Japanese readers.

While Comp->Exp and Comp->Ind, which appeared only among the Japanese essays, tended to belong to the group below average in quality, some of the patterns observed among the Japanese essays above the mean--i.e., Exp(Col) for the expository mode and Exp, Spec(Col), and Ind for the persuasive mode--were shared by the English group above the mean. This predicted only a very small possibility that using a Japanese-specific rhetoric negatively affects the quality of the ESL essay; it predicted, instead, either positive transfer of L1-L2 common rhetorical structures appreciated by both Japanese readers and English-speaking readers or transfer of poor L1 organizational skills. In fact, all of these points were confirmed by the results of this study.

The fact that many rhetorical patterns were shared by both languages and certain rhetorical patterns observed only among Japanese essays were not necessarily rated highly by Japanese readers raises a question as to what are the "rhetorical conventions" of a certain language. Within the existing knowledge of contrastive rhetoric, there seem to be two subsets of the definition of "rhetorical conventions." First, "rhetorical conventions" are considered as culturally specific as the first hypothesis reads. Second, the notion "that ESL students are good writers in their L1 does not necessarily mean that they are good writers in their L2," reiterated in Kaplan (1988) and Grabe and Kaplan (1989), presupposes that culturally specific "rhetorical conventions" are evaluated highly in that culture. As far as the first subset of the definition is concerned, the Japanese sample in this study certainly

exhibited some rhetorical patterns specific to Japanese, and there was a certain likeliness for certain rhetorical structures to appear more often in Japanese than in English. However, such "conventions" were certainly not observed in the majority of the sample and there were many patterns shared by both languages. The results of the persuasive mode manifest more difficulty in justifying the first sense of "rhetorical conventions"; although there were some differences in the subpatterns of *Induction*, inductive patterns were equally used among the English group and deductive patterns such as *Specification* and *Explanation* were used in both groups. Furthermore, a critical issue is, in light of the second subset of the definition, that the "rhetorical conventions" that were observed only among the Japanese essays were not necessarily evaluated highly by the Japanese readers. Can one still claim that certain cultural rhetorical features which are not appreciated by readers in the culture are "rhetorical conventions" of that culture?

From the results of the present study, it can be said that while certain rhetorical patterns or tendencies specific to Japanese may exist, they are not the only constructs of Japanese rhetoric. Also, certain rhetorical patterns or tendencies specific to English may exist, but they are not the only constructs of English rhetoric. The ways to organize a text are multiple and rhetoric in one culture or language is certainly not fixed. Nevertheless, this does not mean that any kind of Japanese or English rhetorical pattern is regarded as well organized--there are certain privileged rhetorical structures, many of which in fact seem to be shared by the two languages.

8.2.2. The second hypothesis

The second hypothesis of contrastive rhetoric was that "the rhetorical conventions of students' L1 interfere with their ESL writing." This hypothesis assumes that ESL students organize their ESL texts in the same way that they do in their L1 writing. As criticized in Chapter 3, previous studies tend to view ESL students from a particular culture as a homogeneous group of people who will inevitably use their "cultural rhetoric" in their L2 writing. Lost here is the perspective of how ESL learners as human agents, who have different experiences, perceive Japanese and English rhetoric and act on their experiences and perceptions in writing.

The results of this study showed that not all students wrote in a similar way in the two languages; about half of the students in both modes used dissimilar structures according to the framework used in this study. Moreover, some of them used similar or dissimilar structures for their L1 and L2 essays consciously or unconsciously, which seemed to reflect their perceptions about how the two languages are and should be organized, an ambivalent feeling toward particular English style or resistance to norms and prescriptions (although in some cases the results of the text analysis were not consistent with what the students tried to do or how they thought the Japanese and English texts are or should be organized). Also, results indicated that each student's different level of organization skill in L1 writing and command of ESL language as well as his/her own unique past and present experiences of learning to write in L1 and L2 influence the rhetorical structures that are exhibited in the student's L1 and L2 essays. These results seriously question the assumption in previous studies that the organization of ESL essays is determined by a certain static and homogeneous substance of "cultural rhetoric" which resides in every single ESL student from the same cultural background.

The fact that Japanese and English L1 essays shared some similar rhetorical structures and that there was a positive correlation between the qualities of Japanese students' Japanese essays and ESL essays confirms positive instead of negative transfer in writing, which is in line with some findings in the studies focusing on the cognitive aspects of writing in L1 and L2 (e.g., Arndt 1987; Canale, Frenette, and Belanger 1988; Carson et. al 1990; Cumming 1988; Jones and Tetroe 1987; Yau 1987). This means that the poor organizational quality identified often in ESL essays is not so much the result of using "cultural conventions" which are incompatible with those of the target language as the manifestation of the lack of ability to organize a coherent text in the students' first language.

Nonetheless, the lack of writing ability in L1 is not the only factor that can explain the low organizational quality of ESL essays. In this study, the organization of Japanese students' ESL essays was generally rated more poorly than that of their Japanese essays, even though the Japanese essays were in the highest range in organization quality. I speculated that this is due to the lack of composing experience and of a general command of English (lexical and syntactic control) which prevented some of the students from paying

attention to the organization, using effective devices to make the text coherent or interpreting the prompt correctly. That ESL proficiency, in addition to L1 writing expertise, influences the general quality of ESL essays was also confirmed by Cumming (1988).

The fact that some students in this study never had any composing experience is rather surprising since these students, who were attending universities in Japan, had been learning English at least eight years and some of them were even English majors. This problem is caused by the fact that in English classes in Japan English writing tends to be treated as a translation exercise from Japanese to English on a sentence level (Okumura 1983; Otagaki 1983; Takefuta 1982; Togo 1981). Otagaki argues that lexical and syntactic accuracy is overemphasized in such an approach and the fundamental elements of composition, such as statement of a thesis, organization and persuasion, are ignored. Such particular English instructional practices in Japan seem to be one of the major factors that influences how students write and what they produce. This instructional factor is in line with the argument made by Mohan and Lo (1985) in the context of Hong Kong.

The results of this study have illuminated a number of factors that influence the students' use of particular rhetorical structures. It is now clear that many of the previous studies of contrastive rhetoric which investigated the nature of L1 "rhetorical conventions" and L1-L2 rhetorical transfer not only construct a very particular assumption and discourse about the L1 rhetoric but also ignore students' unique views, experiences and abilities and undermine the human agency that students bring. From the above discussion, what kind of pedagogical implications can be drawn?

8.3. Pedagogical implications

8.3.1. Teachers' assumptions

The results of this study provide some implications regarding the assumptions that ESL teachers make about Japanese students' writing in English. First, a teacher cannot assume that ESL students from Japan are conditioned by certain unitary and exotic cultural rhetoric. The teacher needs to be aware that there are a number of different ways to organize a text in their L1 and, as the results of this study have shown, the privileged rhetoric in their L1 can be shared by some of the privileged rhetorical structures of English.

Second, not only Japanese rhetoric but also English rhetoric is open to possibilities; a teacher should not assume that the way of organizing English texts is fixed. Third, it is inappropriate to assume that students inevitably use the same rhetorical structures for both L1 and L2 writing without consciousness of any kind. Teachers should be aware that there exist different perceptions among students as to what kinds of organization are and should be used for L1 and L2 writing and the different values and feelings attached to the students' perceptions. Teachers thus need to be aware that the students' perceptions, values and feelings may influence the students' use of similar or different rhetorical structures for L1 and L2 writing. Fourth, inappropriateness exhibited in the students' ESL texts is not necessarily a reflection of L1-specific rhetoric but of a number of other factors; e.g., poor skills in organizing a text in L1, a lack of composing experiences which is affected by certain teaching practices in Japan, insufficient command of English grammar and vocabulary or resistance to the norm. A teacher must take into account students' different abilities, histories and subjectivities in understanding the cause of what is perceived as problematic in their L2 texts.

While this study provides some implications for teachers' assumptions discussed above, it also offers some implications as to what to teach. Before discussing them, however, it is necessary to reiterate my position regarding the purpose of teaching ESL writing.

8.3.2. Purpose of teaching ESL writing

In Chapter 4 of this thesis, I raised pedagogical issues on teaching ESL writing from three perspectives: (1) a view recommended by some of the researchers of contrastive rhetoric that norms and conventions should be explicitly taught by raising students' awareness that they exist in each culture and language in different forms and by giving controlled exercises of rhetoric; as the goal of teaching is acculturation, (2) a view that opposes the formulaic nature of the first view and puts an emphasis on the composing process, discovery and generation of meaning and a student-centered approach to teaching; and yet, shares a similar goal of teaching writing with the first view; i.e., initiating the ESL students into the target discourse community, and (3) critical literacy which aims at teaching

and learning reading and writing with critical consciousness through posing questions about the 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.

It was made clear that it is the third view which I am promoting in this thesis. In this view, the purpose of teaching ESL literacy is not only to help the students become able to read and write in English but also to transform the students' perceptions of the world and the world. Also in this view, the dominant form of the language, both rhetorical and lexical/syntactic aspects, must be taught to ESL students in order to give them a tool for full participation in the dominant discourse community (Freire and Macedo 1987), to work toward control of their destinies rather than becoming blind victims of social forces (Bizzell 1982a) and to build a foundation on which the students can analyze, evaluate and critique the knowledge gained by academic discourse (Bizzell 1986). It was pointed out that since the privileged forms of rhetoric are to be taught critically in this perspective, demystifying them is pedagogically necessary. From this point of view, what kind of implications are drawn from the results of this study?

8.3.3. Teaching rhetorical and linguistic skills

In addressing, from the perspective of critical literacy, some implications as to what to teach, I am not attempting to provide any prescriptions of *how* to teach ESL writing. This is because, for one, this study is not concerned with methods of teaching, and for another, providing how-to recipes for teachers may merely contribute to "de-skilling" or "domestication of the mind" as Freire contends (Freire and Macedo 1987:135). What one has to bear in mind is the ends of teaching literacy which have been addressed above and my discussion here must be understood as being based on that particular view.

It can be speculated that well-organized L1 English essays on an expository topic like the one used in this study tend to exhibit *Specification*, one of the broader categories for macro-level patterns, which has a main idea as well as a brief preview statement of the subsequent arguments stated in the introduction. While a number of Japanese students in this study commented that in English the main idea is usually stated in the beginning, none

of them used *Specification* in their ESL expository essays. Their perception that the main idea is stated in the beginning in English corresponds to one aspect of the pattern *Specification* but the other aspect, i.e., presenting a preview statement, needs to be made explicit to the students in order to help them understand the nature of the pattern of *Specification* and become able to use the pattern.

While there was no instance of *Specification* among the expository essays written by the Japanese students (in Japanese and ESL), Exp(Col) was used often especially in the Japanese essays rated above the mean. Since Exp(Col) also appeared among L1 English essays rated above average, this pattern seems to be an appropriate pattern for Japanese students to use for both Japanese and English.

The fact that these patterns were observed often among the essays above the mean never indicates that other patterns will always be rated poorly. One of the best ESL expository essays exhibited the pattern, Comp->Ind, which was identified as a pattern specific to Japanese, and one of the best ESL persuasive essays was identified as Ind, which tended to be observed among Japanese and English L1 essays with average or poor organizational quality. Teachers always need to remind themselves that the ways to organize a text effectively are plural, not fixed.

The multiplicity of effective rhetorical structures was manifested more clearly in the persuasive mode in this study. While the L1 English persuasive essays in the High and the Medium ranges contained Spec(Col) and Exp(Col), they also contained several other patterns including two subpatterns of *Induction*. This indicates that the effectiveness of organization may depend on something other than the use of particular rhetorical structures that were identified in this study--it may be determined by how well the text communicates and appeals to the reader, which requires further investigation.

To put the two modes together, (sub)patterns of *Specification* is to be taught to ESL students as the forms often regarded as well-organized. More importantly, however, the teacher and the students ought to explore other possible ways to organize a text effectively with the awareness that good rhetorical structures are not fixed but open to possibilities. Nakamura (1979) argues that the effort to come close to the native speakers' writing style, especially on the sociolinguistic level, is important for Japanese learners of English, but it

is merely a means to an end--the end is to go beyond the imitated English code and express one's voice that comes out of one's own identity. Teaching the privileged forms of rhetoric in the target language should not become the end itself, it must be regarded as a necessary step for going beyond the imitated code.

In exploring other possibilities, however, the teacher should not merely appreciate and celebrate all the authentic products of the students. While, as Nakamura argues, the students must make an effort to go beyond the rhetorical and linguistic code of English and express one's voice, the teacher should make clear, based on his/her intellectual judgments, what is an organization that communicates well and what is not. Thus, students, particularly the ones with a poor skill in text organization, will be aware of the fact that there is something to be improved in their texts and what is to be improved.

I have argued that there are multiple possible ways to organize a text effectively and that the teacher and students should explore them further. However, as this study indicated, having syntactic and lexical control as well as composing experience in English is important for students to be able to organize their ESL texts effectively. In ESL writing classes, teachers need to help students build up vocabulary and improve grammatical accuracy. This is an essential precondition for enhancing the organizational quality of essays that ESL students write and allows them to participate fully in the target rhetorical community. At the same time, the students should be given many opportunities to compose in order to gain fluency in writing which will enable them to attend to the larger rhetorical organization.

I have discussed the results of the study by connecting them with the two hypotheses of contrastive rhetoric and addressed some pedagogical implications regarding teachers' assumptions and what to teach from the perspective of critical literacy. The skills in using dominant rhetorical forms and syntactic as well as lexical control are certainly important in that they help students fully participate in the dominant rhetorical community and express their voices. Yet, a critical approach to teaching must go further and understand the language and rhetoric in the broader social, political and ideological contexts and power relations in order to liberate the students and teachers from domination/subordination implicated in unequal power relations. In other words, the aims

of critical literacy are not merely to have the students become able to read and write in a neutral term, but also to transform, with critical consciousness, their perceptions of the reality and the conditions that reproduce social inequality.

In this perspective, it is not sufficient to end my thesis only with the discussion of the results in relation to the hypotheses drawn from previous research as a conventional study of applied linguistics would do. In the following Chapter 9, I will attempt to connect Japanese rhetoric, students' perceptions about Japanese and English rhetoric and evaluation of Japanese essays with broader social, academic, political and ideological contexts and competing discourses implicated in power relations between Japan and the West.

9. RHETORIC, STUDENTS, TEACHERS AND ACADEMICS AS LOCATED IN DISCOURSES

As revealed in this study, students bring to the task of writing in L1 and L2 their own perceptions and experiences located within various social practices (learning from teachers, reading books, practicing writing essays, etc.). In this section, such social practices and the ways in which students perceived Japanese and English rhetoric and the kinds of rhetorical structures they used in writing will be understood as constituted by and constitutive of conflicting discourses. The issue of discourses in culture was touched upon in Chapter 3 when I made an attempt to argue against the exotic and static view of Japanese rhetoric. There, I discussed the discourse of westernization and modernization in nineteenth-century Japan which had a large impact on the construction of the written forms of modern Japanese. Here, the results of the present study will be connected with competing discourses in the Japanese academic community that emerge from academic, political and economic relations between Japan and the West.

9.1. Contradictions in the results of the study

This study revealed Japanese students' engagement in L1 and ESL writing with their different perceptions about Japanese and English rhetorical characteristics and with certain preferences and attitudes toward them. Their perceptions about Japanese and English rhetorical characteristics, however, were not unitary. There were contradicting views and some of the views did not correspond with the rhetorical structures of some of the Japanese essays to which the Japanese evaluators in this study gave high ratings; such rhetorical structures were generally not what has been claimed by some of the researchers of contrastive rhetoric as the characteristic of Japanese but were similar to the ones used in highly evaluated English L1 essays.

In this study, the Japanese students had different perceptions as to how Japanese and English academic texts are generally organized. There were two major views: (1) that Japanese and English texts are organized differently and (2) that Japanese and English texts are organized in a similar way.

First, about half of the students pointed out a difference between Japanese and English and offered labels such as the following: Japanese text is indirect, ambiguous, roundabout, illogical, digressive, has the main idea at the end, and contains a long introductory remark and long, complex sentences; English text is direct, clear, logical, has the main idea stated in the beginning and has unity in the paragraph and little digression. However, there were differences in their views on how Japanese texts *should* be organized and their actual use of rhetorical structures. Some of the students seemed to associate these labels with a negative image of Japanese and a positive image of English and they commented that Japanese should be written with a clear and deductive organization used in English writing. On the other hand, some students thought that Japanese should be written inductively and English should be written deductively, and they actually used such styles in writing in the two languages. A few students gave credit to Japanese or expressed an ambivalent feeling toward the English way of writing; for instance, one student thought that Japanese is more adept in expressing subtle feelings, and another felt that texts written in English are easy to understand due to a clear logic but they do not appeal to his emotions.

