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Occupying Niches: Interculturality, Cross-culturality and Aculturality in Academic Research

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Introduction

Andrzej Łyda and Krystyna Warchał

Abstract This volume looks into culture-specific features of academic communication, with a particular focus on communication conducted in English as an Additional Language (henceforth EAL) and directed at multicultural audiences. It brings together selected papers which emerged as a result of presentations delivered at PRISEAL2, the second conference on Publishing and Presenting Research Internationally: Issues for Speakers of English as an Additional Language, and the many discussions that followed. The main objective of this conference, held at the University of Silesia in Sosnowiec/Katowice (Poland) in June 2011, was to look at the activities of the international academic discourse community in terms of niches occupied by users of EAL. In this volume we take the niche as a frame of reference for discussion of what is culture-bound, culture-sensitive, and culture-free in the academic community and its practices.

1 Academic Niches: Introductory Remarks

This volume looks into culture-specific features of academic communication, with a particular focus on communication conducted in English as an Additional Language (henceforth EAL) and directed at multicultural audiences. It brings together selected papers which emerged as a result of presentations delivered at PRISEAL2, the second conference on Publishing and Presenting Research Internationally: Issues for Speakers of English as an Additional Language, and the many discussions that followed. The main objective of this conference, held at the

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University of Silesia in Sosnowiec/Katowice (Poland) in June 2011, was to look at the activities of the international academic discourse community in terms of niches occupied by users of EAL. In this volume we take the niche as a frame of reference for discussion of what is culture-bound, culture-sensitive, and culture-free in the academic community and its practices.

In his revised and highly influential create-a-research-space model of article introductions, Swales (1990) developed an ecological metaphor for situating one's own work in relation to the body of prior research done in the field. In particular, he recast his former preparing-for-present-research and Introducing-present-research moves (Swales 1981) as establishing a niche and occupying the niche—rhetorical movements which serve to demonstrate the significance of the research problem for a given field of knowledge, to indicate the place the present research claims in this field, and to show "how this niche in the wider ecosystem will be occupied and defended" (Swales 1990: 142). Publishable scholarly attempts became construed in terms of successful competition for space, where a niche must be found and populated by indicating a gap in or adding significantly to the existing knowledge (Hyland 2000; Swales 2004).

Since *Genre Analysis*, niche has become a prominent concept in academic discourse studies, including those aiming at a better understanding of (Anglophone) academic rhetoric (Bhatia 1993, 2001; Samraj 2002; Lorés 2004; Yang and Allison 2004; Thompson 2009), those striving for increased awareness of cross-cultural differences in the perception of the author's and reader's roles in academic contexts (Duszak 1994; Čmejrková 1996; Ahmad 1997; Martín-Martín 2003; Adnan 2008), those preoccupied with problems that arise from these differences for international scholarly communication (Dudley-Evans 1995; Golebiowski 1999; Shaw 2003; ElMalik and Nesi 2008; Belcher 2009; Pérez-Llantada 2010), and those concerned with second language pedagogy (Swales and Feak 1994; Aranha 2009; Cargill and O'Connor 2009). From these various strands of research there emerges another sense of niche as a confined space or periphery, where scholarly activities continue but do not always manage to step outside, or if they do, they often appear attenuated, muffled or distorted, meaning either not what they did inside the niche, or received not in the way niche audiences would receive them. Paradoxically, if research in today's world has grown into an increasingly collaborative activity, and multinational research teams and projects are becoming the norm rather than exception, writing still remains a solitary process, practiced by individual scholars in their own linguistic, cultural and institutional research spaces. Writing is thus an attempt to communicate something to those outside this niche, to make oneself heard and understood beyond the limits of one's own immediate environment. From this perspective successful academic communication is an act of capturing a research space and leaving a niche delimited by one's language, status, cultural background, educational tradition, and geopolitical situation. The aim of this book is to offer some insight into these mutually related, interacting academic spaces.

This book continues the long-standing tradition of inquiry into cross-linguistic and cross-cultural issues in academic and other professional discourses, well documented by such volumes as Ventola and Mauranen (1996), Aijmer and Stenström (2004), Zhu (2005), Fløttum et al. (2006), Crawford Camiciottoli (2007), Connor et al. (2008), and Suomela-Salmi and Dervin (2009). It is different from its predecessors in explicitly addressing and being centred upon the concept of research niche understood as a space to be captured and populated, as a temporary location to move or grow out of in the course of individual professional development from a novice to an expert, and as a space to consciously reach beyond, delimited by one's linguistic, cultural, educational, and geopolitical background. It is this broader understanding of niche and a perspective on academic discourse as an act of moving, or communicating, across niches that, in our view, gives the collection a sense of unity and makes it different from other volumes addressing similar problems.

Another important point of difference is that the present volume contributes data from a wide range of academic genres, including written and spoken public professional genres, student writing, occluded genres, and non-research institutional text types. By bringing together the results of investigations into research articles, conference proposals, conference presentations, student genres, electronic letters and academic job announcements, it may be informative of the ways in which these various genres interact in broader academic contexts and of the variety of roles members of the academic discourse community assume at different stages or in different moments of their professional life. In this sense it can provide data on genre systems or networks (Bazerman 2004; Swales 2004) which operate in the community and which reflect its internal hierarchy, patterns of interaction, and preferred ways of recycling and restructuring information. Moreover, the findings presented in this volume will offer additional insights into the linguistic variation in academic discourse related to the mode (written or spoken), the status of the participants (novice or expert), the type of interaction (public or occluded), and its general purpose (research-related or research unrelated).

It is also an important characteristic of this collection that while maintaining a focus on EAL, it provides data from a variety of cultural and linguistic contexts. The contributions explore international scholarly communication against the background of a number of first languages, including French, Spanish, Polish, Turkish, and Indonesian, with some additional insights from Indian and Japanese users of EAL. The disciplines covered include: technical sciences, linguistics, biomedical sciences, and social sciences, to name but a few. Finally, the studies included in this volume represent different approaches (such as mixed methods approach, ethnographic approach, intervention, and multimodal analysis), adopt different methodologies (among others, corpus linguistics, genre analysis, and discourse analysis) and employ different research tools (e.g., audio-video recordings, questionnaires, and text-analysing software). They demonstrate the effectiveness of these methods and instruments in academic discourse studies, their strengths and limitations, and the ways the results they bring can mutually give support to, limit or challenge the findings.

We hope that this book may be of interest to scholars who study culture-based rhetorical patterns in academic discourse, including those investigating disciplinary rather than ethnic cultures, and to researchers who are concerned with EAL, English as a Lingua Franca, World Englishes, and multilingualism in academic contexts. We also believe that it might provide some useful information to younger scholars who are beginning to present their research findings to international audiences, to teachers of English for academic or specific purposes, especially those working with international students, and to designers of teaching materials for such courses.

2   Interculturality, Cross-Culturality and Aculturality in Academic Discourse Practices

The publication of Kaplan's essay on cultural thought patterns (Kaplan 1966, 1987) sparked interest in the impact of native culture on the manner of exposition, patterns of argumentation and rhetorical strategies applied by L2 writers. Research in the emerging field of contrastive rhetoric has shown that discourse expectations of L1 tend to be transferred to L2 writing in spite of the fact that the languages often rely on different forms of discourse organization and different rhetorical models. This practice has been found to result in culture-specific patterns of organisation in L2 texts, which may influence the text reception, poses a challenge to teachers and writing tutors, and offers an invaluable source of insight into different epistemologies, heuristics, and world-views, thus inviting broader cross-cultural analyses. Many studies that followed have focused on specific difficulties writers face when communicating in a language other than that of their habitual use, on cross-cultural comparisons highlighting the existing differences (and similarities) between the discourse organisation, rhetorical models and concepts used by writers of different L1, and on L2 pedagogy (see, e.g., Clyne 1987b, 1994; paper in Connor and Kaplan 1987; Kachru 1987; Xu 1987; contributions to Belcher and Braine 1995; Connor 1996). A considerable amount of research done into the cultural lining of writing has involved English as the main language of international communication and as a lingua franca of the academic discourse community.

Important inspiration for contrastive studies into academic cultures, styles and practices has come from Clyne's (1987a) analysis of English and German articles, which revealed significant differences with regard to the distribution of information in text (e.g., the placement of definitions) and the degree of linearity. The same study drew attention to the fact that English and German writers represent two academic cultures, which differ fundamentally in the approach to knowledge, the status of the writer, and the set of purposes the text fulfills.

Cross-linguistic and cross-cultural investigations that followed have shown that differences in the rhetorical traditions tend to be the norm rather than exception. Research into English and Finnish academic rhetoric demonstrated that Finnish authors tend to contextualize their claims in a broader context of what is already

known instead of confining them to the immediate goals of the text in hand and to use fewer metatextual markers than their English colleagues (e.g., Mauranen 1993a, b). English-Czech contrastive analyses revealed that Czech authors tend to use fewer advance organizers, to be less explicit in the definition of key terms and to avoid direct statement of their goals (e.g., Čmejrková 1996; Čmejrková and Daneš 1997). The last observation was also found to apply to Polish writers (Duszak 1994). Other contrastive studies involved the use of hedges by English and Bulgarian academic authors (Vassileva 1997) and various discourse features in English, French and Norwegian academic writing (e.g., Dahl 2004; Fløttum et al. 2006; Vold 2006), in English and Swedish (e.g., Ädel 2006; Melander et al. 1997), and in English and Spanish (e.g., Martín-Martín and Burgess 2004; Mur Dueñas 2008; Lorés-Sanz 2009). What all these studies seem to have in common is the assumption that the differences in the textual organisation and specific discourse features may reflect deeper differences in the philosophy of knowledge, responsibilities of the discourse participants, and culture-specific politeness rituals.

The works mentioned above represent all three approaches to the study of the role of culture in the structure and dynamics of discourse enumerated by Clyne (1994: 3): comparing native texts across cultures, examining L2 discourse, and "examining and comparing the discourse of people of different cultural and linguistic background interacting either in a lingua franca or in one of the inter-locutors' languages." While all three perspectives are amply represented, and while it is not always possible to draw a sharp line between them, it seems that in view of the widely acknowledged role of English as a lingua franca of science, the exploding mobility of academics around the world, and the now recognised nature of academic communication as an intrinsically dialogic type of discourse, the third "interactive inter-cultural approach" is gaining increasing currency. This tendency is also reflected in the contributions to this volume.

The choice of the first two terms which appear in the heading of this section, interculturality and cross-culturality, has been inspired by Grundy (2008), who interprets them as labels for two types of trans-cultural communication: the case of discourse participants communicating in a lingua franca on the one hand, and the case of an L2 user communicating with a native speaker in his or her cultural context on the other. The term aculturality calls for a more detailed explanation and justification, though. If the awareness of the existing differences between culture-specific models of text organisation and rhetorical patterns has perhaps never been so acute as it is now, it may be worth reconsidering how far this variety is indeed reflected in EAL used today by scholars of different cultural or linguistic background or, in other words, to what extent English used as a lingua franca of the academic discourse community is in fact culture-marked, bearing identifiable traces of the many non-Anglophone cultures of its users. This question is prompted by two groups of factors. The first, which involves the internal diversity of English, the proliferation and the dynamic rise of world Englishes, and the related problem of the cultural model(s) one takes as the discourse norm, is not our present concern (see, e.g., Brutt-Griffler 2002; Kachru et al. 2006; Sharifian 2009; Dewey and Jenkins 2010). The second, directly related to our interests and of more recent

origins, comprises the unrivalled position of English as the most popular and most frequently studied second language, the increasingly multinational character of the academic discourse community, the unprecedented mobility of its members, the rise of English as a lingua franca in academic settings, the massive increase in the number of academic publications in English both inside and outside the Anglophone "centre" countries, the institutional policies encouraging publication in English in countries where English has no official status, and the development of electronic media which have made English language scholarly publications more accessible, offered access to electronic data-bases, and encouraged direct co-operation and exchange between individual scholars from different parts of the world (see, e.g., Swales 1990, 2004; Crystal, 2003; Mauranen 2007; Hyland 2009). All these factors are conspiring to prepare an international scholar to use EAL as a reliable and effective tool to exchange information, to set up hypotheses, to weigh arguments, to make his or her case, and to win the audience, in other words, as a tool to become a legitimate member of the international academic discourse community. So, in view of this growing exposure to and almost daily contact with academic English, are there any signals that the cultural differences, so abundantly documented by past research, may be levelling out in time? Is cultural background becoming just another individual, personal characteristic of the author, next to gender, age and status, that influences his or her linguistic and rhetorical choices, rather than a stamp borne by texts originating in the same part of the world? Can we thus speak of emerging aculturality, or cultural neutrality, of academic discourse? Although not directly addressing these questions, some of the contributions in this collection may suggest that they are worth asking.

3 Contributions to the Book

This volume comprises thirteen chapter arranged in four sections: Expert writers, Novice writers and readers, Conference participants, and Non-research academic genres. The first section opens with **Elizabeth Rowley-Jolivet** and **Shirley Carter-Thomas's** analysis of citation practices of French scholars writing in English. Citation situates the reported research in the body of prior work done in the field and helps to construct a niche by indicating a gap in the existing knowledge. Appropriate use of attribution makes a text rhetorically effective and publishable; incompetent use may obscure the author's point and render the text ineffective. The authors argue that while citation is naturally difficult for novice writers, citations in English as an additional language is not without problems for expert writers either and that the problems experienced by expert scholars are likely to be different from those encountered by their less experienced colleagues. The study is based on a three-part corpus of research articles in engineering, science and computational linguistics, composed of a subset of pre-publication draft paper in English by French writers, a comparable sub-corpus of published research articles by native English scholars, and a subset of research articles

published in French by French researchers. The authors focus on four citation-related structures: reporting verbs, *according to*-construction, *would*-conditional, and concessive *if*-clauses to show that effective use of attribution does pose problems to expert French writers in English and that these problems, some of which may lead to a lack of clarity and influence the strength of the argumentation, are not unrelated to the mother tongue and culture of the writer.

Oana Maria Carciu studies authorial references in a section-coded corpus of research articles in biomedical and health sciences. Interpreted as an act of populating a research niche, asserting one's identity and establishing a voice, author reference fulfills also a number of discourse roles. Both its realization—with related problems of frequency and distribution—and its interpersonal functioning have been shown to be subject to cultural variation, which may, on the one hand, present a challenge to scholars writing in L2 and, on the other, produce tensions related to the identity of the writer as a scholar coming from a particular cultural background and seeking own voice outside his or her language niche. The study is based on two subsets of biomedical research articles: written in English for international audience by Spanish scholars, and published in Spanish as L1 in national scientific journals. The author analyses first person plural references in terms of their frequency, distribution and discourse function to demonstrate that the author reference patterns are strongly related to the disciplinary conventions and the national language.

Grzegorz Kowalski undertakes an analysis of self-promotional work in a three-part corpus of linguistics research articles involving articles in L1 English, articles in L2 English by Polish scholars, and articles in L1 Polish. Self-promotion aims at creating a favourable representation of the research done, the text which reports on the research, and the writer, who competes for publication space with other scholars. The focus of the study is on two complementary self-promotional strategies: positive self-evaluation and negative other-evaluation, and in particular on the frequency, grammatical category, and dynamics of their markers across a 20 year time span. The author shows that while in the case of positive self-evaluation markers the language used seems to be the major source of existing differences, in the case of negative other-evaluation the variation correlates with the cultural background of the writers, irrespective of whether they write in L1 or L2. The results of the analysis also demonstrate that the language- and culture-dependent differences tend to level out in time, which may perhaps be symptomatic of a growing uniformity of disciplinary discourses.

The authors of the next paper, **Maizura Mohd Noor, Jean Mulder and Celia Thompson**, seek to develop a methodology for identification of devices for establishing writer-reader relationship which could effectively supplement the approaches based on predetermined lists of items. The authors draw attention to the role of context in establishing which linguistic items function as stance markers and present a list of criteria which may help identify the strategies writers adopt to hedge their claims and to mould the interaction with their readers. The paper shows that although computer assisted analyses of large text corpora can tackle amounts of data which are beyond the reach of manual processing and yield

valuable results, any study of multifunctional items, multi-word units or open-class elements, such as, e.g., stance markers, will benefit from instruments designed for context-driven interpretation and manual coding.

The first section closes with **Zifirdaus Adnan's** discussion of across discipline variation in Indonesian research articles with a view to identifying those rhetorical strategies which may act as obstacles if the writers decide to submit their manuscripts in English to international journals. The paper adds to the understanding of specific problems encountered by writing scholars whose local academic cultures rely on different sets of norms and values and give preference to a different rhetoric than the international academic community in which they seek space. The author focuses specifically on strategies of winning the audience, such as establishing the significance of the research on a global scale; taking critical, dialogic approach to the reviewed literature; occupying the niche by explicitly pointing out faults or omissions in previous studies; and highlighting the contribution the piece of research makes to the discipline as a whole. The study looks into research articles in two groups of disciplines: humanities and hard sciences. It shows that, on the whole, Indonesian writers in hard sciences, especially medical sciences, seem to be more aware than their colleagues of the need to convince the readers that their paper reports on an important piece of research which will fill in a gap in the existing knowledge and add significantly to the development of the field. The fact that scholars concerned with humanities use these strategies less frequently may indicate that they will find it more difficult to adjust to the norms of the "Center" and expectations of editors who represent international journals.

The focus of the next section is on novice writers and readers, and on specific problems which may arise as a result of two mutually reinforcing factors: lack of academic experience and lesser exposure to academic texts on the one hand, and their status as EAL users on the other. The section opens with **Ursula Wingate's** paper reporting on the results of a writing development project which aimed, among other things, at finding a balance between explicit, text-centered writing instruction and a less normative, practice-oriented cultivation of students' awareness of academic cultures to most effectively assist novice writers in the development of their academic literacy. The author evaluates three models of writing guidance: discipline-specific online writing instruction with minimal involvement on the part of the subject lecturer, literacy instruction embedded in the regular curriculum and involving individual lecturer-student sessions, and genre-focused writing instruction designed as a collaborative undertaking of the subject lecturer and the writing tutor. The results indicate that the writing instruction is more effective if it directly involves the subject lecturer. It is also shown that in the initial stages of writing development, genre- and text-based approaches correspond more closely to the students' needs, forming a basis on which a critical perspective on academic values and practices can further evolve.

Rhetorical choices made by authors of MA theses are further explored by **Erdem Akbas**, who looks into interactional metadiscourse in Discussion sections of diploma paper in the field of education. The starting point for the analysis is the observation that application of the interpersonal model of metadiscourse to

cross-linguistic and cross-cultural studies may shed some light on the differences in the rhetorical traditions and perhaps draw attention to potential difficulties that these differences may produce for international academic communication. The study of interpersonal resources in L2 writing may in turn show which L1 argumentation strategies and rhetorical patterns tend to be transferred to L2 and, conversely, which L2 norms and practices are more readily adopted by the writers. The study is based on a two-part corpus which includes texts written by Turkish students in their L1 and in L2 English. The author shows that in spite of the cultural differences which influence the argumentation strategies of Turkish students writing in English, the writers are aware of the need to engage the readers and establish an authorial voice when writing in L2.

In the last chapter in this section, **Isabel Herrando-Rodrigo** reports on the results of a survey conducted among Spanish medical doctors and students of medicine on the perceived effects of the uncontrolled dissemination of medical knowledge in English. The paper draws attention to two interrelated phenomena: the established status of English as an international language of science and the wide availability of information—both scientific and pseudoscientific—in the electronic media. This combination of factors exposes the lay public to data which they are often unable to critically evaluate in terms of relevance, reliability and completeness. The overestimation of popular, grossly simplified sources by non-specialist readers may have negative effects especially in the fields of knowledge which relate directly to human health and safety. This chapter demonstrates, however, that experienced practitioners and undergraduate students of medicine tend to perceive the potential overestimation of popularized medical information in English by patients in a very different way. While students seem to be more distrustful of this source of knowledge and more concerned about the possible negative effects the access to it may have on the treatment, practicing physicians often perceive it as a way of filling a niche left by the severely limited time they have for face-to-face contact with their patients.

Section 3 is centred upon conference genres: conference proposals, oral presentations, and discussion sessions that follow. The paper by **Teresa Morell** presents the results of a multimodal analysis of conference talks from the fields of social and technical sciences. The author focuses on the ways in which effective speakers of EAL integrate the various modes of communication, such as speech, body language, non-verbal material, and written text, to present their research results to international audiences. The analysis of data, supplemented by interviews with the presenters, shows that successful speakers consciously combine and sequence modes of communication to transmit their message and to compensate for possible limitations of their linguistic competence. Moreover, the results indicate that while presentations in soft sciences tend to be perceived as culture-specific genres, more closely connected to national cultures and their distinctive rhetorics, presentations in technical sciences tend to be viewed as discipline-defined and therefore showing less cultural variation. Still, the author observes that there is a reason to suppose that in time presentations in soft sciences may become disciplinary genres, with the cultural variation gradually disappearing.

A multimodal approach is also taken by **Francisco Javier Fernández Polo**, who looks into two strategies of establishing a rapport with the audience: self-mentions and humour, as used by native and non-native speakers presenting their research results in English at international applied linguistics conferences. If a conference presentation is viewed as an act of occupying a niche, both in terms of the findings and in terms of the time allotted for their presentation, then self-mentions and humour serve the purpose of legitimizing the seizure of research space, the former by increasing the credibility of the speaker and adding to the importance of the research, and the latter by mitigating potentially face threatening acts, eliciting solidarity, and compensating for occasional slips of the tongue or minor inconsistencies in the data. The analysis, based on transcriptions and audio and video recordings, shows that EAL speakers tend to use humour less frequently than their Anglophone colleagues. With regard to self-mentions, the author reports no significant numerical differences between the two groups of speakers, which may indicate that EAL scholars gradually adopt English language interpersonal strategies, although non-native speakers were found to prefer more formal verbs after the first person singular pronoun than native speakers.

In the next chapter, **Hacer Hande Uysal** discusses indirectness and hedging devices in conference proposals submitted in English by Indian, Turkish, Japanese, and Anglo-American scholars. Conference proposals can be viewed as on-the-record claims to a niche: their communicative function is to convince the referee to accept the paper proposal as a legitimate contribution to knowledge. Thus, any cultural difference in communicative strategies or persuasive devices used by EAL writers who submit their proposals to international conference committees is a factor which may affect the chances of the proposal being accepted. The author demonstrates that there are well-marked differences in the use of indirectness and hedging markers both between native speakers and EAL speakers and within the latter group: between non-native speakers coming from various cultural backgrounds. In particular, the results indicate that in conference proposals Japanese and Turkish scholars rely to a greater extent on indirectness and hedging than their Indian colleagues.

The last and shortest section of this volume is devoted to non-research academic genres. **Adam Wojtaszek** studies linguistic features of electronic mails—conference, current research or publication-related—exchanged by scholars affiliated at different academic institutions around the world and relying on English as their lingua franca. The principal focus of the analysis is on the ways the interactants encode their relative status and mould the social distance to the addressee, especially by means of addresative forms and politeness formulae. The author also makes an attempt at identifying those features of the interaction between EAL users which stand in contrast to the patterns known from native-speaker exchanges. The discussion calls attention to the cultural colouring the world Englishes receive in multilingual and multicultural contexts, especially in genres whose macrostructure, stylistics and specific linguistic realisations are not fixed but subject to negotiation and redefinition.

In the last chapter, **Jolanta Łącka-Badura** investigates English-language academic job postings placed on-line by higher education institutions around the world with a view to establishing whether this genre can be regarded as acultural. The analysis is based on a two-part corpus of 140 vacancy announcements issued by universities and colleges located in Anglophone countries and by institutions operating in non-Anglophone contexts. The author focuses on such features as text statistics, move organization, core vocabulary, and selected markers of formality and neutrality. The obtained results indicate that although the texts in both batches share a number of important characteristics, there are still well marked differences in the content of some of the moves, with non-Anglophone institutions drawing the reader's attention to different assets and promising potential candidates different benefits than their Anglophone counterparts.

The above sketchy outline of the contents of this volume is only a subjective and fragmentary reading of the complex pattern of results on which the contributors to this collection report. Still, while the readers will construct their own interpretations and redefine the importance of the findings relative to their current research interests, preferred methodologies, and academic or professional background, we believe that all the texts included here share an important characteristic: a focus on the place of culture in international scholarly communication in EAL and in particular on its role in the process of occupying and moving between research niches. We hope that this volume may add to our understanding of the practices of international academic community, signal possible tendencies in their evolution, and show some directions for future research in the area of academic discourse.

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Part I
Expert Writers

Citation Practices of Expert French Writers of English: Issues of Attribution and Stance

Elizabeth Rowley-Jolivet and Shirley Carter-Thomas

Abstract In research articles (RAs), reporting the results and claims of other authors is a crucial skill as it both demonstrates the writers' familiarity with the literature of the field and allows them to position their own findings and conclusions within the existing body of research, thus creating space to promote their work. Using citations effectively, however, demands considerable linguistic and rhetorical expertise. While several studies have shown that citation causes problems for novice researchers, the specific linguistic problems of expert non-English-speaking researchers have been little investigated. We hypothesize that their problems are unlikely to be the same as those of novices and that cultural and language factors may interfere when citing in a foreign language. To test this hypothesis, we collected a corpus comprising three subsets of articles: 40 pre-publication uncorrected draft manuscripts written in English by expert French researchers in engineering, science and computational linguistics; a comparable corpus of 40 published RAs by native English researchers in the same disciplines; and 40 published RAs written in French by French researchers. The drafts were first examined to detect potential problems with citation; we then checked whether these problems also occurred in the English RAs; if not, this was considered to indicate that it might be a problem specific to French researchers writing in English. The French RAs were then analysed to see which problems could be attributed to the influence of the French language or French citation conventions. The concordancer AntConc 3.2.1. was used for quantitative searches in the corpus. The results revealed that four features related to issues of attribution and stance were particularly problematic for the expert French writers: the use of reporting verbs, of *according to*, of the *would*-conditional, and concessive *if*-clauses. The French writers of English used reporting

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that-clauses far less than the English writers, and with a more restricted range of verbs, a profile of use reflecting that of the French RA subset. The other three problems relate to the different spectrum of values that the English expressions and their French equivalents can take: *according to* and *selon* express different degrees of writer commitment to the cited source; the French conditional is widely used to express lack of commitment or distance, a value that is not directly transposable into the English *would*-conditional; *si*-clauses are frequently used to express concession, unlike *if*-clauses. French writers of English tended to import all these features specific to French into their English drafts, resulting in many cases of ambiguity as to the writer's position towards the cited source. This cross-linguistic study shows that citing in English is far from straightforward for writers of other languages, and that citation practices are neither language- nor culture-free. The influence of the writer's native language and of French academic citing conventions can be clearly perceived in the citing structures and strategies adopted, often leading to a lack of clarity in this respect and thus significantly weakening the strength of the argument.

1 Introduction

Reporting the results and claims of other authors is a crucial skill in positioning one's own research findings and conclusions. An effective use of citations enables academic writers to situate their work within an existing body of research, demonstrating their membership of the disciplinary community, and at the same time to create space to promote their own research (Swales 1986, 2004; Hyland 1999, 2002; Fløttum et al. 2006). Using citations appropriately however requires a considerable amount of disciplinary and rhetorical know-how as well as the writing skills to match. For this reason instruction and advice on citation practice often figure prominently in ESP courses (cf. Swales and Feak 2004, 2009).

Using in-text references and their associated linguistic conventions appropriately can be difficult for novice researchers, whether native or non-native speakers. Past research on novice research writing has noted that novice researchers frequently experience difficulty in incorporating references into their texts effectively and finding their own voice. In a study of reports by doctoral-level students in the French social sciences, Boch and Grossman (2002) for example noted a tendency among French students to overuse full quotations, rather than use paraphrasing or non-integral citation. In English, Thompson and Tribble (2001) also identified some recurrent problems among student writers such as a lack of variety of citation types (overuse of *according to*), an inappropriate selection of reporting verbs, and a relative absence of non-integral references. Mansourizadeh and Ahmad (2011) likewise note a lack of non-integral citations in the articles of novice writers.

Whilst the citation practices of novice writers (native and non-native speakers) have been thoroughly investigated, the specific linguistic problems of expert non English-speaking researchers in this area have to the best of our knowledge received much less attention. Citing appears at first sight to be a relatively culture-free feature of research publications in that the systems used are international.[1] Expert writers can also be expected to be familiar with journals' expectations; this does not however mean that citation use is easily transferrable from one linguistic and academic culture to another. Our hypothesis is that cultural and linguistic factors may interfere when researchers are obliged to or choose to write in another language, and that the problems of experienced researchers are not necessarily the same as those of novices. In this article we focus therefore specifically on the citation and referencing practices of experienced French researchers publishing journal articles in English.

A cursory comparison between French and English academic citation practice reveals few major differences. Experienced French researchers use citations in much the same way and in the same quantities as their English-speaking colleagues, when writing in English (see Sect. 2). They are obviously aware of the conventions and know what the expected frequency, place and functions of citations are. However our experience of rereading and editing our French colleagues' articles over the years has also alerted us to a number of specific problems relating to the way research claims are attributed and positioned, and where citations are arguably not being put to their best use.

A key issue, for the reader of a text but also for any system of data mining or opinion mining, is to be able to identify the enunciator of the textual segment: who is speaking—the author of the cited text, or the writer of the citing text? This is a conventional, even compulsory, requirement in research articles, where information needs not only to be accurately traceable but also clearly attributed, since the source of the information provides the grounds for its evidential status. A second important question is the degree of the writer's commitment to the text that s/he is citing: is there full writer commitment to the cited text, or does the writer distance herself in some way?

To investigate these two questions, we will focus on four specific features which proved, from our experience of editing research chapters, to be problematic for expert French writers of English: reporting *that*-clauses, use of the *would* conditional, of *according to*, and concessive *if*-clauses. While these four features do not by any means exhaust all the citation problems encountered by expert French writers of English, they are particularly important aspects to address in an

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[1] Though the citation systems themselves are international, Lillis et al. (2010), looking at citation practices from a more critical, or geolinguistic perspective, argue that the pressure to publish in English in high impact factor journals brings with it the pressure to cite primarily English-medium publications, and that in this light, citation appears to be dominated by Anglophone cultures. This leads them to conclude that English cannot be viewed as a neutral medium, since "its status within global evaluation systems is actually shaping what gets counted as knowledge" (Lillis et al. 2010: 131).

initial approach to this topic. Reporting verbs and *according to* are among the most common devices used in research articles to attribute results or claims to other authors and to express the writer's position with respect to these cited sources, and therefore play a prominent role in citation. An additional resource in French academic articles to express nuances of writer commitment to the cited results or claims is the conditional verb form. This resource is not transferable to English and raises problems for the French researchers when writing in English. A similar cross-linguistic difficulty is encountered with French *si*-clauses, frequently used in RAs to concede, and background, others' findings; due to semantic differences between French *si* and English *if* (Carter-Thomas 2007), French writers of English have difficulty engaging in concessive argumentation when referring to cited sources.