Contrary to the above group of students, some students thought that Japanese texts and English texts are organized in a similar way and the same organization should be used in both languages. The following labels for ideal texts in both languages emerged from these students' responses: clear, logical, succinct, unity in the paragraph, opinion clearly stated, conveying an intended message accurately.

It is interesting to note that the labels for Japanese and English that emerged from the first group of students correspond with the ones proposed by previous studies of contrastive rhetoric, and the negative versus positive value judgments of Japanese and English respectively are in line with the underlying ideology of these studies. Such value judgments, however, were not fixed; in other words, Japanese and English were not always regarded negative and positive respectively but there were some mixed feelings about the values attached to Japanese and English. By contrast, the labels for ideal Japanese text features that emerged from the second group of students are similar to what has been claimed to be the characteristic of English rhetoric and contradict the labels given by the first group of students.

Besides the above contradicting views among the students, there was a discrepancy between the view held by some of the students in the first group that Japanese should be written inductively and the rhetorical structures of Japanese essays rated highly by Japanese raters; that is, what was rated highly was not generally an inductive pattern.

The above contradicting views among the students and the discrepancy between what is perceived as the characteristic of Japanese organization and actual evaluation of organization can be coherently understood by situating them in broader social, political, academic, and ideological contexts in which competing discourses are constructed by unequal power relations of Japan and the West. In the following, I will discuss such broader contexts and the discourses found among Japanese academics and educators, and attempt to untangle the contradictions and discrepancies.

9.2. Competing discourses in the Japanese academic community

9.2.1. "English is logical and Japanese is ambiguous"

A review of books and articles on Japanese and English published in Japan provides some labels similar to the ones that emerged from the students' perceptions as well as some previous studies of contrastive rhetoric.

Saisho (1975) claims that Japanese excels in expressing the writer's emotions subjectively, whereas English surpasses Japanese in its logic, analysis and succinctness. Takefuta (1982) makes a comparison of the thought patterns of Japanese and English. His list includes the following dichotomy: Japanese is emotional (sentimental, ambiguous) vs. English is logical (analytic, clear); Japanese is reserved (indirect) vs. English is candid (direct). Takefuta in fact maintains that the figures for different thought patterns drawn by Kaplan (1966) clearly demonstrate the difference between Japanese and English. Okihara et. al. (1985) cite the dichotomy suggested by Takefuta (1982) as well as the model offered by Kaplan (1966) and state that English speakers seem to construct their argument in a logical and straightforward manner whereas the Orientals (or the Japanese) tend to write lengthy opening remarks before they reach their conclusions which are often ambiguous. Nozaki (1988) also mentions Kaplan (1966) and says that English used by the Japanese is often unclear to native speakers of English. According to Nozaki, English texts written by

the Japanese are hard to comprehend because logical development is lacking and/or a topic sentence in a paragraph is absent or inappropriate. Nakajima (1987), in referring mainly to sentence structures, claims that Japanese is intuitive and descriptive. He maintains that the most important element does not come until the end in a Japanese sentence and, as a result, there is always a lack of clarity in the language. On the other hand, English is logically structured as demonstrated in the word order in a sentence--subject, verb, and object. Nakajima also claims that the Japanese people prefer ambiguous expressions, whereas Westerners try to persuade their audience by expressing their messages clearly. Araki (1986) states that the Japanese understand the world emotionally and intuitively whereas the British and Americans interpret the world analytically and logically. Nishida (1987), in his handbook of Japanese-to-English translation, maintains that in Japanese sometimes *ketsu* (conclusion) in *ki-sho-ten-ketsu* is omitted because stating the conclusion unambiguously is often inappropriate. In English, on the other hand, *ketsu* or the conclusion (meaning the "main point") is always stated in the beginning. Nishida also maintains, "English is a language that requires a great amount of logic. As it is a logical language, it deserves its international use" (p.131).

In the literature reviewed above, the Japanese text is described as "emotional," "subjective," "unclear," "indirect," "ambiguous," and "has the main point stated at the end," while the English text is described as "logical," "analytical," "direct," "succinct," and "has the main point stated in the beginning." These views of Japanese and English are not neutral or free of value judgment; they reflect a discourse in which Japanese is viewed as backward, inferior, and therefore subject to being remedied, while English is viewed as advanced, positive and something to be followed as a good model. This discourse is manifested in the arguments given by some of the above authors; for instance, Saisho (1975) argues:

> ...what is present in English but absent in Japanese is logical and analytical reasoning. English is equipped with functional expressions in this respect. It may be a good idea to incorporate such features into Japanese.
>
> There are a small number of British and American people who have mastered Japanese perfectly. Studying the Japanese language spoken and written by them will be beneficial because it is structured by the English logic.
>
> ...These people express what average Japanese people do not usually think of in excellent Japanese for us. This would be of help for expanding the range of Japanese expressions...Their Japanese is rich in content, topics and

persuasiveness.

> However, it is not advisable for the Japanese to speak English using the Japanese logic because a higher level of logicalness is required in using English, a world language, as a tool for communication. (pp. 177-178)

Here the logic of English is viewed as a model for the development of the Japanese language. Nakajima (1987), as reviewed above, states that Westerners' intention of utterances is to persuade their audience. In order to do so, it is necessary to inform the audience what the issue is, and the English sentence structure, in which a subject is placed in the beginning, is more equipped for this purpose. Nakajima argues that "in light of the intention of utterance, English is superior to Japanese as a language for academic writing" (p.192-193). In her short essay, Tenma (1990) claims that teaching English would contribute to reforming the Japanese language. She bases her claim on her observation of the Japanese essays written by her students after they were taught English paragraph organization. According to Tenma, the Japanese essays were organized in the English way; i.e., logical and unambiguous development of ideas. To her, Japanese, for which ambiguity has been a virtue for centuries, needs to be reformed because we now live in an era when a logical way of conveying our opinions is required. These arguments clearly manifest a discourse in which Japanese is devalued while English is glorified.

The view held by some of the students in this study, i.e., Japanese and English are very differently organized and the clear and deductive English style should be used in Japanese writing, seems to reflect the above view among Japanese academics.

9.2.2. Counter-discourse: A positive view of Japanese

The discourse delineated above is contrasted with another discourse that views Japanese positively rather than negatively. For instance, Nomoto (1978) criticizes the claim that Japanese is an illogical language by arguing that every language entails a logic and Japanese cannot be measured by the yardstick for western languages. Suzuki (1975) maintains that despite the persistent condemnation of Japanese as an incomplete language, the Japanese have always appreciated circumlocution and complication. More recently, Suzuki (1985) suggests that Japanese people should abandon the misconception that Japanese is an incomplete language. He constructs an argument that Japanese is in fact a

superior language compared to others that use the alphabet because its logographic nature allows an easy access to the meanings of technical terms. Umesao (1988) condemns the post Second World War notion that Japan lost the war partly because of the lack of logic in the Japanese language which prevented Japan from developing technology and science (see the discussion in 9.3. below). Although he agrees that Japan did not develop extremely logical ways of thinking, Umesao argues that this is because the Japanese culture did not affirm the superiority or absoluteness of logic. According to Umesao, Japanese has developed emotional rather than logical expressions partly due to the fact that Japan has been isolated and has had little contact with other language groups. He further contends that emotional expressions are finer than logical expressions because a logical content can be explained by an "artless language," which is essentially a means to solve conflicts between two parties who do not share the same language, while intricate emotions cannot be expressed by such "artless language." Umesao also argues that Japanese can express logic as well, and moreover, some syntactic features such as the obligatory subject in a sentence in some western languages are not the manifestation of logic but merely customs of these languages. Toyama (1973) argues that each language has its own logic and so does Japanese. According to Toyama, Japanese has a dot-like logic, meaning that a series of dots constitute a logic without apparent links among them, whereas European languages have a linear logic. The characteristic of the dot-like logic, according to Toyama, is an abundance of abridgement and implicitness, which results in ambiguity, but ambiguity per se is a form of logic. Toyama argues that there is creativity in realizing a line of logic by linking isolated dots, and this process is contrasted by the boredom of tracing the firm thick line of logic.

Interestingly, giving positive values to Japanese can also be observed in the literature which can be categorized under *Nihonjinron* (or *Nihon Bunkaron*), which literally means "studies on the Japanese (or Japanese culture)" and in substance champions the uniqueness of the Japanese culture. The following three books can be regarded as representatives of such studies: *Amae no kozo* (The anatomy of dependency) by Doi (1971), which promotes the notion of "dependency" as a key concept which can explain the psychology of the Japanese as well as Japanese social structures; *Tate shakai no ningen*

kankei (Japanese society) by Nakane (1967), which explains structures of the Japanese society in terms of "vertical" relationships among people; and *Nihonjin no no* (Japanese brain) by Tsunoda (1978), which highlights the uniqueness of brain functions of the Japanese based on the findings of a series of experiments.

According to Doi (1971), the non-logical and intuitive nature of the Japanese thought pattern is not unrelated to "dependency" because the psychology of "dependency," which underlies the isolation of self from facts and identification of self with the other, is in essence non-logical. Doi maintains that although the world of "dependency" may be critically or negatively viewed as "illogical," "closed," and "egoistic," it can also be positively evaluated as "non-discriminatory" and "tolerant." The positive values of "dependency" are further illustrated by the philosophy of Zen Buddhism and aestheticism in Japan.

Nakane (1977) contends that what underlies the Japanese value system is a relative, rather than absolute or logical, principle which is based on social and emotional "vertical" human relationships. For Nakane, the non-logical and anti-intellectual everyday language use in Japanese is not comparable to any other language cultures and it is one of the factors that makes Japanese culture unintelligible to foreigners. Nakane claims that while such language use has disadvantages in academic and political arguments, it offers people a sort of relaxation in a severely stratified society.

A main claim made by Tsunoda (1978) is that for Westerners the functions of the left brain is to process logical sounds only (syllables including consonants) and that of the right brain is to process other sounds (vowels, musical instruments, noises, etc.), while for the Japanese the function of the left brain is to process logical sounds (syllables both with and without consonants), emotional sounds (vowels, humming sounds) and natural sounds (chirping sounds of crickets, etc.), and the function of the right brain is to process other sounds. According to this theory, emotional and natural sounds intervene in the logical thinking of Japanese people. Tsunoda argues that this finding is not inconsistent with what has been claimed as a characteristic of the Japanese.

The above three authors do not seem to praise overtly the non-logical nature of the Japanese thought pattern but instead they regard it as one of the factors that distinguish the

Japanese from other races--what is championed here is the distinctiveness of the Japanese and Japanese culture.

However, such claims that highlight the uniqueness of the Japanese have been criticized as an ideological construct that is wearing a mask of scientific or sociological inquiry (Sugimoto and Mouer 1982, 1989; Mouer and Sugimoto 1986; Befu 1987; Lummis and Ikeda 1985). The criticisms circle around the validity of the claims on Japanese culture such as ethnic homogeneity, harmonious society and group orientation; and the political motives behind such claims. Among the critics, Befu (1987) argues that overemphasis on the distinctiveness of Japanese culture is a reaction against the penetration of western knowledge and material things into various sectors of the Japanese society; it is in a way a form of resistance against the fear of losing a national identity.

Although the students in this study did not seem to celebrate the non-linear, non-logical or inductive nature of Japanese overtly as the above scholars do, some of them did affirm such characteristics and attempted to use them in their writing in Japanese.

9.3. Construction of competing discourses

The two competing discourses on the Japanese language and culture, i.e., the one that views Japanese as negative and the other that views Japanese as positive or distinctive, do not exist arbitrarily or out of context; they seem to be closely related to the economic, political and academic relations between Japan and the West[1] on the social level as well as each person's subject position that he or she finds between the two cultures on the individual level.

As pointed out by Minami (1980), Sugimoto and Mouer (1982) and Mouer and Sugimoto (1986), who offer an overview of the history of *Nihonjinron*, modern Japan has tended to be dominated by the discourse that views Japan negatively especially after its experience of a political and military conquest by the West. It was thought that the defeat was caused by a deficiency of the Japanese people, culture and society.

[1] It is certainly problematic to regard the West as a homogeneous category. In the following discussion, I will regard the West as the dominant economic and political powers which have been immediate interests of and models for the Japanese on political, economic and cultural levels since the end of the nineteenth century.

As far as the negative view of the Japanese language is concerned, there have been some arguments for abolishing the Japanese language at certain times in the history. Suzuki (1987) for example discusses three advocates of such position. In the late nineteenth century when Japan was urged to open its door to the world and was compelled to adopt western knowledge and technology, Arinori Mori, the first Minister of Education, advocated the adoption of English as the language of Japan.[2] Immediately after World War II, Naoya Shiga, a distinguished writer, expressed his condemnation of Japanese in a journal, *Kaizo* (Reformation) in 1946. For Shiga, Japanese was an incomplete and extremely inconvenient language which prevented the development of culture. He maintained that if English had been adopted as the national language as Mori suggested, the war would not have broken out. Shiga then advocated the adoption of French as the national language since for him France was a country with an advanced culture and with literature which is somewhat similar to Japanese literature with respect to the sentiment embodied in it. Also, after the World War II between 1947 and 1950, Gakudo Ozaki, a politician, advocated the adoption of English as the national language. Ozaki's argument was that since democracy was born and developed in Britain and the U.S., it would never grow in Japan without adopting their language.

The above condemnation of Japanese that appeared in the history reflects the inferiority complex of the Japanese toward the languages of the West. Although suggestions for replacing Japanese with a western language are not heard in the present time, the arguments of some Japanese academics reviewed earlier seem to inherit the view that Japanese is inferior to English.

Such views, especially the ones that are held by Japanese academics now, also reflect a particular academic relation between Japan and the West. As reviewed earlier,

[2] Yi (1990) argues that this episode has been interpreted and attacked later as Mori's ludicrous attempt to abolish Japanese and replace it with English. According to Yi, however, such criticism is not absolutely legitimate since the time Mori made this suggestion was even before both the notion and the form of Japanese as a "national language" were shaped. What Mori was reacting against was the unsystematic nature of spoken Japanese and the large discrepancy between the spoken language and the written language which was heavily influenced by Chinese at that time. Also, Mori was aware of the weaknesses of English, such as irregular verb conjugations and inconsistent sound and spelling correspondence, and what he proposed was in fact the adoption of a simplified form of English from which any irregularities would be removed. Nonetheless, Mori did comment that Japanese is a deficient language which is of no use outside Japan.

some of the Japanese academics recently cited and accepted the depiction of Japanese (or Oriental languages) suggested by Kaplan (1966) instead of the other way around. Illustrated here is a flow of knowledge from the West into the non-West (Pennycook 1990a; Phillipson 1991) and Japanese academics' consent to the western view of Japanese as the language of the Other, which further reproduces the particular view.

Contrary to the view that regards Japanese language and culture as inferior, a discourse that champions the uniqueness and superiority of Japan has tended to emerge out of Japan's political, economic or military success. In fact, Japan's remarkable economic development in the 1960's and 70's seems to be closely related to the construction of this discourse. According to Befu (1987), there are two factors, external and internal, that contributed to the construction of this discourse. The external factor is the fact that the Japanese were gaining increasing contact with people from other nations. The popularity of the notion of the uniqueness of the Japanese has emerged from the perceived cultural gap between Japan and particularly Japan's reference group, the West, and an effort to save the Japanese from an identity crisis caused by an attempt to fill in the cultural gap.[3] The internal factor, which is closely related to the external one, is the predominance of a daily lifestyle which is filled with material things originating in the West. A large influence of western lifestyle in modern Japan, which is a result of Japan's attempt to adopt things "western" in order to overcome the inferiority of things "Japanese," caused among the Japanese a threat to their traditional identity. One means to alleviate the threat is the construction of a counter-discourse which is against the view that sees Japan as inferior--that is, Japan is not inferior but has, as a homogeneous group, very unique characteristics which are shared by no other races.