2 Corpus and Methodology

We collected three sets of articles for this study (see Table 1). The first subset comprises 40 pre-publication uncorrected draft manuscripts written in English by French academics (FWE). These drafts were drawn from our experience of editing research manuscripts and covered several fields (engineering, science, and computational linguistics). All these articles, once revised, were subsequently submitted for publication in international journals. The second subset consists of a comparable corpus of 40 published research articles (RAs) written by native English researchers (NS) in the same disciplines. Three criteria were used to assign native-speaker status: (i) the institutional affiliations of the authors were in English-speaking countries; (ii) the articles were written in fluent English with no language errors; (iii) all the cited publications were in English. The authors' first and last names provided additional confirmation of their English L1 status. Although not completely fool-proof, these criteria were felt to be sufficiently discriminating with respect to the FWE authors, all of whom are affiliated to French institutions, live in France, and on occasion cite publications in French. The third subset consisted of a corpus of 40 published RAs written in French by French researchers (F), again in the same disciplines.

The rationale for structuring the corpus in this way was the following. We first examined the drafts to detect potential problems with citation and referencing.

Table 1 Corpus

Authors	Category	Number	Tokens	Citations per 10,000 words
French writers of English (FWE)	Uncorrected drafts	40	190 393	102
Native English writers (NS)	Published RAs	40	287 519	104
Native French writers (F)	Published RAs	40	243 910	101.5
Total		120	721 822	

Secondly, we checked whether these problems also occurred in the native English corpus; if not, this was considered to indicate that it might be a problem specific to French researchers writing in English. The corpus of French RAs was then used as a reference corpus to see which of the problems could be attributed to the direct interference of the French language or of French citation conventions, rather than to the idiosyncrasies of particular writers.

As the last two columns in the table show, although the native English corpus is larger than that of the French writers of English in terms of word count—287,000 words against 190,000—the number of citations, expressed per 10,000 words, is practically identical: 102 and 104. Almost exactly the same frequency of citation was found in the French subset (101.5), indicating that whatever the language used, among confirmed researchers there is a remarkable stability in the citation ratio. This gave us confidence that, quantitatively speaking, the French writers of English could be considered to adopt the citation practices expected of expert writers.

It was not possible to do a full comparison of the distribution of the citations over the different sections of the articles, as not all the texts followed the classical IMRaD format: several science articles in both the FWE and NS subsets had merged Results + Discussion sections, and various article formats were encountered in some of the computational linguistics articles. From the comparable elements at our disposal, however, there appear to be few discrepancies in the distribution of citations between FWE and NS RAs: in both cases, the 40 Introductions account for a little over one-third of all citations (FWE: 35 %; NS: 36.5 %), while the Results section, in those articles where this constituted a separate section, accounted for a negligible percentage of citations in both subsets (FWE: 5.3 %; NS: 3.8 %). Both the number and distribution of citations seem, therefore, to clearly indicate that expert writers, whatever their native language, are familiar with journals' expectations and disciplinary practices in this respect.

The articles in the corpus made use of the two main referencing systems prevalent in scientific research articles today: the author-date (or Harvard) system and the number (or IEEE) system with or without author name. Some of the linguistics articles (and a small proportion of the science articles) used the author-date system:

> Thus, Fabb and Halle (2008) argue that metres always determine the number of syllables in the line.

However the number system was generally predominant, particularly in the science and engineering articles:

> Koros et al. [5] proposed a mechanism to…
>   For instance biaxial tensile tests have been developed [4][5][6][7].

Another specificity of science articles is the almost total absence of verbatim quotation. In the science and engineering part of our corpus, for example, there is only one full quotation and two brief quotes.

In the remainder of this article we will focus on questions related to issues of attribution, commitment and writer stance, which proved from analysis of the corpus to be a recurrent problem. The first feature addressed is reporting *that*-clauses.

3 Reporting Verbs

Previous studies of research discourse have shown that reporting *that*-clauses are very widely used so as to clearly express attribution (e.g. Charles 2006; Hyland 2002; Thomas and Hawes 1994; Thompson and Ye 1991). Two verb patterns are called upon here: *V-that* (*Brown argues that…*), and *it be V-ed that* (*It has been reported that….*). Using the concordancer AntConc 3.2.1 (http://www.antlab.sci. waseda.ac.jp), a search was therefore carried out on the word *that* in the FWE and NS subsets, and all the occurrences of finite reporting clauses were identified. While this method does not pick up cases with *that*-deletion, it was found in fact that omission of the *that* complementizer was extremely rare: a back-search on the eight most frequent reporting verbs in the NS and FWE subsets (*argue, assume, conclude, demonstrate, find, note, show*, and *suggest*) detected only a further six occurrences, confirming Biber et al.'s finding that "retention of *that* is the norm in academic prose" (Biber et al. 1999: 680), also noted by Charles (2006: 312). In the French subset, the search term was the complementizer *que*; since *que*-deletion is not possible in modern French, the figures can be considered exhaustive.

Although the distinction between statements of general disciplinary knowledge (called 'general reference' by Charles 2006) and citation is not always clear-cut, we adopted the following inclusion and exclusion criteria: general knowledge statements that comprised no precise reference or citation, and that did not correspond to a particular school of thought or work of a researcher were excluded; cases in which the reference to the school of thought or researcher could be retrieved from elsewhere in the text and that were considered sufficiently explicit for specialists in the field, even in the absence of a reference in the sentence itself, were however included. The final figures are given in Table 2.

Taking just the NS and FWE figures first, there are two striking differences between these speaker groups in the use of reporting verbs. The first concerns the frequency with which reporting *that* structures are used: only 5.9 per 10,000 words in the FWE drafts, against 13.9 per 10,000 w. in the NS set. There are several possible explanations for this marked discrepancy. The relative underuse of reporting verbs by FWE could for example be attributed to lack of awareness of the relevant English structures for reporting, i.e. to insufficient mastery of the

Table 2 Reporting *that*-clauses

	Occurrences	Per 10,000 words	Number of different verbs used
NS	400	13.9	55
FWE drafts	114	5.9	30
French	130	5.3	25

English language. Although language problems were encountered with other types of citation structures (see Sect. 4), a close examination of the occurrences revealed very few problems of this kind with reporting verbs, and competent citation passages such as the following were the general rule:

> (1) *It was previously thought that* the ketonic function of a sphagnan monomer, the 5-keto-mannuronic acid, was responsible for the Maillard like reaction. However, *Ballance et al. (2007) showed that* this monomer was actually only present in sphagnan as trace. Instead, *they found strong indication that* sphagnan contains O-acetyl functionalities (FWE)

Another possibility is that FWE writers have the same difficulties as novices in conveying nuances of evaluation and positioning when citing others' work (Thompson and Tribble 2001; Mansourizadeh and Ahmad 2011). As the quantitative indicators given in the previous section show, however, their citation practices fully conform to disciplinary expectations both in distribution and overall frequency. A more likely explanation is suggested by the figure in Table 2 for the French writer subset, which with a frequency of 5.3 occurrences per 10,000 w. is almost identical to that of the FWE writers (5.9). The general frequency of reporting *that* structures for citation in the two languages appears from the present data to differ sharply (almost 3 times higher in NS than in F), probably indicating that other types of citing structures are used in French academic discourse, and that the FWE writers have carried this feature of their native language culture over into their writing in academic English.

Our aim here was not to analyze in detail the French subset, but some of these other structural types can be briefly mentioned: as demonstrated by Charolles and others (Charolles 2005; Charolles and Péry-Woodley 2005), the use of sentence-initial discourse-framing devices is a recurrent feature of French discourse, and we speculate that this may be one of the explanations for the much lower use of reporting *that/que* structures. Example (2) illustrates this feature.

(i) Preference in French for an introductory evidential adverbial (*D'après X, Pour X et Y, Selon les résultats de Z*) followed by a main clause, rather than a dependent clause after a reporting verb:

> (2) *Pour Haddock et al. [15]*, l'irradiation partielle de l'encéphale est associée à une augmentation du nombre des rechutes cérébrospinales. (F)
> (*For Haddock et al. [15],* partial irradiation of the brain is associated with an increase in the number of cerebrospinal relapses. In preference to: Haddock et al. [15] argue/found that partial irradiation…)

(ii) The use of a nominal complement in French, where English traditionally prefers a clausal complement (Chuquet and Paillard 1987), likewise results in the absence of a reporting verb, as in example (3):

> (3) L'expérience de l'Institut Gustave-Roussy [15] *a également montré des taux de conservation élevés de* (…) (F)
> (The Institut Gustave-Roussy data also *showed high rates of conservation* of (…)
> In preference to: The Institut Gustave-Roussy data also showed that the conservation rates of (…) were high)

This deserves further study, but the consequence of these cross-linguistic differences and the subsequent scarcity of reporting verbs in the FWE drafts is that the French writers of English do not appear to position themselves as distinctly as the native English writers do.

The second difference clearly shown by Table 2 concerns lexical variety: a much smaller range of verbs (30) is used in the FWE subset— a figure that is again very similar to that of the French RAs (25)—compared to the NS group (55). Two-thirds (35/55) of the verbs used by the native English writers are not used at all by the French writers; a few others are much less used by the FWE writers; while conversely, 12 of the 30 verbs used by FWE are not used by the NS writers (see Table 3).

While the absence of some of the verbs in column 1 (e.g. *confirm, demonstrate, indicate, remark*) in the FWE subset may reflect the incomplete coverage of our corpus, the absence of some others (e.g. *advocate, document, entertain, maintain, posit, postulate, speculate, state*), we feel, indicates the French writers' reliance on a small set of verbs in reporting-*that* structures. The lexical range called upon does not include these more rarely-used verbs, although all are of Latin origin and so presumably familiar to French writers. Again, this may reflect the influence of their native language and academic culture, since both the FWE and F subsets rely very heavily on one verb, *show/montrer*, which accounts for 39 and 34 % of all occurrences respectively, compared to only 18 % in the NS subset.

Column 2 (verbs much less used by FWE than by NS) lists what could be called the 'staple' reporting verbs in NS articles: these eight verbs account for half (49 %) of the total in the NS articles, compared to less than a quarter in FWE. The very infrequent use of *argue* and *claim*, in particular, is rather surprising, since the expert French writers, unlike novice writers (cf. Introduction), do engage in cogent argument and confrontation of different points of view. This does not appear to be accomplished primarily, however, by using the reporting-*that* structures that are expected in English. The resulting effect on the reader is that nuances of stance are not explicitly conveyed, making it harder to grasp the writer's positioning towards the cited authors.

Table 3 Comparison of reporting verbs used by NS and FWE

Verbs used by NS but not by FWE	Verbs used much less by FWE than by NS	Verbs used by FWE but not by NS
35	8	12
Accept, acknowledge, advocate, assert, believe, comment, confirm, declare, demonstrate, document, entertain (the idea that), estimate, expect, explain, feel, indicate, insist, maintain, note, posit, postulate, predict, present, protest, put, recognize, remark, reveal, seem, speculate, state, stress, support, take, write	Argue, assume, claim, conclude, find, propose, say, suggest	Admit, advance, affirm, announce, consider, emphasize, establish, highlight, prove, suspect, think, underline

The last column in Table 3 lists the verbs found only in the FWE subset. Some of these clearly show the influence of French lexis: *advance that* (Fr. *avancer*, instead of *put forward* or *suggest), admit that* (Fr. *admettre*, instead of *acknowledge), affirm that* (Fr. *affirmer* instead of *assert* or *claim), establish that* (Fr. *établir*, instead of *demonstrate), underline that* (Fr. *souligner*, instead of *stress*). This is confirmed by the fact that several of the French equivalents of these verbs are also found in the French RAs, namely *affirmer, considerer, penser* (think*), souligner.* While unlikely to cause any serious ambiguities, these lexical choices by FWE indicate that the collocational bundles that are a recurrent feature of academic discourse in English are in many cases unfamiliar to them.

4 Identifying the Degree of Writer Commitment to the Cited Text

One explanation for the relative scarcity of reporting verbs in the FWE drafts, mentioned above, is their greater use of introductory adverbials such as *according to*; another possible explanation is that they use instead the '*would*-conditional' as a way of expressing their point of view. In this section we will explore these two hypotheses in the light of a number of recurrent problems observed with the use of *according to* and the *would* conditional form by the FWE.

In the absence of a reporting verb, the expression *according to* is one of the most common ways of introducing and identifying the source of information in English RAs. The generally recognized equivalent of *according to* in French is *selon*. A corpus search revealed however much wider recourse to French *selon* by the French writers (248 occurrences) than by the NS writers to *according to* (70 occurrences), with the FWE use lying interestingly between the two (110 occurrences). Expressed as frequencies per 10,000 words of running text, this works out as 10.1 (F), 2.4 (NS), and 5.8 (FWE) respectively. This perhaps suggests some differences in usage between the two expressions that are not necessarily widely reported in the literature.

4.1 *According to* Versus *Selon*: Differing Degrees of Writer Commitment

Two main values are traditionally associated with the expression *according to* (see for example Quirk et al. 1985; New Merriam Webster 1989), that of origin and that of conformity, as in (i) and (ii) below.

(i) *According to Dr. Santos* the cause of death was drowning (origin: as stated or as attested by)
(ii) Everything went *according to plan* (conformity: in accordance/conformity with)

In the present discussion relating to citation practices it is the first meaning that we are principally concerned with. As Quirk et al. explain, when used in the sense of (i), *according to* signals not so much a reaction to but an interpretation of events by an outside source (Quirk et al. 1985; 712). The enunciator attributes entire responsibility for this interpretation or claim to the cited authority/source. Although obviously the reliability of the information will also depend on who/what is cited as the source, the writer's own commitment to this point of view is not expressed. Example (4), from the NS subset, demonstrates this enunciative homogeneity:

(4) According to Lobeck (1995), verb phrase ellipsis is licensed by a head specified for strong agreement. (NS)

Through this choice of formulation the writer shows that she is not the source of the information and not therefore responsible for the reliability of the information or for any possible defects. The reported information is in the indicative (*is licensed*) and does not give any hint of the enunciator's own stance to the information transmitted.

In French, however, *selon* is used slightly differently. It can be used to express either full commitment to, or distance from, the cited source. This explains why in French it is possible to say '*selon moi*', as well as *selon X*.[2] There are several cases in the French RAs where *selon* is used with a first person pronoun:

(5) Le plus souvent, les EC sont catégorisées en EC « ponctuelles » et « duratives » , ou encore en « EC-dates » et « EC-durées » (cf. Muller et al. 04) (…) *Selon nous*, cette distinction n'est pas pertinente. (F)
   (EC are usually categorised as 'punctual' and 'durative' EC, or as 'EC-dates' and 'EC-duration' (cf. Muller et al. 04) (…) *According to us*, this distinction is not a relevant one.)

In English, however, it is not usually possible to combine source and opinion in this way. The use of *according to* with a first person pronoun (*according to me/us*) is theoretically excluded (Bolinger 1990).[3]

The use of French *selon* thus appears more varied and flexible than that of *according to* in English in that it can be used in contexts where the writer wishes to remain neutral but can also express the writer's viewpoint on the cited source.

(6) Selon Costermans et Bestgen (1991), Segal et al. (1991), Zwaan (1996) entre autres, toutes les expressions temporelles n'ont pas la même efficacité. Nos analyses confirment cette these (F)
   (According to Costermans and Bestgen (1991), Segal et al. (1991), Zwaan (1996) inter alia, not all temporal expressions are equally efficient. Our analyses confirm this)

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[2] The scope of such evidential expressions seems in fact to vary considerably from one language to another. In Italian the expression *secondo* can likewise be used with first person reference, *secondo me*. In Spanish, however, *según me* is, as in English, usually unacceptable in writing (John Swales, personal communication).

[3] First person references are occasionally possible for purposes of emphasis or contrast (see Bolinger 1990).

(7) Selon Hasher et Zacks (1988), le vieillissement *serait associé* à un dysfonctionnement des processus attentionnels inhibiteurs (…). *Il y aurait* maintien en mémoire de travail d'informations distractives … Or, en situation de conduite, les stimuli visuels qui se présentent au conducteur sont nombreux et cette altération pourrait avoir des répercussions négatives sur … (F)

(According to Hasher and Zacks (1988), ageing *would be associated* with dysfunction of inhibitory attention processes (…) Distracting information *would be retained* in the working memory… In fact, when driving, the driver encounters a large number of visual stimuli and this dysfunction could have a negative impact on…)

In (6), French *selon* is used in much the same way as English *according to*. The enunciator attributes the statement to an outside source. Only in the second sentence does the writer's subsequent commitment to the source become clear. In (7) however the situation is rather different. Here, the source of the claim, Hasher and Zacks, is clearly identified by the use of *selon*; but the conditionals in the following two clauses also allow the citing writer to include her own point of view—i.e. lack of full commitment—towards the source. As the subsequent (3rd) sentence makes clear, the citing writer does not agree with the information reported by Hasher and Zacks and presents an alternative hypothesis. As Celle (2004) has shown, the association of French *selon* with a conditional can enable the writer to simultaneously express a double point of view—that of the cited source, and his own stance towards this source.

These subtle differences in use between the two evidential expressions in English and French can be problematic when moving from one language to another. In several cases in the drafts the French writer, under the influence of French *selon,* uses a*ccording to* with a conditional verb, in order to emphasise his lack of commitment to the cited information. As in English, however, the use of *according to* automatically implies distance from the source, this combination of *according to* + the conditional results in passages such as (8) where there is a double (redundant) marking of writer distance which is not only linguistically incorrect but also obscures the writer's intended stance.

(8) *According to Pinker (1984)* semantic bootstrapping is the mechanism that allows children to determine which words fall into the category of noun or verb in their mother language. The discovery of noun and verb categories *would depend* on word meaning, which is acquired early and shaped by the child's interactions with her material and human environment. Children *would thus start* by constructing semantically appropriate representations of the linguistic items they are producing, and their representations *would, in turn, help* them grasp syntactic organisation (FWE).

4.2 Use of the Conditional in French and English

As Sect. 4.1. has already shown, the French conditional fulfills functions not easily transposable to English, and seems to be a major source of problems for FWE in our corpus. The following example from our draft corpus probably stems directly

from the influence of French, and would we believe be very unclear for the English reader:

(9) Indeed, the semantics of early words is notoriously difficult to delineate (Bloom 1991), and verb semantics *would be harder* (Gleitman 1990; Golinkoff et al. 1995)—thus accounting for their later acquisition (Gentner 2006) (FWE).

In French the conditional allows the writer to report speech whilst at the same time dissociating herself from the cited source of information. It is extremely common in news discourse, particularly when the source of information is potentially unreliable or the report unconfirmed, as illustrated by the following headline (*Le Monde*, 6 Sept. 2011):

(10) Adnan Bakhour *aurait été enlevé* par des hommes armés le 29 août
   (A.B. is believed to have been kidnapped by armed men on 29th August)

As the suggested translation makes clear, this subjective modal value of the French conditional cannot be rendered in English by the equivalent verb form.

This use of the conditional is also extremely common in French research discourse, as it allows writers to report the cited findings or claims without necessarily committing themselves to their validity. A typical example from our French dataset is:

(11) Adjointes aux informations textuelles, ces connaissances *seraient impliquées* dans des activités complexes comme l'anticipation d'événements… (Graesser et al. 2002) (F).
   (Combined with textual information, this knowledge would be involved in complex activities such as anticipating events)

The French conditional here is however intrinsically ambiguous, allowing two different interpretations: it can reflect either the original authors' (Graesser et al.) hedging of their claim, in which case the citing writer is simply reproducing their modalised statement, initially expressed in the conditional; or it can reflect the writer's intention not to commit herself to Graesser et al.'s claim. If the latter, there are two points of view expressed in a single clause: the claim made by Graesser et al., and the writer's marking of her distance from this claim through the use of the conditional. This double, or heterogeneous, enunciation that is possible with the French conditional raises similar problems for French writers to those discussed above concerning *selon*.

In English, the conditional cannot be used in this way and the writer is faced with a different set of choices. If the writer is neutrally reporting an initially tentative claim, this can be indicated either by using an attributive prepositional phrase such as *according to* with a modal expression in the main clause:

According to Graesser et al. this knowledge *may be involved*…

or by the choice of a reporting verb followed by an indicative:

Graesser et al. hypothesize that/speculate that this knowledge is involved…

as the following example from our NS dataset shows:

(12) *Katsos and Bishop hypothesised that* low child performance in comprehension *is* an artefact of the task (NS)

If, on the contrary, the writer wishes to distance herself from the cited authors' claim, this can be indicated either by using *according to* with an indicative:

According to Graesser et al., this knowledge is involved…

or by using other lexical choices of reporting verbs that convey the writer's lack of commitment, again with an indicative:

Graesser et al. claim that/argue that this knowledge is involved…

The use of the indicative means that only one point of view is expressed in the reported clause, that of the cited authors. As Thompson and Ye (1991) point out, however, the evaluative potential of reporting verbs can in some cases introduce a certain ambiguity between the writer's interpretation of the cited authors' claim and the original claim. As Charles (2006: 325) comments:

We should note here, however, that the uncertainty expressed in the verb may be the 'writer's interpretation' in Thompson and Ye's terms (1991). It is attributed to the cited author by the writer and it is possible that the uncertainty is not present in the original text. It could be that writers attribute uncertainty to a cited author with whom they wish to disagree, since a lack of certainty on the part of the cited author would make the disagreement less face-threatening.

Due to these language-specific differences in the resources available for marking degrees of distance and/or commitment, the writer's positioning with respect to the cited sources is frequently unclear in the FWE drafts, where the double, or heterogeneous, enunciation expressed by the conditional in French has been directly transferred into English, resulting in passages such as (13):

(13) [Mannose] could come from polysaccharides of tissues, e.g. leaves…and *would be used* by a wide range of microorganisms (Wood and Stanway 2001) (FWE).

This type of formulation in fact deprives the original enunciators (Wood and Stanway) of their enunciative autonomy: their hypothesis or claim is 'de-asserted', or further modalised by the writer, making it difficult to distinguish between the two. It therefore has a negative impact on the clarity of the argument in English, given the different values of the conditional in the two languages. These language-specific differences, we would argue, constrain the writer to selecting a suitable reporting verb + indicative when writing in English, rather than trying to combine the two points of view in a single clause. In the present case, the use of a reporting verb would have made it possible to attribute the claims unambiguously and make the respective positions of the original enunciators and of the writer clear (…*Wood and Stanway (2001) argue that/consider that it is used*…).

Even when a reporting verb is used, the French writers in many cases continue to use the conditional in the reported clause, in an attempt to express, as in French, their own stance towards this hypothesis–in this case, disagreement with Lyons:

(14) *John Lyons (1977) hypothesized that* the abstract meaning of nouns *would be derived* from the 'words for persons, animals and things' prototype. But ontogenesis does not follow such a clear path,… (FWE)

This double marking of distance effectively cancels out the role of the reporting verb. A similar phenomenon was observed with *according to* (example (8) above). In cases such as these, the reader who is not familiar with the French language and with the subjective modal value of the conditional would probably have difficulty grasping the writer's intended meaning.

5 Conceding Cited Claims: French *si*/English *if*

A final problem with the expression of stance concerns concession. Concession is important in citation, as it allows the writer to take existing knowledge or others' claims into account while at the same time backgrounding them, in order to prioritise her own opinion or claim in the main clause, as illustrated by example (15) from the NS subset:

(15) Although there is some experimental work on adults' comprehension of over-informative expressions (Mangold and Pobel, 1988; Pechmann, 1989; Maes et al., 2004; Arts, 2004), there is scant research on this phenomenon in development (NS).

In (15), the research by the authors referred to in the brackets is efficiently backgrounded, paving the way for the gap in knowledge and creating the subsequent niche for the author's own claim.

There are however several cases in the drafts corpus where the concessive status of the cited information in cases like this is rather unclear. In (16), for example, the references are attributed unambiguously, but the author's stance does not clearly emerge.

(16) It is important to mention here that if projects for creating linguistic ontologies already exist (see [21][22] and [23] about the biomedical domain in particular), no one [sic] address the issue of creating an ontology of modality (FWE).

Is the information concerning the cited references hypothetical or asserted? The use of *if* here is rather disconcerting and appears to be a direct interference from French. In French the subordinator *si* has a wider range of values than English *if* and is frequently used not only to signal a conditional relation, but also to indicate a concessive one as in (17):

(17) La limitation de la dissection du curage axillaire au seul étage I, *si elle diminue le taux de complications*, n'apparaît pas être une alternative satisfaisante (F)
    (Limiting axillary node dissection to the T1 stage, *although it decreases the rate of complications*, does not provide a satisfactory alternative)

In the French example (17), the author is not questioning whether or not the rate of complications has decreased. The information expressed in the conditional clause (or p clause) is actually the case. In the same way, in (16) above the FWE

author does not intend to call into question the fact that projects for creating linguistic ontologies do already exist. In English, however, *if* is not generally used in this sense; the subordinator *although* or *while* is preferred when the reality expressed in the concessive clause is presupposed. Sentence (16) would have been far clearer for the reader with a concessive subordinator:

(16') It is important to mention here that *although/whilst* projects for creating linguistic ontologies already exist (see [21][22] and [23] about [...]

Likewise in the following extract, the French-influenced use of the concessive *if*-clause to contrast two sets of findings is confusing in English.

(18) If interesting developments concerning the interaction of syntactic, semantic/prag-matic and rhythmic cues in French phonological phrasing have been brought in the optimality theory framework a few years ago (see for French [6] and [7], among others), more recent works dealing with extra-sentential elements in spontaneous speech showed that the things were not as evident as one believed [8]. (FWE).

The replacement of *if* by *although* would have made the message far more rhetorically effective. Although arguably not a source of real ambiguity, such anomalies of usage are we contend disconcerting for the reader and can once again mask the writer's stance.

6 Concluding Remarks

Although an initial quantitative comparison between the uses made of citations in English research articles by expert French researchers as opposed to English researchers revealed few major differences, on closer scrutiny we have observed a number of linguistic features of FWE citation use that may adversely affect the overall rhetorical effectiveness and clarity of their articles. Considered in isolation some of these points may appear unimportant, but when viewed collectively we contend that they lead to subtle differences in positioning and commitment not always being communicated as effectively as they might be.

Four features were found to be particularly problematic for expert French writers of English in our corpus: reporting *that*-clauses, together with the use of *according to*, of the *would* conditional, and concessive *if*-clauses. The study has shown that expert FWE not only use reporting *that*-clauses far less frequently than their NS counterparts but also demonstrate a lack of lexical variety, and a certain lack of familiarity with the collocational bundles used in RAs with this structure. While some of these points bear a superficial resemblance to those highlighted by studies of novice researchers' citation practices (lack of lexical variety and inap-propriate choice of the reporting verb, in particular, generally attributed to a lack of rhetorical mastery in the case of novices), the comparison with the French RA subset has shown that the explanation of these problems probably lies elsewhere in the case of expert FWE. The marked similarity between the use of reporting verbs

in the FWE and F subsets, in terms of both frequency and lexical variety, indicates that it is the influence of French citation practices which predominates. Unfortunately, however, the impression made on the reader of the English text, who has different expectations, is that of an insufficient mastery of the nuances of positioning.

The second problem addressed, the use of *according to*, likewise shows some surface resemblances between novices and the expert FWE, in that in both cases the evidential adverbial is heavily used, but here again, on the basis of the corpus data, we would attribute this feature of FWE citation practice to the influence of the 'equivalent' expression in their native language, i.e. French *selon*. The problems here arise from the cross-linguistic differences in the degrees of writer commitment that can be expressed by *according to* and *selon*: the latter, unlike *according to*, can be used to express either full writer commitment to the cited source or distance from the source, and, when used with the conditional, to express a double enunciation, that of the cited source and the writer's own stance towards this source. The direct transfer of these features by FWE into their texts in English can result in ambiguity as to the writer's position towards the cited authors.

The influence of French citation practices can be perceived even more clearly in the FWE use of the *would*-conditional, with or without *according to*. The conditional is used extremely frequently in French academic discourse for hedging, since it enables the writer to report others' claims and results without committing herself, or to distance herself from the reported work. This value cannot be directly transferred into English, and necessitates reformulation via other linguistic means. We have observed, however, a recurrent tendency of the French writers of English to use *would* in the same way as the French conditional, which has a negative impact on the clarity of the argument, and have suggested that this use of the conditional may be one of the explanations for the underuse of reporting verbs by FWE.

The last feature examined here concerns concession, an important aspect of positioning for writers when citing other sources. Concession is frequently expressed in French RAs by subordinate *si*-clauses; again, however, as with the pair *selon/according to*, the range of values that French *si* and English *if* can take is not the same. When the reality expressed in the concessive clause is presupposed, English prefers to use subordinators such as *although* or *while* to express a concessive relation. In the FWE drafts, however, *if*-clauses are commonly used to contrast two points of view or concede a point; for the reader, this is confusing and obscures the writer's stance towards the cited information.

Citing may seem at first sight to be an aspect of research publications which is relatively culture-free: the systems used are international, and expert writers are familiar with journals' expectations. As this study has shown, however, citing in English, for writers of other languages, is far from straightforward. We have detected many instances where the influence of the French writers' native language and academic culture results in ambiguity as to the writer's stance and degree of commitment to her sources. Given the importance of citation in research articles, this can represent a major weakness in the rhetorical efficacy and clarity of the

argument. It would be interesting to apply the approach adopted here to the study of citation practices by expert writers of other language origins who also have to publish in English, in order to pinpoint these often subtle but potentially critical issues.

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A Comparison of Author Reference in the Spanish Context of Biomedical RAs Publication

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Abstract Arguably, language-related conventions in the biomedical field do not seem to show concern for the manifestation of authorship and identity. However, since authorship and its social, academic and financial implications are put forth in the Uniform Requirements for Manuscripts submitted for biomedical publication (URM), it is essential to explore its manifestation in writing and publishing biomedical research internationally in English-medium journals. In this chapter I inquire into the authorship issue in relation to acculturation (cf. Padilla and Pérez 2003) as reflected in research articles published both in international and national journals by Spanish scholars. The analysis is carried on a section-coded specialized corpus of research articles (the biomedical and health sciences component of the SERAC corpus) and it applies a mixed-methods approach to obtain both quantitative and qualitative results. Based on the frequencies and discourse roles of first person plural references, findings provide clear evidence of the section and language-related contrast in first person plural references' occurrence, distribution and discourse function across biomedical RAs published internationally in English (L2) and in national journals in Spanish (L1). In light of the findings, it appears that using the expected rhetorical roles in the international context is a strong indication that belonging to an international scientific discourse community involves not just linguistic acquisition and learning but also appropriation of Anglo-American rhetorical norms, implying a possible of acculturation. Secondly, in this context, nativeness/mother language status together with experience or communicative performance seem important aspects to consider in the study of author reference language patterning (cf. Römer 2009; Swales 2004) and would probably be worth focusing on in academic biomedical RA writing for publication purposes.