It has been pointed out that the construction of this discourse has also been influenced by western academics who wished to account for Japan's economic success and created the learn-from-Japan boom in the seventies and early eighties (Sugimoto and Mouer 1982; Johnson 1986; Lummis and Ikeda 1985).

The discourse that champions the distinctiveness of the Japanese is absorbed by the new reactionary discourse of internationalization which will be discussed later. This

[3] See 9.6. for further discussion of the practice of comparing Japan with the West.

discourse is constructed by a conservative political group whose interests are to make Japan one of the members of the West which can speak out and contribute to the international community by sharing Japan's traditional cultural values with other nations; to educate the Japanese so that the entire population of Japan, regardless of ethnic background, will have national pride, worship the Emperor and disseminate Japanese culture and language overseas (Morita 1987, 1988; Iwai 1987); and to facilitate an economic advance of the monopolized capital to Asian nations under the US-Japan military alliance which allows Japan to take the US role of stabilizing the political, economic and military conditions of the region (Kudo 1988, Morita 1988).

While economic and political dynamics between Japan and the West seem to be a major factor that influences the prevalence of a certain discourse, people find their own subject positions based on their own academic background and interests, situating themselves in a certain discourse. Although the discourse that views Japan positively appears to have become dominant in the economic climate since the 1970's, it is clear from the literature cited earlier which highlights the logical nature of English and non-logical nature of Japanese, that the discourse which views Japanese negatively tends to be promoted by individuals who are associated with the western culture and language in their careers, typically English educators. Umesao (1988), in harshly condemning the notion that Japanese is illogical, contends that the arguments for Japanese as non-logical on the grounds of its syntactic features are often transmitted to young innocent students by English teachers. On the other hand, the academics who promote a positive image and uniqueness of the Japanese tend to be politically motivated and their arguments tend to benefit the politically and economically dominant group and the elites (Kawamura 1980; Sugimoto and Mouer 1982).

9.4. Argument on how Japanese texts should be organized

Responding to the question as to how Japanese academic texts should be written, some students in this study said that Japanese texts (or some Japanese texts, depending on the genre) should be written with English organization, while others said Japanese and English should be written differently according to what is expected by the society. Some of

these people deliberately used different styles for English and Japanese (the main idea placed in the beginning for English and the main idea placed at the end for Japanese). However, the deliberate use of different rhetorical structures tended to affect the English scores positively but Japanese scores negatively, which indicates that the Japanese raters did not share the same frame of reference with these students. Some of the other students thought that Japanese and English texts are and should be organized in a similar way, and the style they supported was more consistent with the English style identified by contrastive rhetoric than the so-called Japanese "cultural rhetoric."

While there are different competing views in the Japanese academic community on the general characteristics of Japanese and English as discussed above, when it comes to the argument as to how Japanese academic texts should be written, suggestions for using an indirect or non-logical organization are almost nonexistent. Many handbooks of Japanese writing emphasize logic, unity and clarity (Baba 1988; Imai 1980; Kabashima 1980, 1984; Kinoshita 1990; Morioka 1977; Sawada 1977). Furthermore, the Course of Study, a curriculum guideline issued by the Ministry of Education includes achievement goals in the area of language production skills such as (1) to write with a clear topic and/or main point and by attending to the overall organization (Grade 5); (2) to collect necessary materials according to the purpose, and to write after sorting them out from a point of view of the whole (Grade 6); (3) to express by attending to the relations between facts and opinions and between whole and parts (Grade 7); (4) to write by making one's position clear (Grade 8); (5) to express by making the supporting reasons clear and using effective development of logic in order to convey information to the people who are being addressed (Grade 9); and (6) to speak and write by planning on the organization that makes the topic and/or thesis clear (Kokugo (Japanese) I: senior high school) (Monbusho 1989; 1990a; 1990b).[4]

The discourse behind the promotion of logic and clarity, however, may be the same as the one in which Japanese is viewed as inferior--that is, since Japanese is inferior, we must overcome the inferiority; in order to do so, we need to write Japanese in the way

[4] It is important to note that the claim that composition is taught only to the sixth grade in Japan (Hinds 1983b, cited in Leki 1991) lacks credibility.

English-users write in English. Even the academics who reject the view of Japanese as inferior do not seem to promote the non-logical style overtly. Among them, there seem to exist ambivalence and contradictions. For instance, Nakane (1967), as reviewed above, deplores the lack of logic in academic and political conversation and at the same time celebrates the non-logicalness as something very unique. Doi (1971), who regards "dependency" as a factor that is related to the non-logical Japanese thought pattern, celebrates it as something that underlies traditions such as Zen Buddhism and aesthetic spirit, and at the same time states, "now we have to overcome 'dependency' by identifying 'other' as independent from 'self'" (p.93-94). Toyama (1973) states that Japanese has a dot-like logic which exhibits sophistication and is contrasted with the boredom of tracing a line of formal logic. On the other hand, when discussing principles of organizing texts in Japanese, Toyama argues:

> The reason why the Japanese are poor at writing is because they cannot skillfully organize a paragraph expressing a unified idea This problem may be identified as "inept in logic" or "excessively emotional or literary"....
> The basic principle of text organization is to formulate ideas. This will be done by clarifying the key issue, developing it logically and turning dots into a line... (p.43)

Umesao (1988), as reviewed earlier, contends that Japanese can express logic but the Japanese have appreciated emotion more than logic. Yet he argues, although his argument is not related to Japanese rhetorical styles, that Japanese is incomplete compared to the languages in other civilizations because of its unsystematic orthography, and he makes a certain proposal for a reform.

This kind of ambivalence is realized by Suzuki (1975), who expresses his mixed feelings about the Japanese language. While he argues that to avoid clarifying one's argument is a suicidal act in argumentative writing, he at the same time condemns the argument for abolishing the Japanese language made by Naoya Shiga after World War II. Suzuki argues that ambiguity, complexity and indirectness are highly appreciated by Japanese readers while clarity is regarded as stale and immature. Suzuki speculates that such ambivalent feelings are rooted in the inferiority complex the Japanese feel toward the West in every aspect of their culture. More precisely, it seems that the negative view of the language originates in an inferiority complex towards the West and the positive view is a

reaction against the inferiority and an attempt to recover Japanese identity.

9.5. Discourses, students' perceptions and evaluation practices

The discourses among academics observed above are spread though various texts, especially through the ones that belong to the genre which Sugimoto and Mouer (1982) call "journalistic academism" and in a form of what Befu (1987) calls "material for mass consumption." Texts on Japanese (as well as English) culture and language within this genre tend to be written by university professors or so called "critics," whose intended audience is a large number of general readers, and to be published in the form of paperbacks or inexpensive hardcovers. Also, composition handbooks are abundant and readily available to high school and university students who are preparing for essay exams. The discourses are taken up by students in different ways through the medium of these texts, constructing varying views among the students and a discrepancy between the actual evaluation of Japanese essays and the views held by some of the students in this study.

Many of the students in this study pointed out differences between Japanese and English (particularly that the main idea in a Japanese text is placed at the end, while in an English text it is in the beginning). They mentioned that they learned about the differences between Japanese and English from their English teachers or books they read. Yet, they have taken up this view in different ways. Some thought Japanese should be written with the English organization, which seems to reflect the discourse that views Japanese negatively as seen among some of the Japanese academics. Others thought that Japanese and English should be written according to what is expected by the society (that is, inductive for Japanese and deductive for English), which may be influenced by the discourse that gives a positive value to Japanese and affirms the unique characteristic of Japanese language and culture.

The above group of students who thought that Japanese and English are generally written with different styles are contrasted with another group of students who thought that both languages share a similar rhetorical organization. As observed earlier, many of these students have come to think the way they do through practicing writing short essays in Japanese. This is not so surprising because many of the Japanese composition handbooks

and the school curriculum guideline for Japanese language put an emphasis on logic, unity in the paragraph and a clear statement of the main idea--such features are similar to what is claimed as characteristic of English .

As far as evaluation of Japanese essays is concerned, this study indicated that the highly rated Japanese essays tended to contain the main idea in the initial position, which reflects the arguments among academics on how Japanese should be written; i.e., good Japanese essays are the ones with a clear statement of topic and thesis. The discrepancy between some students' view that Japanese should be written indirectly as well as their deliberate use of inductive patterns for Japanese and the actual practice of evaluation in this study, manifests the conflict between one discourse that promotes a clear and direct organization which is more similar to English style than what has been claimed to be a traditional Japanese style, and another that affirms the unique characteristic of Japanese. This indicates that the students who consciously used an inductive pattern for Japanese are somehow misled by the prevailing discourse that highlights differences between Japanese and English but does not correspond to the criteria of Japanese evaluators.

So far I have attempted to make a connection among the discourses in the academic community in Japan, the various perceptions held by the students and the criteria in essay evaluation. Then, a question arises as to why even Japanese academics who subscribe to the positive view of Japanese do not usually promote the use of rhetoric that expresses indirectness and subtle emotions instead of a straight line of logic. This is both an interesting and important question for understanding the cultural, economic and political struggle Japan has been experiencing within unequal power relations. I will argue in the following that this contradiction can be understood coherently by situating within the hegemony of the West, not only the discourse that views Japan as inferior to the West but also the discourse that denies the negative view of Japanese culture and champions the distinctness of the Japanese. In other words, the discourse that views Japanese culture as positive and unique involves the appropriation of the Western view of the "Other," that is Japan, and a struggle for a different power relation within the hegemony of the West.

9.6. The competing discourses within the hegemony of the West

Nakamura (1989) points out that for the Japanese, English has always carried dual meaning: as a language of development and as a language through which the the Japanese viewed the Other. According to Nakamura, since Japanese intellectuals' encountered English in the late nineteenth century, English has been glorified as a beautiful and sophisticated language, a key to knowledge and economical power and a model for the Japanese. At the same time, the Japanese intellectuals have been adopting the way the Anglo-Saxon users of English view the world; i.e., the view that regards the non-Anglo-Saxon races, ethnic groups, cultures and languages as inferior. This dual meaning of English combined with the notion of hegemony of the West seems to unravel the contradiction mentioned above.

The view of English as the language of development is reflected in the labels and values given to Japanese and English by Japanese scholars as well as a few attempts in the history to replace Japanese with English (at one time French) as mentioned earlier. It is important to note that giving the particular labels and values as well as attempting to adopt English have been voluntary actions taken by Japanese intellectuals rather than coercive impositions by the dominant English-speaking groups.[5] This phenomenon can be explained by the notion of hegemony. Gramsci's notion of hegemony outlined by Sarup (1983) carries in its essence the view that in the modern state there is not only dictatorship which is exercised with force and coercion but also hegemony which is constructed with "persuasion and consent--the willing acceptance of the values of the rulers by the ruled" (p.140). Also, in the process of the creation of hegemony, ideology plays a role of forming a collective will which, especially in a revolutionary sense, will function as the protagonist of political action (p.142). When the notion that is promoted by contrastive rhetoric or that existed even before Kaplan named it--that is, English as logical, superior

[5] There was an attempt after the World War II made by the U.S. to force the adoption of the Roman alphabet as the Japanese script, if not the replacement of Japanese with English as a national language. The first report of the U.S. Education Mission to Japan (1946) recommended the replacement of kanji and kana with romaji, the Roman alphabet, for the written script since the complexity of the existing script system was thought to be an obstacle for democratization. The report reads, "In the judgment of the Mission, there are more advantages to Romaji than to Kana. Furthermore, it would lend itself well to the growth of democratic citizenship and international understanding." This proposal, however, was removed from the Second Report compiled in 1950.

and developed, and Japanese as illogical, inferior and underdeveloped--is situated in the hegemony that English exerts, it works as an ideology which forms a consent among not only English-speaking but also Japanese teachers, researchers, intellectuals and students. The hegemony and the power relation between English and Japanese is legitimated and maintained through uncritical acceptance of the ideology by the Japanese.

What is of interest here is the question of where the notion that English is logical but Japanese is not came from. As has been made clear by now, contrastive rhetoric has constructed such a particular view of languages, which seems to parallel the quest seen in western ethnography and anthropology for representing the Other in their authentic form which is not spoiled by the western modernity (Clifford 1988). This quest also works for the West to put what is foreign into homogeneous categories and to maintain the pure form of Western culture. The otherness created by the hegemony of the West has been accepted uncritically by certain Japanese people.

However, what is accepted by the Japanese is the representation of the Other or what they are like, but not what they should be like--the perceived actualities are seen as something that should be improved. The ideology that the West is superior and Japan is inferior thus becomes a force that pushes Japan toward westernization. The effort of the Japanese to adopt the English style of writing can be understood as a struggle to overcome their "otherness" created within the hegemony of the West.

I stated earlier that the discourse that champions the uniqueness of Japanese culture and language also situates itself in the hegemony of the West. This may sound contradictory considering that it is a form of resistance to the loss of a national identity caused by the domination of the West as mentioned earlier. However, a peculiarity of this discourse is its stress on Japan's uniqueness compared normally with the West, not with other developing countries as pointed out by some critics of the discourse (Befu 1987; Lummis and Ikeda 1985; Sugimoto and Mouer 1982). What underlies this comparison between Japan and the West is Japan's attempt to give a positive meaning to their own otherness vis-à-vis the West and to defend the Japanese identity from being saturated with western values and beliefs. The otherness which has been continually constructed by

western academics[6] is now taken up by some of the Japanese academics and given a positive instead of negative value. However, this does not mean that the ideological dichotomy of Japan as inferior and the West as superior is completely overthrown; although the Japanese may have begun to view themselves as not inferior, western knowledge such as the notion of development and modernization continues to be seen as superior. The argument for the superiority/uniqueness of Japanese culture is actually a reaction against the fear of losing "Japaneseness" in the process of westernization. Thus the Japanese characteristics in *Nihonjinron* that are claimed to be superior and unique are often traditional, "pure" forms of culture (Befu 1987), which are certainly distinct compared to the West. However, they do not have much significance when a comparison is made between Japan and the Third World because a Japan that sees the world through the eyeglasses of the West (cf. the dual meaning of English--Nakamura 1989), does not need to be reminded that Japan is different from them--they are already different Others. The superiority the Japanese feel toward developing countries seems to come more from the belief that Japan is more "developed" in the western sense than from the notion that Japan has unique traditional values and beliefs. There is a striking parallel between the identification of the Japanese with the western, where the Other is looked down upon as backward, and the psychology of the Antilles blacks represented in Fanon (1967)-- "The Antilles Negro is more 'civilized' than the African, that is, he is closer to the white man" (p.26).

Here, there are two identities in conflict--one that stresses the superiority of unique traditions of Japan vis-à-vis the West, and one that sees Japan as a developed nation and superior to the Third World. It can be said that the first identity is a reaction against the loss of the traditional identity that is being threatened by the western things, knowledge and values, and a redemptive project to secure an identity different from the West. However, it does not reject western elements for they are part of what constitutes Japanese culture and what makes Japan developed and superior to other developing nations. In this sense, the

[6] Although there have been different approaches to the western studies of Japanese culture (from an anthropological approach before the World War II, which sought the redemption of what was lost in the West, from the approach based on the modernization theory, to the view that Japan can be a model for the West--Sugimoto and Mouer 1982; Mouer and Sugimoto 1986), what underlies them is an attempt to construct distinctness of Japanese culture.

discourse that champions Japan's uniqueness/superiority compared only to the West situates itself within the hegemony of the West rather than overthrowing it completely.

To relate the above argument to the issue of language, western researchers of contrastive rhetoric seek to find exotic otherness in Japanese (as well as other languages) compared to English thus legitimating the status of English, whereas some of the Japanese academics seek to appropriate exotic otherness of Japanese and create a positive meaning. However, such otherness is made unique because Japanese is compared with English (or other western languages), which is a language through which the Japanese have viewed the Other. Here, "Other" is rendered otherness/uniqueness of the Japanese themselves which is viewed through English. The ideology that views the Japanese language as unique and superior does not completely reject the superiority of English and other languages in the West. This is manifested in the ambivalence and contradiction expressed by the academics as mentioned above--there is a reminiscence of the old ideology that maintains the hegemony; English is logical and developed, whereas Japanese is illogical and underdeveloped. The ideology that gives a positive value to Japanese is a quest for retrieving an identity and is a struggle and negotiation for a different relation of power within the hegemony of English.