Keywords Personal pronoun · Research articles · Medicine · English as a lingua franca

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1 Introduction

Research article writing in the field of medicine is the main genre that contributes to knowledge shaping in the scientific community. It has also been furthered that biomedical research article publication entails social implications on the community as a whole and on the authors' research activity and institutional career in particular (cf. Skelton 1994; Becher and Trowler 2001; Swales 2004). The International Committee of Medical Journal Editors (ICMJE) reiterates this claim in the URM where it is emphasized that "biomedical authorship continues to have important academic, social, and financial implications" (2009: 2). Currently, language-related issues are also linked with this claim. They stem from the practice of publishing research internationally in English-medium journals which has led to a general assumption that local-based empirical scientific knowledge needs to be communicated in an Anglo-American rhetorical style to ensure dissemination of science. Notwithstanding the advantage of ensuring widespread communication of knowledge, the use of English as a lingua franca for research and publication purposes has also raised questions concerning both language use and identity (cf. Jenkins 2007). Based on Ivanič's (1998) claim that there are cues of identity in writing (see also Clark and Ivanič 1997), it is possible to associate explicit author reference in writing with the need to establish a voice. In the case of L2 scholars who publish research in the international language of the academia, certain tensions have been claimed to appear due to differences in language and national cultures (cf. Vassileva 2000; Shaw 2003; Yakhontova 2006). In the Spanish context,[1] for example, studies on the impact factor of local-based biomedical journals published in Spanish and indexed in the Science Citation Index (SCI) as compared to their counterparts published in English acknowledge two aspects: one is the importance of authorship whereas the other brings to the fore language-related issues, namely that Spanish scholars still find it difficult to publish in English (cf. Bracho-Riquelme et al. 1997; Benavent et al. 2004). Hence, inquiring into linguistic choices is relevant to the study of author reference as an expression of identity on the whole, and, above all when L2 scholars write for publication in the mainstream scholarly journals.

Author reference is explicitly realized by means of first person pronouns (i.e. I, we) which have been shown to fulfil both a deictic and an inter-personal function (cf. Wales 1996). First person pronouns are commonly deemed to have an exophoric function (Hoey 1991; Wales 1996), namely they refer or point to the writer and/or the reader of the text. In addition to identifying the participants in the communicative situation, these personal references signal an interaction between the participants, hence the interpersonal function. Furthermore, it is the deictic and interpersonal functions which seem to endorse Wales's claim about the different

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rhetorical roles of personal references: "[t]hese (prototypically human) referents have a wide variety of social and political roles and stances, so that the interpersonal pronouns themselves are rarely 'neutral' in their reference" (1996: 50). The global communication of research, the large participation of scholars with different linguistic backgrounds might likewise explain the different rhetorical roles of pronouns. This claim is based on the hypothesis that ethnolinguistic encounters of this type probably trigger variations in the rhetorical and social functions of these interpersonal pronouns. Moreover, findings of recent studies suggest that an English-only research and publication world seems to result in a loss of national voice in the case of scholars who use English as an additional language (Ammon 2007; Canagarajah 1999; Holliday 2009; Kirkpatrick 2009). Although we are presently witnessing biomedical journals whose guidelines for authors advocate the use of the active voice and personal pronouns, conventions concerning their use are still unstable in academic writing (cf. Hyland 2002: 1095; Harwood 2006; Henderson and Barr 2010: 253). As regards the context of biomedical publication, the language specific to the discipline does not seem to favour the use of personal pronouns, as studies on scientific discourse have shown (Lemke 1990; Martin and Veel 1998). However, variation can be found due to different communicative purposes of the RA rhetorical sections (Swales 1990, 2004; Shaw 2003). First, scientific discourse is characterized by the discipline-specific preference of passive constructions, nominalizations and relational processes in biomedical writing (cf. Halliday 1998). In contrast, research on the rhetorical structure of research articles has shown that personal pronouns can be found in RAs, a choice which is grounded in the need to establish an interpersonal dimension in writing (cf. Hyland 2010). This dimension has a significant role in the research articles (henceforth RA). For example, Vihla points out that these texts "construe a more interactive role for the reader" (Vihla 1999: 12). Moreover, persuasion and argumentation functions of language imply that biomedical language is conditioned socially to establish an interpersonal dimension in writing (cf. Vihla 1999; Hunston 2011).

In order to study author reference, this chapter examines first person plural personal pronouns as a linguistic choice in biomedical research articles. The aim of the study is to gain insights into author reference-specific language use to establish an interpersonal dimension in biomedical referring to the Spanish context of publication (i.e., RA writing in international journals in English L2 and publishing in Spanish L1 in national journals). More specifically, the frequencies of first person plural pronouns and their discursive roles will be compared across languages based on the theoretical framework of author roles proposed by Tang and John (1999): the representative, the architect, the guide, the recounter of the research process, the opinion-holder, the originator. Findings will be interpreted in the context of an aspect pertaining to the field of intercultural communication, that is whether publishing in English appears to reinforce the Anglo-American rhetorical style. Furthermore, the sociological concept of acculturation will be used as a descriptor for the changes in language and identity that occur when two ethnolinguistic groups come into contact (cf. Padilla and Pérez 2003).

2 Methodology

This study is based on a specialized corpus, the biological and health sciences component of the *Spanish–English Research Articles Corpus* (SERAC 1.0) compiled at the University of Zaragoza (Spain) in 2008.

The set of SERAC's text used for the present study consists of 180 RAs, namely 90 L2 and 90 L1 samples totalling a number of 595, 632 words (see Table 1). To perform data analysis, the *key word in context* (KWIC) search has been carried out by means of the software *WordSmith Tools* (version 4.0, Scott 1999) on the section-coded corpus divided in introduction, methods, results and discussion sections. This was deemed necessary in order to facilitate the explanation of findings, that is the distribution of frequencies and the roles of first person plural pronouns based on the communicative purposes of the RA sections in which they can be found. Only instances of WE have been taken into account because all the articles in the corpus are co-authored. As regards the personal references OUR and US, they are considered as less emphatic author references, hence this study focused exclusively on WE references. Likewise, for the Spanish language the search query consisted of the terms NOSOTROS [we] and the less stressed form *MOS (e.g. hemos [we have]). I carried out a statistical significance test of each section-related frequency using the SIGIL corpus frequency wizard (Baroni and Evert 2008) to calculate the Chi Square (χ^2).

For the qualitative part of the study, the discourse function of first person plural references, the classification devised by Tang and John (1999) was used although they have been interpreted along two lines which Hyland (2010: 117) uses to describe the interpersonal dimension in writing, namely the "proximity of membership" and, respectively, "proximity of commitment" (see Fig. 1).

I take the roles of recounter of the research process, opinion holder and originator to illustrate the interaction with ones' community through the text with the discourse community (i.e., proximity of membership). For the latter one (i.e., proximity of commitment), the roles of representative, architect and guide are considered to refer within the text to the participants in the communicative event: writer, reader and text. These roles have been compared across languages in order to test the hypothesis of the influence of English on the Spanish rhetoric (i.e., acculturation).

Table 1 The total number of words/WE word forms in the section-coded SPENG and SP biomedical RAs of SERAC

180 RAs	Introduction	Methods	Results	Discussion	No of words/WE: 595,632
SPENG	43,541/99	90,426/100	97,715/350	98,389/345	330,071/894
SP	37,346/66	57,508/148	63,212/129	107,495/419	265,561/762
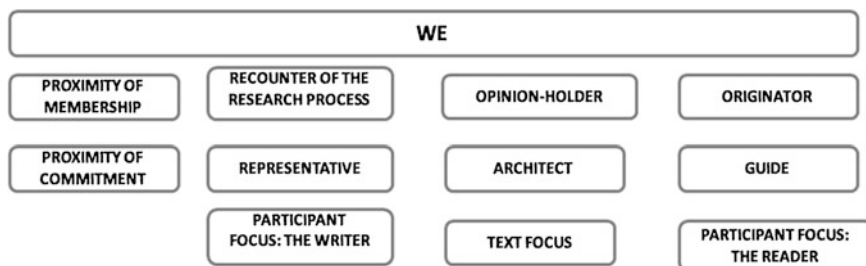
Fig. 1 Discourse roles of the first person plural pronouns (WE)

3 Comparing the Occurrences and Distribution of Author Reference in SPENG (L2) and SP (L1) in RAs Rhetorical Sections

This part of the analysis consists of a RA section-based frequency count of instances of WE in SPENG (L2), and, respectively, of NOSOTROS and *MOS in the SP (L1) subcorpus. The decision of looking at frequencies across sections is grounded on two considerations. First, each RA rhetorical section is characterised by a specific communicative purpose (Swales 1990, 2004), hence there may also be variation in the way author references occur. Second, the overall occurrences of the first person plural pronoun in each subcorpus did not show statistically significant differences. The frequencies of occurrence of the word form WE as indicative of author reference in both corpora are displayed in Table 2, together with the statistical significance of the section-based cross-linguistic differences registered in this data.

As can be seen (Table 2), in the introduction sections, the word form WE occurs 99 times in SPENG (L2) and 66 times in SP (L1). The difference between these proportions (0.23 % in L2 and 0.18 % in L1) is not statistically significant. Therefore it can be argued that, as regards author reference in introduction sections, there is no clear contrast in the manifestation of the interpersonal dimension when writing in SPENG (L2) as compared to writing in SP (L1). The same can be

Table 2 SIGIL results of WE word form occurrences in SPENG (L2) and SP (L1) biomedical RAs sections

Relative frequencies	Introduction	Methods	Results	Discussion
SPENG (L2)	0.23 %	0.11 %	0.36 %	0.35 %
SP (L1)	0.18 %	0.26 %	0.20 %	0.39 %
$\chi 2$	2.29034	43.74423[a]	30.19982[a]	2.02371

[a] difference is significant at $p < 0.001$ (crit. 10.82757)

stated for the discussion sections. There are 354 instances (0.35 %) of author reference in SPENG (L2) as compared to 419 instances (0.39 %) in SP (L1) which result in no statistical difference. In contrast, results for methods and results sections returned statistically significant differences between SPENG (L2) and SP (L1). On the one hand, author reference frequencies in methods sections provide evidence that Spanish writers show a clear preference for the word form WE using it 148 times when they write in their L1 (this corresponds to 0.26 %) compared to 100 instances produced by their counterparts who publish in English (0.11 %). The difference between these proportions is statistically significant at $p < 0.001$. The frequency of first person plural pronouns differs again in results sections. In this section it is authors who write in English as their L2 who use it more than their SP (L1) colleagues (0.36 % and, respectively 0.20 %), the significance level for this variation being again very high, at $p < 0.001$.

Let us now turn to the comparison of author reference instances across the IMRaD sections where they follow different patterns, too. In the case of SPENG (L2), the lowest frequency is found in methods, but it becomes increasingly used in introduction, followed by results and discussion sections which show similar numbers. The contrast of author reference within the SP (L1) subcorpus reveals a different pattern, namely introduction sections score lowest followed by a close percentage of pronouns in results. However, this percentage increases in methods, the highest score being registered as in the case of SPENG (L2) in discussion sections. These results confirm that it is the methods and results sections which are most subject to variation either within the same subcorpus or across the two languages.

As the word form WE is arguably the most prototypical manifestation of author reference, these results provide clear evidence of the section and language-related contrast in its occurrence and distribution across biomedical RAs published internationally in English (L2) and in national journals in Spanish (L1).

4 The Meaning of the Word Form WE in Biomedical RAs Sections in SPENG (L2)

This part of the analysis moves from the word form WE (i.e., its presence and the description of its distribution in the IMRaD rhetorical structure of biomedical RAs) towards its meaning. Therefore, this part of the study is based on the assumption that when meaning needs to be identified, the word is not the most useful "unit of study" (Römer 2009: 120). At word level the first person plural pronoun indicates two options, inclusive or exclusive meaning which refer to the writer and the reader of the text or to the writer alone (cf. Hardwood 2005). However, these inherent meanings seem to further other, additional functions when we explore pronoun and verb combinations and their pragmatic effects (i.e., help writers construct an interpersonal dimension in writing) and functional roles

in discourse. To inquire into the section-related discourse roles of author references, the concordance lines have been sorted to the right of the node word WE. The section-specific resulting patterns have been assigned author roles according to Tang and John's (1999) taxonomy (i.e., representative, architect, guide, recounter of the research process, opinion-holder, originator).

The pronoun and verb combinations present in introduction sections can be classified into the representative, the guide, the recounter of the research process, the opinion-holder and originator. The discourse role of representative (e.g., *we should consider*), has an important pragmatic function when creating a research space. It is through this role that writers speak on behalf of their community, as insiders involved to establish an interpersonal relationship with their peers. The guide role has a focus on readers, in that it summarizes writers' intentions and states conclusions. Examples are: *we aimed/attempted/sought to (determine/explore/establish/ characterize)*; *we present/report/show/demonstrate*; *we analyzed/assessed/evaluated/conducted/examined/studied/investigated*. The roles recounter of the research process (e.g., *we exposed/monitored/transduced/used*), opinion-holder (e.g., *we do (did not) believe; we considered it appropriate*) and originator (e.g., *we reasoned; we (have not) found/observed*) are present, too, probably as a consequence of the need to refer to the main research procedure or announcing principle findings after stating the research purpose in the last part of the introduction sections. In addition, they are signs of the identity of established members in the disciplinary community. There are no instances of the architect role.

In methods sections, data indicates that the most prominent role is that of the recounter of the research process. Examples are: *we added/use (d)/utilised/calculated/collected/controlled/(did not) control/treated/generated/isolated/obtained/ optimized/performed/purchased/recorded/recovered/referred/retrieved/selected/tried*. There are also patterns which signal the guide (e.g., *we reviewed/studied/present*), the opinion-holder (e.g., *we chose to examine/decided to review/considered*) and the originator (e.g., *we confirmed/detected/estimated*) used when describing data collection or the experimental and data-analysis procedures. The roles which seem not to be present in this section are the representative and the architect.

The patterns manifested in results can be associated with the dimension of commitment, namely the roles of the architect (e.g., *we report here/(in Fig./in Table/here) we show*) and the guide (e.g., *we wanted to analyse/characterise/ evaluate/investigate*; *we showed/reported/demonstrated*; *we analysed/assessed/ explored/studied/assayed/assessed/characterised/evaluated/examined/investigated/ focused on*). The membership dimension is revealed through patterns classified as pointing to the following roles: the recounter of the research process (e.g., *we (co)hybridized/(sub)cloned/cultured/infected/employed/performed/tested/injected/ measured/mutated/(pre)incubated/quantified/screened/selected/silenced/transfected/incubated/treated/used),* the opinion-holder (e.g., *we decided to study*; *we considered it of interest/chose to use*; *we suspected/attributed*) and the originator (e.g., *we found/confirmed*; *we (did) could not find/we could validate/we were able to verify/detect*; *we (did not) observe(d); we detected (no)/failed to detect; we reasoned/hypothesized/ruled out*). As can be seen from these examples, the originator

role is displayed more often in this section as compared to the previous ones since it is a role specific to its communicative purpose of indicating and accounting for specific observations as well as for non-consistent observations. The representative discourse role is not illustrated in results sections.

As regards the discussion sections, it is here where all the discourse roles can be found. The representative seems to be important in this part of the RA, probably used to indicate research implications or to promote further research. Examples are: *(if) we consider/when we expect/we generally isolate/we must consider/we should not expect/forget/we still need to*. The other reader-oriented roles of architect (e.g., *here we demonstrate/report*; *we present here/here we show here*) and guide (e.g., we sought to/wanted to; *we showed/demonstrate(d)/report(ed)*; *we explored/studied/ analyzed/investigated*; *we did not analyse/detect/examine*) are used by the authors to structure the discourse and highlight research outcomes. When explaining specific research outcomes, arguably the recounter of the research process discourse role is used: *we added/alternated/classified/compared/combined/correlated/chose/diag-nosed/quantified/divided/modified/performed/restricted/screened/selected/(did not) use(d)*. Other section-specific roles are the opinion-holder (e.g., *we agree with*; *we (do not) believe/we think*; *we consider*; *we feel/felt*; *we (would) suggest*) and origi-nator (e.g., *we (did not) found/identified/detected/observe(d)/expected/propose(ed)/ we provide*; *we confirm/we did find/we found no*; *we could not find/were (not) able*; *we hypothesized*). There is a stress on the membership dimension associated with the result sections' communicative purposes of contrasting present and previous out-comes as well as indicating significance and limitations of research results.

The discourse roles identified in the SPENG (L2) subcorpus (together with their function and use would probably be worth focusing on in academic biomedical RA writing for publication purposes. This is due to their significance to shape a consistent disciplinary discourse identity, not necessarily subjective but where writers are visible as agents in the organization of discourse as shown by the discourse-structuring devices, but also involved to establish a genre specific interpersonal relationship with their peers.

5 Contrasting Languages: The Use of the Word Form WE in SPENG (L2) as Compared to SP (L1)

For this section, the pronoun and verb combinations seen SPENG (L2) RA sec-tions have been contrasted to those in SP (L1) sections. Overall, the discourse roles assigned to the pronoun and verb patterns correspond in the two groups of texts, with the exception of the representative. This author role can be found in all the sections of the SP (L1) RAs. Thus, when pronoun and verb combinations in SP (L1) are compared with the SPENG (L2), the contrast is established at the level of the representative role for each rhetorical section of the biomedical RA. For example, in SP (L1) introduction sections the following representative examples

can be found: (e.g., *no debemos olvidar* [we must not forget]; *sabemos* [we know]; *disponemos/contaremos* [we have/will have (available)]; *conoceremos* [we will understand]; (*si*) *aceptamos* [(if) we agree]). These patterns suggest that SP (L1) authors focus more on the interpersonal dimension when they create a research space. The variation between SPENG (L2) and SP (L1) methods is illustrated for the representative role by the following examples: *podemos clasificar* [we can classify]; *disponemos* [we have available]; *debemos entender* [we must understand]; *podemos hacer pasar* [we can pass it through]; *en la Tabla X vemos* [in Table X we can see]; *tenemos* [we have]. These patterns illustrate the authors' attempt to involve their readers in the collection of the data and methodological procedures. Similar constructions are specific to results sections, too, when authors indicate specific observations or account for results: *tenemos* [we have]; (*si*) *dividimos* [(if) we divide]; *en la Figura X podemos apreciar/comprobar/observar* [in Figure X we can see]; *conocemos/sabemos* [we know]; (*si*) *asumimos que… ahorrariamos* [(if) we assume that…we would save]. Finally, the same results can be found in discussion sections, that is the search of communality with the reader through the representative role: *debemos acometer* [we have to undertake]; (*si*) *pudieramos ahorrarnos* [(if) we could save]; (*si*) *nos encontramos* [(if) we are (find ourselves)]; *podriamos aprovecharnos* [we could take advantage of]; *estamos asistiendo* [we are witnessing]; *vemos* [we (can) see]; *podemos encontrarnos* [we can find]; *si (la) comparamos* [if we compare (it)]; *contamos (con)* [we rely (on); we have]; *podemos concluir* [we can conclude]; *debemos/podriamos considerar* [we must/could take into account]; *hemos de ser cautos* [we have to be cautious]; *disponemos* [we have (available)]; (*no*) *tenemos* [we (do not) have]; *deberemos efectuar* [we should perform]; (*si*) *tenemos en cuenta* [(if) we bear in mind]; *podemos encontrar/observar* [we can find/see]; *debemos entender* [we should understand]; *podríamos* [could we]; *no debemos/tampoco podemos olvidar* [we must not/we cannot forget]; *recordemos/reconocemos* [we must remember/admit]; *hemos visto* [we have seen]. These examples foreground the SP (L1) authors' aim to contrast present and previous research, state a specific outcome, interpret results or indicate their significance, and promoting further research, but at the same time integrating the writer and the reader in a common reading of the research findings.

As can be seen from the above lists for each rhetorical section, some of the patterns for the representative in SP (L1) overlap with those in SPENG (L2) which illustrate other roles, such as the architect (e.g., *en la Tabla X vemos* [in Table X we can see]), guide (e.g., *hemos visto* [we have seen]; *podemos concluir* [we can conclude]), recounter of the research process (e.g., *podemos clasificar* [we can classify]), opinion-holder (e.g., (*si*) *aceptamos* [(if) we agree]), originator (e.g., *sabemos* [we know]; *podemos encontrar* [we can find]). This means that when Spanish scholars write in English they align themselves to the Anglo-American rhetoric, which does not favour the inclusive WE patterns specific to the Spanish language. Since this pattern arguably performs specific rhetorical functions, that of pointing to the writer and the reader of the text as members of the same community and signalling the commitment of the writer to this community in an attempt to

reach agreement, the fact that it lacks from SPENG (L2) implies that it is not as valued as in the SP (L1).

6 Summary and Conclusion: Author References in SPENG (L2) and SP (L1)

In this chapter I set out to explore section-related occurrences and meaning of the word form WE in biomedical RAs published by Spanish authors internationally in English (L2) and in national journals in Spanish (L1) and address the question, whether with respect to author reference nativeness might become an issue. I compared the section frequencies of the first person plural pronoun and the author roles based on the patterns resulting from the pronoun and verb combination derived from two corpora (each capturing non-native L2 and native L1 productions) in order to see in what ways the use of English as an additional language (Ammon 2007; Canagarajah 1999; Holliday 2009; Kirkpatrick 2009) affects author reference-related language patterning.

The section-based frequencies show that statistically significant cross-linguistic contrast is found when comparing methods and results sections between SPENG (L2) and SP (L1) biomedical RAs. However, as regards introduction and discussion sections, there is no variation in frequencies across the two languages, probably due to the genre-related similarity of these two rhetorical sections (see Swales 1990, 2004). To see whether linguistic differences could be held responsible for the quantitative findings, this study also inquired into the functional role of patterns of pronoun and verb. Subsequently, the author roles revealed that the difference between languages is established by the representative discourse role. Based on Hyland's (2010) interpersonal dimensions of proximity of membership and proximity of commitment, here analyses showed that SPENG (L2) authors stress the first dimension when they construct their identity, whereas SP (L1) arguably value more the latter. Subsequently, similarities can be explained by the disciplinary and genre-specific phraseology, whereas differences can be interpreted as a sign of the native language.

These findings seem to indicate that when we explore author references in biomedical RAs across languages, writers not only signal genre and discipline-specific roles, but also move beyond these standardizing factors, to express them in language related patterns. The discourse referents of first person plural pronouns are "seemingly limitless" (Wales 1996: 63) as they account for aspects related to both the context of situation and the context of culture. The need to establish an interpersonal dimension in biomedical writing therefore results in a range of discourse roles reflecting the social roles that scholars have in the medical discourse community and institutional setting made manifest throughout discourse. Moreover, it is reasonable to assume that disciplinary conventions interplay with national language, while in the hard science field of biomedicine marked by a

universal character (Becher and Trowler 2001) the former may even be more prominent. It is not always clear, however, whether these factors produce mixed rhetorical strategies and discourse structures (cf. Pérez Llantada 2012) when they are translated into another language or is it just that the discipline simply overrides the influence of the native language. In this context, nativeness/mother language status together with experience or communicative performance seem important aspects to consider in the study of author reference language patterning (cf. Römer 2009; Swales 2004). However, publishing in English appears to reinforce the Anglo-American rhetorical style. Therefore, using the expected rhetorical roles in the international context becomes a strong indication that belonging to an international scientific discourse community involves not just linguistic acquisition and learning but also acculturation processes.

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Positive Self-Evaluation and Negative Other-Evaluation in NSs' and NNSs' Scientific Discourse

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Abstract The chapter presents the results of research into the distribution of linguistic exponents of *positive self-evaluation* and *negative other-evaluation* in a corpus of Polish- and English-language scientific articles in the field of linguistics written by NSs and NNSs. The main problem addressed is the extent to which contextual variables (including cultural affiliation of the author, language and time of publication) may account for qualitative and quantitative differences in the use of the said markers. A parallel survey concerns the distribution of the relevant linguistic forms according to grammatical category. A corpus analysis was carried out on a sample of 150 scientific articles published in the period 1980–2000, randomly selected from 9 leading journals on linguistics. The total length of the corpus is 790,000 words. It is shown that positive self-evaluation is a parameter whose pattern of distribution is language-dependent, with English-language texts scoring higher than Polish-language ones. By contrast, in the case of negative other-evaluation it is the author's cultural affiliation that plays the decisive role, with Polish authors applying the relevant markers more often that English NSs. However, such cross-cultural and cross-linguistic diversity seems to be levelled since the mid-1990s, from which time a general convergence of the data for all groups of texts analysed is observed. Specifically, two tendencies may be operating, i.e. increase in the amount of positive self-evaluation, and decline in the amount of negative other-evaluation. Gradual convergence is also visible in terms of parts of speech conveying positive self-evaluation and negative other-evaluation. In either case verbs have now replaced nouns and adjectives as the dominant category used in this role, irrespective of any contextual variable taken into account in the study. In sum, my chapter highlights the issue of stylistic homogenization in scientific

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discourse intended for global readership, and juxtaposes it with the unwelcome effects of possible stylistical hybrids of NS and NNS elements. I also attempt to explain why scholarly writers give greater attention to self-promotional elements nowadays than ever before, at the expense of criticism of other scholars.

1 Introduction: Scientific Communities Under Globalization

In the last two decades there can be observed a gradual expansion of global scientific community, whose relevance is now widely recognized in more and more academic disciplines. In consequence formerly distinctive national scientific communities may adopt some internationally recognized practices of scholarly activity, including those related to professional communication. What follows is that within any scientific community long-established local practices may co-exist with some novel ones, and this co-existence will often resurface in the course of interaction in both national and international contexts. It is then vital to analyse how an interplay of local and global practices may affect the process of scholarly communication at and across both these levels, whether it is always advisable to keep them apart, and, at the applied level, how scholars should develop their awareness of this interplay and communicate effectively.

One of the domains where the clash between the local and the global is particularly evident is the increasing dominance of English in scientific communication and the resultant decreasing position of other national languages. While the topic creates much controversy, the privileged position of English as the *lingua franca* of science is unlikely to be altered soon, and maintaining linguistic pluralism in global scientific community would result in less effective information exchange. Scientific writing in minor national languages, however much appreciated locally, cannot usually exert a comparable influence worldwide.

Globalization of scientific communities does not only concern the common language; of equal significance is the question of adopting generally recognizable conventions in discourse, including academic styles. When global national community was still to gain its impetus and most scientific publications were written in national languages, academic styles were represented as tokens of local scholarly traditions along with their unique axiologies, attitudes and behaviours. Typologies of academic styles, e.g. Kaplan's (1972) or Clyne's (1987), foregrounded their plurality as a key factor underlying cultural diversification of national scientific

communities. With most scientific activity now being done on the international basis and with English enjoying the status of scientific *lingua franca*, it may occur that in order to streamline their professional communication scholars would be more willing to agree on shared stylistic conventions, which, as may be expected, will be largely consistent with Saxon academic style.

The above-discussed interplay of local and global practices also concerns academic styles, and may lead to hybridization of once separate stylistic traditions. Elsewhere (Kowalski 2011) I have distinguished two types of hybridization: primary hybridization, when NNSs of English transfer elements of their national scientific style to the works they write in English, and secondary hybridization, when NNSs of English, after having developed competence in Saxon style, transfer its elements to their scientific texts written in their mother tongue. Stylistic hybridization is generally unwelcome, because it may result in "rhetorical duality" (Halimah 2001) of a scientific text. It makes the text and argument organization less predictable and the line of the author's reasoning harder to follow. As a result the text may be rejected by global audience, which may in turn lead to the author's alienation from global scientific community. While hybridization of Saxon style and a local academic style has been acknowledged in relation to academic texts originating in various scholarly cultures (e.g. Duszak 1998: 309–310 for Polish, Halimah 2001 for Arabic), the actual extent and consequences of the process require a more detailed empirical research, to which the present chapter contributes.

2 The Case of Poland

In this chapter I discuss the interplay of local and global discourse conventions in scientific texts, taking as an example certain self-promotional strategies in Polish- and English-language scientific articles written by Polish NSs, and confronted with texts written by NSs of English. The reason why Poland has been selected for comparison is Polish scientific community's distinctive tradition and identity, much different to those characteristic of scientific communities in Western democracies. Differences are particularly salient in the period after WW2. While the model of development of science in Western societies can be described as *evolutionary*, with a relatively undisturbed succession of paradigms and research programs, scientific activity in Poland between 1945 and 1989 was marked by discontinuity in its progress, with periods of science proper being separated by intervals of scientific charlatanry (Goćkowski 1994, 1999).

The difference is deeply rooted in the interplay of distinctive political, economic and social conditions. Specifically, the evolutionary model of science in the West has been secured in the framework of democracy, liberalism, capitalism and free-market economy. The autonomy of science is recognized here as a political and social axiom, to which contribute universally and legally safeguarded civic liberties, including freedoms of speech and association. These factors have been conducive to unrestricted operations of scientific communities in terms of their

definitional activities, i.e. knowledge-making and knowledge dissemination, as well as to establishing and maintaining the relevant institutions whereby these processes are enacted.

By contrast, Polish science between 1945 and 1989 was largely subjected to ideological guidelines set forth by the communist regime, itself dependent upon Soviet political, economic and military domination. Political factors were inextricably linked with economy, in which strategic branches of heavy industry were privileged, with private capital being under-represented or even non-existent in many domains. In addition, production and distribution quotas for goods and services in retail trade were established and controlled by state authorities. This situation had direct repercussions on science, particularly in the selective, politically oriented allocation of financial support for research. Restrictions on scientific progress were also caused by limited civic freedoms and ideological censorship. In consequence, Polish science could not meet universal conditions of the autonomy of science, in particular freedom of expression and publication, freedom to choose ontological and epistemological models, freedom to choose the subject of research, freedom of communication and cooperation, and freedom of association (Goćkowski 1999: 102).