I have tried to untangle the contradiction found in the discourses on the Japanese language--that is, on the one hand, there is a view that gives a positive value to the non-logical or other features of the Japanese language as a reaction against the negative view of Japanese; on the other hand, there is scarcely any recommendation of using the non-logical or indirect style. I have argued that not only the discourse that views Japanese negatively but also the one that views Japanese positively are situated in the hegemony of the West which involves the ideology that views the West as superior to Japan. Resisting the penetration of western culture into Japanese culture places Japan in a particular dilemma because there is no longer an authentic Japanese self, and for many Japanese, the distance between Japan and the West still needs to be diminished. The dilemma, however, is turned into a coherent combination of westernization and nationalism in the new discourse of internationalization discussed below which seems to manifest a struggle of certain groups of the Japanese for power within the existing hegemony of the West.

9.7. A new discourse of internationalization

While the contradiction between the positive view of Japanese culture and a quest for more westernization were manifested in the ambivalent feelings among the academics, the recent right wing discourse of "Internationalization" embraces harmoniously both a discourse of westernization and a discourse that celebrates Japanese traditions. It envisions Japan's westernization, membership into the industrialized countries of the West, and contribution to the international community by saving it from a crisis with the Japanese traditional spirit that reveres nature and a transcendent being (Morita 1987, 1988).

It can be said that this is a discourse that is resisting domination by the West. But the resistance is actualized by both accommodating the hegemonic power of the West, more specifically the U.S., and initiating the economic hegemony of Japan (Shindo 1988). The construction of this discourse is closely related to the political, economic and military conditions of the world. First, it is necessary to understand that the U.S.-Japan military alliance controls much of political and economic conditions between U.S. and Japan as well as other countries. The military alliance aims at promoting not only military cooperation but also mutual understanding of international economic policies and economic cooperation between the two nations. Thus, the U.S. and Japan are in a reciprocal relationship in terms of military, political and economic support not only between them but also internationally (Kudo 1988). The decline of the American economy in the 70's on the one hand and the continuing development of Japan's economy on the other created economic and political frictions between the two nations. The discourse among the western scholars that praised the superiority of the Japanese style of management as a model to be emulated has shifted to the discourse of "Japan Bashing". In this setting, the Japanese government and large corporations must lessen the conflict so that Japan will not be ostracized by the rest of the world but at the same time keep up its economic growth by investing particularly in Asian countries (especially the U.S. allies). The strategy employed by the Japanese government and large corporations to accomplish this goal is neither to subjugate themselves to the West nor to seek a counter-hegemony by breaking the military alliance and building up its own military forces. It is to accommodate the hegemony of the West by becoming one of the equal members of the West and to convince the West and

other nations of their position.

For the government and large corporations, this vision is to be accomplished by educating the younger generation. Thus, Rinji Kyoiku Shingikai, the Council on Educational Reform was formed, which consisted of members appointed by the Prime Minister and which compiled four reports on educational reform from 1985 to 1987. A sarcastic image of an ideal Japanese person envisioned by the Council Reports is presented by Morita (1988):

> "An English-speaking Samurai warrior carrying a computer on his back, advances to Asia and Pacific under the Stars and Stripes with a flag of the Rising Sun tied around his head singing *Kimigayo* (The Era of Your Highness), the national anthem,[7] [while his wife stays home looking after her children]." (p.8; [ ] is my addition)

Here the mentality of the Japanese that is to be fostered is patriotism, love of traditions, as well as worship of the Emperor, which reminds us of the propaganda during the prewar imperialism of Japan. The ability required, on the other hand, is to be able to use the language and logic of the west (especially English) as citizens of one of the western industrialized nations. The proposed westernization is based on the following view of Masakazu Yamazaki, whose input, according to Morita (1988), is reflected in the Council's reports:

> The world we face today is the production of cultural and economic enterprises of the West...As a result, the order and knowledge of the world civilization have come to be dominated by the western criteria of judgment and value....As the common languages in the world are a few western languages including English, there is an implicit expectation that the world politics and economy be discussed with the logic of the West and that the sensitivity of the leaders of international corporations be a western one as well. (*The report from the discussion group on "Japan in the world"* cited by Morita 1988: 141)

What is expected for a westernized Japanese person is to be able to explain Japanese culture to the rest of the world. Such views are reflected in the proposal that one should develop:

1. the ability and knowledge to think from a global perspective;
2. language ability that allows communication with people from other cultures, ability to express oneself, and international manners, knowledge and education;
3. a wide and deep understanding of Japan that allows persuasive assertion in the international community on Japanese history, traditions, culture and society.

(*The second report of the Council on Educational Reform* 1986)

[7] The use of the national flag and the national anthem at school ceremonies has been mandated by the Ministry of Education based on the Reports of the Council despite the objection from the Teachers' Union and other liberal groups which regard them as symbols of imperialism and colonialism.

At issue here is the emphasis on fostering the ability to express oneself. The First Report suggests that the current emphasis on memorization and cramming should be replaced by creativity, ability to think with logic, abstraction and imagination, and ability to express oneself. To develop the ability to express oneself in order to explain Japanese culture to people in other parts of the world is to be realized particularly by teaching foreign languages (especially English), but "the ability to think and express oneself" is to be developed not only through a foreign language. In the *Summary of the discussion process (no. 3)* of the Second Report, it is stated, "In order to develop ability to express oneself, teaching the Japanese language (as L1) is to be promoted as a language education." This view of "teaching Japanese as language for fostering the ability to express oneself" is juxtaposed by the statement, "Learning accurate and beautiful Japanese is indispensable to the maintenance of Japanese classics and the maintenance and development of Japanese culture" (The Third Report). The view here is that it is important to foster the ability to think and express oneself in both English and Japanese "in order to explain Japanese culture in accordance with the logic and psychology of the people addressed" (The Third Report). At the same time, knowing about Japanese classics and traditions is also regarded as important.

The proposals in the Reports have been put into practice in the Course of Study, the curriculum guideline issued by the Ministry of Education, which emphasizes the fostering of the ability to express oneself appropriately according to the purpose and intention. This goal is to be achieved by developing the ability to express oneself logically through teaching writing (at the secondary school level: Monbusho 1990a; 1990b). The emphasis on teaching classics is also included in the Course of Study; "to foster appreciation of classics and enhance the students' interest and understanding of the culture and traditions of our country" (at senior high school level: Monbusho 1990b).

In this discourse of internationalization, westernization is promoted as a means for Japan to become a member of the West, and traditions are to be reaffirmed and reproduced as a means to resist the westernization and to maintain and diffuse Japanese values to the world. The view of teaching Japanese also seems to reflect this duality; what is expected is an ability to express oneself persuasively in the international community as well as the

ability to appreciate classics as a heritage of Japanese civilization. It is now clear that what seems to be a paradox in supporting Japanese traditional cultural values while promoting western logic at the same time is no longer made contradictory in this new discourse of internationalization.

It is possible to picture the interest of Japanese large corporations and government in promoting Japan to the top of the hegemony of the West by westernizing Japan on the social and communication level, by having the citizens recreate and maintain Japanese traditional values in their spirit, and by imparting Japanese values to other nations in order to establish a new power relation with the West. This seems to be an inevitable choice that the Japanese dominant group can take in order to gain power given the current military relation between Japan and the U.S. mentioned above. And as long as Japan is negotiating and struggling for power within the hegemony of the West, the Japanese language will constantly shift toward the language of development, i.e., English.

One important criticism of the discourse of internationalization to be raised here is its legitimation of unequal power relations. While westernization and nationalism are promoted as ideologies that serve the political and economic interests of particular groups of people in Japan, the same ideologies work to oppress certain groups of people. As pointed out by Morita (1988), the view of mono-ethnicity dismisses the differences that exists in Japan, and Japan's economic advance in Asia, as a western developed nation assuming a role of the U.S., compromises small businesses in Japan and promotes exploitation of workers in Asia. Thus, these ideologies try not only to negotiate the unequal power relations between Japan and the West but also to legitimate and reinforce the unequal power relations between Japan and the Third World. It is important to remember that an emphasis on teaching English is situated within the same discourse of internationalization and is not unrelated with the legitimation of inequality that exists within Japan and between Japan and other races and nations. I will now turn to the discussion of pedagogies that take such issues seriously.

9.8. Pedagogical implications

The purposes of teaching ESL writing from the perspective of critical literacy have

been reiterated in Chapter 8, where I discussed some pedagogical implications based on the results of this study. The purpose that was focused on in my discussion was teaching the privileged forms of students' target language to enable the students to participate fully in the dominant rhetorical community and express their voices. In this view, the teaching of privileged rhetoric is not a means to acculturate the students into the target discourse community through the uncritical acceptance of its knowledge and values. It must coincide with interrogation of students' views and values of the rhetoric of their target language as well as their native language in order to understand how they shape and are shaped by our views of the world, and to critique and transform our view of the world and the world that we live in. It is this view, i.e., teaching for transforming our view of the world and the world with a critical consciousness, that the above discussion and understanding of discourses and ideologies in the economic, political and military contexts gives some insight.

9.8.1. Critical understanding of social and personal realities

Presenting explicitly the privileged forms of rhetoric is, thus, not only for the purpose of empowering students for full participation in the target community but also a condition for "decodification" (Freire 1970b), or "deconstruction" (Derrida 1976), which allows one, through dialectical process, to understand the underlying premises that constitute our existing knowledge and situations and to go beyond the codified reality to arrive at a new understanding. In order to reach this transformation, teachers and students have to question and try to understand critically their perceptions of the realities and practices in the world.

What must underlie the presentation of reality in order to transform it is critical consciousness or critical distance from the reality which enables us to see how the world is informed by ideologies, discourses and power relations. ESL teachers who engage in this critical work must remind themselves that teaching a language can never be neutral (Berlin 1988; Pennycook 1989; Walsh 1991b); it is a political act which is implicated in ideologies, discourses and power relations that produce and reproduce or transform our view of the world. Teachers also need to be aware that there are discourses that systematically shape

our perceptions and everyday practices which need to be decodified or deconstructed critically. It has been pointed out throughout this thesis that the social, economic, political, military and academic relations between Japan and the West in history have constructed discourses which have shaped the forms of the Japanese language, the Japanese people's varying views of the English and Japanese languages, and the views of language teaching.

A key concept for understanding the political, social as well as individual practices in Japan in relation to language is the dual meaning of English; i.e., English as the language of development and as the language through which the Japanese viewed other people in the world (Nakamura 1989). I have argued that this dual view of English is located in the hegemony of the West. Taking these two sides of the view of English, I will relate them to a critical approach to teaching English to Japanese students.

9.8.2. English as a language of development

The view of English as a language of development, situated in the discourse of westernization and modernization, has seen the English language as logical thus superior, while the Japanese language is seen as illogical thus inferior. This particular view of the two languages has been constructed partly by the interests of western researchers. It has also been reinforced by Japanese academics' uncritical acceptance of it in the hegemony of the West.

An ESL/EFL teacher may want to introduce uncritically to a class the dichotomy of rhetorical differences offered by previous contrastive rhetoric research for the purpose of raising the students' awareness of rhetorical differences between their L1 and English as recommended by Reid (1989). What will happen if the teacher does so as if the dichotomy is a universal truth? First, the notion that Japanese and English are drastically different may enforce and reinforce the students' perception that Japanese rhetoric is indirect, whereas English rhetoric is direct, logical and more developed than Japanese. Second, the same notion may result in the view that Japanese and English should be written in different ways. This may be further reinforced by a liberal view of an ESL teacher who may say that "teachers do not intend to change the ways their students from other cultures think," and that "students must understand that adjusting to a specific writing style will not make

them North Americans and should not compromise their cultures or their personalities" (Reid 1989:222). Such a liberal "North American" teacher's voice which a Japanese student hears in the hegemony of the West may very well construct a particular view in the student that Japanese should be written in an indirect way. However, such a view does not seem to be consistent with the dominant discourse in Japan which is reflected in composition handbooks and the actual practice of essay evaluation manifested in this study; that is, privileged Japanese rhetorical styles do not correspond with the fixed "traditional" form of cultural rhetoric constructed by researchers of contrastive rhetoric.

Here, I am not providing a deterministic view of the consequence of teaching about "cultural rhetoric." As the students in this study demonstrated, students will certainly take up different subjectivities and try to interpret and perceive the world in ways that make sense to them and to act on their perceptions. Nonetheless, a teacher's uncritical consent to the view of "cultural rhetoric" will legitimate unequal power relations between Japanese and English and the ideology that preserves the hegemony of English.

9.8.3. English as a language through which Japan has viewed the world

Let us turn to the second aspect of the role of English in modern Japan; i.e., English as the language through which the Japanese looked at the Other (Nakamura 1989). As Nakamura argues, Japan has been emulating not only academic, political and technological knowledge of the West, having an inferiority complex toward the West, but also the way in which the people in the West view other races and ethnic groups. Thus, Japan has been identifying itself with the West, feeling superior to other peoples in the world. Japanese people's prejudice and discrimination against minority groups in Japan as well as other races and ethnic groups in the world continue to exist, and learning English is not unrelated with this. Especially when English education is situated in the discourse of internationalization in which English teaching is emphasized, the link between English education and the problem of racism and discrimination becomes evident.

It was pointed out that the new discourse of internationalization, in which English education is emphasized, is based on the ideologies of westernization and nationalism and serves the economic and political interests of large capitals and the government (Morita

1988). When these two ideologies are understood as the basis of English education, what is left out from them creates a source of racism and prejudices.

First of all, English education as westernization both reflects and constitutes racism. Lummis (1976), a decade prior to the emergence of the current discourse of internationalization, pointed out that the world of "eikaiwa" or "English conversation" taught and learned in Japan is racist in terms of its forms of employment, its advertisement, and its ideology that prevails in textbooks and classes. What Lummis meant by this is that the "native speakers of English" who are employed by "English conversation schools" are not usually those of color, that such English-speaking teachers, even if they have little qualification, are paid more than their Japanese colleagues, and that what appears in the textbook and what is talked about in class celebrates and idealizes American culture. A decade after Lummis' criticism, the Report of the Council on Educational Reform stresses the teaching of the aspect of English as an international language or lingua franca (The Third Report 1985), which can be taken as a postmodern turn that views English as a language that no longer belongs to a certain group of people. Yet English teaching still carries the legacy of teaching the language of Anglo-Saxons; the AETs (Assistant English Teachers, recruited by the government of Japan and allocated to school boards throughout Japan) are restricted to people from the countries predominated by Anglo-Saxons; i.e., the U.S., Canada, Great Britain, Ireland, Australia and New Zealand (JET AA Newsletter, Vol.1, No.1, 1991). What is missing in this view of English is the fact that English also belongs to the people from other nations who can offer Japanese students very different views of English and the world.

While a certain group of English-speakers with a particular racial, economic and cultural status tend to be treated as superior not only to the Japanese but also to other groups of English-speakers, other races are treated as inferior not only to whites but also to the Japanese. This constitutes inequality, racism and prejudice that exist in the Japanese society. For instance, Japanese high school students tend to have negative images of the residents in Japan from Asia--they view them as "scary," "stinky," "indecent," "pitiful," and "shameless" (Obata 1990), while they would not question the fallacy in an advertisement of an "English conversation school" in a subway saying, "If you have a

dream in English, you are a 'kokusaijin' ('international person')" (Nakamura 1991).

The second aspect of the discourse of internationalization was nationalism which emphasizes Japanese pure identity. The ideology of the Japanese as a mono-ethnic homogeneous group, however, ignores ethnic and social differences, inequalities and prejudices that exist in Japan (Edwards 1989; Morita 1988; Nakajima 1988; Nakamura 1989). The Japanese society is not a homogeneous one--it is made up by different groups of people such as Koreans, Chinese, Ainu, Okinawan, Southeast Asian refugees, foreign workers from developing countries, returnee students from abroad. Ignoring such differences will perpetuate discrimination against Burakumin, the handicapped, women as well as the peoples mentioned above. This problem appears to be unrelated to English, but if one understands the fact that English teaching and learning is located in the discourse of internationalization, then English is indeed closely related to the ideology that benefits certain groups of the Japanese with power who wish to pursue their political and economic interests at the cost of people with less power both within and outside Japan.

If students' views of English and Japanese as well as other cultures and languages are unquestioned in English classes, many of the Japanese students will continue to regard English as a language of development and other non-Western cultures and languages as backward. The hegemony of English and inequality in global society will be perpetuated. What teachers and students must do then is distance themselves from their views of the world that they are subjugated to and critically understand them in order to transform their world view into one that seeks equality among people in the world and opposes oppression and exploitation of underprivileged people.