The breakdown of the pre-1989 political and economic system has triggered off mass transformation, whose objective is to adjust various public domains to the standards established in democratic states. Polish science is undergoing a similar process of self-repair in order to regain its autonomy. Embedded in this imperative are immediacy and urgency of the relevant reforms, for which reason the model of the current development of Polish science may be described as *revolutionary*. However, due to the relative absence of normative regulations and, more importantly, the persistent financial crisis, the ideal of self-repair has not been completely effected, and pathologies and abnormalities still exist, although they may now concern different aspects than before 1989.

For Polish scientific community the process of globalization and the resultant international competition pose several problems. First and foremost, it is the question of the macro-contextual handicap, with Polish science under transformation being rated only at the *proto-scientific* stage (Jałowiecki 2002: 192–193), in contrast to the full-fledged *scientific* status of communities operating in most Western democracies. Secondly, many Polish scholars, especially in humanities, publish only in their mother tongue, which has a low quota of NNSs outside Poland, and thus their works have a relatively limited international impact. While the problem of gaining sufficient linguistic competence in academic English can be overcome with EAP materials and courses now available to Polish scientists, it seems that less attention is given to the acquisition of the relevant EAP discourse skills, including those related to the areas where Saxon style, traditionally associated with English NSs' academic writing, is different from Teutonic style, which dominates in Polish scholarly writing.

Differences between the two styles are in fact many. Previous research has indicated that compared with Saxon style, Teutonic style is less dialogic (Duszak 1998: 279), and more often resembles the researcher's "stream of consciousness"

(Duszak 1994a: 302, 1998: 283). In consequence, Polish scientific style is often described as "intellectualized" (Duszak 1994b, 1998: 284; see also Gajda 1999a, b), a feature which acts as a ritual gate-keeper to scientific community, excluding the less competent members and non-members from the correct interpretation of a scholarly text. Furthermore, Teutonic style is more direct, with fewer hedging devices being used. At the level of structure, it is claimed to have a less reader-friendly text organization, including lengthy paragraphs, far exceeding the limits of "manageable units" (Duszak 1998: 136; Scott and Deney 1985) observed in Anglo-Saxon scientific writing. Low level of reader-friendliness is also a corollary of Teutonic style's digressive character, as opposed to Saxon style's structural and thematic linearity (Clyne 1987). Digressiveness involves, among others, absence of a predictable structure and segmentation, and variability in topic organization. So far, however, there has been no comparative study addressing the possible differences in the use of self-promotional discourse, in particular in terms of the exponents of positive self-evaluation and negative other-evaluation,[1] in Polish and English scientific discourse.

3 Positive Self-Evaluation and Negative Other-Evaluation as Strategies of an Author's Self-Promotion

The development of global scientific community entails significant changes to the status of the author of a scientific publication. The change is of both quantitative and qualitative character. Quantitative, as the number of potential participants in the struggle for publishing opportunities has dramatically increased in recent years. Qualitative, as the ideal of a scholar as 'a humble servant of the discipline' (Hyland 2001) is often confronted with the need to compete with fellow researchers in the harsh reality of free market economy. As a result, self-promotional work becomes an integral aspect of a scientific text more than ever before.

Self-promotional work can be performed directly and indirectly. The former case involves positive self-evaluation, when a favourable representation of the writer's own work is constructed. The latter is performed through negative other-evaluation, which contributes to an unfavourable representation of another scholar's work. By doing this the author may implicitly emphasize the value of their own work, and hence negative other-evaluation is often a means to construe positive self-evaluation. I will claim here that positive self-evaluation and negative other-evaluation are never separate, but complementary strategies, and should be studied together.

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[1] The words *self* and *other* in the terms *positive self-evaluation* and *negative other-evaluation* stand for "the author's current or earlier scholarly work" and "another scholar's work", respectively, and do not imply that the target of evaluation is a scholar proper. Evaluation *ad hominem* is conventionally avoided in scientific texts, and *ad hominem* critique is rejected as unethical.

Nevertheless, analysing evaluative discourse in scientific texts is a complex endeavour. Identifying the relevant markers requires the precondition that a scientific community has developed certain axiologies which provide a (relatively) stable point of reference for expressing and correctly interpreting praise and criticism. It is assumed that the writer, acting either as a eulogist or a challenger, the scholar whose work is criticized, and the readers are familiar with these value systems and can activate them when creating and interpreting the text. Eliciting all value systems relevant to a scientific community is, however, impossible for at least four reasons: (1) value systems are not based on dichotomies but on continua whose number is theoretically indefinite, especially as specific parameters may intertwine and separate in the course of time, which means that (2) value systems are dynamic and evolve in time. It should also be remembered that while certain value systems are valid globally, there can also exist (3) some culture-bound differences in the criteria for evaluation of a scientific work in terms of its consistency/inconsistency with the norms vested in a given local scholarly tradition. Finally, certain parameters of evaluation may be (4) salient in some disciplines and approaches, whereas in others they would be absent or irrelevant.

Given this vast array of contextual variables to be considered, it is hardly surprising that evaluative discourse in scientific texts has not been much discussed so far. Of particular relevance for the present study are works providing insights into axiologies pertinent to linguistics (Bolívar 2001; Hunston 1993; Römer 2005). Many studies, however, take into account genres in which the element of evaluation is definitional, e.g. reviews (e.g. Römer 2005; Suárez-Tejerina 2005).

4 Aims of the Study and Methodology

The aim of this study is to analyse similarities and differences in the use of linguistic exponents of positive self-evaluation and negative other-evaluation in NSs' and NNSs' scientific discourse. I am particularly interested in those areas where scientific discourse is more resistant to global influences, especially the impact of Anglo-Saxon patterns, and those which are more prone to adopting them and merging them into stylistic and discursive hybrids.

A corpus research has been carried out on a sample of 150 scientific articles in the field of linguistics, taking into account such contextual variables as cultural and linguistic background of the authors (Polish NSs vs. English NSs), historical change (texts published in the period 1980–2000), and language selected for publication (Polish NSs writing in Polish vs. Polish NSs writing in English). Corpus analysis has been assisted with *MonoConc Pro 2.2* software. Elements of positive self-evaluation and negative other-evaluation have also been classified grammatically, with the basic unit of analysis being the head of a NP, VP, AdjP and AdvP.

In the light of the objectives of the study the texts in the corpus have been arranged into three groups: (1) texts written in English by native speakers of

English (hereinafter: ENG_ENG), (2) texts written in Polish by native speakers of Polish (hereinafter: PL_PL), and (3) texts written in English by native speakers of Polish (hereinafter: PL_ENG). The total length of the corpus is 790,000 words.

The texts have been selected from journals which were issued uninterruptedly throughout the whole period under analysis, and which publish scientific articles in the field of linguistics. The journals selected include the following titles: *Biuletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Językoznawczego*, *Język Polski*, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language, Journal of Pragmatics*, *Kwartalnik Neofilologiczny*, *Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics*, *Poznań Studies in Contemporary Linguistics* and *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia*. The texts have been randomly excerpted from the volumes published in 1980, 1985, 1990, 1995, and 2000, each year being represented by ten texts in each of the three above-mentioned groups. Only single-authored texts have been taken into consideration. As far as the authorship is concerned, Polish and Anglo-Saxon writers have been identified on the basis of the authors' place of birth and the affiliation specified in the article's heading, as well as previous affiliations if relevant and available.

A context-sensitive pragmatic approach has been used for eliciting and tagging the relevant elements. With this method I was able to identify not only evaluative items related to more universal axiologies, but also those making reference to discipline- and culture-specific axiologies, whose proper understanding requires a sufficient level of insider's expertise in the field. What follows is that the actual function of a given unit is only identified in context, and it is not universally encoded throughout the corpus on semantic and/or grammatical grounds. Consequently, a given lexical unit may be classified as meaningful in some contexts only. Moreover, since categorization of any relevant element of evaluation is based on the writer's point of view, the same item can sometimes be used to criticize another scholar, while in another context it will be positively connoted. The former is the case in (1), an excerpt from Fairclough (1985), where the author juxtaposes his programme of critical linguistics with the descriptive approach. Throughout the chapter the attribute *descriptive* is used with a clearly negative tone, as a synonym of *non-* or *pseudo-explanatory*. By contrast, the latter is the case in (2), where the author, Macleod (1985), supports Leech's approach to performatives, and indicates the basic advantages of his model. A *descriptive* approach is claimed to be a remedy to other models which "submerge or efface a distinction between performatives […] and non-performatives".

(1) Either the **descriptive** approach offers pseudo-explanations of norms of interaction such as that of the activity-goal model, or it regards norms of interaction as requiring descriptions but not explanation. (Fairclough 1985: 756)

(2) Leech's overall aim is to develop a **descriptive** account of performatives—one which does not submerge or efface a distinction between performatives (exceptional) and non-performatives (normal), but one which nevertheless treats performatives 'constatively' (or descriptively) by claiming that they take truth-values […] [T]he fact that Leech's is perhaps the only (and certainly the only detailed) attempt from within a linguistic perspective to support a **descriptive** view of performatives […] makes his claims, and his related linguistic analyses, worthy of close attention. (Macleod 1985: 332)

5 Results and Discussion

5.1 Markers of Positive Self-Evaluation

Under this category are subsumed all nominal, verbal, adjectival and adverbial constructions which contribute to a favourable representation of the author's current or earlier work. The analysis has been performed to assess the distribution of the relevant items in terms of historical change, cultural affiliation of the author and the language of publication. Then I have calculated the distribution of specific markers according to grammatical categories across the three sub-corpora.

5.1.1 Markers of Positive Self-Evaluation: Time, Culture and Language Variables

The overall results representing the mean frequencies of occurrences of the markers of positive self-evaluation are shown in Fig. 1.

It can be observed that the distribution of the markers of positive self-evaluation is language-dependent, with English-language texts generally scoring higher than Polish-language ones. This phenomenon suggests that positive self-evaluation is given priority in the texts intended for global audience, whereas for local-market publications it may be less relevant. Further support for this thesis is provided by the data for the 1990s, i.e. the decade when the evolution of global scientific community was proceeding at an unprecedented pace. Since the mid-1990s there is a gradual increase in the mean values of the parameter in question in English-language sub-corpora, whereas Polish-language texts show the opposite direction.

There is little variation in the direction of the historical change between English NSs' and NNSs' papers, as the lines representing tendencies in PL_ENG and ENG_ENG sub-corpora run in a visible parallel to each other throughout the entire

Fig. 1 Markers of positive self-evaluation: frequency of occurrences (tokens/1000 words)
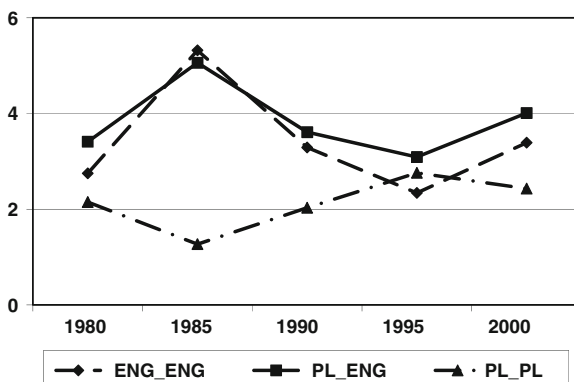
period under analysis. This similarity indicates that Polish authors are generally proficient in using positive self-evaluation in academic English, and avoid transferring conventions characteristic of Polish academic writing to their English-language papers.

5.1.2 Positive Self-Evaluation According to Grammatical Categories

Figure 2a–c shows the distribution of the markers of positive self-evaluation across the three sub-corpora.

Contrary to the results of earlier corpus studies, indicating that the element of positive self-evaluation is most often contained in nominal or adjectival constructions (e.g. Breivega et al. 2002; Fløttum et al. 2006), the present study shows that it is verbs that prevail as carriers of evaluative content. The difference entails a significant contrast in the primary subject of evaluation: while nouns and adjectives focus on the quality of the end-product of scholarly activity, verbs emphasize its dynamic nature and, by extension, foreground the actor involved in the process (cf. examples 3 and 4 vs. 5).

(3) Viewing cross-cultural misinterpretations as more than solely dysfunctional, and as the result of differing lexically marked identities and worldviews […] lends the concept of crosstalk greater **explanatory power** and scope (Connor-Linton 1995: 304).

(4) The concept of maxims, extended and reformulated as neutral categories of discourse features, **free** of an underlying cultural-communicative bias, may prove a **useful** tool for linguistic […] research on discourse (Konik 1990: 35).

(5) We began by inquiring about how meaning relates to interpretation, and in **finding** an answer we have **arrived at** nothing less than a conception of language itself (van Valin 1980: 230).

Considering their potential to highlight the actual human agency in the research process, verbs carrying the positive self-evaluation content may be expected to become even more common in future. With the still-increasing competition on the market of scientific publication the authors will find it more and more difficult to successfully promote their work. The struggle for the status of authority—an asset which is by definition scarce, all the more so in the international context—may be conducive to a shift in the focus of evaluation from the work to its author.

5.2 Negative Other-Evaluation

This pragmatic category contains all nominal, verbal, adjectival and adverbial constructions which are employed by the author to criticize the work of another

Fig. 2 **a** Markers of positive self-evaluation in ENG_ENG sub-corpus: frequency of occurrences according to grammatical categories (tokens/1000 words).
b Markers of positive self-evaluation in PL_ENG sub-corpus: frequency of occurrences according to grammatical categories (tokens/1000 words).
c Markers of positive self-evaluation in PL_PL sub-corpus: frequency of occurrences according to grammatical categories (tokens/1000 words)
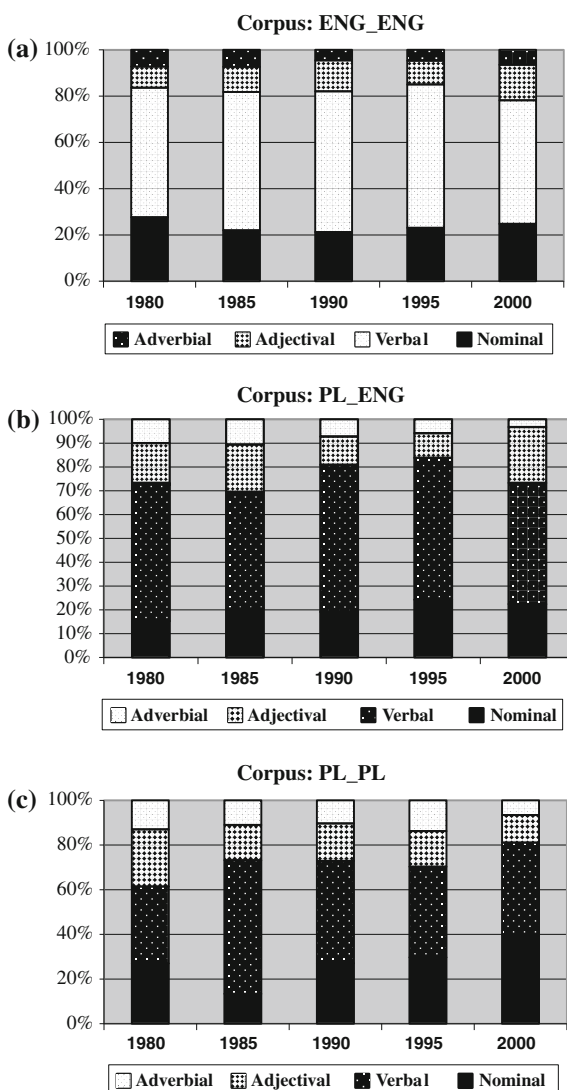
scholar. The analysis has included variables of time, language and cultural affiliation of the author as possibly pertinent to the distribution of the markers of negative other-evaluation in scientific articles. A separate analysis has been devoted to their distribution according to grammatical categories.

5.2.1 Markers of Negative Other-Evaluation: Time, Culture and Language Variables

The overall results representing the mean frequencies of occurrences of markers of negative other-evaluation are shown in Fig. 3.

The results obtained indicate that negative other-evaluation is generally a culture-dependent parameter. Polish scientific discourse, regardless of the language of publication, seems to be more challenging than the discourse in scientific articles by English-language NSs. The only difference is observed in 1980, where parallelism is observed between English-language sub-corpora. The general trend is therefore different to that observed in the markers of positive self-evaluation, whose distribution has been shown to be language-dependent. Interestingly, there are two points of convergence of the three sub-corpora found in Fig. 3: in 1985–1990 and in the year 2000, which may in fact suggest that the parameter is less prone to any or all of the variables analysed than positive self-evaluation.

The recent tendency is a steady decline, with the figures for the year 2000 being lower than any time between 1980 and 2000. What follows is that contrary to some general beliefs the role of scientific criticism may become less salient, at least compared with scientific discourse of the 1980s. Moreover, there is little diachronic change in the use of the markers of negative other-evaluation by English NSs, with the difference between the mean values of the parameter in ENG_ENG papers in the adjacent points of historical reference being rather low (0.07–1.82, compared with 0.15–3.24 in PL_ENG and 0.7–4.41 in PL_PL).

An interesting cross-cultural variation is observed when the respective figures representing standard mean values for markers of negative other-evaluation are confronted with the averages calculated for the markers of positive self-evaluation. While correlation analysis shows that there is little mutual dependence in the overall distribution of the two types of markers (0.60 in ENG_ENG texts, -0.29 in PL_ENG texts and 0.31 in PL_PL texts; $p \leq 0.05$), a more fine-grained comparison of the actual figures and their historical changes indicates a clear culture- and language-bound relationship. In this respect ENG_ENG and PL_PL texts represent the opposite discursive profiles. While in the former it is the markers of positive

Fig. 3 Markers of negative other-evaluation: frequency of occurrences (tokens/1000 words)
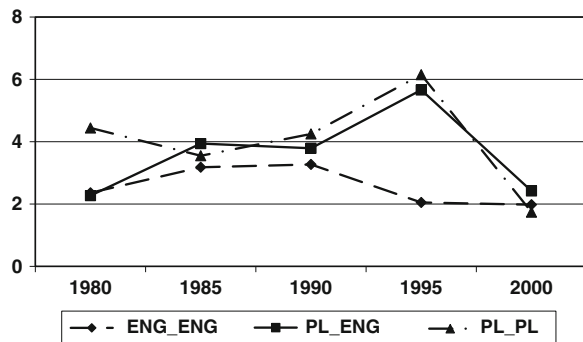
self-evaluation that are used more often than the markers of negative other-evaluation throughout the entire period 1980–2000, in the latter all but one groups of texts are characterized with the dominance of the markers of negative other-evaluation. The change is noted only in the year 2000, at which point prevalence of the markers of positive self-evaluation is observed in all three sub-corpora.

The cross-cultural difference observed confirms a common view that scientific argumentation in Teutonic tradition is relatively challenging and aggressive, whereas Saxon style remains more balanced and less confrontational (Duszak 1994a: 294–295, 1998: 280–281). At the same time, however, the present results do not support the claim that the globalization process and the resultant highly-competitive environment in scientific publishing contributes to agonistic stances, and is more often than not driven by "ritualized adversativeness" (Tannen 2002: 1651). While the rise of agonism may in fact be stimulated by "an increasingly promotional, competitive, professionalized, collegial and pragmatic end-of-twentieth-century scientific research", as Salager-Meyer et al. (2003: 224) assume, the present analysis shows that criticism of another scholar's work may not be as much exploited in scientific writing as promoting one's own.

5.2.2 Negative Other-Evaluation According to Grammatical Categories

As in the case of the markers of positive self-evaluation, linguistic exponents of negative other-evaluation have been classified formally, being divided into constructions with nominal, verbal, adjectival and adverbial heads. Figure 4a–c represents the respective proportions in the three sub-corpora.

The results obtained are largely consistent with those calculated for the markers of positive self-evaluation (Fig. 2a–c). In the case of both parameters it is disproved that evaluation of a scholarly work is primarily expressed in adjectival attributes, as is sometimes claimed (e.g. Breivega et al. 2002, Fløttum et al. 2006). As far as positive self-evaluation is concerned, a relatively constant hierarchy has been revealed, with verbal constructions being prevalent over nominal and adjectival structures, and adverbial constructions being the least common resources in all the three sub-corpora. By contrast, in the case of negative other-evaluation the three sub-corpora show greater diversity, not only in relation to culture and language, but also diachronically.

Specifically, English-language scientific texts are characterized by a gradual shift from adjectival structures as the predominant exponent of negative other-evaluation to verbal patterns. The change is first observed in NSs' texts, in which case adjectival structures were still prevalent in the texts published in the early 1980s, followed with a state of balance between the proportions of adjectival and verbal structures, with the latter eventually gaining the upper hand since from the mid-1990s on. In the case of the texts written in English by Polish authors there

Fig. 4 a Markers of negative other-evaluation in ENG_ENG sub-corpus: frequency of occurrences according to grammatical categories (tokens/1000 words). **b** Markers of negative other-evaluation in PL_ENG sub-corpus: frequency of occurrences according to grammatical categories (tokens/1000 words), **c** Markers of negative other-evaluation in PL_PL sub-corpus: frequency of occurrences according to grammatical categories (tokens/1000 words)
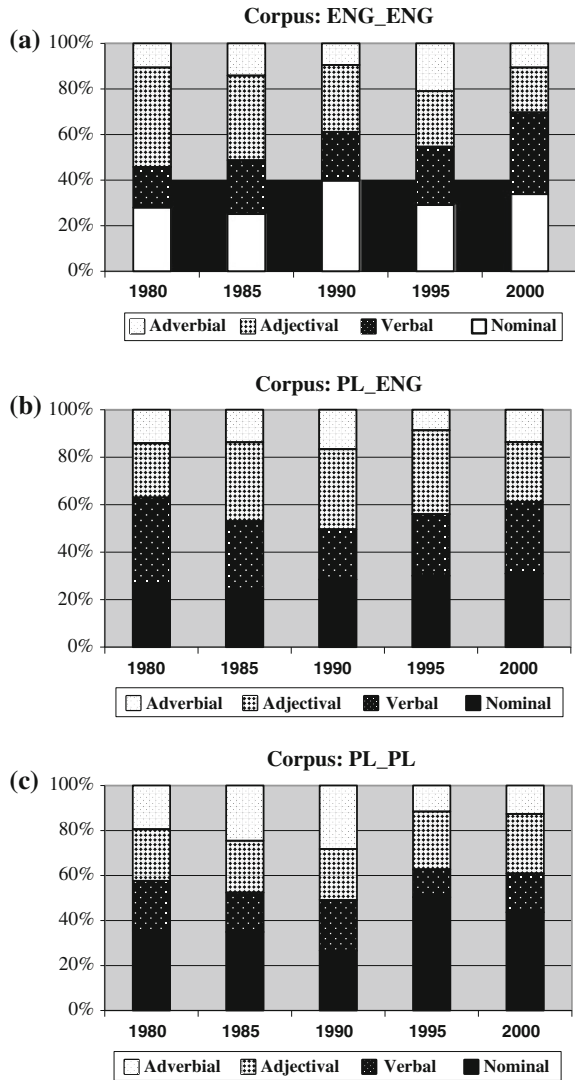
can be observed an approximately five-year delay in the process, with the state of statistical equilibrium being observed as late as in 1995, and a slight prevalence of verbal structures over adjectival ones occurring only recently. By contrast, Polish-language scientific discourse seems to rely on nouns carrying the element of negative other-evaluation, followed with adjectival, verbal and adverbial constructions. This pattern shows little variation in the course of time.

As I have claimed above, the general withdrawal from adjectival to verbal determinants in positive self-evaluation in scientific discourse can be correlated with the globalization process of scientific community. Competition in the international publishing market requires a more direct approach to promoting a scholar's status as an authority in the field. In consequence, greater attention may be given to emphasizing the agency in the research process and successful performance of research activities than to specific attributes of the end-product. Similar reasons can be provided to account for the observed increase in verbal markers of negative other-evaluation at the expense of adjectival ones. Aimed at criticizing the research process carried out by another scholar, verbal constructions (cf. examples 6 and 7) may be stronger than adjectival or nominal ones (cf. example 8), because they challenge not only the end-product, but the entire academic endeavour which eventually produced the faulty result. Consequently, they may be more personal—and thus offensive—as they are targeted at the agent of the research process and not just its outcome.

(6) Intrinsic constraints form an entire category of constraints that Chomsky—and those who have adopted Chomsky's argument form—have **ignored** (Bickhard 1995: 548).

(7) Onomatopoeia is 'different'. That much is agreed upon by those who would rather **disregard** the difference, like Saussure, and those who may have **overemphasized** it, like Jespersen (Sobkowiak 1990: 15).

(8) Although these works have been useful in helping to develop the much-needed emphasis on communication, they have been **of only limited value** to literary studies because the code model, when considered from the point of view of context, is bound to be **inadequate** (Richards 1985: 262).

6 Conclusions

The corpus analysis whose results have been presented in this chapter shows that the distribution of the markers of positive self-evaluation and negative other-evaluation is dependent upon a variety of factors, of which cultural affiliation of the author, language of publication (NS vs NNS writers) and historical context have been found to be of primary significance.

As far as the cross-cultural dimension is concerned, it has been found out that the author's cultural affiliation is the primary factor of stylistic differentiation in the case of negative other-evaluation. Specifically, Polish authors generally employ negative other-evaluation more often than English NSs, with little difference being found between texts written by the former in their mother tongue and in English. By contrast, the language of publication plays an important role in the case of positive self-evaluation. Here English-language texts, regardless of whether they were written by English- or Polish-language NSs, have obtained higher mean values than Polish-language texts. Finally, when approached

diachronically, the two parameters analysed show much variation in the first decade of the 1980–2000 period, which only a more detailed study could duly account for. However, it should be noted that since the mid-1990s there can be observed a general convergence of the data for all the three sub-corpora. The only exception is Polish-language NSs' articles in the 1990s, where positive self-evaluation is now less salient than it used to be, in contrast to the contrary tendency in the remaining two sub-corpora. At the same time the convergence suggests that two opposite trends may emerge in future: increase in the amount of positive self-evaluation, and decline in the amount of negative other-evaluation.

A parallel analysis has been carried out to assess the distribution of the linguistic exponents of the two parameters according to the grammatical category of the head word. It has been observed that most often positive self-evaluation and negative other-evaluation is expressed through verbs rather than nominal or adjectival constructions, as some earlier studies might have claimed. This regularity has been found to be independent of any of the three variables analysed, i.e. time, culture and language. Prevalence of verbs in the function of carriers of the evaluative element and the general increase in their proportion to other grammatical categories used for this purpose may indicate that the authors of scientific articles are more interested in highlighting the quality of the entire research process undertaken, be it to praise their own work or to criticize the work of others, rather than in assessing the value of the end-product by means of positively- or negatively-marked attributes.

I have also been concerned with the question of possible hybridization of scientific styles. The results indicate that in the case of positive self-evaluation the process does not occur. Polish authors writing in English follow the stylistic conventions employed by English NSs, whereas when writing in Polish they seem to employ positive self-evaluation in accordance with local conventions. However, hybridization is visible in the use of negative other-evaluation: in this respect articles written by Polish NSs in English do not show much quantitative variation from articles written by Polish NSs in Polish. This phenomenon may in turn lead to rhetorical duality of NNSs' texts in English, and hence their line of argumentation may be less clear to global audience. Although the results also show that due to the general convergence of the mean values in the year 2000 the cross-cultural differences may be levelled, the statistics calculated for earlier periods suggest that attention should be given to developing the necessary EAP competence in using negative other-evaluation among Polish scholars.

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A Context-Based Approach to the Identification of Hedging Devices and Features of Writer-Reader Relationship in Academic Publications

Maizura Mohd Noor, Jean Mulder and Celia Thompson

Abstract Studies into stance-taking in scholarly publications remain inconclusive. Using software programs that employ predetermined lists of items to analyze data from large corpora fails to account for the role played by context in stance-taking and limits the possibility of discovering new items. Academic writers' experience and knowledge, as well as their attitudes towards their subject matter and readers have also tended to be ignored. This paper reports on the development and application of two instruments for identifying hedging devices and features of writer-reader relationship that adopt a broader, context-based approach to the analysis of these aspects of stance. We suggest that these tools enrich our understanding of stance-taking, thus making an innovative and valuable contribution to the field of academic discourse analysis.

1 Introduction

Stance-taking plays a complex role in academic writing as it reflects not only how a writer's knowledge and experience shape the claims being made but also the writer's attitude towards both the content and the reader. While the notion of stance is often

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employed as a broad, umbrella term to cover numerous linguistic and interactional phenomena, this paper focuses on two of these phenomena: hedging and writer–reader relationship. Specifically, a case is made that identification of hedging devices and features of writer–reader relationship in academic publications needs to be approached from the perspective of writer strategy rather than by using a pre-defined list of items and that context must be taken into account. Two coding instruments are presented that utilize a list of criteria for singling out the different strategies that writers employ. It is shown how these instruments can be operationalized as a methodology for identifying how writers hedge claims and manage their relationship with their readers and that adopting such an approach allows for the possibility of discovering new items and strategies.

2 Background and Rationale

As a public documentation of research findings, conclusions and recommendations, an academic publication is an important channel for presenting knowledge-claims to the respective discourse community. It involves writers in a practice of "textualizing" their research work as a significant contribution to the community of practice (Hyland 2001b: 209). Accordingly, research writers must not only observe sensitivity to the rhetorical conventions and social understandings of the community but they must also portray themselves as credible members and display familiarity with the persuasive practices of their discipline in order to convince fellow colleagues and experts in the field to accept their claims (Hyland 2000, Hyland and Salager-Meyer 2008).

In short, stance-taking is a key feature of academic writing as it enables an academic writer to claim solidarity with readers, evaluate and critique the work of others, acknowledge alternative views, and argue for a position (Hyland 2004). Consequently, when it comes to identifying hedging and academic writer–reader relationship in academic publications the primary focus must be on ascertaining the strategies writers use to express these two aspects of stance.

Perhaps due ultimately to the fuzziness of the overarching concept of stance-taking and the areas of overlap between various aspects of this phenomena, the study of hedging and writer-reader relationship can be characterised as being limited both by the lack of a clear, all-encompassing definition of either phenomena and by a tendency to use a piecemeal approach to identification that focuses on specific features or devices (e.g. modal verbs, downtoners, first person pronouns and self-citation) rather than a comprehensive approach that lays out criteria for identifying all the different strategies that a writer employs within a particular academic publication to hedge claims and manage their relationship with their readers.

Hedging, for example, was first defined by Zadeh (1965) when dealing with the concept of fuzziness, with subsequent definitions being put forward from a variety of perspectives including logic (Lakoff 1973), language philosophy (Lakoff 1972),

pragmatics (Namsaraev 1997), conversation analysis (Nikula 1997), rhetoric and stylistics (Meyer 1997), semantics (Rosch 1978), and sociopragmatics (Hyland 2008). Definitions include among others, a communicative strategy to increase and reduce the strength of a claim (Hyland 1998a), an indicator of a writer's confidence in a proposition (Hyland 2000), interactive devices (Hyland and Salager-Meyer 2008), and a conflict management strategy between writer and readers (Vázquez and Giner 2008). However, over the development of the definition of hedging, two types of problems have emerged. First, clarity has been compromised as concepts such as modality, evidentiality, vagueness and mitigation have been shown to cut across the area of hedging. Second, when insights from a new perspective have been explored the resulting definition has not necessarily included the scope of previous definitions, leading to a number of partially overlapping definitions rather than a single more comprehensive one.

In terms of identifying hedging devices and features of writer-reader relationship, the research paradigm has tended to centre on deriving lists of specific lexico-syntactic items and typologies for categorising them. But while Wilss (1997) claims that it is justifiable to present a list of hedges, but he also notes that it "does not in itself fully reconstruct the systemic nature of the actual phenomena and accommodating them in a complete range of possible hedging strategies" (p. 141). Despite this limitation, there are now a sizeable number of corpus linguistic studies that employ predetermined lists of items to analyse data from large corpora (e.g., Millan 2008; Skorczynska 2005; Hyland 1998b). Using various available programs such as WordSmith Tools, SARA, TACT, Word Cruncher and WordPilot, the identified items are usually tagged and analyzed quantitatively.

One drawback of this methodological approach is that by using predetermined lists new items will never be identified as the identification is solely based on the existing list. Thus, it limits the potentiality of new relevant findings. Another drawback is that the validity of the items identified is disputable as the context and co-text of the items is not factored in. This creates several problems. Dahl (2008), for example, realized that her automated search of items for knowledge claim was not completely reliable. She had to go through the whole corpus of her research manually to look for claims. Some of her automated search was not relevant as words like 'findings' and 'paper' might refer to others' work instead of the research reported in the paper itself. As a result, some of the items returned were misinterpreted as claims while some were disregarded. A related problem stems from the fact that the majority of lexico-syntactic items featuring in hedging and management of the writer-reader relationship are not only multi-functional but they can also function simultaneously to convey different meanings (Clyne 1991). Accuracy of analysis thus requires each occurrence of an item to be carefully evaluated. A third drawback of this methodological approach is that it narrows the opportunity for identifying strategies at clausal and discourse levels. Salager-Meyer (2000:181) argues that the formation of meaning is beyond the linguistic items themselves and it is instead determined by "extralinguistic criteria like context, situation and the interlocutor". In other words, without introspection and contextual analysis, it is impossible, for instance, to discover the academic writer's

commitment to their proposition. As Salager-Meyer (2000) points out specific background knowledge of the research area is required to carry out such contextual analysis. In sum, while expedient, this methodological approach limits the possibility of discovering new items and fails to account for the role played by context in stance-taking.

Clearly, there is a need to refine previous approaches used in identifying hedging devices and features of writer–reader relationship. Based on the arguments presented here, two separate instruments have been developed with design features of being both context-driven, as identification is done manually, and data-driven (a bottom-up approach) as identification is approached from the perspective of writer strategy rather than by using a pre-defined list of items (a top-down approach). Manual identification allows for a careful consideration of context, which entails that only actual instances of stance act are identified. As well it allows for the recognition of items which are serving more than one function in a particular occurrence and the identification of strategies at clausal and discourse levels in addition to those at the word and phrase levels. The actual identification work is based on a list of criteria for singling out the different strategies that a writer employs within a particular academic publication to hedge claims and manage their relationship with their readers. This approach is comprehensive in that on the one hand it is derived from the various definitions, taxonomies and functions of these two aspects of stance-taking that are available in the literature, and on the other hand it allows for the discovery of new strategies.

In the following sections, we present the instruments that we have developed along with specific examples from our data.

3 Data and Methodology

The sources for the examples presented in this paper are four single-authored research articles written in English and published in Thomson-Reuters indexed journals as listed in the Arts and Humanities Citation Index and Social Sciences Citation Index for 2010:

- Evans, B. (2010). Chinese perceptions of Inner Circle varieties of English. *World Englishes*, *29*(2), 270–280.
- Mohd-Jan, J. (2006). On learning to be assertive: Women and public discourse. *Multilingua*, *25*, 43–58.
- Osman, H. (2008). Re-branding academic institutions with corporate advertising: a genre perspective. *Discourse and Communication*, *2*(1), 57–77.
- Rendle-Short, J. (2007). Neutralism and adversarial challenges in the political news interview. *Discourse and Communication*, *1*(4), 387–406.

The articles have been drawn from the fields of linguistics and applied linguistics, reflecting our own areas of academic specialization. As discussed in the previous section, consideration of context is essential when evaluating potential hedging devices and features of writer-reader relationship and detailed analysis of

the context demands a high level of comprehension on the part of the researcher. Note also that while two of the articles are written by English as Additional Language researchers (Mohd-Jan 2006; Osman 2008) and two by English as First Language researchers (Evans 2010; Rendle-Short 2007), this aspect is not explored in the present paper.

In using the two instruments for identifying hedging devices and features of writer-reader relationship only the main texts were analyzed; abstracts, bibliography lists, biodata, captions, diagrams, examples, excerpts, figures, footnotes, headers and footers, headings, illustrations, lists, notes, quotations and tables were ignored. The two aspects of stance were analyzed concurrently and all items were identified in context. Most importantly, only claims made by the researcher were considered. While quotation and rephrasing of the work of others were ignored, evaluation and comment on the work of others were considered.

4 Identifying Hedging Devices

All together there are six criteria in the instrument for identifying hedging devices (Table 1).

Potential hedging devices are identified by asking the questions listed under the criteria; if the answer to any of the questions is in the affirmative, the item is analyzed as a hedging device. To get a feel for how this works, we briefly describe each criterion and provide specific examples identified through the application of the instrument to our set of four research articles.

The first criterion, expression of likelihood and prediction, includes instances where a writer uses items such as *tentatively, suggest, seem,* and *may* to evoke a sense of probability or tentativeness in order to cautiously state a claim. Writing, especially in the academic genre, is a face-threatening act (Brown and Levinson 1987). Although a suggestion of probability or tentativeness can be interpreted as genuine uncertainty, it can also reflect a writer's attempt to save face by protecting themselves from potentially critical responses—*positive face*. Such an attempt can

Table 1 Identification criteria for hedging devices

1.	Expression of likelihood and prediction
	Does it suggest probability or tentativeness?
2.	Generalization of claims
	Does it allow a writer to remain uncommitted to specific details?
3.	Qualification or quantification of claims
	Is it a careful attempt of committing to a claim?
4.	Anonymity
	Is it an attempt to disguise the writer's presence?
5.	Admission to a lack of knowledge
	Does it express honest admission to a lack of knowledge?
6.	Use of questions
	Is a question posed to get the reader to question an issue from the same perspective?

also be viewed as an effort to save the reader's face by writing without being impeded—*negative face*. Thus, writers are socially motivated to protect their own face as well as those of their potential readers in order to maintain rapport with their readers. Expressions of likelihood or prediction identified in our data include:

> (1) … and so are the Malays, who are also **seemingly** polite and non-assertive in manner. (Mohd Jan 2006: 45)
> (2) This is **probably** due to the fact that PR,… (Osman, 2008: 60)
> (3) Very occasionally, it **looks as if** the IE does not **appear** to overtly orient to the adversarial nature of the prior turn. (Rendle-Short 2007: 400)

Each of the highlighted items in (1)–(3) can be interpreted as a writers' cautious attempt to avoid negative criticism from members of the discipline who may believe otherwise.

Generalization of claims, the second criterion used in the identification of hedging devices, takes in a writer's use of items such as *generally, largely, commonly* and *typically* to remain uncommitted to specific details by making a generalized claim. Again, employing such a strategy can be interpreted as expressing genuine uncertainty as readers may view such sweeping statements as expressing a lack of confidence on the part of the writer. However, it also suggests the subjectivity of a proposition. Since readers of academic genre are "sensitive to pragmalinguistic and politeness conventions" (Wishnoff 2000: 130), Chang (2010) explains that a writer needs to be able to balance between being humble and sounding authoritative. Some examples identified in our data are given in (4)–(6):

> (4) **Stereotypically**, Indians are known to have a tendency to be vocal;… (Mohd Jan 2006: 45)
> (5) Research on Chinese speakers' attitudes toward English **generally** has as its focus second language issues… (Evans 2010: 272)
> (6) Adversarial challenges are particularly hostile in that they are **frequently** commenced before… (Rendle-Short 2007: 395)

Here, the highlighted items are all adverbs and their use could again be seen as potentially saving a writer's face from peer criticism.

The third criterion, qualification or quantification of claims, covers a writer's use of items such as *almost* and *partially* or clause level approaches including fronted adverbial clauses and conditional clauses to temper their commitment to a claim. As Lewin (2005) observes, academic writers realize the remuneration of positioning their claims in a way that would weaken contrary claims. In anticipation of peer criticism, a writer has the option of carefully limiting their commitment to a claim which will consequently be face-saving for them. At the same time, a writer's careful choice of words can also portray them as a respectful researcher. In short, by carefully qualifying and quantifying the degree of commitment to a claim, writers are able to shield themselves from the risk of opposition from fellow members of the discipline as well as present themselves as cultured members of the discipline. Examples of such hedging devices are highlighted in (7)–(9) below:

(7) In fact, **some** of these logos have gone through… (Osman, 2008: 64)
(8) **Even though many successful women have learned to be assertive in the working world**, they carry that dominant behaviour… (Mohd Jan 2006: 44)
(9) Thus, UPM employs a **slightly** different approach of mentioning the fees. (Osman 2008: 69)

Instead of making sweeping statements that may invite peer criticism, in each of these examples the writer chooses to mitigate their commitment to the claim.

Writers also have the option of disguising their presence with respect to a claim. The fourth criterion, anonymity, deals with such approaches. Anonymity can be established by eluding a writer's direct personal attribution through the use of an impersonal pronoun or a construction with unspecified agency such as the passive. Martin–Martin (2003) argues that this is a highly favoured feature among academic writers as it allows for cautious presentation of claims. The commitment to a claim can also be placed on the research or part of it as in *The findings reveal*… or *This model predicts*… While this criterion reflects a writer's attempt to avoid commitment to a claim, we must also point out that using such a strategy conforms to the established style of the knowledge claim genre. Hyland (1998a), for example, interprets it as an effort to demonstrate familiarity with the disciplinary discourse by drawing on established practice. Through such practice writers may in turn gain respect from members of the discipline. Examples identified in our data include:

(10) **This article establishes** that any publications from universities,… (Osman 2008: 61)
(11) **These responses suggest**, contrary to what some scholars have claimed,… (Evans 2010: 277)
(12) However, although **one** could argue that the first 'but' in line 4… (Rendle-Short 2007: 392)

(10) and (11) illustrate attempts to shift commitment to the research (*this article*) or an aspect of it (*these responses*). In (12), on the other hand, *one* is used to avoid direct commitment to the claim.

The fifth criterion is admission to a lack of knowledge. In anticipation of peer criticism, some writers choose to admit that they lack the necessary knowledge to present a justified claim and embed their claims in statements such as *I do not know whether*… and *It is a predicament indeed as to the extent of*… Unfortunately, the use of such a hedging device may result in a loss of confidence by readers in the writer and accordingly a loss of authority on the part of the writer. On the contrary, such an attempt may also be positively valued by members of the discipline, which can be translated into the writer being regarded as trustworthy and reliable. Below are examples of the use of this type of strategy from our data:

(13)… (generally, as **we cannot make any conclusions from the data about the complex array of varieties of English in the UK**). (Evans 2010: 275)
(14)… (e.g. media or tourism, however**, language domains where casualness and modernism are valued need to be confirmed in future research**). (Evans 2010: 276)
(15) **Although it cannot be ascertained when the change exactly took place**, this is the first re-branding strategy. (Osman 2008: 64)

While each contains a writer's admission to a lack of knowledge, each use also reflects honesty toward the limitations of the research that is more likely to engender respect for the writer than an assessment of lacking confidence.

The final criterion for identifying hedging devices concerns putting forward a rhetorical question or a question which the writer subsequently answers. Although such practice leaves a writer open to being judged as unknowledgeable about a subject, it can serve as a way of mitigating a claim. By posing the claim as a question the writer employs a subtle strategy to persuade readers to view a claim from the same perspective as the writer. This strategy presents an opportunity for readers to ponder the question before following the arguments presented; it provides a mental platform for readers to quickly respond to a question before being presented with the writer's assertions. Thus, it serves as a subtle means for posing an idea that might be challenged by members of the discipline if asserted directly. According to Hinkel (1997), writers use rhetorical questions to solicit solidarity by conforming to other members of the discipline. As such, they avoid imposition by insinuating indirectness through the use of questions. We also believe that it attaches to it a sense of authority as it promotes the credibility of a writer as an experienced and respectable researcher within a discourse community. In our set of four research articles, only one item was identified via this criterion:

(16) In other words, **what information does the second turn provide in order for us, as analysts, to be confident that we are examining the talk from the participants' perspective rather than from an analyst's perspective**. (Rendle-Short 2007: 393)

Here the writer uses a rhetorical question (albeit not marked with a question mark) to position the reader as a member of the discipline, specifically as an analyst (just like the writer). This subtle strategy of persuasion then leads the reader to view the issue from the writer's perspective.

5 Identifying Features of Writer–Reader Relationship

There are a total of four identification criteria for the features of writer-reader relationship (Table 2).

Similar to the identification criteria for hedging devices, an item must be considered within its context of use, with an affirmative answer to any of the questions resulting in the item being analyzed as a feature of writer-reader relationship.

The first criterion involves disciplinary membership. One way for a writer to signal disciplinary membership in single-authored texts is to present claims in such a way that they show community allegiance. Such an approach presupposes mutual disciplinary understandings by guiding the reader to position themselves in similar authorial positions while maintaining a writer's credibility as a researcher. Martin-Martin (2003) explains it as a presupposition of the writer's acceptance in the discourse community. Hyland (2001b) describes such uses as providing a temporary mandate for a writer to present a claim with authority. On the other

Table 2 Identification criteria for features of writer–reader relationship

1.	Disciplinary membership
	Does it display community allegiance?
2.	Authority and ownership with promotional purpose
	Does it display authorial presence that suggests disciplinary credentials?
3.	Invitation for reader involvement
	Does it provide opportunities for the readers to be 'dialogically' involved in the negotiation of claims?
4.	Anonymity of author identity
	Is it an attempt to disguise the writer's presence?

hand, it can also be interpreted as a way of claiming authority by alluding to their personal attribution to a claim as with the use of inclusive *we*, *our* and *us*. Therefore, writers can simultaneously reduce their personal imposition while accentuating the significance of a claim (Martin-Martin 2003). Some of the identified items from our data are listed below:

(17) Men and women in **our** culture have different socialisation experiences… (Mohd Jan 2006: 47)
(18) Thus, in terms of exploring the status of varieties of English as global languages, **we** must consider… (Evans 2010: 278)
(19)… behave more passively, though there are, **of course**, many differences within each gender. (Mohd Jan 2006: 48)

The highlighted items in (17)–(19) suggest community allegiance. They reflect disciplinary membership and communal agreement.

The second criterion, authority and ownership with promotional purpose, reflects a stronger degree of authorial presence due to its direct reference to the author. Hyland (2001b) explains that researchers have notable promotional and interactional purpose. They need to present their research as valid and contribute to the ongoing discussion in the discipline. In addition, there is a strong drive to develop their scholarly reputation and this demands them to be able to interact effectively with members of the discipline through their research writing. Apart from the use of first person reference *I*, this promotional intention can also be achieved through the use of self-citation. Self-citation highlights a writer's earlier contributions which suggest disciplinary credentials. Such interactional agenda emphasizes a researcher's contribution to the field and accordingly increases the likelihood of acceptance. Hyland (2001a) also points out that authority can be achieved through the use of directives which point readers to certain actions and interpretations. Directives can be achieved in three ways:

(a) By the presence of an imperative

• *Consider* now the simple conventional reflection effect in a magnetic interface. (Physics)

(b) By a modal of obligation addressed to the reader

• What we now *need to* examine is whether there is more to constancy than this. (Philosophy)

(c) What we now *need to* examine is whether there is more to constancy than this. (Philosophy)

• Hence it is *necessary* [to understand the capacitive coupling of the devices to the metal gates]. (Physics)

(Hyland 2001a: 563)

Such uses imply the authoritative position that a researcher holds, enabling them to instruct readers to act accordingly.

Some of the features identified through the application of this criterion to the data include:

> (20) … talking in overlap **(Rendle-Short, in press)**, by the time,… (Rendle-Short 2007: 399)
> (21) … it is best maintained through intimacy **(Jariah Mohd Jan, 1999)**. (Mohd Jan 2006: 58)
> (22) … about Australian English (**see Table 4**). (Evans 2010: 276)

In (20)–(21) the authority of the researcher is established through self-citation, while in (22) it is established through the use of an imperative.

An invitation for reader involvement, the third criterion, is concerned with 'dialogical' strategies for engaging readers in the negotiation of claims. Clearly, the strongest acknowledgements of a reader's presence is the use of the second person pronouns *you* and *your*. However, the use of this approach is not favoured as it suggests a complete detachment of the writer from the reader. Another way of addressing a reader directly is by interrupting the main discourse with a comment on a claim. This is referred to by Hyland (2001a) as a 'personal aside' and is usually placed within brackets or set off with m-dashes. Readers are drawn into a personal dialogue with the writer. As discussed in the final criterion in the instrument for identifying hedges, questions can also be employed to provide opportunities for readers to be dialogically involved in the knowledge making process. Prior to presenting a claim, a writer may choose to invite readers to respond to a question. This question and answer sequence provides an opportunity for readers to play a more active role as they are invited to communicate with the writer. Below are some examples from our data:

> (23) … (e.g. media or tourism, however, **language domains where casualness and modernism are valued need to be confirmed in future research**). (Evans 2010: 276)
> (24) … especially given that there were a number of respondents who gave 'pleasantness' responses for both varieties (**although considerably more for US English**). (Evans 2010: 277).
> (25) However, such challenges run the risk of being interpreted **(by politicians, or by the overhearing audience)** as adversarial, and… (Rendle-Short 2007: 388)

In each of these examples, the information appearing within the brackets is a brief interruption from the main text, providing a means for the writer to have a quick dialogue with the reader.

The final criterion for the identification of features of writer-reader relationship, anonymity of author identity, is also the fourth criterion for identifying hedging

devices. As we saw in the previous section, depersonalization is a way of eluding a writer's commitment to a claim. While the use of the passive construction and impersonal pronouns such as *one* are considered solely as hedges in some studies (e.g., Luukka & Markkanen's (1997) study on impersonalization and Crismore & Kopple's (1997) work on personal voice), they also play a role in the writer-reader relationship. Commitment, according to Martin-Martin (2008) does not only involve the writer and the proposition but also the writer and the reader. Thus, he explains that the scale of commitment–detachment is also a scale of interpersonal relations between a researcher and his or her discourse community: "the higher the degree of detachment, the higher the degree of deference to the community, and therefore, the higher the degree of protection" (p. 147). (Indeed, the listing of this criterion in the identification of both aspects of stance-taking confirms the notion that there is some degree of overlap between the two and it also supports applying both instruments concurrently when analysing data.)

Writers are presented with a number of options to manage their relationship with potential readers. Apart from displaying both their authority and their community allegiance, they may also opt for anonymity by detaching themselves completely from their claims. Their ability to balance the options available in their writing reflects their familiarity with and acculturation to the discourse and genre. The goal is to be a humble authority. Some of the examples identified with respect to writer-reader relationship are given in (26)–(28):

> (26) **It** appears that while women may need to be less aggressive, men, especially…
> (Mohd Jan 2006:44)
> (27) **This suggests that** the majority of these respondents have a positive perception of
> UK English,… (Evans 2010:275)
> (28) **The above analysis has demonstrated** the adversarial nature of the IR's turn,…
> (Rendle-Short 2007:393)

These examples reflect the writers' attempt to detach themselves from their claims, which corresponds to the established style of the research genre. The options include using the impersonal *it* construction, as in (26), as well as placing the commitment on the research and other aspects of the research, as in (27)–(28).

6 Discussion and Conclusion

Our analysis reveals that while the items identified in this study include those in the literature (despite being sometimes labelled and categorized differently), we have in addition, been able to identify new items. This supports the value of developing instruments that are context-based (Salager-Meyer 2000) and socio-pragmatic in orientation (Hyland 2008). This study also highlights the limitations of using commercially available software programs that encourage analysis of

academic discourse utilizing predetermined lists of items, often determined at word-level. The coding instruments for this research were designed to move beyond the single word as the primary unit of analysis, as discussed in (29) and (30) below:

(29) looks as if (Rendle-Short 2007: 400)
(30) less than positive (Mohd Jan 2006: 44)

In (29), *looks as if* can be replaced with the verb *appears* and therefore can be marked as a hedge cue since it suggests prediction or likelihood. (30) is particularly interesting since *less than positive* could be replaced with the adjective *unsatisfactory*, which suggests inadequacy. However, if this phrase is interpreted as a reduction in writer commitment and is viewed as a face-saving strategy, it can then be considered as a move to reduce the level of imposition placed on the reader, thus, marking it as a hedging device.

In addition, a context-based approach to coding allows for a deeper understanding not only of the different ways in which writers employ hedges, but also of how they manage their relationship with their readers. Most importantly, our study demonstrates that hedges and features of writer–reader relationship cannot be reduced to a set of pre-determined items that repeatedly perform the same functions at all times, as discussed in (31)–(32) below:

(31) Statements invoking 'politeness' also **appeared** with regularity and comprise the fourth category of responses (24 responses). (Evans 2010: 275)
(32) There **appears** to be solidarity between F(C) and F(M) in their discussion of matters pertaining to women and their progress. (Mohd Jan 2006: 55)

The verb *appeared* in (31) merely reflects the frequency of such statements in the text and was therefore not classified as a hedge. Although the verb is being employed to make a claim, it does not function as a hedge. In (32) however, *appears* was coded as a hedging device as it expresses prediction or likelihood in relation to the claim put forward based on an analysis of a dialogue between two female speakers.

The relevance of context for deepening our understanding of how the writer–reader relationship is realized is further exemplified in (33)–(34) below:

(33) Although the current shape of UPSI's logo is round, it once had the shape of a shield (Fig. 3, **see** Appendix). (Osman 2008: 64)
(34) So when we **see** in these results that Chinese students believe that British English is 'gentlemanly', we must understand that… (Evans 2010: 271)

In (33), the verb *see* was coded as a feature of writer-reader relationship as it exemplifies the writer's authority to instruct her readers to act accordingly; in (34) however, *see* was not coded in this way as it implies the act of observing or noticing.

In conclusion, we understand that the analysis of large sets of corpora of academic discourse from multiple disciplines requires researchers and coders to possess sophisticated levels of knowledge of specific epistemological traditions and disciplinary fields. This is necessarily difficult to achieve and is the reason why many pre-programmed text analysis software packages are appealing.

Unfortunately, the desire for pragmatism may come at a price. As our study indicates, if context is ignored, then our interpretations of data and their implications may be compromised and limited.

While it is clearly important to develop effective data analysis instruments, ultimately the success of their application is dependent on the ways in which they are adopted (and adapted) in the field by researchers and their coders. Developing the tools outlined in this paper was time consuming and required careful coder training to ensure inter-coder reliability. The data presented in this paper were selected from a larger study that compares stance-taking moves by writers of English as a first language, with those for whom English is an additional language. Our corpus consists of scholarly publications from the field of Linguistics and Applied Linguistics. We plan to analyse further sets of data from this corpus using these instruments in due course. Meanwhile, we hope that the tools and findings we have discussed here will be useful to other researchers interested in hedging and features of writer-reader relationship as aspects of stance.

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Prospects of Indonesian Research Articles (RAs) Being Considered for Publication in 'Center' Journals: A Comparative Study of Rhetorical Patterns of RAs in Selected Humanities and Hard Science Disciplines

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Abstract Convincing the audience to accept the research (in this case a manu-script submitted to an international journal) is an important rhetorical act that an author has to make in order to gain attention (Swales 1990). To win the audience, specifically the 'gate-keeping' editors and reviewers, authors also use several strategies including stating the significance of the research field, critically reviewing the literature, and providing the justifications (positive or negative). When choosing these strategies authors are influenced by values and norms applicable in their cultures, including both their local and their academic cultures. It has been reported that Asian, including Indonesian, authors use less negative justification strategy than positive ones (Safnil 2000; Ahmad 1997). However, little attention has been given to the extent their values and norms potentially affect their chance of their papers getting serious attention and getting published. This paper will report and discuss variations across disciplines in selected Indonesian Humanities and Hard Sciences empirical research articles regarding the extent to which their own values and norms form potential obstacles that need to be overcome by the authors to achieve their purpose. This paper will focus on the rhetorical styles employed by Indonesian authors to win the audience in three Hard Science disciplines (Agriculture, Biology and Medical Science) and 3 Humanities disciplines (Education, Linguistics and Social-Political sciences). It will compare the two groups of disciplines, among the disciplines in each group, and across all the disciplines. Which of these disciplines will be likely to need to change their styles if the authors have to write for and possibly gain publication in an inter-national journal and why? To answer these questions, this study used a mixed method approach. It employed a simple quantitative method to find the number of strategies used in each discipline. It also employed qualitative method to probe the

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reasons for the quantitative results through in depth interviews with some authors and editors. The study also used findings from various studies about problems experienced by EAL (English as an additional language) authors when trying to publish their manuscripts in an international English language journal (published in the 'Center' of knowledge development) to form a framework of analysis.

1 Introduction

There is little doubt that publishing in international journals is important for academics. Many studies have been conducted looking at issues faced by speakers of English as an additional language (EAL). These studies have looked at different aspects such as problems faced by EAL speakers when trying to write articles, strategies they use to write, rhetorical patterns, attitudes of international journal editors toward EAL authors' manuscripts, and issues they find in those articles which could lead to rejection, etc. Uzuner (2008: 1) reviewed 39 studies on EAL speakers' 'socialization in mainstream disciplinary communities' published between 1987 and 2008. Clearly many international researchers consider the field to be very important. The first Publishing and Presenting Research Internationally (PRISEAL) (Originally with two 'Ps', but later only with one P) Conference in Laguna, Spain in 2007 was mainly motivated by this concern, as evidenced by its special attention to international editors.

The levels of pressure can be different from one country to another. For example, in the USA the pressure to publish can be stronger than, say, in Indonesia, or in many developing countries where an academic tradition is still relatively young. However, in Indonesia recently, there has been significant encouragement for academics to publish both nationally and internationally. The government has used both rewards and punishment to make Indonesian academics publish their research outcomes. Rewards include financial and promotional incentives of approximately 15 million rupiahs (approximately US$1685) for each RA published internationally, which is a considerable amount in Indonesia (the average monthly income of a senior lecturer is between 3 and 5 million rupiahs (approximately US$325–600 per month). Furthermore, the government also makes it easier for academics who publish to get promotion to professorships. Punishments include difficulty in becoming a professor and getting promoted if no academic publications are produced (interview with Indonesian Directorate General of Higher Education for Higher Education August 2005). Previously, appointment to professor or promotion was possible if someone had written textbooks and did significant administrative work such as holding a position as a head of a department or as a dean. In some Australian universities, academic staff who do not publish are required to teach more classes or teach the third semester of the year. They are required to do more of this type of work if they are not research productive (this is my own observation at my university).

However, as pointed out by Flowerdew (2001) and also recognized by PRI-SEAL, publishing in international English language journals is a complex matter. The complexity is arguably more serious for EAL academics. The review by Uzuner (2008) found seven major problems facing EAL academics when trying to publish internationally. These obstacles are: 'language problems, parochialism, divergence from the accepted norms of research reporting, time consuming and tedious nature of writing for publication in English, lack of connections with members of the core academic communities, potential bias against multilingual scholars' submissions, and lack of sufficient funds to conduct research' (Uzuner 2008: 1, See also Flowerdew 1999a, b).

Studies on Indonesian empirical research articles (RAs) have developed a fair bit, and have been mainly influenced by Swales seminal work 'Genre Analysis' (1990), which proposes the 'Create a Research Space' (CARS) model. The primary focus is on identifying the rhetorical patterns of Indonesian RAs. Safnil (2000) examined RAs in three Humanities disciplines i.e. Economics, Education, and Psychology. Mirahayuni (2001, 2002) also looked at rhetorical patterns, focusing on Indonesian and English RAs in Applied Linguistics, but only limited analysis was conducted on rhetorical patterns of the Introductions. She did not analyse how the patterns would fare if the papers were examined by international journal editors. She also looked at internal information structure using a/the 'Theme and Rheme' model. Adnan (2010) examined 63 Indonesian Humanities (Education, Linguistics and Social-Political Sciences) RAs focusing on the Introductions, also using the CARS model as a starting point of analysis. The main purpose of these studies was to find out to what extent the CARS model is applicable to Indonesian RAs. All the studies noted here found few RAs matched the CARS model. Adnan (2010) therefore proposed new models to account for the rhetorical patterns in Indonesian RAs.

Little research has been conducted on issues faced by Indonesian authors when trying to get their research published in international journals. None of the articles reviewed by Uzuner (2008) looked at Indonesian authors. The only study ever published using this perspective is one published by Adnan (2009). He examined potential problems of publication in international journals if the Indonesian journal articles are to be translated into English and submitted to international English language journals. He found three potential problems including parochialism, the rhetorical patterns of the articles being different from the accepted norms, and lack of funding to do research adequately. What is lacking is a comparative study of rhetorical patterns of RAs between the two groups of disciplines and among the disciplines to discover to what extent writers in each group of disciplines (Humanities and Hard Sciences) and individual discipline within each group need to 'sacrifice' their 'cultural values and norms' when trying to gain international publication, and the contributing reasons for such 'sacrifice'. This study compared RAs in the Humanities and in the Hard Sciences groups, and then compared each discipline within these groups. These multiple comparisons will provide a detailed understanding of the state of RA conditions in Indonesia these days. The study will also rank the disciplines in terms of the amount of sacrifice they need to make to

adjust to the international or 'Center' values and norms. This is important to reveal not only how the genres of the two groups of disciplines (Humanities and Hard Sciences) differ, but also how the six disciplines differ from one another. As the focus of this study is on 'publishability' of articles in 'Center' journals (I am using a 'Center-Pheriphery' dichotomy, See Flowerdew 2000), the tool of analysis is not only Swales' CARS model, but other major factors that have been found to be at work influencing the process of gaining publication, the rhetorical efforts to promote claims, and their own work to convince the 'gate keepers' (editorial team and referees), that their paper is 'international' in discussing the study instead of making parochial statements. If it is seen to be parochial, it may lack relevance in the eyes of discourse community members (the readership of the journal).