When English rhetoric is taught with bringing the power of English into the critical consciousness of the students, students will become aware that many of the language practices in their L1 are the result of adopting the practices of English as a language of development (for instance, there are abundant English words in the Japanese lexicon; some academic texts follow an English style; etc). They will also become aware that drawing a dichotomy between English and Japanese is both impossible and inadequate. When students become aware of the unequal power relation between English and Japanese, this awareness must be extended to the unequal power relations between the Japanese language

and culture and other languages and cultures.

The understanding of the nature of the privileged English rhetoric should coincide with a critical understanding of the unequal power relations that shape our views of languages and cultures. Such critical understanding, together with a good command of second language, will allow ESL students to be able to express persuasively an antithesis that challenges the existing domination and subordination.

9.8.4. Teaching through dialogue

The final issue that needs to be addressed is the ways such issues as discussed above can be addressed in a classroom. As proponents of critical literacy advocate (Freire 1970a, 1970b, 1973, 1985; Freire and Macedo 1987; Walsh 1991a, 1991b), I believe that reflecting on the reality and understanding discourses should be achieved through dialogue between the teacher and the students rather than transmitting knowledge from the teacher to the students. By posing questions about the students' perceptions of the world in order to problematize them through dialogical exchange with mutual respect, the teacher and students will come to a new understanding of the realities. There is certainly a danger, as Bizzell (1990) fears, of merely deconstructing or asking students to analyze their perceptions about issues such as gender, class and work without reaching any collective generation of knowledge and beliefs conducive to the common good that challenges unjust social order. However, asking the students to take the teacher's stance, which is suggested by Bizzell, goes counter to what the pedagogy of critical literacy aims at. The teacher is to interrogate students' perceptions of reality and seek personal and social transformation through a dialogical process. Though teachers as intellectuals must have visions for social change, the project of critical literacy in the ESL class must be conducted through dialogue which does not oppress or alienate the students.

An issue that a teacher must bear in mind is the understanding of students' "voice." Walsh (1991a), drawing on Volosinov (1973) and Gramsci (1971) who opposed the divorce of language from social, political and historical context, understands "voice" as situated in the social context not in the individual consciousness:

> .....while voice is tied to subjectivity and identity, its ongoing shaping and formulation are part of a broader social and cultural formation. As such, voice is not an expression of individual consciousness but a reflection of and a coming to terms with the multiple and complex social relations and realities that inform consciousness and position the individual with respect to an "other." (p.33)

When "voice" is understood as the construction and a construct of social, individual, ideological and historical forces, the "voice" should no longer be celebrated and romanticized at face value--it should be interrogated and retrieved "for critically examining the historically and socially constructed forms by which they live" (Giroux 1988c:177).

In this view, the voice of a student such as the one below cited in Rubin, Goodrum and Hall (1990) should be interrogated instead of affirmed at face value as these researchers did:

> Japanese writing style has no conclusion. And normal essay has only one paragraph... Also, Japanese writing permits to ignore grammar.. Another different point is a Japanese writing has no style except poem, and polite letter. (p. 69)

What should be questioned is where this student's perception came from, how what was said reflects and refracts realities, and what kind of value is embedded in this statement. Without asking these questions, the student and the teacher cannot be free from the ideologies and discourses that bind their perceptions of the world.

This thesis has challenged from both empirical and broader social, historical, political and ideological perspectives the knowledge constructed by previous studies of contrastive rhetoric. The issues that went counter to and beyond the existing knowledge in the field suggest that ESL/EFL teachers must understand rhetoric in a social, political, ideological and historical context which is implicated in unequal power relations. This critical understanding must be made the basis of teaching the privileged rhetoric of the target language for empowering the students and for transforming their world-views and the inequality that exists in the world.

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Appendix A

Questionnaire (written in Japanese)

(For Japanese participants)

I. Identification

a. Name _____

b. Age _____

c. ___Male ___Female

d. Major_____

e. Year undergraduate: __first, __second, __third, __fourth

graduate: __first, __second, __third

f. Telephone number_____

II. Previous experience with English

a. Have you attended a school in a foreign country? If yes, where and when? What was the language of instruction?

___Yes ___No

Which country? _____

When? From 19___ (Grade____)

How long? ____year(s), ____month(s), and ____week(s)

Language of instruction_____

b. When did you start learning English? _____

c. Did you learn "English composition" in English classes when you were in secondary schools?

___Yes ___No

If yes, what kind of things did you learn to write? Please check all the items that are applicable.

___Japanese-to-English translation of sentences
___Japanese-to-English translation of short paragraphs
___expressing your own ideas
For example, ___letters
___autobiography
___journals
___write stories based on pictures
___write essays on given topics
___others (Please specify:_____)

d. Did you learn English composition outside of school when you were in the secondary schools?

___Yes ___No

If yes, where did you learn it? _____
what kinds of compositions? _____

e. Have you learned "English composition" in English classes at your university?

___Yes ___No

If yes, what kind of things did you learn to write? Please check all the items that are applicable.

___Japanese-to-English translation of sentences
___Japanese-to-English translation of short paragraphs
___expressing your own ideas
For example,
___letters
___autobiography
___journals
___write stories based on pictures
___write essays on given topics
___write essays on topics of your choice
___others (Please specify:_____)

f. Have you learned English composition outside of university?

___Yes ___No

If yes, where did (do) you learn it? _____
what kinds of compositions? _____

g. Do you have any opportunities to write in English outside of English class?

___Yes ___No

If yes, what kinds of things do you write? How often do you write them? Please check where applicable.

___letters:	___often	___sometimes	___rarely
___papers, reports:	___often	___sometimes	___rarely
___others (Please specify_____):			
	___often	___sometimes	___rarely

III. Previous experience with Japanese compositions

a. How often did you write compositions when you were in elementary school?

___often ___sometimes ___rarely ___never

b. How often did you write compositions when you were in junior high school?

___often ___sometimes ___rarely ___never

c. How often did you write compositions when you were in senior high school?

___often ___sometimes ___rarely ___never

d. What kind of writing activities have you done since you graduated from high school?

___writing term papers
___writing essay exams
___writing for campus newsletters or newspapers
___other (Please specify:_____)

e. Have you received any formal instruction in writing reports, essays, or term papers (in other words, writing for academic purposes) in high school or university? If yes, when and how long?

___Yes ___No

When?	___high school	:	How long?	___term(s),	___year(s)
	___university	:		___term(s),	___year(s)
	___other	:		___term(s),	___year(s)

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Appendix B

Questionnaire

(For English-speaking participants)

I. Identification

a. Name _____

b. Age _____

c. Male___ Female___

d. Major_____

e. Year undergraduate: __first, __second, __third, __fourth

graduate: __first, __second, __third

f. Country of birth_____

g. Mother tongue_____

h. Your strongest language_____

II. Previous experience

a. Have you attended a school where instruction was given in a language other than English? If yes, where, when and how long? What was the language of instruction?

___Yes ___No

Which country? _____

When? From 19___ (Grade____)

How long? ____year(s), ____month(s), and ____week(s)

Language of instruction_____

b. Have you received any formal instruction in writing reports, essays, or term papers (in other words, writing for academic purposes) in high school or university? If yes, when and how long?

___Yes ___No

When?			How long?	
	___high school	:	___term(s),	___year(s)
	___university	:	___term(s),	___year(s)
	___other	:	___term(s),	___year(s)

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Appendix C

Holistic Scoring of Organization

Score 5: Excellent
- Main idea(s) is stated clearly and effectively.
- There is a clear sense of beginning and ending and they work very effectively.
- Reader orientation (e.g., announcing the topic) is provided.
- Details are organized according to a clearly discernible plan.
- There is no digression.
- Sentences and paragraphs are logically and effectively linked together.
- Paragraphing is logical and effective.

Score 4: Very good
- Main idea(s) is stated, but less effectively than 5.
- Beginning and ending are effective.
- Some reader orientation is provided.
- Details are organized according to a discernible plan.
- There is little digression.
- Sentences and paragraphs are linked together well.
- Paragraphing is good.

Score 3: Average
- Main idea(s) is stated, but not as effectively or logically as 4.
- There is a sense of beginning and ending, but they are not as effective as 4.
- Some reader orientation is provided, but not as effectively as 4.
- There is an organizational plan, but it does not appear as clearly as 4.
- There is a flow, but some digression is seen.
- Sentences and paragraphs are linked together, but a little awkwardly.
- There are paragraph breaks but they are a little awkward.

Score 2: Not very good
- Main idea(s) is not stated clearly or effectively.
- Beginning and ending are awkward and not very effective.
- Reader orientation is not provided very much; even if it is, it is not very effective.
- Writer's plan is not very clear; the writer rambles on.
- Digression is seen often.
- The links between sentences and paragraphs are awkward and not very logical.
- Paragraph breaks are awkward and not very logical.

Score 1: Poor
- Main idea(s) is not stated.
- The writer creates little sense of beginning and ending.
- Writer assumes the reader shares his/her context and provides no orientation.
- There is no discernible organizational plan; the writer either lists or follows an associative order.
- There is frequent digression.
- There is no logical link between sentences and paragraphs.
- There is no paragraph break, or no logic in the breaks.

Appendix D

Holistic Scoring of ESL Language

Score 5: Excellent
- There is a wide range of lexical variety.
- Choice and usage of words/idioms are appropriate, accurate and effective.
- Sentences, clauses and phrases are well-formed, complete and effectively complex.
- There are very few errors of agreement, tense, number, word order, articles, pronouns, prepositions.

Score 4: Very good
- There is an adequate range of lexical variety.
- Choice and usage of words/idioms are appropriate, accurate and effective, but less so than 5.
- Most of the sentences, clauses and phrases are well-formed, complete and effectively complex.
- There are a few errors of agreement, tense, number, word order, articles, pronouns, prepositions.

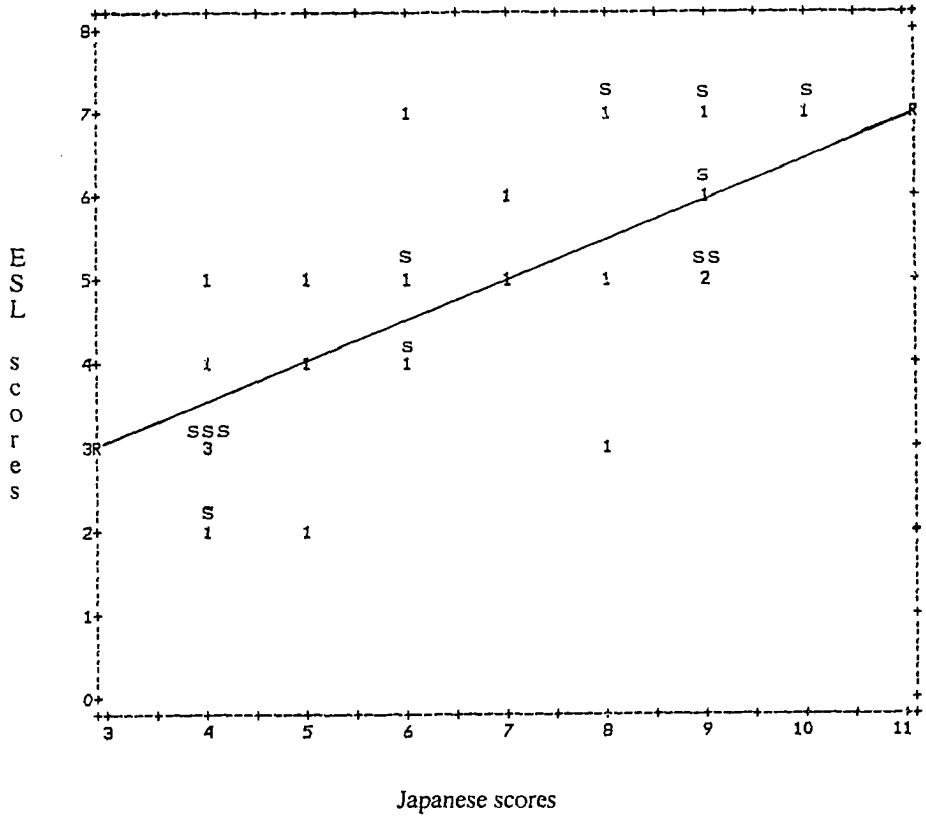
Score 3: Average
- There is an average range of lexical variety.
- Choice and usage of words/idioms are moderately good, but with some errors.
- Sentences, clauses and phrases lack complexity and some are incomplete and/or erroneous.
- There are some errors of agreement, tense, number, word order, articles, pronouns, prepositions.

Score 2: Not very good
- Lexical variety is limited.
- Choice and usage of words/idioms are not very accurate and effective.
- Sentences, clauses and phrases tend to be simple, incomplete and/or erroneous.
- There are frequent errors of agreement, tense, number, word order, articles, pronouns, prepositions.

Score 1: Poor
- Vocabulary is very limited.
- Errors of word/idiom form, choice and usage dominate.
- Many of the sentences and phrases are simple, incomplete and/or erroneous.
- Very frequent errors of agreement, tense, number, word order, articles, pronouns, prepositions and/or fragments, run-ons, deletions.

Appendix E

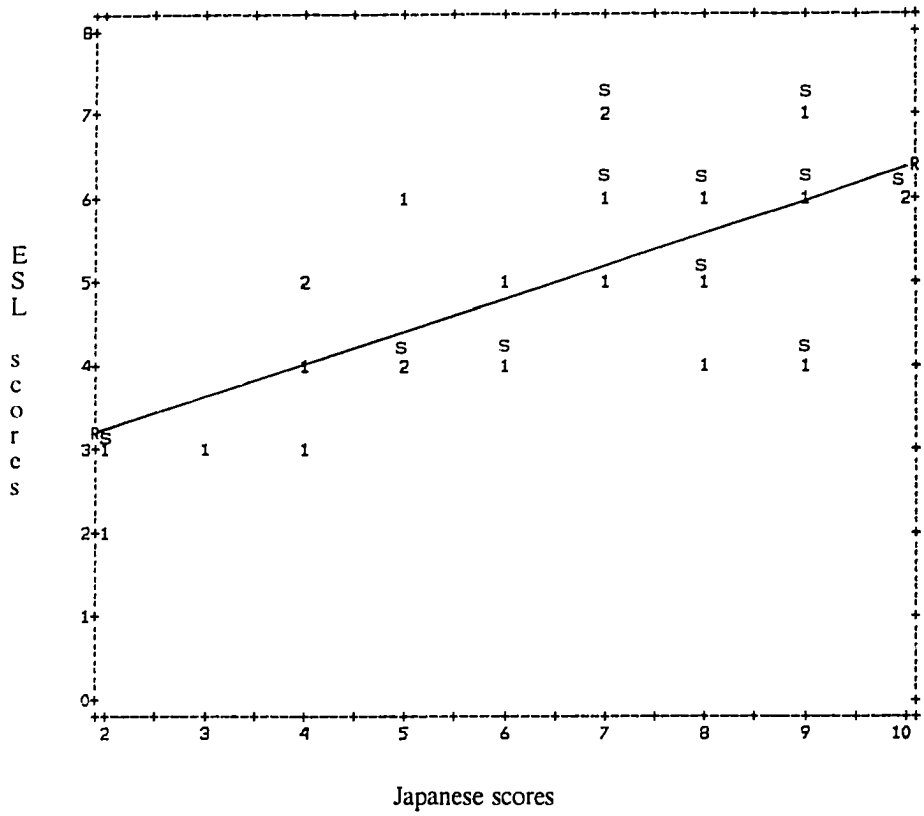
Japanese and ESL scores for organization: Expository



22 cases plotted. Regression statistics of ESL scores on Japanese scores:
Correlation .65346 R Squared .42701 S.E.of Est 1.22960 2-tailed Sig. .0010
Intercept (S.E.) 1.46260 (.87409) Slope (S.E.) .50229 (.13010)

Appendix F

Japanese and ESL scores for organization: Persuasive



24 cases plotted. Regression statistics of ESL scores on Japanese scores:
Correlation .68064 R Squared .46327 S.E.of Est 1.04341 2-tailed Sig. .0003
Intercept (S.E.) 2.43608 (.59884) Slope (S.E.) .39285 (.09015)

Appendix G

Sample essays: English L1

Expository: Location of the main idea: Initial
Macro-level rhetorical pattern: Spec(Col)
Summary statement: +
Score: 9

Restricting the level of violence on television raises many difficult issues, most of which fall into three broad categories: economics, culture and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

First, violence sells. The station manager and the advertiser who pays his or her salary both know that Rambo and James Bond are surefire ways to increase viewers - and boost revenues - on any given night. Accordingly, they can be expected to vigorously oppose any attempt to control their economic interests.

Secondly, in our society violence appears to be an integral part of many genres of film: adventure, horror and suspense to name a few. There are two possible explanations for our societal tolerance of violence on television. first, television is a way of experiencing an adrenalin-raising thrill, or vicariously exerting power and control we lack in our own lives. Secondly, viewers may be desensitized to violent televised images. Consequently they would dispute or would be unaware of possible links between televised violence and society's attitudes to social violence.

Finally, freedom of expression is guaranteed in Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms, an important part of Canada's Constitution. With the courts as the arena of battle, the Charter will be the principal weapon wielded by those who are concerned with how far the state may intrude on the individual's right to choose what he or she will read, write, hear, say, show or watch. More opportunistically, the Charter will also be the tool of those whose ultimate goal is the protection of their own economic interests. It is difficult to say where Canadian courts will draw the line between expression which is protected from incursions by government into the private lives of citizens and expression which is not.

Economic interests, cultural values and constitutional concerns each raise different, though often closely related or overlapping problems and questions. An initiative to restrict television violence is likely to be a complex and contentious undertaking.

Expository: Location of the main idea: Initial
Macro-level rhetorical pattern: Spec(Comp)
Summary statement: +
Score: 7

Restricting violence on TV is not a simple issue; it pits the powerful interests of the TV industry itself against the increasing awareness that TV is a forum for social learning which can modify human behavior. To understand how this concern can best be addressed we must be familiar with the different kinds of TV violence and how the industry's interest is

served by its propagation, as well as how and when it influences our behavior.

A brief sampling of TV fare shows violence on the news ('real-life'), serials, movies and specials, and cartoons. It's everywhere (except for specifically gentle children's shows). How has this come about when it is widely acknowledged as a bad thing? Because violence is interesting--even thrilling. It grips our attention. Advertisers know this. Violence sells, and selling products is the force that powers the television industry. Changing the economic priorities of an extant large and complex industry would be impossible. And, lest they seem entirely amoral, on their side the TV bigwhigs can summon the lofty claim to 'freedom of speech'. This is in itself a complex issue, due primarily to confusion between a utopia of mature humans and the world we now have.

In fact, we human beings are sadly misguided these days; strong intrinsic values are usually lacking. Thus we are more easily swayed by norms dramatized in a small box in our living room. Social psychologists have shown that violence begets violence; watching, imagining, or performing acts of violence serves to increase the subject's acceptance/commission of violence.

Decreasing the extent to which malleable personalities are exposed to violence would surely be a good thing. It would not be a simple task, when there are so many factors serving to perpetuate a violent society.

Expository: Location of the main idea: Col
Macro-level rhetorical pattern: Exp(Col)
Summary statement: +
Score: 8

Many people feel violence on television is an increasing problem. Some feel that the violence on television is just a reflection of an increasingly violent society. They argue that as a mirror of society, television is just reflecting the violence that already exists in our society. This arguement is disputed by people who feel that violence on television is a cause of violent behaviour. In either case, the restriction of violence on television is problematic for various reasons.

When the question of restricting violence on T.V. arises, one needs to define what is not permissible. Can any form of violence be acceptable? What is the difference between gratuitous violence and that which is integral to the creator's story? Is it censorship to suppress violence on television or just good sense? Issues of censorship and control have existed with every type of communication and expression and television is no different. The issue of control hinges upon who sets the controls.

Since there is a great amount of money involved in the making of, broadcasting of, and advertising on television, the question of who regulates it is quite contentious. Advertisers spend a great deal of money buying commercial time on television. They want shows that will be highly viewed. Those who produce television shows want shows that will be successful and, of course, broadcasters want shows that will defeat the competition. With so many powerful, well-financed, vested interest, pressure on any regulators would be severe, and opposition to any regulation, intense.

Finally, in Canada, the influx of violent foreign programming is large. Even if violent U.S. shows were banned, many people could still view them using antennas and satellite receivers. Add that to the competition from pay-television and video cassettes faced by Canadian broadcasters and restricting violence on television becomes both more

problematic and less effective.

Restricting violence on television is a constantly recurring question. Whether or not it should be done is one question. Whether or not it can be done is perhaps the most important to consider.

Expository: Location of the main idea: Obscure
Macro-level rhetorical pattern: Other
Summary statement: -
Score: 2

The restriction of violence on television is an issue from censorship from a person's ability of free speech to factual reality in daily life. People, in general, move towards restricting television to be a source of entertainment as well as education so that one can occupy their leisure time with something developmentally and informatively stimulating. Television is a great factor in determining how a person perceives their world but people fear that violence shown may negatively influence people developing in society.

One issue of televised violence is that in fictional cartoons, situation comedies and stories, at present, these mostly portray simulated life-styles of people developing and understanding the difference between right and wrong, good and evil. They are usually easy to understand, lack in strong unstable emotional content. But in trying to filter out what is mentally or physically violent producers are caught in a financial and political dilemma to determine what will increase channel ratings and support, despite the artistic or factual quality of the material available.

Another issue is the violence of programs will influence people to become more violently inclined. Programs ranging from cartoons to real-life situations portray instances and parallels to daily social life. Thus if aggressive tendencies are seen as popular they will be more accepted and attractive to people.

However, censorship on violence may also prevent people from seeing various aspects of reality. These truths of reality come from fictional programs and primarily the media. The purpose of the media is to show things as they are but it is influenced by the government and viewers to show only what is desired.

What is desired and accepted are relative opinions as people do not wish to see extensive, mindless violence but also wish to be informed of reality and entertained. People do not wish society to be ignorant but broadcasted violence also causes ignorance if perceived in a particular way.

Persuasive: Location of the main idea: Initial
Macro-level rhetorical pattern: Spec(Col)
Summary statement: +
Score: 9

In my opinion, violence should not be restricted on television. Supporting this view are a few crucial questions which we must ask ourselves: 1) who has the power or authority to censor? 2) Is violence on T.V. really harmful to viewers? 3) How can we define unacceptable violence?

The first point, "who has the power or authority to censor?" is a question of power. Is it right for one ruling body to dictate the morality or taste for everyone? Furthermore, the notion of democracy encompasses a free exchange of ideas. Is it right to stifle imagination and fantasy in cultural representation through censorship?

A second reason why violence should not be restricted on T.V. is that there is no proof that such violence leads to violent behavior. Research in this area has not been conclusive and thus, arguments for controlling violence on T.V. are unsubstantiated. Until there are proven causal links between representation of violence and violent behavior of viewers, there is little argument for such censorship.

The last point concerns the problem of defining acceptable or unacceptable violence. The portrayal of some violence may have a clearly defined social function such as exposing the violence of war or genocide (such as The Holocaust). How does one decide what is gratuitous and non-gratuitous violence? How can we place limits on what is acceptable or "meaningful" violence?

Violence on T.V. is not always pleasant or tasteful. But if we move to restrict it, then we are allowing censorship. I say that censorship is unacceptable. I do not want someone else telling me what I should or should not see. These are individual choices and should be left up to the discretion of individuals and parents.

Persuasive: Location of the main idea: Initial
Macro-level rhetorical pattern: Exp
Summary statement: +
Score: 8

Is TV Responsible for the Increase in Violence on Our Streets?

There is growing concern about violence on TV. This is not surprising considering the increase in crime that we witness every single day either via media or possibly even in person. There have even been statements by arrested criminals who refer to a television show or a movie from where they state they received the idea for their committed crimes or aggressive actions. Also correlational data has been found between children emitting high aggressive actions to high viewing frequency.

In my opinion, I definitely believe that violence on TV should be restricted. There have been numerous studies performed where high correlations have been found between people who view TV at high frequencies and their aggressive emissions in their everyday actions. It seems as if humans need role models from whom they can derive proper behaviours and if glamorous TV stars can shoot, kill, beat up and destroy everything from objects to people then this is what certain people will view as "normal" or "okay" and commit actions that may resemble what they view on TV. With respect to children's shows, even in

cartoons, violence abounds. To the adult viewer this may be viewed as slapstick humour but to the four year old, he may be learning that falling down cliffs, getting run over, being beaten is all okay because the characters all come back to life after the commercial break. Not everyone may be affected by TV as drastically as the picture I paint, yet unfortunately there are many people out there who do indeed look to TV for role models.

By restricting the violence on TV, we will not make our world a utilitarian society yet we may eventually notice a dramatic decrease in crime and violence. Unfortunately, damage has been done but eventually with the change over of generations, those who have not been exposed to TV violence would not witness violence to a great degree in every day living, and therefore, violence in one's actions may be decreased and restricted to the essence of human nature.

Persuasive: Location of the main idea: Initial
Macro-level rhetorical pattern: Exp(Col)
Summary statement: +
Score: 8

The world we live in is indeed a violent one. Whether one sees the violence on the streets or watches it on television, there is no escaping it.

Some have argued that television is too violent and that this violence should be restricted. I say no. Not only is this not feasible, it is also not necessary.

There are a number of points that support me in my stand against restriction.

First of all, aside from the 'moral' issue of violence, the difficulty of restricting it from our television programming has to be taken into consideration. Who is to say what is considered as violence and what isn't? Is a car blowing up in a police chase more violent than the killings of a psychotic in a murder mystery? What about real life drama? Are we to restrict the National News Report to stories about flowers only?

Secondly, some argue that we must consider how our children are affected by watching excessive violence on television. Frankly, children will find the means to be exposed to violence whether you restrict it on TV or not. All they have to do is open a comic book, read the crime section of a newspaper or go out on the streets. One would hope anyway, that parents take a central role in monitoring their children's TV habits and program choice, and do not permit their three year old girl to see "the Exorcist".

Lastly, restricting violence on TV would be like straightening out the bends on a roller coaster. TV would become pretty boring. Part of the thrill of watching the tube is being able to grab on to that cushion -- or being aroused by an action packed thriller.
Thus, restricting violence on TV would be difficult and unnecessary and would take a lot of the thrill out of watching a frightening program.

Persuasive: Location of the main idea: Final
Macro-level rhetorical pattern: Ind(Col)
Summary statement: +
Score: 9

Violence, in any form, is a societal problem. Our society knows the effects of violence on children, women, and many minorities all too well. Part of the problem are the verbal and visual messages that are sent out to the public from television. Not only are t.v. programs an issue, but also television as a media and advertisement form.

Why should we restrict violence on t.v.? Let's begin with the children. When small children with developing minds, morals, and attitudes view a violent program or advertisement on t.v. how can the message they receive be a positive one? How can a violent message contribute in a normal, healthy way, to the growth of a young, impressionable mind?

Children receive only a negative message when they are subjected to violence on television. I use "subjected" because it is adults who control what is seen on t.v. and at what time specific programs are shown. This, logically, points to adults being responsible for what programs children have access to. So, if violence on t.v. is restricted, we can reduce the negative messages they receive from violent shows. I see this as a responsibility and an obligation.

Violence on t.v. also contributes to the perpetuation of the cycles of violence which exist in our society today: Rape; sexual abuse; physical abuse; child abuse; wife battering; racism; sexism; murder; and the list of crimes goes on. Messages in violent programs may reinforce notions that these acts are acceptable in our society --whether this is conscious or unconscious. To eradicate these cycles and bring about changes for the better we must begin at the sources of the problem.

I am not an advocate of censorship. However, I do believe that a fundamental part of adulthood is being responsible. While I don't want to wipe out every program with violent content, as violence is a reality that we need to be aware of, I do believe we need to adopt guidelines that will restrict violence on television and the times when violent programs are shown.

Persuasive: Location of the main idea: Obscure
Macro-level rhetorical pattern: Col
Summary statement: -
Score: 3

The correlation between the pervasiveness of violence on television and the spread of violence in society, has been observed by many individuals. Though it may be impossible to establish a direct causal relationship between real and make believe violence, that the two are related is hardly disputed.

The generation of people that grew up with television, have been exposed from early childhood to the idea that the good guy always wins by being the toughest individual on the block. Television often simplifies problems, and then solves them not thorough considered thought, but through the use of force. "Violence breeds violence" is an old saying that still holds true. Therefore, it should come as no surprise that many young people who have been exposed to repeated incidents of violence on television, will respond violently to

minor frustrations.

The atmosphere engendered through the media, and in particular television, is one in which violence is made impersonally palatable. As long as the violence is on the screen, the public seems to view it without personal involvement or feeling, even when it is real. A case which illustrates the de=personalization of violence occurred during the recent Gulf War. At least one hundred thousand people were killed, yet the war was often viewed as entertainment, by T.V. viewers who all agreed they had nothing against the Iraqi people their governments were bombing.

The defenders of violence on television point out that violence was around a long time before television. However, there was a time when people were a lot less afraid to walk the streets at night, a time when they didn't worry about people dressed up like Rambo shooting up their neighbourhoods, and a time when people were worried when their countries went to war.

Persuasive:	Location of the main idea:	Initial + Final
	Macro-level rhetorical pattern:	Comp
	Summary statement:	0
	Score:	8

It is the opinion of some earnest, concerned, well-meaning liberals that our television programs have become excessively violent, and that they should be more tightly restricted. I am glad of their concern. Their hearts are in the right place. Their observations are correct. Their conclusions however, are quite wrong. They are attempting to treat a symptom rather than the illness.

The illness is in society. TV is merely a reflection of it. To alter a well-known saying, people get the TV they deserve. The fault cannot be laid at the feet of a few corrupt producers or advertisers. The real illness is in our culture. As television has grown, our collective soul has grown more bored and more deeply distracted and in greater need of exciting diversion. For many, an exciting gunfight or stalk scene is the most thrilling part o their week.

But what about our children? Should their impressionable minds be subjected to such heartless violence? Bravo, concerned reader. If you want to protect your children, don't ask for reform. Do the courageous, the unthinkable. Turn your TV set off.

TV is too corrupt to be saved. There are a few exceptions, but few and usually in financial trouble. Do you yearn for a more peaceful, productive society? Do you want to see your children free from brainwashing and manipulation? Do the hard thing. Exert your humanity. Don't whine for restrictions. Break free. Turn it off.

Persuasive: Location of the main idea: Middle
Macro-level rhetorical pattern: Other
Summary statement: +
Score: 8

TELEVISION VIOLENCE: TIME TO TAKE OUT THE GARBAGE

In the mid-seventies, a pair of experimental psychologists in California visited a pre-school. They put half of the children in a room where they watched ten minutes of *Mister Roger' Neighbourhood* on television. The other half of the class saw ten minutes of violent fight scenes and car chases.

Guess what the researchers found. For the rest of the day, the children who had been exposed to only ten minutes of the televised violence were significantly more aggressive and hostile than the children in the *Mister Rogers* group.

The conclusion, which has been reached again and again, is that violence on television has a profound and dangerous effect on television viewers - especially the young viewers. We've just seen the effect of ten minutes of television programming. Now consider the hours and hours of t.v. viewing that constitute the average young person's television diet.

Clearly, we have a problem. But we also have a solution: the restriction of televised violence.

For many of us, though, the thought of legislating what can and cannot appear on television is censorship. A violence, as it were, to free expression.

But it does not have to be so. In Canada, we already have plenty of restrictions on television which have never been equated with censorship. Consider the law that determines the *maximum* number of advertising minutes on a given programming day. Or what about the regulations that specify what percentage of television broadcasts must have Canadian content? Clearly, these are government-imposed restrictions on our television viewing which are *not* threats to free expression. "Restriction", for our purposes, can simply mean scheduling violent telecasts in late-night timeslots where children would be less likely to find them. Or airing the programmes on specialty television stations that t.v. owners don't all automatically receive.

It's true, there's a great deal of garbage on television these days. It's becoming more and more obvious, though, that graphic depictions of aggression and brutality are more than simply garbage. They are the hazardous waste of the airwaves. The time has come to take out the garbage.