Theoretically, this article contributes to international research by testing the findings of other studies using an interdisciplinary comparative perspective. Practically, this study is important to address the issue of infrequent appearance of EAL authors in international journals, in particular the issue of the limited contribution of Indonesian authors to international knowledge expansion, which has received major attention recently (*Tempo* weekly magazine July 2009) (See also the next sub-section). Some suggestions will be made as to how to address the issue. Before moving to discussing the issue further, it is necessary to give some brief introduction to Indonesia to shed some light on the socio-cultural background where the articles were produced.

2 A Brief Introduction to Indonesia

Indonesia, in Southeast Asia, is the fourth biggest country in the world in terms of population size. It is now a member of the top 20 biggest economies (G20) in the world. Recently, it has shown a strong commitment to education, drastically increasing its budget for education from around 4–5 % to 20 % of the national budget. A major impact of this is the dramatic increase in the number of students given scholarships to study overseas; there has been reform in Education; and a much bigger budget for research, with an emphasis on getting research output published internationally. Indonesia is now in a position to achieve this goal because of the increasing number of overseas graduates and the democratic political system the country is now enjoying. Academics now enjoy the freedom to create and express new ideas without fear of being restricted or even imprisoned, as happened in the previous New Order regime led by Soeharto for 32 years (1966–1998). Under that system, overwhelming emphasis was put on development in all sectors (Mas'oed 1983); this influenced the rhetorical patterns employed in empirical research articles in Indonesia (Adnan 2010, 2011; Safnil 2000). With the current democratic situation and increased funding for education, many researchers would like to try to gain publication internationally. However, if the current common rhetorical patterns of RAs are to be employed by the majority of Indonesian authors, it is likely that they will encounter problems in getting their

manuscripts accepted by international journals. This paper reveals what likely impediments authors in six disciplines are likely to face and to what extent the individual disciplines would have to 'sacrifice' their academic culture (values and norms) that influence their rhetorical patterns. Indonesian EAL authors' manuscripts (with a focus on their introductions) and interviews both with EAL authors and international editors will be analysed to determine the rhetorical patterns of the RAs. The next section will briefly review these problems.

3 Some Common Problems Associated with EAL Manuscripts

As mentioned earlier, studies on publication issues related to EAL authors trying to publish papers internationally have found issues/problems that hinder them from having their manuscripts published in international journals. The major problems are as below.

3.1 Language Problems

For those whose native language is not English, writing an academic article is a formidable challenge. Although some editors might not see the problem of English as a major issue, others do see an issue regarding the difficulty of developing complex language structure, which creates ambiguous meaning (Flowerdew 2001). To what extent editors can tolerate language problems will be determined by various factors such as the degree of seriousness of the problems, the originality and significance of the research, the credibility of the methods, etc. A manuscript with many grammatical errors may be accepted if the content offers a really original and significant topic for the discourse community to know and the research is done with credible methods.

3.2 Parochialism

Parochialism refers to a situation when an author restricts the description and discussion of his/her topic to a local context, and therefore the assumed audience consists of readers in the same country or cultural group. An example is one common rhetorical pattern in Education discipline which Adnan (2011) describes as the 'Ideal-Problem-Solution' (IPS) pattern of RA Introductions. This pattern clearly falls into the trap of parochialism because it is strictly confined to an Indonesian context. For example, the authors typically begin with a description of an ideal condition in Indonesia, such as a classroom language teaching that effectively enable the students to use the target language fluently. Usually, an author would point to an important government document where the ideal situation

is found, for example, in a national curriculum of English language teaching. This description is followed by the current practice where the teaching cannot produce the intended ideal outcomes. This leads to the formulation of the research problem (i.e. the failure by the current practice of teaching to achieve the ideal [aim of the training]). The author proposes the study to help solve this problem. This approach also offers potential practical benefits (*manfaat*) which include practical recommendations to solve the problem. Thus, the context of the study is fully set in an Indonesian context, which runs the risk of creating 'irrelevance' for audiences in other parts of the world as Uzuner wrote:

> However, despite these benefits, as some of the journal editors participating in Flowerdew's (2001) study stated, when multilingual scholars fail to go beyond their local contexts, their research and findings do not seem relevant to the members of the core disciplinary communities.

3.3 Divergence from the Accepted Norms of Research Reporting

What are the norms? There are many. The main ones that EAL authors often have issues with are:

1. The research needs to be 'situated' in the literature, how the study differs from other studies. The purpose is to show the originality of the study. This is done by creating a special space which in Swales' word is called a 'niche' (Swales 1990).
2. To be able to create a niche, there is need to be critical in reviewing the literature. There needs to be a stance shown toward the findings/argument (Swales 1990), and the literature should include the most recent studies. Failure to critically review the literature and show an information gap (Swales 1990), or a defect in the literature (Creswell 2009), which the study is trying to fill or rectify, may lead the editorial team to form a perception that the study lacks originality, and therefore, offers no contribution to the literature.
3. The need to promote the study to win the audience (discourse community) in order to successfully persuade the members of the community to accept the manuscript, by stressing the importance of the field of the study (Swales 1990). Swales reveals that to show the importance an author can say, for example, that the field has attracted a lot of attention, many researchers have investigated the field, and so on.
4. The need to express authorial presence. This could also be a make or break for an EAL search for publication in a Center journal. A paper whose author does not project his/her own authority upon the argument developed in the paper may also be rejected. Duszak (1997) for example, mentioned that the employment of Finnish poetic and implicit style by Finnish academics was found to be a reason for considering their text as problematic.

5. Claims must be verifiable. A general tendency found in EAL written texts is making non-verifiable claims (Flowerdew 1999a; Liu 2004). This tendency is due to their literary tradition, which is different from the common acceptable tradition in the Center (of knowledge construction, which is dominated by Western academic tradition). These studies revealed that multilingual scholars' presentations of arguments without adequate evidence or illustrations do not stem from linguistic deficiencies but from the differences between their literary traditions and those of the English-medium academic discourse communities. Nevertheless, a manuscript with claims that lacks evidence are likely to be rejected.

6. The need to take bolder stances in expressing knowledge claims and promoting one's own work. In some EAL cultures taking such stances and promotion of one's own work is not desirable. It could even reduce credibility in the eyes of members of his/her own community. Therefore, writers feel uncomfortable doing so (Tardy 2005: 334). However, such promotion is needed to convince the audience of an international journal that the manuscript is important.

The comparative study reported in this paper focuses only on four norms i.e. indicating the significance of the study, making a critical review of the literature, showing a gap or 'defect' (Creswell 2009) in the literature or 'creating a niche' (Swales' 1990 term), and adding to what is already known or 'positive justification' (Samraj 2005). Below are the methods used in this study.

4 Methodology

4.1 The Data Sources

The data for this study were collected from nationally accredited journals published in Indonesia. It consists of one hundred and twenty-three empirical research articles (RAs) selected randomly from journals belonging to two discipline groups, namely Humanities and Hard Sciences. These journals were published respectively by universities, Teacher Training Institutes (IKIPs), professional organizations, and research centers located in the western and central regions of Indonesia (considered as the most developed regions). The Humanities disciplines consisted of Education, Linguistics, and Social and Political Sciences, and the Hard Science disciplines consisted of Agriculture, Biology and Medical Science. Twenty-one empirical research articles from each discipline were selected.

4.2 The Methods

This study employed a mixed-method approach. It employed qualitative method to elicit the strategies employed in the RAs, but use simple quantitative method to discover the percentages of RAs employing each of the strategies selected for the

analyses. Qualitative method was also used to conduct in-depth interviews with three authors in each discipline, and three Indonesian and three international journal editors in each discipline groups. The purpose was to understand the issues associated with the process of selecting and publishing articles both in Indonesia and internationally.

4.3 Objectives of this Study

The specific objectives of this study are as follows:

1. To find out how authors convince the editors rhetorically, and what strategies they use.
2. To find out which of the groups of disciplines (Humanities and Hard sciences) would likely require more rhetorical adjustment, and therefore lose their authors' cultural elements in order to meet the expectations of the international discourse communities.
3. Which of the disciplines within each group would need to 'adjust most and least' (lose most and least of their cultural elements).
4. Among all the disciplines which ones need to adjust most and the least (lose most and least of their cultural elements).

4.4 Research Questions

To achieve these objectives, the following questions are asked of each of the texts.

If rhetoric is defined as an art of persuasion, e.g. how do the authors persuade the reader to accept that the research is significant? Do the authors promote the significance of their study? If so, how? A required strategy to ensure that a study is properly situated in the literature, is for an author to review previous studies (Swales 1990, 2004; Flowerdew 1999a, b). To what extent have the authors reviewed the literature, and for what purposes? What arguments did they use to justify the study in the different disciplines? Swales (2004) discusses two types of justification negative and positive justifications (Samraj 2002). Which of these is more dominant, and in which disciplines, and why? Is there another type of justification? Which of these disciplines are likely to lose their styles if the authors have to write for and possibly gain publication in an international journal, and why?

4.5 Theoretical Framework

This study is guided by the following theoretical framework.

This study is guided by the belief that there are variations in discipline conventions (Ahmad 1997; Bazerman 1988; Hyland 2004; Mauranen 1993a, b; Samraj 2002, 2005). Theoretical guides and hypotheses are:

- Language-Context (Halliday): There is mutually influencing relationship between language and context.
- Academic texts are produced as a result of interaction between the authors-editors-reviewers (the editors and reviewers as assessors—whether a paper can be published or not) (Hyland 2004).
- Discourse community (Swales 1990). Swales believe that every discipline has its own community, and this community has values and norms that members are expected to adhere to. The community knows the sophisticated language and rhetorical patterns they are familiar with. Usually the community has a journal from which they can follow knowledge development in their field, and expect the journal editorial team to publish articles which meet the community expectations, one of which is that the articles should have original contributions to knowledge development in the field.
- Discipline culture (Hyland 2004). This is discipline specific culture which all members should adhere to, so it's similar to the notion of discourse community.
- Miller (1984): Born out of typified rhetorical actions of academics. This means that the culture of a particular community is developed from repeated rhetorical actions.

In this paper culture is defined as things (ideas, values, norms) that gives meaning to a social group, and members follow them voluntarily, and are expected to do so by the group. Cultural elements are ideas, values and norms identified by a group as theirs. Disciplinary cultures are cultural elements usually adopted and practiced by a discipline community through their activities, in this case in writing research article introductions. These values and norms could be created through the typified actions or be taken from outside (e.g. broader national culture), and then adopted or practiced. They could also be shaped by the authority/government through rules, decree, and regulations.

4.6 A Theoretical Issue

To answer the research questions, this study used RAs written by Indonesian authors in Indonesian for Indonesian academic journals. Some would assume that anything written for an Indonesian discourse community would be incompatible with the values and norms employed in international journal publications, and there is no point in the type of study I have proposed. My defence for the study consists of three reasons. The first is language transfer. It has been found that L2 speakers transfer their L2 patterns when speaking or writing in L2 (Rusdi 2000). The transfer is greater if the person is not familiar with the patterns commonly used in the L2 community. My interviews with some senior authors in Indonesia shows that many of them are not familiar with such patterns. For example, when I showed a copy of Swales' CARS model and explain it, they had never heard about it. My second reason is the problems identified in previous studies as reported by

Flowerdew (1999a) are the problems that are commonly found in studies of RAs written in L1 (Safnil 2000; Mirahayuni 2001; Adnan 2008), for example parochialism, lacking of critical literature reviews, and so on.

4.7 Focus of Analysis

Specifically this study will focus on four major determining rhetorical points that could make or break efforts by EAL authors to gain publication in a 'Center' journal. These are not the absolute factors because an editor or a referee may ignore them if the content of a manuscript is highly important or interesting for knowledge development. Nevertheless, these are some of the major rhetorical factors that have been found to be at work in many previous studies. Four of them were employed in analyzing the RA Introductions (RAIs). They are as below:

1. Claiming centrality (Swales 1990); Crucial effort to stress a global research significance of the field (e.g. is it set internationally or in a parochial manner?) (Required Step 1 of Move 1). The opposite, parochialism, is too narrowly contextualized, with no attempt made to contextualize the study internationally.
2. Reviewing the Literature (Swales 1990; Flowerdew 1999a, b) as a required effort to situate the study in the literature. In the review of the literature, especially of recent publications, two crucial conditions are expected: being critical and the show of stance by the RA author (Required Step 2 of Move 1). The opposite of this strategy is 'Cut and paste', with no authorial stance demonstrated in reviewing the study, or with no review at all.
3. Negative Justification: Attempt to justify the study: showing deficit and/or 'defect' (Creswell 2009) in the literature (Required Step 1 of Move 2). The opposite is the avoidance of critical comments for the sake of harmony.
4. Suggesting the need to develop 'under/un-developed field' or in Swales' (2004) term 'Adding to what is known', a Required Step of Move 2 of the amended CARS model. The opposite is the absence of a clear research problem or focus created as a result of a critical literature review.

5 Results

5.1 Between Groups Comparison (Humanities vs. Hard Sciences)

As shown in Table 1, when the Humanities discipline group is compared with the Hard Science discipline group, it turned out that the Hard Sciences discipline group make significantly more rhetorical attempts to emphasize the significance of

Table 1 Results of groups comparison (Humanities vs. Hard Sciences)

Required rhetorical move strategies/ disciplines	Humanities average (Education + Linguistics + Social and Political Science disciplines) (%)	Hard Sciences average (Agriculture + Biology + Medical Sciences disciplines) (%)
Move 1		
Required Strategy 1	25.33	67.66
Claiming centrality (stating the significance of the field in light of international community)		
Required Strategy 2	28.33	54.66
Reviewing the Literature critically for pointing a gap/defect or adding to what is known		
Move 2		
Required Strategy 1	27.33	27.66
Indicating gap or defect in the literature		
Required Strategy 2	12.66	33.30
Adding to what is already known		

the field in which their research is done i.e. 46 % compared to only 25.33 % in the Humanities group. In terms of reviewing the literature, only 28.33 % of the Humanities articles do so, while there are 38 % in the Hard Sciences. In terms of indicating a gap in the literature, both groups have roughly similar occurrences: Humanities 27.33 % and the Hard Sciences 27.66 %. However in terms of adding to what is known, 33.30 % of Hard Sciences articles claim to be doing so, while only 12.66 % of Humanities articles make that claim.

5.2 Comparison Between Disciplines Within the Humanities Group

As shown in Table 2, within the Humanities group, Linguistic RA and Social and Political Sciences (Socpol) have the same number of attempts to claim the centrality or significance of their studies, while the Education RAs use none of the strategy. In terms of reviewing the literature, more Socpol RAs review the literature compared to Linguistic RAs, but both are far ahead of those from the Education discipline. This seems be due to the practically oriented research in Education. Socpol use the strategy of indicting a gap or defect in the literature the most; a similar number of Linguistic RAs use this strategy (39 %), but no Education RAs use it. It must be said though, although few Education RAs use a statement saying that no study has been done in this area, such statements have no literature review to justify them. Without a review this claim is unverifiable. Many more Socpol RAs than Education RAs use the strategy of adding to what is known; no examples were found in Linguistics RAs.

Table 2 Comparison between disciplines in the Humanities group

Required rhetorical move strategies/disciplines	Education (%)	Linguistics (%)	Socpol (%)
Move 1			
Required Strategy 1	0	38	38
Claiming centrality (stating the significance of the field in light of international community)			
Required Strategy 2	5	38	42
Reviewing the Literature critically for pointing a gap/defect or adding to what is known			
Move 2			
Required Strategy 1	0	39	43
Indicating gap or defect in the literature			
Required Strategy 2	14	0	24
Adding to what is already known			

5.3 Comparison Between Disciplines Within the Hard Science Group

As shown in Table 3, compared to Agriculture and Biology RAs, the Medical Science discipline RAs show the highest percentages of compliance with the required strategies. For Claiming centrality, 76 % of the Medical Science RAs employed this strategy compared to 65 % and 62 % respectively for Agriculture and Biology. For reviewing the literature, this discipline has similar numbers of RAs employing this strategy as those in Biology, but both are higher than in Agriculture. Far more RAs in this discipline employed 'Adding to what is known' strategy (81 %) compared to 14.21 % and 4.7 % respectively in Agriculture and Biology. Although it scores lower i.e. 15 % in employing 'Indicating a gap', if the scores for these Move 2 strategies are put together, we get much higher score for

Table 3 Comparison between disciplines within the Hard Science group

Required rhetorical move strategies/disciplines	Agriculture (%)	Biology (%)	Medical Sciences disciplines (%)
Move 1			
Required Strategy 1	65	62	76
Claiming centrality (stating the significance of the field in light of international community)			
Required Strategy 2	50	57	57
Reviewing the Literature critically for pointing a gap/defect or adding to what is known			
Move 2			
Required Strategy 1	30	38	15
Indicating gap or defect in the literature			
Required Strategy 2	14.21	4.7	81
Adding to what is already known			

Move 2 (Justifying the Study) i.e. 96 % (15 % + 81 %), while if the scores of the other two disciplines only come to 44.21 % for Agriculture and 42.7 % for Biology.

5.4 Comparison Across all the Individual Disciplines

As shown in the Fig. 1, across the board the Medical Science discipline scores the highest in employing the required strategies and Education scores the lowest. This means this discipline RAs require the least rhetorical adjustment when prepared for publication in international journals, while Education RAs require the most.

6 Discussion

The study intended to compare the rhetorical strategies employed by academics in selected Hard Science and Humanities disciplines. Intra group comparison was also made. The results are discussed below:

Many more of the Hard Science group of disciplines RAs employed the rhetorical strategies needed to gain publication in international journals. This means that they require less rhetorical adjustment. Therefore, the authors have less degree of values and norms to sacrifice when preparing their manuscript for publication in international journals.
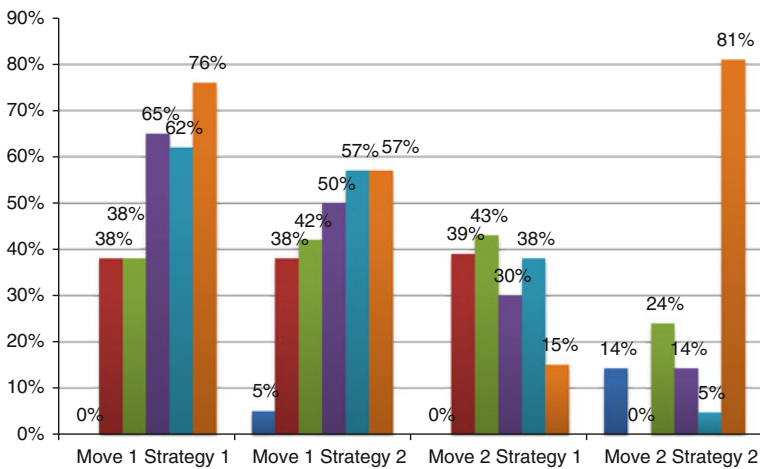

Fig. 1 Results compared across the six disciplines. *Note* The order from *left* is as follows: Education, Linguistics, Social and Political Sciences, Agriculture, Biology, and Medical Science

Amongst the Hard Science disciplines, the Medical Science Disciplines, more RAs employed the strategies than the other two disciplines. This means that RAs produced in this discipline require the least rhetorical adjustment. Authors of this discipline have the least degree of values and norms to sacrifice when writing for international journals.

Amongst the Humanities Disciplines, Social and Political Science discipline RAs employed more of the required strategies, but the figure is not much higher than the Linguistic RAs. Much less Education RAs employed them.

6.1 Explanation of Results

The Hard Science Disciplines show much higher compliance with the required strategies expected in international journals. This seems at odds with findings that Humanities disciplines would need to used more rhetorical strategies to convince the discourse communities to accept the research for the reason that hard sciences have narrower path to follow in terms of creating a niche (Hyland 1999). There are two possible explanations for the lower compliance in the Humanities RAs. The first is practical, that is lack of access to sources, and the second one is the orientation of the researchers who wrote the Humanities RAs.

Lack of access to sources Generally, researchers of the Hard Science disciplines have better access than their counterparts in the Humanities disciplines. As in other developing countries, Hard Sciences received more priority that those in Humanities especially during the Suharto-led New Order era from 1966 to 1998 (32 years). The quality of graduates in the Hard Sciences might be better too: students with higher intellectual capability tend to choose hard sciences in their discipline stream at High Schools, whereas those with lower intellectual capability tend to take social science or languages. In addition, Hard Science students are more likely to be accepted at better universities, and to continue in the same discipline at university. Such graduates would be of better quality, and consequently would have more opportunity to gain the opportunity to study overseas. In doing so, they would be more influenced by Western approach to research, and would learn how to review the literature critically. Such students will then have more opportunity to access academic books and journal articles (including internet sources) compared to their counterparts in the Humanities disciplines. Equipped with the knowledge of the way to properly review the literature, and with better access to more recent research overseas, they are more likely to develop literature reviews similar to those of their counterparts overseas. Similarly, the Indonesian Hard Science researchers are more used to other required strategies that their overseas counterparts employ, e.g. claiming centrality and adding to what is known. However, it seems that the national value of avoiding giving negative comments on the literature is still influential, so the adoption of negative justification (i.e. indicating gap) remains low and is similar to that of their Humanities counterparts i.e. 27.66 % and 27.33 % respectively.

The Academic Orientation of Researchers Looking at the nature of the results for the Humanities Disciplines, one-third of the whole data (RAs in Education) score the lowest compared to their Linguistics and Social and Political Science counterparts. This results drag down the overall results in the Humanities group. This is largely due to the academic orientation of these academics who mostly graduated from and worked for the Teacher Training Institutes (IKIPs). Their orientation used to be skewed to pedagogy rather than knowledge advancement, although since these IKIPs were converted to universities some ten years ago, this orientation may have gradually changed). Thus, they concentrated more on the application of knowledge in classrooms rather than advancing knowledge through international research. So, their research focused more on practical teaching/learning related issues they found in local classrooms. Adnan (2010) reported on specific local oriented models of formulating RA Introductions. They begin with an ideal situation as formulated either in the literature or government documents, compared it with the existing situation which is far from the ideal, then from this comparison, they raise the research problem. The research is conducted to find a solution to the problem. So, the research problem is not raised by a critical review of the literature heading to a gap, or finding an undeveloped area of research or research 'niche' as Swales (1990, 2004) puts it.

Intra-Humanities Group Comparison of Disciplines As shown above, the RAs that need most rhetorical adjustment belong to Education. The percentages of Linguistics and Socpol RAs that employs Move 1 Strategies One and Two are very similar requiring similar amount of adjustment. However, for Move 2 Strategies One and Two, the Socpol RAs score more and therefore require less rhetorical adjustment. After close scrutiny, five of the Linguistics RAs were written by academics from the Teacher Training Institutes who are more influenced by the practical orientation discussed earlier. These RAs did not employ critical literature review and the other strategies. The percentages of the RAs which employed literature review as a strategy is the same as the percentage of the RAs which employed Move 2 Strategy One, pointing to a gap.

Intra-Hard Science Group Comparison of Disciplines Amongst the Hard Science disciplines, the highest number of RAs employing the required strategies was found in the Medical Science Discipline. There are three specific advantages that many of the researchers in this discipline enjoy over their Agriculture and Biology counterparts: better financial condition, better intellectual capacity, and longer study leading to highly stringent examination. These advantages lead them to better access to international publications, and this access allows them to gain better understanding of Western academic values and norms. On average those who can be accepted to Medical School have above average financial conditions; it costs more to enter and to stay to complete the course. Due to stringent tests, more lengthy courses, the required high marks, and the necessity of dealing with human health, such students need to be highly capable intellectually. When they graduate, they tend to have better financial condition too. With these advantages, they generally have better chance to access materials from overseas including through the Internet. My interview with authors in this discipline suggest that they have

little or nor problem accessing the Internet and recent overseas publications. Better access to Western academic values and norms allows them to have better understanding of what is expected by the overseas discourse community, and they write academic RAs accordingly. Basically, at least in Indonesia, doctors belong to the cream of the community. This is what set them apart from their counterparts in Agriculture and Biology, and those in the Humanities disciplines.

However, despite these advantages, and considering that this is not a new discipline, that the percentage of the RAs in this discipline that attempt to critically review the literature is still low, i.e. 57 %. As Swales (1990) points out, it is possible to find RAs publish in International journals that have little or no literature review, but only in newly established disciplines where there is not much literature. So, what are the issues found in the RAs? How do they write their RAs rhetorically?

6.2 The Issues

There are several issues found, namely: 1. Parochial statements, 2. Limited use of the literature, 3. Preferring positive justification over the negative ones, 4. Offering practical benefits. Each of these will be discussed below.

6.2.1 Parochial Statements

As mentioned earlier, several other researchers found evidence that many EAL authors contextualize their research too locally and fail to broaden the context to the global world to make it relevant to audience in other parts of the world. There are two possible reasons for such failure. First, they might concentrate too much on appeasing local audience especially their own government as the main source of research funding, forgetting that they need to make their research relevant for the international discourse community of the journal to which they are sending the manuscripts. Secondly, they may not be aware of the need to meet the expectations of the international discourse community. My interviews with a number of senior researchers suggest that many of them are not aware of such need. On the other hand, from interviews with at least 3 editors, it was found that they could not force the authors to meet the literature review requirement as they need their manuscripts to meet the deadline for the routine publication of their journals. One editor even said that sometimes she had to write articles to meet the number of articles required by her journal when the deadline for the publication of the journal is getting close.

This lack of awareness and the evidence found by other researchers discussed earlier suggest that at least some EAL authors do transfer their rhetorical patterns from their first language (L1) to an additional language. This means that the argument, saying that studying the rhetorical patterns of RAs written in a national language is not a valid way to assume that they could follow the same pattern when

they write using EAL, is not necessarily correct. In other words, there is merit in examining the rhetorical patterns RAs written in L1 and to use its findings to predict potential problems when they write RAs in EAL as the present study has done.

6.2.2 Limited Use of the Literature

Critically reviewing the literature has at least two purposes. One is to show the level of understanding of the topic being discussed, and therefore the author's familiarity with the literature. The other is to situate the study in the literature with the intention to show that it contributes something new for the sake of knowledge development. For this second purpose, the review should be able to show the strengths and weaknesses of earlier studies in the field as discussed by the editors interviewed by Flowerdew (1999a), and discussed by Swales (1990). The majority of the RAs examined in this study employed the literature for the first purpose, and a minority used it for the second purpose.

One possible reason is the fear of offending other researchers if they critically evaluate their study. My interview with some senior authors suggest that criticizing or even only critiquing a colleagues' work is not good. Some even says that it is unethical as it could damage harmonious relationship as the other author may fight back. A prominent Indonesian linguistic professor confirmed that being critical of another author's work could damage relationships and it could even backfire as it could attract stronger criticism, which could negatively affect the harmony in the community. For publication in international journals, this means that it is likely that the majority of the academics would have to sacrifice their value of respecting harmony for the sake of producing a critical review of the literature as expected by the international discourse community.

For the less affluent authors, lack of access to recent publications forms another possible reason. Lack of access may be due to various impediments such as lack of time due to the need to work at different institutions to meet basic needs, lack of financial capacity to purchase recent publications and to access the internet, and so on.

6.2.3 Lacking Statement of Gap or 'Defect' in the Literature

Some of the RAs write something to this effect, e.g. 'There has been no study in this area'; There is little study in this field" etc., but usually such statements are not backed by evidence. The evidence can be by reviewing what has been studied which points to a gap of information. The examples cited above was found in a RA that had no critical literature review. This amounts to the problem pointed out by Flowerdew (1999a) and Liu (2004), that is of making un-substantiated claims.

6.2.4 Employing Positive Justification: Stating the Practical Need or Necessity to Do the Study

This is a common way found in many of the articles. This strategy serves several important purposes. One is to show that the author is contributing ideas constructively for a common interest e.g. to solve a problem faced by the community and the government. For example, there is a problem of deficit in rice production which forces the importation of rice, which in turn drain the country's foreign currency reserve. The study proposes to investigate ways to boost production e.g. by testing with different hybrids in order to find a hybrid that can produce much more yield, or one which requires the shorter time to produce yield. The benefit of this strategy is that it does not negatively affect the harmony in the community.

6.2.5 Promising Practical Benefits

Promising practical benefits of the research meets the expectations of the Indonesian Government as the main source of research funding in the country, and, therefore, would be of a major potential to win more funding in the future. These benefits are usually focused upon solving real development problems in the country, e.g. how it could help improve the low quality of graduates as expected from Indonesian academics (See Soemardjan 1994). This will bring two major benefits to the author i.e. financial and career benefits. Financially, unlike researchers in most universities in the West, Indonesian academics who win research project funding can allocate some of the money to pay themselves for their service in doing the research. If they work in a team, they can share some of the funding. This means additional personal income on top of their regular income, which they can use for their own personal use such as to buy a vehicle or renovate their houses, which could improve their living conditions as well as their prestige in the community. In terms of career benefits, the more funding they get, the more they have the opportunity to produce research outputs (research publications), which could enhance their promotion prospects. However, such statements of practical benefits of the research are not usually relevant to the audiences in other parts of the world as they are too locally focused. Therefore, they could have a contradictory effect, that is making the paper sounds more parochial, an issue already discussed earlier.

7 Conclusion

This study aims at discovering the rhetorical strategies employed in Indonesian empirical research articles in two groups of disciplines to win their audiences, and the prospect of gaining attention from international journal 'gate keepers'. Multiple comparisons were made. When the two groups of disciplines were compared, it was found that more of the Hard Science discipline RAs employed the strategies

required to win international audiences compared to those of the Humanities RAs. Intra-Hard Science discipline comparison showed that the highest number of RAs that employed the required strategies belonged to Medical Science, while roughly equal numbers of RAs belong to the other two disciplines. Amongst the three Humanities disciplines, the highest number of RAs that employed the strategies belonged to the Social and Political Science Discipline, while the lowest belong to Education. Across the board disciplinary ranking found that the highest number of RAs that employed the strategies belonged to Medical science RAs, while the lowest belonged to Education. Therefore, it can be concluded that:

1. The Hard science discipline group RAs require less rhetorical adjustment than the Humanities ones. Therefore, authors belonging to this group of disciplines needs to sacrifice less of their values and norms compared to their Humanities counterparts if they aim to reach an international audience.
2. Amongst the Hard Science disciplines, Medical Science RAs needs the least rhetorical adjustment. Therefore, authors belonging to this discipline need to sacrifice the least in terms of their cultural values and norms.
3. The biggest rhetorical adjustment needs to be made to the Education RAs. Therefore, authors of this discipline need to sacrifice the most in terms of their cultural values and norms if they aim to reach an international audience. Their habits of making parochial statements and promises of giving practical benefits of their research to appease their own government should be changed in journal articles. They should include these statements and promises only in their research proposal, and replace them with a rhetorical effort that makes their research relevant to international audiences. Why? It is because those parochial statements and promises could be impediments to gaining success in convincing the 'gate keepers' of international journals to seriously consider their manuscripts for publication. They should also change their habit of reviewing the literature uncritically and using the literature only for limited purpose, because this habit will inhibits them from creating a 'research space' (Swales 1990) necessary to convince their audiences that their research could give an original and important contribution to knowledge advancement.

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Part II
Novice Writers and Readers

Approaches to Acculturating Novice Writers into Academic Literacy

Ursula Wingate

Abstract This chapter presents three approaches to supporting undergraduate and postgraduate students in the development of their academic literacy. The approaches were designed and evaluated as part of a writing development project which aimed to move away from the predominantly generic and unequally distributed provision of writing instruction at UK universities. In view of various writing theories, one objective of the project was to find a balance between text-focused instruction and the development of students' critical awareness of the academic culture and practices of their disciplines and the wider academic context. Another objective was to explore to what extent subject lecturers need to be involved in teaching literacy. The evaluation showed that literacy instruction without the input of subject lecturers can be ineffective. Furthermore, the results revealed that novice writers are not prepared to take a critical perspective of literacy practices and are mainly interested in accommodating to the writing conventions in their discipline. This finding contradicts the postulations of some models that writing instruction should focus less on text and more on challenging practices and conventions. The preliminary conclusion is that the analysis of texts and genres specific to the discipline is the best starting point for students' acculturation into academic literacy. The third approach discussed in this chapter gives an example of how subject lecturers and writing experts can collaborate to help students to understand the text and genre requirements in their discipline.

Keywords Writing instruction · Genre-based traditions · Academic literacy · Critical awareness

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1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss three approaches to develop the academic literacy of students in mainstream higher education in England. These approaches were the outcome of a writing development project that was carried out at King's College London between 2006 and 2011. The project was based on the understanding that a narrow focus on writing and texts would not be sufficient but that a wider perspective was needed to support students' acculturation into academic literacy. By acculturation I mean knowledge and understanding of the academic practices and literacy requirements of (a) the discipline (e.g. epistemology and conventions), (b) the university (e.g. assessment policies), and (c), particularly in the case of international students, of the Anglophone context. Therefore, the project aimed to provide students with insights and opportunities for the process of acculturation.

The need to pay attention to the surrounding academic culture and practices has been repeatedly stressed by theorists from Academic Literacies (e.g. Lillis 2003; Lillis and Scott 2007) and Critical English for Academic Purposes (EAP) (e.g. Benesch 2001, 2009). The related academic debate is reported in Sect. 3. However, so far there is little evidence of pedagogical applications, nor much advice on how and to what extent issues concerned with academic culture and practices should be integrated into the writing curriculum. The writing development project made a first step towards providing such evidence. The teaching approaches created in the project included various elements intended to raise students' awareness of academic practices. The effectiveness of these elements and students' acceptance of them were investigated in the project. Another issue was to what extent subject lecturers should be engaged in the teaching of academic literacy. It has been strongly argued that subject specialists must take responsibility for development of students' writing (particularly by the movement 'Writing in the Disciplines', see Deane and O'Neill 2011). As representatives of the discipline's and institution's culture, and experts in the associated discourses and conventions, they are best positioned to support students' acculturation. However, as discussed in the next section, this responsibility is often shifted to others in the English higher education context.

The three approaches to teaching academic literacy were developed subsequently and build on each other. The evaluation results of earlier approaches led to changes in the theoretical and pedagogic approach of the later ones. Thus, the project reflects a process of learning about effective ways of acculturating students into academic literacy, and in this chapter I want to share some insights from this learning process.

2 Background

The writing development project reported here is one of several which were initiated at English universities in response to the rapidly changing higher education landscape and the growing realisation that existing student support is insufficient

and outdated. Until the early 1990s, higher education in England was an elite system in which students were expected to arrive at university with adequate literacy competence. Only in the last 15 years has the number of 'non-traditional' students (from social groups that have traditionally not participated in higher education) and international students substantially grown. Despite the fact that these student groups need more help with academic literacy, the provision of support has hardly changed from the previous highly selective system. It still consists mainly of generic English language courses for international students, usually offered in Language Centres exclusively to non-native speakers, and some limited study skills advice for native speakers (home students), usually offered in learning development units (Ivanic and Lea 2006; Wingate 2006). Both types of provision have fundamental conceptual flaws. First, writing is taught by writing specialists or learning developers outside the disciplines, detached from subject content. This generic approach ignores the fact that students' problems with writing are less of a linguistic nature, but mainly caused by a lack of understanding of how knowledge is constructed, debated and presented in specific disciplines (Lea and Street 1998). A second flaw is the distinction between native and non-native speakers of English which ignores that both groups are novices in reading, reasoning and writing in an academic discipline. Any approach that excludes certain groups of students is therefore inappropriate in today's higher education context (Wingate and Tribble 2012).

The instructional approaches presented in this chapter therefore targeted the 'mainstream' rather than specific student groups. Accordingly, two main principles proposed by the model 'Writing in the Disciplines' (Monroe 2002, 2003) were followed, namely (1) to embed writing instruction into the disciplines' curricula, and (2) to attribute at least some-responsibility for the teaching of writing to subject lecturers. These principles meant a clear departure from the existing support provision, and their application was bound to be problematic, particularly with respect to the involvement of subject lecturers. There is evidence that subject lecturers tend to be reluctant to take responsibility for student writing, partly because they feel that writing should be taught elsewhere or before students come to university, and partly because they themselves have only a tacit understanding of the conventions and requirements (e.g. North 2005; Bailey 2010). They also tend to have concerns about workload issues and the fact that teaching time might be spent on writing rather than subject content. Therefore, one objective of the writing development project was to explore different levels of lecturer involvement and to which extent they were feasible and acceptable for lecturers.

The second objective was to explore ways of integrating a focus on academic culture and practices into the teaching of academic literacy. The relevant academic debate is discussed in the next section.

3 Genre- and Practice-Focused Models of Writing Instruction

There is an ongoing discussion as to whether writing instruction should be text-led or context-led (e.g. Johns 2011). Genre-based approaches, such as EAP (e.g. Swales 1990) and the systemic functional linguistics (SFL)-oriented Sydney School (e.g. Martin 1993), base writing instruction on the analysis of texts and explicit information about the genres that students have to write, the major aim being to enable students to understand and control the discourses of their discipline. As Hyland (2008: 547) points out, genre approaches give students an explicit understanding of 'how target texts are structured and why they are written in the ways they are'. Johns (2011) claims that text-led approaches have been more successful, and that the structure and guidance they provide are particularly appreciated by non-native speakers. She therefore recommends that explicit information about texts should be the starting point of writing instruction.

By contrast, Academic Literacies, a dominant model in the UK, strongly criticises the central role of texts, calling genre-based approaches 'normative' (Lillis and Scott 2007). Academic Literacies understands academic writing and reading as social practice that is influenced by factors such as power relations, the epistemologies of specific disciplines, and students' identities (Lea and Street 1998). This social and ideological nature of writing requires, in the view of Academic Literacies proponents, a focus on practice rather than on text. As Lillis and Scott (2007: 9) assert, it is 'the definition and articulation of what constitutes the 'problem' [with student writing] that is at the heart of much academic literacies research'. This focus has certainly been successful in Academic Literacies research and helped to uncover shortcomings of academic literacy support at English universities; however, its pedagogic dimension is underexplored. Academic Literacies researchers have provided only a few suggestions as to how the model could contribute to an alternative writing pedagogy. One example is Lillis' proposal for tutor–student dialogues to make 'language visible' and to give students opportunities for challenging 'dominant literacy practices' (Lillis 2006: 34). Although desirable, this approach is not realistic for mainstream higher education where the resources for individual tutor–student discussions are not easily available. The main message that emerges from the Academic Literacies literature is that students should not be simply inducted into academic writing through the analysis of discipline-specific texts, but be supported in developing a critical awareness of disciplinary conventions to be able to challenge them (Lillis 2006; see also Lea 2004; Ivanic 1998). Similar arguments have also been voiced by Critical EAP (e.g. Benesch 2001, 2009). Others, however, see less of a need for developing students' critical awareness, for, as Duff (2010: 171) argues, 'language and literacy socialisation will almost inevitably involve the negotiation of power and identity'.

In any case, it is difficult to see how novice writers would be able to challenge literacy practices before they have a good understanding of texts which are the manifestations of literacy practices. This point was made by Bhatia, a member of the genre tradition who recognised that genre-based teaching might encourage prescription rather than creativity, but maintained that' we must realise that one can be more effectively creative in communication when one is well aware of the rules and conventions of the genre' (1993: 40). Equally, when Academic Literacies promotes the exploration of 'alternative ways of meaning making in academia' (Lillis and Scott 2007: 13), the obvious question arises how students can explore alternatives before they know the conventional ways.

Nevertheless, Academic Literacies offers useful insights for the development of writing instruction which may prevent the use of texts in an authoritative or prescriptive manner, and encourage the inclusion of components that foster a critical approach to literacy practices. But even when a focus on practices has been accepted as a necessary ingredient for the writing course, the question remains how this should be done. Should students be encouraged from the beginning to be critical of, or challenge conventions-bearing in mind the argument that an understanding of textual rules and conventions is the prerequisite for a critical stance? Or should they just be made aware of surrounding practices while the initial focus is on texts? The writing development project aimed to find some answers to these questions.

4 The Writing Development Project

The three instructional approaches were, as mentioned earlier, developed subsequently, and in each, an instructional model was created and evaluated in one discipline first, and then adapted to other disciplines.

I started the project by consulting programme directors and subject lecturers from eight faculties in order to identify the support required in various disciplines, and ways in which that support could be offered. The consultation showed that there was widespread awareness of the limitations of extracurricular provision, and of the need to integrate literacy instruction into the disciplinary curriculum. At the same time, participants in the consultation had strong reservations about being involved in writing instruction and devoting classroom time to it. As a result, the first approach was conceived to keep the involvement of lecturers at the level of 'co-operation' (Dudley-Evans and St John 1998), requiring them to provide discipline-specific texts and information on writing requirements. These materials were incorporated into academic literacy courses which were offered online and required no further involvement of the lecturers.

4.1 Approach 1: Discipline-Specific Online Writing Instruction

The first online academic literacy course was created for undergraduate students in Management, and subsequently adapted to undergraduates and postgraduate programmes in five other disciplines. The course consists of four modules, 'Academic Writing', 'Reading', 'Referencing', and 'Avoiding Plagiarism'. Course details cannot be discussed in this chapter, but further information can be found in Appendix 1 which shows the structure and content of one module, and other publications (Wingate 2008, 2011). First, I will address the question of lecturer involvement, followed by that of focus.

Management lecturers had, as already mentioned, contributed discipline-specific materials at the design stage of the course, but played no role in its delivery. In the year of implementation, 2007, the course was introduced to the first-year student cohort in a two-hour session where the relevance of the materials was explained and student questions answered. This session was not offered in subsequent years due to time and resources constraints. Instead, a Management lecturer would recommend the course in Induction Week and give students a worksheet with instructions on how to access it. Interviews with students revealed that the course was not further mentioned in the regular subject classes. This situation shows a weakness in the design of the course. It was conceptualised as an independent learning tool—although subject lecturers were supposed to be more active in promoting the course- and no links to the regular study programme were provided. This design gave subject lecturers an easy option out. The effects of their lack of involvement and the lack of integration of the course into the subject curriculum are discussed below.

The course puts equal emphasis on literacy practices and text analysis. The module 'Avoiding Plagiarism', for instance, offers insights into assessment policies and the concept of intellectual property in Anglophone literacy, and presents scenarios of unintentional plagiarising. The first module, 'Academic Writing', starts with case studies which offer opportunities to recognise social practices of writing, for instance by highlighting 'gaps between students' and tutors' expectations' and 'issues of identity' (Lea 2004: 744). As an example, a synopsis of Case Study 1 is shown in Table 1.

The case study is accompanied by a number of questions and associated model answers which aim to raise students' critical awareness of mismatches between previous and expected literacy practices, the fact that lecturers' advice on writing might not be helpful, and the potential impact of such feedback on students' identity.

The texts presented in the online course are exemplars from expert and student writing from within the department, i.e. a journal article published by two Management lecturers, and essays by previous first-year students. In addition, students can access various forms of lecturers' feedback comments on student

Table 1 Synopsis of Case Study 1

Andrew experienced difficulties with selecting relevant information from the large literature; he took copious notes but did not manage to use them effectively to answer the essay question. He was disappointed when he read his tutor's feedback which contained comments such as 'no analysis' and 'no argument'. These comments were confusing for Andrew because at school where he had always achieved top marks for his writing he was never asked to provide an analysis or argument. He went to see his tutor who explained that Andrew had just cut and pasted quotations from his reading but failed to develop a proper argument. Andrew left the meeting with his confidence dented; he still did not understand what developing an argument meant and had no idea how to improve his mark in the next assignment

writing. The associated activities ensure that texts do not have a prescriptive function; instead, they enable students to discover principles and criteria of academic writing by themselves.

The online course was evaluated by (1) monitoring students' uptake, i.e. the number of 'log-ins', and (2) eliciting students' perceptions of the usefulness of the course and its components by questionnaire and follow-up interviews. The questionnaire was administered to a total of 358 students in 2007 and 2008; 10 students from each cohort were interviewed. The uptake data shows a steep decline of first log-ins and follow-up log-ins in the year 2008 when the introductory session had been dropped. In both cohorts, only a quarter of the students who had logged in once went back to the programme again. Data from the questionnaires and interviews helped to explain this uptake pattern. Respondents regarded the course as an 'add-on' that seemed far less relevant than their timetabled activities. As the course was not linked to the subject teaching and hardly acknowledged by the subject lecturers, it had low priority for the students. It can be assumed that weaker students, who would have needed literacy support most, used the course least, being already stretched by the regular coursework. Therefore, the course had limited impact, and it was evident that an approach which remains detached from the everyday practices of the discipline fails to acculturate students into it.

Concerning students' perceptions of the usefulness of the various components, an unexpected result emerged. 88 % of the 198 respondents ranked the text-focused components (in the order of student essays, lecturer comments, journal article) as most useful, while the case studies were regarded as useful by only 23 %. Other elements focusing on literacy practices received equally low ratings. This preference was explained in the interviews. The majority of interviewees commented that they had learned little from the case studies because they had come to university with an understanding of the issues presented in the case studies. This finding suggests that there may be less need for raising students' critical awareness of practices than expected.

As the detachment of the online course from the curriculum had led to low student participation, the second approach took the opposite route of full integration of literacy instruction into the subject teaching.

4.2 Approach 2: Embedded Literacy Instruction

In 2009/10, three subject lecturers including myself conducted an intervention in which reading and writing instruction was embedded into a first-year module of an undergraduate programme in Applied Linguistics. Sixty students were enrolled in this module. Four instructional methods were embedded into the curriculum: (1) Guided reading, (2) Explicit teaching of argumentation, (3) Explicit teaching of discourse features, and (4) Formative feedback. As Appendix 2 shows, the methods were linked to (e.g. preparatory reading, formative assessment), or integrated (explicit teaching of argumentation, discourse features) into the regular subject teaching to scaffold and develop reading and writing gradually throughout the term (see also Wingate et al. 2011). One of the objectives of this approach was to disseminate the evaluation results to lecturers in other disciplines and promote embedded literacy instruction for wider use.

Through its embedded nature, this approach was successful in involving all students in the programme. It was apparent from student feedback in the evaluation that the teaching of literacy by subject tutors enhanced students' engagement.

In the intervention, the lecturers used journal articles to demonstrate practices and norms within and beyond the discipline. For example, the references in a journal article were used to discuss how arguments are developed on the basis of evidence, and how intellectual property is acknowledged; hedges in the text were used to demonstrate the strive for caution and accuracy in academic knowledge building. Thus, this approach blended the focus on text and that on practices by using text analysis to demonstrate practices. In addition to the journal articles, samples of students' own writing were used for analysis in group sessions.

In addition to this 'from-text-to-practices' method, the intervention included individual lecturer–student feedback meetings where students had the opportunity to discuss their assignments and the comments/grade they had received, as well as to challenge 'dominant literacy practices' (Lillis 2006: 34). In these sessions the students were encouraged to discuss their experience with, and feelings about, writing at university. Twelve of the sixty feedback sessions were recorded.

The evaluation consisted of questionnaires, interviews and the comparison of the texts written by the students earlier in the term and the end-of term assignment. In addition, the recordings of the individual feedback sessions were analysed. 89 % of the 60 students found the instructional methods useful or very useful. The individual lecturer-student feedback sessions received the highest ranking (90 %), followed by the analysis of samples of their own writing (88.1 %). The analysis of journal articles was ranked much lower (55 %). Students' preference for working with student rather than expert texts had also emerged in the evaluation of Approach 1. This preference was explained in the interviews where some participants stated that student texts gave them a far more realistic picture of what was expected, while journal articles written by 'real academics' were perceived as 'daunting' or 'intimidating'. The results of the text analysis are not immediately

relevant to the argument in this chapter; however, they showed that the intervention had led to considerable improvements in the writing of the majority of students.

More interesting are the evaluation findings concerning the lecturer-student feedback sessions, as this method gave students the opportunity to voice unease with literacy practices. The recordings of these sessions, however, contained only two instances where students took what could be called a critical approach; both students expressed their dissatisfaction with having been taught quite different writing conventions at school. Otherwise, the recordings revealed students' eagerness to clarify conventions and learn more about the requirements of academic writing. The interview data showed that students had ranked lecturer-student feedback sessions above the other methods because they appreciated the individual attention and advice. There was no indication that students were keen to express critique. This finding suggests that novices' initial desire is to accommodate to the disciplinary conventions, and underlines the previous argument that novices are not ready to take a critical stance before they have gained a thorough understanding of the requirements and conventions of texts. The preliminary conclusion after the evaluation of Approach 2 was that making students aware of practices through texts is appropriate at the novice level, but expecting criticality is not.

Although the embedded approach was successful in terms of including and engaging all students in the Applied Linguistics programme, it was not successful in making an impact on other disciplines. The dissemination activities, involving academics from eight faculties, were met with reservations about the feasibility of this approach, particularly in view of the increased workload due to formative feedback and lecturer-student meetings. Only a few lecturers took up some of the instructional methods of the embedded approach.

Taking into account the findings from the first two approaches, the third approach saw a change of direction in the following aspects: (1) subject lecturers were to be involved at a level of 'collaboration' rather than 'co-operation' (Dudley-Evans and St John 1998), meaning that they would engage more than in the first approach, but not fully carry out the writing instruction like in the second approach; (2) there was no attempt to encourage students to be critical of literacy practices, and (3) only student texts were used for analysis, given the clear preference for student texts that emerged in the previous approaches.

4.3 Approach 3: Genre-Focused Writing Instruction

This approach was first developed for MA students in Applied Linguistics. The teaching and learning materials were created from a corpus compiled with texts from the two genres that students on this programme have to write, i.e. assignment (essay) and dissertation. The materials present these genres in their parts (e.g. Introduction, Literature Review) and help students to recognise and analyse the

'moves' (Swales 1990) occurring in these parts. Here, I give an example of the materials developed for teaching how to write a Literature Review.

For each part of a genre, six examples were chosen from the corpus. The first three examples were extracts from high achieving student assignments or dissertations, annotated with a commentary that explains typical features and strengths of this part. An example of a comment on a Literature Review would be 'Summarises key findings from relevant literature' with reference to the relevant text passage. Next, an extract from a high achieving assignment is offered without commentary, and students are invited to provide comments. Finally, two extracts from low achieving assignments annotated with a commentary are presented. An example of such an extract is shown in Appendix 3. This particular extract was included in the materials after an analysis of student work had revealed a tendency among students to reproduce literature rather than discussing it. As a result, students would sometimes copy entire lists of findings, hypotheses or taxonomies straight from textbooks. The example in Appendix 3 (see comments 4 and 5) shows how students are made aware of this problem.

The materials were presented and used in the teaching/learning cycle of (1) deconstruction, (2) joint construction and (3) independent construction, developed in the SFL-oriented genre-based literacy pedagogy (e.g. Martin 1999). In the deconstruction phase, students worked in groups on the extracts, discussing the features of Literature Reviews of high and low achieving assignments and summarising their findings and reflections in a note section. For the joint construction phase, one student in each group volunteered to have the Literature Review of his/her current assignment analysed and reworked by the group. In the independent construction phase, the students worked independently on their own writing and, on the basis of what they had learned in the previous phases, made changes if necessary.

The approach of genre-focused writing instruction is designed to be carried out collaboratively by subject lecturers and writing experts. As in the first approach, the subject lecturer collects the exemplar texts and provides additional information for the writing expert who prepares the materials. In addition, the subject lecturer is present during the deconstruction and joint construction phases to offer further advice and information on the textual practices highlighted in the materials. This level of involvement proved beneficial in the current example of the MA in Applied Linguistics. The fact that a subject lecturer conducted the workshops may have contributed to the high turnout of students (over 50 % per cent of all students on the programme attended although the workshops were not compulsory). The subject lecturer was repeatedly consulted on textual practices, and participated actively in the group discussions. It turned out that although no attempt to raise critical awareness was made in this approach, a few students did express a critical attitude towards certain literacy requirements. For instance, the commentary frequently highlighted the use of headings as an important structural element of academic writing. One student pointed out that he had never used headings in previous writing and felt 'straight-jacketed' by this requirement. The lecturer explained the value of headings for signposting the essay's argument, but

conceded that not every writer needed to use headings for signposting. The student has continued writing successful assignments without headings. This episode suggests that students do not need to be encouraged to be critical, but that the set-up (group analysis of text with lecturer available for discussion) may help to foster the expression of critique.

So far, six workshops with a total number of 82 participants have been conducted in the MA programme, in which several parts of the two genres were dealt with. The evaluation was carried out by audio recordings of the group discussions taking place in the deconstruction and joint construction phases, and by analysing the changes students made to their texts in the joint and independent construction phases. These changes were made on electronic versions of the texts and recorded through 'Track Changes'. An analysis of the changes made in students' own texts in phases 2 and 3 showed clear improvements. The recordings from the deconstruction phase revealed that the materials helped students to understand the relevant literacy requirements, as the following extracts from the group discussions on Literature Reviews (Appendix 3) shows:

> I think the ones that did better have commented on the literature and talked about the relevance to their subject. I think you'll probably find that the lower ones just described the literature without comment.

> If you look at the bad bits, there is some sort of consistency. They say no evaluation, no headings sometimes, unsupported generalisations, no relevance, no application.

Comparing the three approaches, it seems that genre-focused writing instruction is the most effective one in several respects. First, it involves subject lecturers to a degree that is feasible in terms of workload, and effective in terms of student engagement. It is also effective in terms of resources: once the materials are developed, they can be used with many cohorts of students. Another advantage of the approach is that it precisely targets student needs by teaching exactly those genres that students have to write, and by using student texts as exemplars. The approach can easily be applied to other disciplines, and I am currently collaborating with subject lecturers from Pharmacy, History and Biomedical Science to develop genre-based materials for these disciplines.

5 Conclusion

The aim of the writing project was to give students insights and opportunities for their acculturation into academic literacy, with the objectives to examine realistic levels of subject lecturer engagement in teaching literacy on the one hand, and useful ways of raising students' critical awareness of academic practices on the other hand. As a feasible way of involving subject lecturers has already been discussed in the previous section, my final point is concerned with acculturation, which in the view of Academic Literacies theorists not only involves students'

understanding of the literacy practices of their discipline and the wider academic context, but also their taking a critical stance towards them.

In all three approaches discussed in this chapter, students' main interest seemed to be in learning from texts, and to accommodate to the writing conventions of their discipline. The elements in the first two approaches that aimed at raising critical awareness or offered the chance to voice a critical attitude were not particularly successful, either because the students regarded the practice-focused elements as less relevant than the textual ones (Approach 1), or because they were not ready or willing to express critique (Approach 2). By contrast, in the third approach where no specific opportunities for developing or voicing critique of practices were provided, some students voiced criticism of writing conventions that they perceived as restrictive.

I cannot draw wider conclusions from this writing project, as the three approaches were situated in different contexts, and only a few methods with which acculturation was to be achieved were used. It is for instance difficult to compare the willingness to take a critical stance towards literacy practices of novice writers in undergraduate and postgraduate programmes, and it is not surprising that a critical approach was only taken by the postgraduate students in Approach 3, who, after all, are more mature and more confident having gained academic experience in their first degree. However, based on the insights I gained from the writing project, I wish to put forward a few preliminary conclusions.

First, it has become clear that the teaching of writing needs to be closely linked to the teaching of the subject. Subject lecturers play a crucial role in this teaching, as they are the ones who can acculturate students into the wider context of academic writing, for instance through the 'from-text-to-practices' method illustrated in Approach 2. Secondly, the findings from this project confirm the argument made earlier in this chapter that students need a firm understanding of the text and genre requirements in their discipline as a prerequisite for taking a critical approach to practices in the discipline and particularly in the wider context. Students may feel particularly uneasy or unable to critique wider issues such as university policies and related power relations when they are still trying to understand the conventions of their immediate context. What I have learned from this project is that the initial emphasis of writing instruction should not be on raising critical awareness, but on the features and requirements of texts and genres within the discipline. Text analysis led by subject tutors will relate to the wider context and eventually enable students to develop a critical perspective. From the findings of this project, this is certainly a route of acculturation into academic literacy that students want to follow.

Appendix 1: Outline of the Online Module 'Academic Writing'
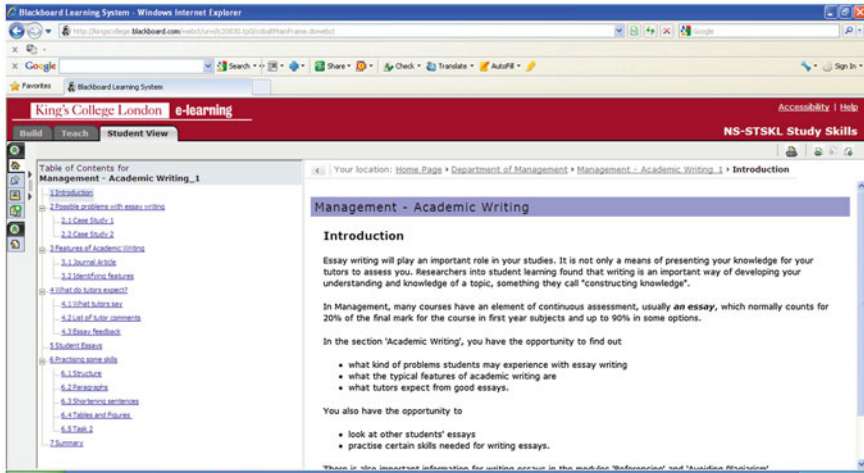
Appendix 2: The Five Methods of Embedded Writing Instruction

Method	Details	Timing
1. Guided reading	Students read journal articles; activities for learning to take notes, write summaries	Reading article in preparation for week 1/week 4
	Online submission of notes and summaries	
2. Explicit teaching of argumentation	Introduction of Toulmin model of argumentation	30-min seminar in induction week
	Students analyse arguments in journal articles	Week 3/20 min of classroom session
	Students analyse samples of their own writing	Week 11/20 min of classroom session
3. Explicit teaching of discourse features	Lecturer pointing out discourse features in journal articles	Week 3; week 4/20 min of classroom session
4. Formative feedback	Individual feedback on writing	Feedback on online submissions: week 1
	Feedback (1–3) to be used for final assignment due in week 12	Feedback on exploratory essay provided in week 7
		Feedback on essay in parallel module, provided in week 10

Appendix 3: Example from Genre-Focused Writing Materials

Extract from Literature Review in a low scoring assignment

- Review the analyses for the discussion sections in low scoring assignments given below.
- Summarise the ways in which these discussion sections differ from the four previous sections in high achieving assignments.

Example A. [1]	[1] This is a new section concerned with the classification of learning strategies. There is no heading to indicate the focus of this section
In terms of the taxonomies of language learning strategies, there are such a variety of learning strategies that numerous taxonomies have arisen (Oxford 1990; O'Malley and Chamot 1990) [2]. Oxford (1990: 38, 136) developed Strategy Inventory for Language Learning (SILL) which uses factor analysis to group strategies into six categories: [3]	
Memory-related strategies: learners link one L2 item or concept with another without necessarily involving deep understanding, e.g. key words, acronyms, sound similarities, imagery, rhyming, and reviewing in a structured way	[2] It is unclear how many taxonomies exist, and whether these authors commented on the variety, or whether they developed taxonomies
Cognitive strategies: learners manipulate language material in direct ways, e.g. reasoning, repetition, translation, analysing, note-taking, summarising and practicing	
Compensation strategies: learners make up for limited or missing knowledge such as circumlocution, guessing meanings from the context and using synonyms or gestures to convey meaning	[3] If there are so many taxonomies, it needs to be explained why the SILL is presented in detail
Metacognitive strategies: learners evaluate progress, plan for language tasks, consciously search for practising opportunities, pay attention to errors and monitor language production and comprehension	
Affective strategies: learners manage their own emotions, moods and motivation	
Social strategies: learners use social-mediating activities and interaction with others, such as cooperation, questions for clarification, conversations with native speakers, and exploring cultural and social norms [4]	[4] The list of six categories is taken directly from Oxford (1990). This list reflects a report rather than an analysis in which different taxonomies would be summarised, compared, and evaluated
An alternative taxonomy is developed by O'Malley and Chamot (1990: 46) who classify language learning strategies into the following categories: [5]	[5] Another list follows without comparison, evaluation and application to the context of the essay

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Are They Discussing in the Same Way? Interactional Metadiscourse in Turkish Writers' Texts

Erdem Akbas

Abstract A number of linguistic devices used by writers to reify interaction between themselves and their intended audiences. This obviously includes explicit use of particular stance and engagement markers in different contexts depending on the language or the cultural background of writers. For instance, a great deal of research reveals that the custom of Anglo-Saxon academic writing style puts an emphasis on the interactive nature of their texts. Other cultures and languages might represent distinct way of organising and embodying interaction in their texts. However, there are some contradictory views claiming that the nature of academic discourse is pretty much global (Widdowson 1979) or different cultural values are attached to the oveall academic discourse and its structures by different cultures (Kaplan 1966). Considering them in mind, an explatory study looking at writers from same cultural background was carried out. This small-scale study investigates interactional metadiscourse in the rhetorically forceful section of dissertations written by Turkish writers in Turkish and English. Corpora in each language were created by choosing a representative sample of two sets of ten discussion sections from MA dissertations in education, and each corpus was explored in terms of interpersonality using Hyland and Tse's (2004) framework. The analysis demonstrates that there were some similarities and statistically significant differences between the two corpora in terms of the employment of interactional metadiscourse. One of the most striking differences was the use of Self Mentions. That category was not found in the native Turkish students' texts. It seemed that native Turkish writers did not clearly point their authorial identity in order to produce a more objective discourse no matter how much their discussions were based on their subjective evaluations on the findings of their research. In contrast, Turkish writers of English enhanced their authorial involvement with the greater use of Self Mentions to highlight their personal intrusion and contribution to overall discourse. The differences were attributable to the language in which the

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students wrote, however, most of the pronounced similarities in the study were due the fact that the Turkish writers were following their native language and culture at some points even when they were writing in English. That confirms the idea claimed by Kaplan (1966) which is about the tendency of L2 student writer's trace of their cultural conventions and rhetorical strategies of their native tongue, and contradicts with Widdowson (1979).