Sample essays: Japanese L1 and ESL

Student E18: Location of the main idea: Japanese: Col ESL: Col
Macro-level rhetorical pattern: Japanese: Exp(Col) ESL: Exp(Col)
Summary statement: Japanese: + ESL: +
Scores: Japanese 10; ESL org.7; ESL lang. 6

テレビの暴力シーンの規制はなぜ難しいのか、以下三つの点に分けて述べたいと思う。

まず、テレビ番組の量が挙げられる。一日に放送されるテレビ番組は、数えきれないほど多い。放送局が、それらを放送する前に、ある程度チェックをするというのはなかなか難しい。明らかに放送禁止用語を使っているとはっきりわかる以外は、それ程厳しくチェックしないのではないだろうか。

次に、報道の自由という問題が挙げられる。前述のように、放送局の側が放送前にチェックをして、暴力シーンをカットしてしまったら、そのシーンを撮影した人の本当の意図が伝わらなくなってしまう可能性がある。極度に暴力的と思われる以外は、むやみに規制はできないと思う。

しかし、暴力的かどうかは、一体どうやって判断すればよいのだろうか。これが一番難しい問題だと思う。例えば、二人の人が同じ暴力シーンを見ていたとする。一人は、大変暴力的だと憤慨するかも知れないが、もう一人は、それ程暴力的でないと答えるかも知れない。このことは、暴力シーンを撮影する側にも言えるだろう。撮影した人は、暴力的でないと思っても、それを見た人達は、暴力的と思い、彼を非難するかも知れない。どこまでが暴力的でないかというはっきりした境界線が定められないことが、暴力シーンを規制できない一番の理由だと思う。大半の人がそのシーンは暴力的だと思わない限り、規制はできないだろう。以上のことからも、暴力シーンを規制するのは、難しい問題である。

The restriction of violence on TV is a very difficult issue at the present time. There are three points to think of it.

First, TV networks broadcast enormous TV programs every day. Before they broadcast them, they can't check every program. If they check it, and add a little consideration, it may be that they aren't critisized. But it is hard to do so.

Second, we think about the freedom of the press. Now, the excess of the press has become a problem. Maybe the violence on TV is one of them. But we can't cut the violent scenes simply because of the freedom of the press. If we cut everything like that, the freedom of the press isn't established. So, we think and accept it to some extent. We only reject the extreme violent scene. But is it possible to do it?

Third point is the most difficult one of all. It is about the distinction whether it is violent or not. For example, the person who filmed the violent scene may not think it is so violent. He may be surprized to hear that many people was indignant at watching the violent scene. But he may not think it is a violent scene.

This applies to people watching TV. One person watches TV and thinks that this scene is so violent, while the other may not think so. In other word, everyone who watches the same violent scene doesn't always think it is violent. It depends on the judgement of people who see it. We can't delineate the apparent boundry line about it. Then, who determines it? It should be determined by unsteady public opinion.

From the above-mentioned items, it is difficult to restrict the violence on TV.

Student E14:

Location of the main idea:	Japanese: Col	ESL: Col
Macro-level rhetorical pattern:	Japanese: Col	ESL: Col
Summary statement:	Japanese: +	ESL: +
Scores:	Japanese 9; ESL org.5; ESL lang. 7	

問題意識が高まっているとはいえ、それは良識者レベルにとどまるものではないか。テレビ局には良識者はいないと言っているわけではないが、現在の視聴率至上の考え方を根本的に問い直さない限り、番組の規制などは到底望めないだろう。

制作者が暴力シーンを取り入れるのは、視聴者の側にも、多かれ少なかれ心のどこかで見たいという欲求があるからなのではないか。テレビ番組も、ある程度マンネリ化してきて、何か新鮮で、インパクトの強いものを作らないと、見る者にソッポを向かれてしまう。こうした傾向がエスカレートして、過激な暴力シーンを生んだのであれば、視聴者にも責任があるわけだ。

このように、供給と需要がどこかで一致しているのでは規制は難しい。この相関関係を崩すには、どちらかに問題意識が高まってくるのを待つよりほかないだろう。ここで無理に上からの規制を押しつけたりすると、憲法問題にまで至ってしまうからだ。

民主国家であれば、「表現の自由」というのは保証されなければならない。たとえ、暴力シーンが社会に悪い影響を与えるからといって、それを規制する明確な根拠や基準がなければ「表現の自由」は侵されることになる。最近、少年少女雑誌に卑わいなものが多すぎるというので、そういう雑誌に対する規制が行なわれたが、何をもって規制をしたのか、表現の自由の侵害ではないかとの意見が、新聞等の投稿欄で見られた。

このように、規制を円滑に行なうには、様々の利害関係、法的問題があり、そう簡単にはいかないのである。

Some people say that the restriction of violence on TV is neccessary. Such people have good sense. I don't say that there aren't men of good sense in TV company, but TV companies put a priority on benefit, and other problem is of scondary place. Otherwise, exessive competition between TV companies is hot.

Now there is no originality on TV programs. And TV watchers have been bored with them. So they want to see more impressionable and interesting programs. If TV companies televise such programs, they willing to watch them. In the light of this context, there is correlation between TV companies and TV watchers. As far as there is a supply and demand situation, it is difficult to break it.

When one can restrict something, he must have a clear fondation of it. If a restriction which has no standard is executed, freedom of expression is broken. Recently, comics including obscene expression arrived on the market. The authorities restricted these comics. But the intelligentsia were opposed to the movement. They said to the authorities, "If you have a clear standard of the restriction, present it to us. If you can't present, you've broken the freedom of expression." The answer to this opposition hasn't presented yet.

Like this, a restriction is not only a problem of the person concerned, but also of constitution. So the restriction of violence on TV is a difficult issue.

Student E3:

Location of the main idea:	Japanese: Col	ESL: Col
Macro-level rhetorical pattern:	Japanese: Col	ESL: Col
Summary statement:	Japanese: -	ESL: -
Scores:	Japanese 6; ESL org.4; ESL lang. 5	

心理学の立場から、しばしば、テレビなどの暴力シーンをみることによる影響について論じられる。確かに、何らかの影響はあるかもしれない。しかし、そのことを示すはっきりした証拠も、どの程度、影響を受けているのかはよくわかっていない状態である。したがって、ただ良くないものであるとして規制することは、非常に単絡的であり又、危険なことである。

また、今日、チャンネル数も増え、一日にたくさんのテレビ番組が放送されている。これらの番組全てをチェックし、規制するということは、労力などの面からしても難しいことである。テレビ以外でも、映画や雑誌などでも残酷なシーンや、殺人、暴力のシーンは多くある。そして時にはニュースでも悲惨な事件を取り扱っている。目を覆いたくなるような事でも、事実として受けとめたり、また情報を得ていく必要がある。

したがって、テレビにおいて暴力シーンを規制するとしたら、当然、テレビ以外のものにおいてもそうしていかなければならない。どの範囲まで、どの程度まで規制するかは非常に難しい問題である。

しかし、だからといって決して野放しにしておけばよい、と言っているのではない。今後、これ等に関する研究がより成され、その影響力、問題点等が明らかにされていくことが望まれる。

Psycologists sometimes say that people, especially children, are influenced by watching violent TV programs.
Certainly many people are killed and injured on TV every day.

It may be true, but we can not know how degree the people are influence by those or there is no reliable evidence. So we can not say that it is good for us to restrict them.
As another reason, nowaday there are may channels and many TV programs. So it is very difficult to check all the programs one by one and to restrict them.
News programs often give us news and informations about terrible accidents, cruel murder cases and so on with their pictures. But we need to get such news. If TV programs are restricted, we also restrict cartoons, movies, magazines, and so on. Because they will have harmful effect to people, too.

Third, Japanese are behind in coping with such these matters. There is not any law against them.

So we should investigate about influences by violence in future.

Student E11: Location of the main idea: Japanese: Final ESL: Col
Macro-level rhetorical pattern: Japanese: Comp->Exp ESL: Col
Summary statement: Japanese: 0 ESL: -
Scores: Japanese 5; ESL org.2; ESL lang. 4

テレビでの暴力シーンにも、色々なものがある。たとえば、悪人が善人に対して訳もなく暴力をふるうものから、警官などが犯人などに対して、相手をおさえこむためのものなどがある。しかし暴力というものは、いくら善が悪を征服する場合であっても、見ていてあまり気持ちのいいものではない。特にまだ世の中のことを十分理解していない、あるいは理解できない子供などがそういったシーンを見ると、間違った概念などが頭にうえつけられてしまい、最悪な場合では、暴力に訴えれば何でもどうにでもできる、と考える子供もでてくるかもしれない。

しかし、テレビでの暴力シーンというのは何を目的として、どんな人々に対して放送されているのか、ということによると思う。もちろんドラマなどフィクションのものの中で演じられている作られた暴力というものは、規制するのがそう難しくはないと思う。それは放送する側の考えでどうにでもできると思う。私が規制するのが難しいと考えるのは、ニュースや報道番組など、事件などを、あるがままに、そのまま放送するのを趣旨としているものが放送する暴力についてである。それらは、事実を曲げることなく、その時の生々しいフィルムなどをまじえて、一般に広く伝えることを第一とするノンフィクションの典型である。だからたとえその内容が、壮大な自然の美しさであっても、やくざ同志の争いであっても、規制する確固たる基準がないために、扱いにくいものとなっているのだろう。結局、暴力シーンの放送を見て、一体何人、何パーセントの人々が不快と感じたのか、といったレベルでの判断しかできないので、規制は難しいのだろう。

In Japan, almost all of the families have televisions, so every people, from children to the old, can watch television. As a result, we can watch many TV programs. For example, cartoon films, news, and dramas or so on.

As so many people watch TV, it is very difficult to make TV program which can be taken in by them with pleasure. But TV has a role to broadcast facts to the public. If it broadcasts on violence, it is too stimulative for children. But for the people who has eyes to watch the world widely and correctly, it is important to know many facts as they are. So how it is cruel or pitiful or terrible, TV has to let them know them about twisting facts. As a result, if the contents of the news is harmful to some people, TV can not stop broadcasting it immediately.

But if TV broadcasts stimulative news like on violence, it will attract many people. People always want to see the interesting and exciting things, so to fascinate people, TV provides stimulative programs, and it sometimes become violential things.

In any case, when we watch TV on many news, we have to have right points of view.

Student E7:

Location of the main idea:	Japanese: Final	ESL: Final
Macro-level rhetorical pattern:	Japanese: Ind	ESL: Ind
Summary statement:	Japanese: 0	ESL: 0
Scores:	Japanese 4; ESL org.2; ESL lang. 4	

人間には、必ず「ストレス」というものがある。そういった「ストレス」がどんどんたまっていくと、いらいらしてきたり、体調を狂わせてしまうことになる。そうならないように、個人個人で日々努力して、ストレスを発散させている。つまり、スポーツをしたり、友達と騒いだり、酒を飲むわけだ。

しかし、それだけでは満足しない人も中にはいるだろうし、色々な事状によって、これらを実行するのが困難な人も出てくるかもしれない。そういう人達が、簡単にストレス発散できる場を求めるとしたら、その一つに、テレビを見ることがあると思う。しかし、ただぼんやり見ているだけでは、たいした効果はないだろう。彼らにとっては、見て精神的に「気分がスッキリ」とする番組でなくてはならないはずだ。つまり、刺激がないと意味がないのである。実際「こんな事やりたくても出来ない。」なんて思ってる事を、テレビの中では、いかにも現実かのように実演してくれる。彼らは、それを見て、あたかも彼ら自身がそうふるまっているかのように感じ、ストレスを発散させているのではないか。

ここに、「テレビでの暴力シーンの規制」の難しさの理由があると思う。この世の中にストレスがはびこっていく限り（実際、全く失くなることは不可能であるが）、永遠に、こういった風潮は続いてゆくであろうし、又それは仕方のないことではないだろうか。

The violence damage not only a person's body but also a spirit, actually.

People don't think that it is good. But people's concern about violence on TV is growing. Why?

Perhaps I think that the violence is a essence of people's acctual spirit. Everybody has a violent part, but they hide it usually. Because it is bad, illegal and unreasonable.

In evidence of it, when people drive into a corner, they are violent to protect themselves or to wreak their anger. So they have no choice but to watch it on TV.

If they have never been forbided to behave like this in every parts, they will be crazy later.

This is why people's concern about violence on TV is growing and the restriction of violence on TV is a difficult issue, I think.

Because even if they watch it on TV eagerly, they are not unlawful.

Student E6:

Location of the main idea:	Japanese: Col	ESL: Final
Macro-level rhetorical pattern:	Japanese: Other	ESL: Comp->Ind
Summary statement:	Japanese: -	ESL: 0
Scores:	Japanese 6; ESL org.7; ESL lang. 5	

・まず最初に私達がしなくてはならないことは、テレビの暴力シーンが人々に及ぼす影響を考えることである。規制をするからには、それなりの理由をさし出すべきであり、ただ単に「暴力シーンはよくない」と言ったところで、反対の意見が出るのは目に見えている。

テレビの暴力シーンが人々に与える影響の一つとして、それが、少年非行や犯罪の増発を招くか、ということがあげられる。しかしこれが本当か否かを決定するのはとても難しいことである。悪影響を受けている人も中にはいるであろう。しかし、それは全ての人々にあてはまるものではない。「アクションもの」、は長い間、人々の人気の的であり、そういった人々はほとんど善良なのである。

ポルノなどは、国によって程度は違うが規制を受けている。ここで、国によって程度が違うというのが問題となる。それは各国によって人々の考え方が違うのであろうが、映像による人々への影響がいかに模然としたものなのかを物語っている。ポルノを暴力シーンに置きかえれば問題は更に複雑になるであろう。暴力シーンは、更にあいまい性をもち、程度や規準がわかりにくいからである。

人々がどのような影響を受けるか、それを判断するには、結局は心理学に頼るしかないかもしれない。人々の問題意識が高まっているのだから、少なからずとも悪影響はあるのであろう。しかし、その根拠を見い出だすのは極めて難しいことである。

Why they think violence on TV should be restricted? The main reason for that will be that they think crimes or Juvenile delinquency would be increasing because of violence on TV. At first sight, it seems to be true that to watch violence is not good for many peoples. In Japan, there were a terrible murder who killed many young boys and girls. He was watching a lot of cruel acts on video. He couldn't understand the difference between reality and visionary. This is a good example for the notion that visionary violence result in real violence.

On the other hand, there are a lot of peoples who like violence dramas or movies and really enjoy them. If the violence on TV is restricted, they will object to that, because there are no reasons. And also, there are a lot of violence movies that entertain peoples. So we can't say necessaliry that violence on vision is bad for mind. It will really cause increase of delinquency or crime, or It won't. It is very difficult to prove that violence on TV really cause increase of crime. it is the matter of psychology. If we could present some persuasive reasons for that, we should restrict violence on TV. If we can't, we shouldn't.

Student P31: Location of the main idea: Japanese: Initial ESL: Initial
Macro-level rhetorical pattern: Japanese: Spec(Col) ESL: Exp(Col)
Summary statement: Japanese: + ESL: +
Scores: Japanese 10; ESL org.6; ESL lang. 6

私はTVにおける暴力シーンの規制は行うべきでないと考える。その理由としては、まず表現の自由がそこなわれるということ、そしてもう一つは、暴力シーンに規制を加えればそれで社会に悪影響を与える要素が一つ減ってよりよい社会の実現に一歩近づくことになるというわけではない、ということだ。

この二つの理由をそれぞれもう少し詳しく考えてみよう。まず前者においては、一体誰が規制を行うのかということが問題になる。取捨選択には傾向というものがどうしても避けられない要素として残るものだ。同じ暴力シーンといっても、それが映像作品の文脈の中でどの様な意味を持つのか、それは受け手側の主観や判断力によって変わるのである。そうであれば、ある一つの思想的立場に都合のよい取捨選択、ひいては歴史の隠蔽につながる可能性をこの様な規制は持つことになるのだ。

次に後者であるが、その様な規制は、仮に最も悪質な暴力描写だけを取り除くことに成功したとしても、社会的悪影響をせいぜい表面的もしくは一時的に防ぐ程度にしかならない。人間の精神構造を変えずに、社会環境だけを無理に変えようとしてもうまくいかないであろう。それは環境が人間の思考や行動の方向性を全て決定するという安易な環境決定論に他ならない。

結論を言えば、TVの暴力シーン規制などというものは、この混乱した現代社会に品位と秩序を与えるのに何ら寄与するところがない、ということだ。今、我々が必要としているのは、もっと根本的で、そしてより精神的な改革なのではないだろうか。

In my opinion, violence on TV should not be restricted. The reasons for that are as follow:

1) If restricted, it'll prevent a person to express his or her opinion freely.

2) That kind of restriction can also be used as a tool by some narrow-minded rulers who may have got an unhealthy position to stand upon to control the mind of the people in the society. I mean, a violence scene varies its meaning or roll according to the context, and a person's subjection can decide the meaning or the value of the scene, if it's really suitable to put on the air. When a person (or a party) makes a decision on that, the person (or the party)'s political or whatever kind of position could have a great influence on the decision made.

3) That kind of shallow restriction will never change our society better. Because if we won't change spiritually too, just a little change in our social environment won't work well. I agree that our social or natural environment does have a great influence on our way of thinking, and also behavior, but it is not that it'll change everything, it'll never change the whole society, nor the world. Our environment is no longer a thorough influence with us.

In conclusion, the restriction of violence scene on TV is just trivial. What we really need is something that more radical or thorough renovation of our mind, not something that can only prevent temporarily spreading the terrible violence scene through the TV screen.

Student P14: Location of the main idea: Japanese: Initial ESL: Initial
Macro-level rhetorical pattern: Japanese: Spec ESL: Spec
Summary statement: Japanese: + ESL: +
Scores: Japanese 9; ESL org.6; ESL lang. 6

私は、テレビの暴力シーンは規制すべきだと思います。なぜなら、テレビ番組や雑誌の中の暴力的な場面に触発されて、恐ろしい残酷な事件が、実際に多数起きているからです。つい先日起きた、数人の高校生によるコンクリート詰め殺人事件や、あの一宮崎事件一などがそうです。

現在、テレビは全国に普及しており、どこの家庭でも必需品となっています。私達は、テレビを見ることによってとても楽しいひとときを得ることができるけれども、テレビが私達に与えているものは、それだけではないのです。私達にとって有害なものまで与えているのです。特に、テレビのある家庭に生まれ、テレビを見ながら成長していく現代っ子はテレビが大好きで、そこからの影響も強く受けます。外に出て遊び、自分の体で経験することをせずにテレビばかり見て育つ子供達は、画面の中の出来事に憧れ、すぐに真似したがります。彼らにとって、テレビは友達であり、先生でもあるのです。

このように、テレビはとても大きな影響力を持っているのですから、そこで暴力的なシーンが映し出された時に起こることは、言わずとも明らかでしょう。彼らは、フィクションとノンフィクションとの区別さえできなくなっているのですから。

テレビの持つ影響力は想像を絶する程です。ですから、眼を覆おいたくなるようなシーンは削減し、もっと道徳的なよい番組を放送しなくてはならないのです。

I think violence on T.V. should be restricted. Because as a matter of fact, there is a lot of cases which are provoked by violent scene on T.V or on magazines today. For example, the concrete murder case by Japanese high school students and the Miyazaki's case. They all were happened by the influence of T.V. or magazine.

The television systems are popular today all over the world. Television is a wonderful invension and gives us very enjoyful time. We spend so much time on watching T.V. Especially children are absorbed in T.V. No child hates watching T.V. They were born in the house with television system and grew up with watching T.V. When they come home from school, they don't go out to play with their friends but watch TV and enjoy themselves watching T.V. all alone. Television is their friend and teacher. In this way, television has a greate influence on our minds. So if the violent scene were broadcasted on T.V., it would cause matter. Not all but some are influenced by that scene and do the same thing as acters in television do.

Those who are always watching T.V. cannot tell fiction from non-fiction and act as if they were players in a drama. In this way, television gives us not only good time but also harmful effects which leads to fearful cases.

So violence on T.V. should be restricted and better scenes should be added.

Student P21: Location of the main idea: Japanese: Initial ESL: Initial
Macro-level rhetorical pattern: Japanese: Exp ESL: Exp
Summary statement: Japanese: + ESL: +
Scores: Japanese 9; ESL org.4; ESL lang. 4

テレビの暴力シーンは規制すべきです。テレビは情報伝達の媒体であるばかりでなく、娯楽の一つとして人々の生活に深く根づいており、テレビが視聴者に与える影響は馬鹿にできないと思います。暴力シーンが人々に与える影響もまた小さくないと思います。暴力というものが基本的によくないものであるとわかっている人も安心してはいけません。暴力シーンはえてして過激で鮮烈に脳裏に焼きつけられ潜在的に暴力に対する憧れを持たないとも限りません。人間の歴史にも多くの暴力が積み重なっているではありませんか。暴力というものがよくないものだと認識している人、精神的に健全な人達に対しても影響がないとは言えないのですから、まだ物事の分別のつかない年端のいかない子供達や精神的に不健全な人達には多大な悪影響を与えてしまうのではないでしょうか。最近テレビでは青少年による陰湿で残酷な暴力事件がニュースで伝えられることも珍しくなくなってきました。テレビの暴力番組がそれらの直接の原因になっているという証拠はありませんが、テレビを見る習慣・時間が比較的多い子供達、テレビにある種のオーソリティーを感じる子供達または青少年達（だいたい子供達はテレビが好きでよく見ている。）に対して、暴力シーンが全く影響を与えないとは言えないと思います。

今やテレビ＝生活環境の一部となっていると言っても過言ではなく、テレビが暴力的シーンを多くながせば、生活環境の一部に暴力シーンが増えるということと同じであり、「環境は人を作る」というように、環境によって人格形成が大きく左右される少年、青年期の子供達にはあまりよくない効果を与えてしまうと思います。このような理由で僕はテレビの暴力シーンは規制すべきだと考えます。

I think violence on TV should be restricted. Television is not only means of getting information but also joy of life, so it has become a part of people's life and it's influence on people must be big. Violence on TV has bad influence on many people, especially on young people who can't know good from bad. Young people likes television and they are eager to like impressive vivid seen. And violence is very stimulus and young people may be attracted by it and they want to do the same by themselves. This pattern is worst case of influence of violence on TV. Actually violent affair of this pattern increases today and it's not unusual that such affair is on air in news programs.

It is said 'circumstances makes personality'. Television has become a part of circumstances now. If violence on TV is not restricted and increase, violence in circumstance increase. I think violent circumstances makes violent personality. Flood violence on TV is danger of making violent personality. So I think violence on TV should be restricted.

Student P8:

	Japanese: Initial	ESL: Initial
Location of the main idea:	Japanese: Exp(Col)	ESL: Exp(Col)
Macro-level rhetorical pattern:	Japanese: -	ESL: +
Summary statement:		
Scores:	Japanese 9; ESL org.7; ESL lang. 7	

テレビの暴力シーンに何らかの法的規制を加えようとすることは、無駄であるし、必要のないことであると思う。

実際問題として、大きな困難をはらんでいる。法的規制を作る以前に、暴力の定義がはっきりと示されていなければならない。ところが、多種多様にわたる行動の一つ一つを、暴力と非暴力に二分割できない。ある人にとっては規制されるべきだと考える暴力でも、別の人はそうは感じられないものであることもあり得るのだ。例えば、厳格な家庭の躾として小さな子供を鞭打つシーンは、暴力として範疇に組み込むか、非暴力として考えるか、論議を呼ぶところとなるに違いない。暴力シーンは、一つのチャンネルをとっても二十四時間のうち占める割合はとても少ないことを考えれば、その規制に取り組むのは無駄なことであるといえる。

確かに、子供の発達期における影響は見逃せないものがあるし、大人でも暴力を見ることによって心理的に乱暴な性質を一時的に帯びるようになるといった影響は存在するだろう。しかし、それら悪影響は個人差のあるものである。供給する側にも、道徳は存在するし、その社会が認めないものを敢えて制作しようとはしないだろう。受け取る側は、それぞれの家庭や個人の基準にしたがってチャンネル選択やテレビのスウィッチの切り換えを行なうことができる。本当に規制されなければならない過度な暴力シーンは、自然に回避されていくのだ。

ここで、暴力を肯定してるのではなく、自然に規制されるであろうことを強調したい。

Violence on TV should not necessarily be restricted by some regulations.

First of all, we have to make it clear what violence is, before issuing regulations. It is, however, very difficult to differentiate violent acts. There are various kinds of acts in our daily life. Some of them might be labeled as violence, which depends on individuals: for example, some consider the rod at school to be violent, while others don't. Violence is gradable. We cannot draw the line between violence and the other acts.

Secondly, all programs on TV are not violence movies or dramas. There are news, music programs and home-dramas without violence. Moreover, a movie of the kind as a matter of fact, was not made up only of violent scenes. Every viewer has a choice of channel on TV. If he doesn't like violent scenes, he can change the channel or turn his television off. He is not always exposed by violent scenes. On the other hand, film producers have autonomy to exclude excessive violence unless a single person has a power to decide.

I admit that there is influence of violence on psychological development of children, besides I have read the article that even adults are affected by much violence. But we, especially parents can have control according to the situations.

Violence on TV can be under the control not by regulations but by our atomony. We do not have to restrict it expressly.

Student P33: Location of the main idea: Japanese: Final ESL: Initial
Macro-level rhetorical pattern: Japanese: Ind ESL: Spec
Summary statement: Japanese: 0 ESL: +
Scores: Japanese 5; ESL org.6; ESL lang. 7

テレビというものに対して我々は概して、受動的な立場をとっている。スイッチをひねる、あるいはチャンネルを変えるといった行動に関しては、〝テレビを見たい〟という能動的な意識が介在しているものの、無意識的にテレビから発せられる映像や音声に身をゆだねる行為が大部分を占める。

ある特定の情報を得るためにテレビを見ようとする場合よりも、〝ただ何となく〟見ているうちに時間が経過しているという場合のほうが多いということも言える。また、特定の情報を目当てにしていたとしても、何がテレビから発せられるかは全く予想がつかない。難解な経済問題を扱う番組の合間に、アイドル歌手がにっこりと笑うコマーシャルがはさまれたりする。純粋に〝見たい〟と思うものだけに焦点を合わせるのは、非常に困難である。

意識的にしろ、無意識にしろ、〝テレビから一方通行で発せられるものを受け止める〟という姿勢に大きな違いはない。

こうした点をふまえて考えると、暴力シーンがテレビに多く登場することに対しては、大きな抵抗を覚える。テレビの前には、受動的な視聴者がいるのだから、取り上げられる暴力の程度に差こそあれ、制限なしに殴る、蹴るといった映像が発せられることは、許されるべきではない。

〝激しくないものならばいい〟という意見もあるかもしれないが、そこから序々にエスカレートしていく可能性がある。たとえ激しくはなくても、暴力という行為を目にした視聴者はいい気分にはならないだろう。明確な規定がない現在、そういった心理を考慮した放送する側の自主的な規制を強く希望する。

I am for the restriction. If we see violence on TV, we almost always get disgusted instead of feeling comfortable.

A lot of information comes from TV without stopping. Then it is very difficult to choose strictly what we would like to watch. Even though our purpose is to watch a program on the matters of economics, there are many commercial breaks that tell us how good a new product is in a cheerful way. Thus we may "see" what we would not like to watch.

In addition, we watch a lot of TV very passively. In other words, TV producers can control us in front of TV. After flicking the switch, we watch what they have produced rather vaguely. This is all one-way: we only receive what they give us based upon their own purposes. This means we cannot imagine what kind of information will appear at the next moment--we may see violence all of a sudden. Then we can be easily influenced by them.

As has been noted, we may see violence on TV so unexpectedly and suddenly that it will make us feel disgusted and rather shocked. This makes me sure that there should be the restriction against violence on TV and that those who produce TV programs should think this matter calmly in order not to stimulate 'passive' people too much. In my opinion, the restriction will be significant only when it is made independently by producers. This is because it shows that they think much of people in front of TV.

Student P25: Location of the main idea: Japanese: Final ESL: Initial
Macro-level rhetorical pattern: Japanese: Comp->Ind ESL: Other
Summary statement: Japanese: 0 ESL: +
Scores: Japanese 4; ESL org.5; ESL lang. 4

「テレビの暴力シーンは規制すべきか」

最近は、一昔前程は校内暴力や家庭内暴力などが減っていると思います。よって、普段それほど、暴力という事に関して気にかける人は少ないのではないでしょうか。昔はよく、「テレビドラマなどで、暴力シーンや乱闘シーンなどをかっこいいものとして放映するから、子供たちが真似するのよ。」という声が多く聞かれ、あまりにも激しい暴力シーンを放映すると、新聞に投書して抗議する大人もよくいたことでしょう。

しかし現代は、「暴力」などといったものは、全くないとはいわなくとも、特に大きな問題としてとりあげられる事はありません。生活もますます豊かになり、裕福に暮らす人も多く、その中で、子供たちは、不満を暴力でうったえることをあまりしなくなったのではないでしょうか。暴力を行なうにしても、何かもっと陰湿なやり方になったのではないかと思います。全員がそうとは限りませんが、女子高校生コンクリートづめ殺人事件とか、宮崎勤の事件などをみるかぎり、そう思えます。要するに、暴力の種類が少しずつかわってきたのです。

私がテレビをみている限り、それらの様な陰湿な暴力シーンはテレビでは少ないと思われます。従って、規制すべきかという問題は今のところそれ程重要ではないと思います。しかし、将来、今度はどの様な暴力があらわれるのか誰にもわかりません、テレビが、エスカレートして、暴力を誘発しない様に、普段から心がける事が大事だと思います。

-----Should violence on TV be restricted?-----

On TV, violence is seen is the program of baseball game, the scene of demonstration and drama and so on. Especially the drama is most likely to be seen by any children. I take a position for the restriction of violence on TV. Because children tends to pretend the violent scene on TV. Children looks the violence as nice rather than as bad. of course, all of children think like this, but at least most of boys think like this.

In broadcasting that violence scene, the real incident which is broadcasted on News Program needs not be restricted very much. Because the real incident should be informed what it is, and people would think that it is a terrible thing when they watch such a incident on TV.

On the other hand, the violent scene which is seen in the drama or movie should be restricted very much. the reason of that is what I have written before.

Lately, there are few student who bring out the violence incident compared with a few years ago. Instead of it, there are a lot of student who feel sick in heart. Because of the entrance examination, the study at school, and so on. We should not make such a student violent. For that, I think that we should restrict the violence on TV.

Student P5:	Location of the main idea:	Japanese: Obscure	ESL: Final
	Macro-level rhetorical pattern:	Japanese: Other	ESL: Ind
	Summary statement:	Japanese: -	ESL: 0
	Scores:	Japanese 2; ESL org.3; ESL lang. 2	

一昨年、中国の学生は天安門広場に集合し、政府を打倒せんとした。しかし彼らはあえなく国家権力の可視物たる警察によって弾圧された。

私は両者の戦闘ぶりをテレビで見ていたが、対他的客観性の域を越えられない自分を反省していた。しかし、それは私だけの感受ではなかったことが判明し、その原因を否が応にも考え込まざるをえなかった。

ある日、次のように思った。テレビなどのメディアは、つまりブルジョアの象徴的暴力行使手段であり、具体的にはそれ自体で記号でありながらかつ記号作用をもするモノである、と。実はテレビは、中国での物理的暴力合戦を、各局の純主観性の角度から我々に映像を送っており、要するに中に入らず、身体化された実際行動のうちに、ブルジョア的映像を我々に送っていたのではないか、と。中に潜入することによって客観性が生まれ、その映像を受けとる我々も、その分だけ客観視できるのであるが、私達があの事件で受け取ったものでは、いきおい対他的客観性しか持てず、その映像解読までが限度であったと言える。

暴力とは卑しいものとして蔑む産業的価値コードは、確固にその威力を増してきている。栄華があれば、あとは衰退だけである。客観的なものとして送られてくるメッセージを客観的なものとして受け取り、その分主観性が持てる時を望む。また、これは史的唯物論による必然である。

What is 'TV'? I think it is one of the most effective media making people fit the value of this industrial society. It carries symbolic signs under our unconciousness.

But it isn't all. I think there are a lot of times our being able to ballance, even using industrial goods--as for this time, TV. It is, in a word, the convivial time called by Ivan Illich.

It is the industrial bourgeoisic logic that we should restrict the violence on TV. I think the convivial way of using TV is sending the message of just the way it is. Then the generalization will be generalized. The more objectilized they are, the more subjectilized we can be.

So that's why I'm against the restriction of the violence on TV. But it is not the reflection of the restriction. It is the inversion of the value that I am for. It might be called the deschooled value.

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