1 Introduction

The use of writing in academia is not just producing texts in which novice or expert researchers can attempt to convey what they have done in their research, but is also a way of transferring interpersonal relations between writers and readers. To do this, writers use appropriate devices throughout their texts to express clearly what they want to deliver. Such devices have been labelled differently by different researchers, for example *Gambits* by Keller (1979), *Signalling* by Meyer et al. (1980), *Metatalk* by Schiffrin (1980), and *Discourse Markers* by Schiffrin (1987), Redeker (1990) and McCarthy (1991). One of the recent labels used by a range of researchers is *Metadiscourse* (Williams 1981; Van de Kopple 1985; Crismore 1989; Hyland 1998, 2005; Hyland and Tse 2004, and others). Abdollahzadeh (2011) defined metadiscourse as a 'social engagement'. This engagement occurs when writers considers what the reader needs to know from their points of view. In other words, metadiscourse is based on how writers insert themselves into what they produce in terms of their attitudes towards their propositions and their readers, as well as the textual guidance they provide for the readers for them to gain a global comprehension.

Hyland and Tse (2004) produced a very comprehensive framework by adapting Thompson and Thetela's (1995) and Thompson's (2001) studies and clearly distinguishing between interactive and interactional types of metadiscourse. In addition, they focused on interaction using the stance and engagement characteristics of academic writing. Such an integrated and well-rounded framework could be in accordance with the purpose of my study.

This framework explained metadiscourse in terms of interpersonality as writers considering readers' knowledge and needs. By discussing interpersonal issues, e.g. attitude, appraisal, evaluation, stance and so on, as metadiscourse elements, they accelerated the notion of subjectivity in academic discourse. The interpersonal model of metadiscourse comprises two main types: the interactive and the interactional. The former follows a subjective route with the writer's selections of guiding the reader through the text with transitions, endophoric markers, frame markers, evidentials and code glosses. It is generally argued that these resources

are similar to what Halliday (1994) called textual metafunction. On the other hand, the interactional category is defined as alerting readers to what viewpoints the writers have towards their propositions and readers. In other words, the writer's perspective and the relationship between writer and reader constitute the main idea of this categorisation. Additionally, interactional resources are employed to involve readers in the texts to embody interaction between readers and texts and indirectly between writers and readers.

It is generally accepted that transferring L1 writing negatively into L2 writing has always been an issue for Contrastive Rhetoric (CR) studies since Kaplan (1966). As suggested above, it is very clear that L2 student writers tend to use the rhetorical strategies of their native language. In my study, I investigated the extent of the closeness between what Turkish writers of English and Turkish writers produce in terms of the employment of interactional metadiscourse. To make it clear, the following question has been explored:

> Is there any significant difference between Turkish writers of Turkish and of English in terms of interactional metadiscourse in the discussion sections of MA dissertations?

This study will explore how similar or different Turkish writers of Turkish and of English are in employing devices in order that the intended readers (mostly dissertation markers in this context) can better understand their desired interpretations in the discussion sections of MA dissertations, that is rich in terms of stance markers. It is the first study exploring Turkish student writers' use of metadiscourse in this way. Additionally, as there is not much information about metadiscourse in Turkish, I hope that this study will attract considerable attention to important features of Turkish and show that the interpersonal model (Hyland and Tse 2004) can serve as a working model in Turkish as well.

2 Contrastive Rhetoric and Metadiscourse

It is a widespread belief that culture has a considerable impact on the interaction which people have with others. It is something which is not just effective in their daily lives but it also shapes what they write and how they write. In this sense, CR studies use culture to explain the differences across languages. CR has received great attention in L2 writing research since Kaplan's (1966) study on cultural thought patterns. For instance, Hinds (1987) suggested that English is a language in which the writer is responsible for an effective communication by filling the gaps for intended readers and making sure that all the points are clearly offered, whereas Japanese readers are mostly given less help without any clear explanation as it is the reader's responsibility in Japanese.

For CR researchers, metadiscourse has been one of the most explored notions (Hyland 2005). Most of the research undertaken so far has compared rhetorical patterns of a specific language to those in English, and this becomes highly important for L2 writers of English to adapt themselves to the way that they are

supposed to show their stances and guide their readers in a similar way to that which native writers and experts do in their specific community.

There have only been three main CR studies in the Turkish language looking at writers' rhetorical choices: Enginarlar's (1990) which compared Turkish and English student essays written by Turkish students; Oktar's (1991) which explored the use of coordination and subordination by English and non-English major freshmen students in their essays; and Erduyan's (2004) which looked at the topical structure development of Turkish (monolingual-bilingual) and American students (monolingual only). There is very little known about Turkish writers and the rhetorical strategies they use. For instance, Fidan (2002) suggested that Turkish (L1) writers tended to use first person plural pronouns more when producing research articles in Turkish even though most of the data consisted of single-authored articles. Basal (2006) stated that the Turkish writers of English in his study tended to refer to themselves explicitly by using 'I' approximately four times less than native English researchers in his single-authored article-corpus. Interestingly, Turkish writers' use of 'we' is doubled when compared with writers whose first language is not Turkish. Despite the fact that he did not explain why Turkish writers tended to use 'we' so much, Basal's (2006) finding becomes more striking in that the use of the inclusive 'we' (80 % of total 'we') by Turkish writers suggested that Turkish writers reinforce their presence within their articles even more than explicitly referring to themselves by using first person singular pronoun 'I'. This finding is quite interesting and supports what Fidan (2002) found in her comparative study.

In a recent study of CR in Turkish, Can (2006) investigated metadiscourse in freshmen university students' argumentative essays, and integrated CR and metadiscourse in his study for the first time in a Turkish academic context. He found that essays written by bilingual Turkish students in Turkish and in English were closer to monolingual American students in terms of metadiscourse than to monolingual Turkish students. However, the resources differed in many ways. For instance, the use of first person pronouns in the monolingual Turkish students' essays was five times more than in the monolingual American students' essays and accordingly, 'we' was used by bilingual Turkish students twice as frequently as by American students. This also supports what Fidan (2002) and Basal (2006) suggested. This study, therefore, gains importance as I shall be examining a very crucial part of MA dissertations (the discussion) of Turkish writers where the clear stance of writers should be displayed for a better dialogic engagement between writers and readers, and investigating whether they are still discussing in the same way.

3 Methodology of the Study

For the analysis, ten discussion sections from MA dissertations in Turkish and ten in English written by Turkish students were selected in the field of Education. The dissertations were retrieved from the Turkish National Thesis Centre

(http://tez2.yok.gov.tr/). The number of words in the Turkish corpus (TC) was 9,361 whereas the English corpus (EC) had 19,811 words. In order to investigate how differently or similarly Turkish student writers employed interactional meta-discourse resources while discussing their research findings, quantitative and qualitative analyses were carried out. The reason why I combined these two research methods is related to identifying small but prominent similarities and differences between writers. Moreover, it is practical to use a quantitative research method in metadiscourse studies as it makes it easier to compare the results with the findings of other researchers. For this purpose, Wordsmith Tools (5.0) was used to identify provisional cases of metadiscourse resources in the English texts. Then, the context of each case was studied closely to ensure that they were functioning as metadiscourse. On the other hand, as metadiscourse is a relatively new concept in Turkish, the Turkish texts were analysed manually and decisions were made about which expressions had metadiscourse functions in their contexts. After detecting the resources in the two sub-corpora, I started a qualitative analysis in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of 'why' and 'how' in the whole corpus.

4 Findings and Discussion

My investigation showed that a range of metadiscourse resources were employed within the discussions of Turkish writers' texts. Table 1 provides figures for the two groups of writers who were different in the sense of the language they wrote in but who had the same culture and the same L1. It is easily noticeable that the difference between the text lengths of two groups is quite significant.

Table 1 shows that although the Turkish writers of English produced longer discussion sections, it was discovered that the density of metadiscourse resources—when mathematically standardised as per 100 words—identified was less than that of the Turkish writers.

The analysis of Turkish writers of Turkish and of English demonstrated that the latter were less prone to using metadiscourse resources in their discussion sections in comparison with the former. Thus, in the corpora of twenty discussion sections, the number of resources was 744 in the TC, which represented 7.72 % of the texts, while in the corpus of Turkish writers of English, 1,190 occurrences constituted 6.01 % of their discussion sections.

Table 1 Corpus and metadiscourse resources

Corpus	Number of texts	Number of words	Interactional metadiscourse (per 100 words)
TC	10	9,631	7.23
EC	10	19,811	6.01

Table 2 Number of occurrences of interactional metadiscourse in discussion sections

Metadiscourse category	Turkish (per 100 words)	English (per 100 words)	Chi square tests
Hedges	3.01	2.55	0.381
Boosters	1.60	0.76	2.99[a]
Attitude markers	2.66	2.32	0.232
Engagement markers	0.45	0.26	0.508[a]
Self-mentions	–	0.12	1.2[a]

Critical Level: 0.384 at .05 level
[a] Significant

   Table 2 displays the occurrences in the data and the most noticeable difference
in the five categories is the fact that the TC writers used a significantly higher
number of boosters in their discussions. Interestingly, there was no explicit ref-
erence to themselves in the TC (except for a few occurrences of the inclusive 'we'
which were treated as engagement markers in this study) compared with 24
incidences of first person pronouns in the EC. Overall, as the differences are
statistically insignificant, Turkish student writers preferred a style in which stance
was displayed through relatively high use of hedges and attitude markers to
indicate views, judgements or opinions on what they were conveying rather than to
increase the force of their propositions.

4.1 Hedges

Analysis of the TC and EC showed that considerable amount of hedging resources
was employed by Turkish writers. The most important difference between the two
groups of writers in terms of using hedging devices is over the linguistic forms of
these strategies. When seeking acceptance for their claims, L2 writers employed
epistemic modals (*see* Table 3) to reduce the force and validity of their proposi-
tions, whereas L1 writers represented the notion of hedging with a particular suffix
(-ebilir/-abilir) which gives possibility and probability meanings to the main verb
in Turkish. This specific suffix was used 79 times (27.2 % of all hedges in TC) to
weaken their commitment towards the propositional content of what they were
stating.

Table 3 Number of modals counted as 'Hedge' in English corpus

Forms of Hedge	Occurrence (Number of texts)	% of total Hedges
Can	60 (10)	11.83
Might	42 (6)	8.28
May	38 (8)	7.49
Could	32 (8)	6.31
Would	20 (9)	3.94

There has been a very long debate over whether 'can' is a proper hedging resource or not. The use of 'may' and 'can' is about the possibility of what is being said in terms of being a hedge, although the latter is mostly used to indicate the theoretical possibility of something. That is why most researchers (Leech 1971; Butler 1990) have not considered 'can' as an epistemic modal (except for negative and interrogative versions) indicating possibility. Hyland (1998) defined epistemic modality as the indication of a writer's confidence towards the validity of what is being said. If 'can' is not considered as an epistemic modal, this means that it is really difficult to assume that it is an appropriate strategy in a hedging system. Therefore, it might be argued that 'can' is a kind of weak hedging device.Turning back to the analysis of the current data, it is very important to discuss the reasons for the high employment of 'can' as a hedging strategy by L2 writers. Personally, I might link this phenomenon to the teaching of modality to Turkish students in Turkey. The modals of 'may', 'might', 'can' and 'could' are represented by the same suffix in Turkish, and it is the 'ability' suffix of that language. When teachers of English are explaining the notion of ability and possibility in English, they tend to refer to Turkish and give examples using '-ebilir/-abilir' by relating 'can' the most to that device. So, when students are asked to explain what the equivalent of '-ebilir/abilir' is in English, it is very probable that they will reply 'can'. This is a reasonable explanation why Turkish students of English employ that weakest hedging device the most. Let us consider some examples of modals and of '-ebilir/-abilir' in which the writers were interpreting their results and wanted to mark the information given as less than certain:

> *(S1).* 'Video case studies *can* bridge the gap of pre-service teachers' lack of experience ….'
>> *(S2).* 'This *might* be an explanation for the reason ….'
>> *(S3).* 'This finding *may* well be an indication of the importance ….'
>> *(S4).* 'Bunun nedeni olarak araştırmaların yapıldığı bölgelerin farklılığı *gösterilebilir*.'
>> *(S5).* 'Bu araştırma sonucunda yaratıcı düşünme becerileri desteklenerek işlenen Sosyal Bilgiler dersi öğrencilerin akademik başarılarını artırmada etkili olduğu *söylenebilir.*'

As well as the high employment of hedging modals in English (more than 38 % of all hedging), the L2 writers usually decreased their responsibility for the truth to obtain the approval of the readers by employing indefinite adverbs/adjectives, possibility and probability adverbs/adjectives as shown below:

> *(S6).* 'It is *possible* to let students develop these definitions ….'
>> *(S7).* 'The second interpretation, which is *more likely* than the first one, shows us the submerged part of the iceberg, *perhaps* novice teachers are better ….'

However, that is not the case in the TC. Because the students tended to use the hedging suffix in Turkish, the rest of their hedging strategies were limited. This is confirmed by the results of the analysis as there was very low frequency of full verb, and an indefinite degree and frequency of adverb/adjective hedging strategies. Therefore, very few occurrences were found in the TC: typical examples are as follows:

(S9). 'Basketbol temel becerilerinin öğretiminde yeni programda yer alan kazanımlar doğrultusunda görsel materyallerin kullanılabileceği *önerilmektedir.*'

(S11). '… görsel materyaller öğrencilerin görsel olarak hareketi zihinlerinde resmetmelerinde *büyük ölçüde* kolaylık sağladığı tespit edilmiştir.'

Interestingly, the only occurrence of the use of an adverb to convey the degree of probability in the L1 corpus was over the researcher's non-conclusive opinion about how students are able to answer without an error. Example (S12) constitutes a very good example of how a writer's degree of doubt is clearly expressed:

(S12). 'Böylelikle tam olarak soruda geçen değişkenlerin hangi anlam yüklenerek sorulduğunu bilen öğrenci ona göre **belki de** yanılgıya düşmeden cevabı doğru yanıtlayacaktır.'

The number of approximate adverbs was equally limited in the texts of both groups of writers. Turkish writers tended not to employ such devices much when making any quantification or offering a statement which was not absolute, but approximate. The very rare examples of how the writers "use an acceptable degree of imprecision to specify the accuracy with which information is presented" are illustrated as follows (Hyland 1998: 140):

(S13). 'Kırsal kesimde bulunan öğrencilerle kentte bulunan ögrencilerin bu bitkileri tanıma yüzdeleri *hemen hemen* aynıdır.'

Apart from the hedging strategies described above, other forms of hedges were detected, such as clausal elements (for example, 'if'-clauses, '-se/sa' in Turkish) qualifying commitment to the opinions of others when comparing their own results with those of other studies, and nouns indicating tentativeness (for example, belief, tendency, indication, hypothesis, possibility; and their Turkish equivalents, except for 'belief'). However, it can be presumed that the L1 corpus is not simply less varied, although the employment of hedging devices is more frequent in the sense of expressing uncertainty and tentativeness. This frequent use of hedging resources might result in less booster use, which is confirmed by the results of boosters and will be discussed next. Turning back to Table 2, the number of resources expressing higher level of certainty, in contrast to hedging resources, is found to have statistically significant difference across two groups.

4.2 Boosters

Although there were more incidences of boosters in the TC, the Turkish native writers tended to show the fullness of their commitment by employing fewer varied explicit devices than the EC writers. Linguistically, when producing in English, Turkish writers used verbs, adverbs, a limited quantity of adjectives, phrasal elements ('the fact that', 'the best') and so on. However in the TC, it was found that the writers employed specific verbs (most of which were the translated versions of Hyland's (2005) booster category) with a particular suffix (-mıştır/-miştir) to signal

their confidence over a statement which they had produced. The use of verbs to reinforce the truth of a proposition can be exemplified as follows with similar examples from the corpora:

(S14). 'Öğrencilerin araştırma öncesindeki ve sonrasindaki basketbol temel becerileri uygulamalarında anlamlı düzeyde farklılık *bulunmuştur*.'
(S15). 'Sontest puanlarında anlamlı bir farkın gözlenmesi, ingilizce dersi "hava durumu, yiyecek ve içecekler" konularının öğretiminde drama yöntemi ağırlıklı öğretimin etkili olduğunu *göstermiştir*.'
(S16). 'Moreover, the results *showed* that the emotional stability of the male instructors were higher than that of females.'
(S17). 'Also, the results of the qualitative data *revealed* that all the participating teachers would support the methodology ….'

Some of the boosters employed by the L2 writers in their discussions had the function of strengthening the main verb or the value given by the writers, which was not found in the other corpus. The occurrences given below are the best representatives of that group in the EC:

(S18). '… the number of procedural questions asked by novice and experienced participants was *exactly* the same.'
 (S20). 'This *for sure* helps to increase the participation and speech production.'

The strategy of showing their confidence in their assertion by employing an intensifying expression (such as 'the most important', 'the biggest difference') was very popular (around 20 % of all boosters) in the EC texts. In contrast, it very seldom occurred in Turkish texts (0.02 of all boosters). In other words, this also confirms that the boosters in the Turkish native writers' discussion sections were less varied. Therefore, it is interesting to note that although the number of boosters (160 times in the TC and 152 times in the EC) in both groups were nearly equal, when they wanted to express certainty or emphasis, the TC writers tended to use a very limited types of boosters more frequently than the EC writers, and conversely the EC writers employed a more varied types of boosters less frequently.

4.3 Attitude Markers

Since Crismore and Farnworth (1990) showed the personal view in scientific writing, and academic writing began to be considered from a very different perspective: the Writer-Reader perspective. In other words, the producer of a scientific text has a type of relationship with reader through the text. This idea supports engagement and interaction in academic writing. As the writers of academic texts have certain attitudes (affection, appreciation, judgement) towards their readers and the propositions which they are writing, it is not surprising that the attitudes of writers influence the emotions, thoughts and behaviours of others with whom the writers are interacting. Thus, it is clear that attitudes are one of the main sources for interaction in academic writing. There are many linguistic ways for writers to

convey their attitudes. Hyland (2005) noted that attitudes are mostly and explicitly delivered by the use of attitude verbs, sentence adverbs and adjectives. Therefore, I limited attitude markers in my data to these three most-frequently used ways of expressing attitudes towards the research itself or towards the readers.

After the prominently high number of hedging resources and the lesser use of boosters discussed above, in the comparison of attitude markers between TC and EC, it was found that the Turkish writers tended to display their affective attitude by employing considerably more explicit markers. Both groups of writers used attitude markers more than boosters but less than hedges to share their claims with the readers. The number of attitude markers in the TC (2.66 per 100 words) was slightly higher than the EC (2.32 per 100 words). The most striking similarity between the two groups is the use of attitude markers for the writers' own findings. Dueñas (2010) referred to such markers as ROA (research-oriented attitude) because writers were evaluating some aspects of their own research (such as findings or methods). The examples given below demonstrate similar ways of presenting their reaction towards what they had found.

> (S21). 'Bu durum şaşırtıcı olmamakla birlikte beklenen bir sonuçtur.'
> (S22). 'These results were significant since they highlight the concept of awareness in classrooms…'

The student writers also deployed attitude markers when they were comparing their findings and results with those of other researchers. It is interesting to note that the incidences were mostly in reference to studies which had similar results and not contradictory ones. This means that the writers tended to find results of other studies to confirm what they had found in their own contexts and to display that they had a consistent result with others. However, this tendency was more common in the EC, with a range of explicit structures (*see* Table 4).

> (S23). 'Bu sonuç, Umay (2003), Baki ve Kartal (2002) gibi çalışmalardan elde edilen sonuçlarla *paraleldir*.'
> (S24). 'Bu durum Öztürk (1997), Aynal (1989), Susüzer (2006), Üstündağ (1988), ve Galen ve Hendy (1972)'in bulgularıyla da *desteklenmektedir*.'
> (S25). 'This is *similar* to the findings of Rahim (1986) and McIntry (1997).'

There was only one occurrence per corpus in which the writers showed that there was inconsistency between their results and those of another researcher, although these particular student writers also took advantage of confirming their results by reference to similar studies. As a result, one of the main functions of the Turkish writers' use of attitude markers in their discussion sections was to show explicit links to the reader about how to comprehend their judgements on their

Table 4 The three most-preferred attitude markers for supporting hypotheses/interpretations

Attitude markers	Example	Total hits
Support	This particular finding is supported	10
Compatible with	This is compatible with the studies	8
Consistent with	This finding is consistent with	5

findings and to demonstrate consistency with other similar studies. It is worth mentioning that there was no occurrence of 'stylistic disjuncts' in either corpus (Blagojevic 2004: 65). The absence of adverbs or adverbial clauses in the text of the Turkish students in order to convey to readers what kind of judgement they had towards their propositional statements was something of an unknown, since only specific sections of dissertations were included in the study. Nevertheless, it is clear that both groups of writers maintained the interaction in their discussion sections with a high proportion of attitude markers, especially when they were accounting for their results.

4.4 Engagement Markers

As writers know that readers have the opportunity of rejecting what they claim, it is of great importance to anticipate the readers' reactions. In this sense, another way of interacting with the reader by building solidarity is the explicit use of engagement markers. The most interesting finding in this study was the greater use of the inclusive 'we' in the Turkish writers' texts. All the 'we'-based pronouns were treated as inclusive 'we' as the texts were single-authored academic texts. In other words, no exclusive 'we' was detected. The inclusive 'we' in the Turkish texts (most of them were suffix forms of 'we') constituted 50 % of all engagement markers, whereas the Turkish writers employed the inclusive 'we' as only 20.2 % of all engagement markers in the English versions of the discussions sections. Some examples of this from the two corpora are illustrated below:

(S26). 'Uygulanan akademik başarı testi sonuçlarına göre şunları *söyleyebiliriz*:'
(S27). 'First of all, *we* have to compare the means of post test results ….'
(S28). 'This finding leads *us* to two possible interpretations.'

Although a few occurrences of reader pronoun 'you' were detected in the English texts, there was no effort by the Turkish native student writers to engage their readers by employing that explicit way of addressing readers. It was also found that there were no rhetorical questions in either corpus used as a means of putting the readers actively into the writers' arguments. However, it was obvious that the Turkish writers drew their readers into the text by calling them explicitly and by employing the inclusive 'we' as the most preferred way of doing that, although they also used directives such as '*See* Table 1', which are structures directing readers to undertake an action (for example, 'Unutulmamalıdır ki' ('it should be remembered that'), 'it should be noted that', and so on), and very rare use of personal asides (*see* Table 5).

In terms of the modals expressing obligation, one striking aspect of both groups was the representation of the obligation modals 'must, should, have/has to' in the Turkish texts. The Turkish native writers used a particular suffix (-meli/-malı) to convey the writer's view of the extent to which the propositions might be considered as an obligation and readers might be directed to take some action. Except for a few

Table 5 The most preferred forms of engagement markers

Turkish texts		English texts	
Forms	% of Engagements	Forms	% of Engagements
1. Inclusive 'we' (biz,-dIk, -miz)	50	1. Inclusive 'we' (we, our, us)	20.22
2. Imperatives	19.21	2. It is 'adjective' to	14.49
3. Directives (emphatic purpose: e.g. Unutulmamalıdır ki)	12.62	3. Imperatives	13.42

incidences of 'should' as an expression providing advice or making suggestions, Turkish writers of English mainly preferred using 'should' as a modal of obligation compared with the very rarely used 'must' (three times) and 'have/has to' (also three times). However, the frequency and intensity of these modals by which writers wanted the readers to consider his/her propositions as an obligation was quite low, as the number of words in the EC was more than double that in the TC.

4.5 Self-Mentions

Dahl (2009) established that writers have three main roles: researcher, arguer and writer. Following her categorisation, Table 6 shows the rhetorical roles and explicit references of the Turkish writers in their texts by employing 'I'. Although all the uses of 'we' were treated as engagement markers in the single-authored discussion sections of the students' dissertations, as discussed above, the argument of Tessuto (2008) about the exclusive 'we' was considered. As the writer suggested, the incidences of 'we' in similar circumstances to those of 'I' within these single-authored texts were reinvestigated and I found that there were one instance of 'we' pretending as 'I' in Turkish texts. However, as it is not significant, it was excluded from the analysis of self-mentions here. As has been seen, it was surprising that there was no instance of 'I' in the Turkish texts. All the personal roles of the writers were conveyed by passive forms, which were less detected in the English corpus. Hyland (2005) argued that it is a matter of the writers' choice whether they decide to be present or absent in their texts. Having no occurrence of an explicit reference by the Turkish writers to themselves shows that they preferred to be more objective and distant by employing impersonal and implicit author references by the use of passive structures.

It is worth noting that although incidences of 'I' as the writer by using discourse verbs ('summarise', 'explain') were detected, passive structures were also predominantly used in the English texts in places where writers wanted to inform that they were accomplishing any of these actions by hiding their presence.

There were no instances of the writers in English displaying their personal feelings or attitudes towards their propositions by employing explicit author

Table 6 Explicit references of writers to themselves

Corpus	'I' as the researcher	'I' as the arguer	'I' as the writer
Turkish	–	–	–
English	14 (58.33 % of all)	8 (33.33 % of all)	2 (8.33 % of all)

references (such as 'I hope', 'I believe' and so on). In other words, it is really difficult to talk separately about the use of self-mentions and attitude markers in the same sentences in corpora. The examples given below are obviously some of the most visible instances of authorial presence in the discussion sections of Turkish writers of English.

> *(S29).* 'According to the feedback received, *I* had no opportunity to prepare preparative messages without such feedback from *my* colleagues.'
> *(S30).* 'These roles are an inevitable result of the lesson pattern that *I* have concluded.'

5 Conclusion

This study reveals that Turkish writers used more instances of metadiscourse when writing in Turkish than when writing in English. It was clearly seen that hedges and attitude markers were dominantly used in their discussion sections. Nevertheless, the differences between the use of boosters and self-mentions were striking. For instance, although more varied types of booster were employed by the EC writers, the TC writers used a higher number of boosters with less variation when expressing their assessment of the truths and emphasis. On the other hand, the use of first person singular pronouns (I, me, my) to point to the presence of the writer was not identified in the Turkish discussion sections. Further investigation of other parts of MA dissertations is needed to confirm that native Turkish student writers do not explicitly refer to the actions done by themselves rather than employing passive forms. High certainty avoidance and not referring to themselves so explicitly might be considered as one the main features of Turkish student academic writing.

Both groups of writers attached value and judgement of what they felt towards the propositions they were conveying, and similar use of attitude markers was found in the both corpora. However, the results showed that the TC writers were slightly more concerned with expressing attitudinal meanings about the findings of their research, whereas the EC writers tended to employ attitude markers when supporting their findings and research by comparison with previous research. This remarkable tendency could be explained by the cultural aspects of Turkish academic writing. I believe that texts of this kind would have more different examples of engagement markers because discussion sections are one of the most important parts of a dissertation requiring the building of a kind of relationship with readers to convince them to accept the writers' propositions and argument. Therefore,

more research could be carried out with a larger data base in order to find how Turkish writers engage with readers in their dissertations.

The Turkish writers of English tended to employ fewer metadiscourse resources. There could be many reasons for this (the dilemma of writing in a different language, the effect of mother tongue and culture). However, the reason why the Turkish writers of English employed fewer resources might be explained by the higher number of words they used within a sentence. They tended to construct very long sentences by employing clauses one after another. It seems that the longer the sentences were, the less metadiscourse was employed in the EC in relation to the standardisation of frequency as per 100 words. Therefore, it would be profitable to talk about the ways of sentence construction in Turkish and in English, as Turkish sentences might be produced with comparatively fewer words than English. If this is the case, it should be highlighted in teaching L2 writing classes in Turkey. Some of the points that could be drawn from this small-scale study are as follows:

First, Turkish student writers are aware of what academic writing requires in terms of attracting their readers' attention to accept their ideas by employing appropriate hedging devices. Second, the balance between hedging and boosters is believed to be very crucial as the former is used to soften premises and the latter are used to express certainty. However, in the Turkish students' writing, it was found that the balance established between hedging and attitude markers resulted in less authoritative and more tentative, but not too impersonal, writing. In addition to the points which have been mentioned, there is much evidence from both groups of the writer's preference for inviting readers into the text by means of 'we'-based pronouns to highlight the solidarity which they are attempting to establish. However, the differences between the corpora might be attributed to cultural aspects of academic writing, and to explore this possibility, a larger sample of data from Turkish and from English natives is strongly needed to confirm and develop what has been found in this study. There was some evidence indicating that Turkish writers of English were still following the cultural rhetorical patterns of the Turkish language even though they were producing in a different language. To find out the effect of the English language on the writing of Turkish students, their texts could be included in a comparative study with English students' texts.

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Is the Medical Profession in Spain Living the Culture of 'Google it'?

Isabel Herrando-Rodrigo

Abstract Research Articles are the outcome of a complex process of research and publication. Their content and linguistic conventions are fixed and field related. These features enable specialised readers, who may urge to know about medical issues, to understand what is said in these specialised texts. However, non-specialised readers turn then to the accessibility of the World Wide Web in search for understandable medical information.

The present qualitative study inspired by previous linguistic ethnomethological pieces of research (Flowerdew 2001; Mur Dueñas 2007a; Pérez-Llantada 2009; Burgess and Ivanič 2010), has directly turned to informants who deal with the potential consequences of reading medical information on the Internet. Thus, this study shows the results of a piece of research that contrasts how 110 Spanish medical consultants and 56 Spanish medical undergraduates—who have successfully completed their practicum training at hospitals—perceive the potential patients' overestimation of medical information available on the Internet and written in English.

This study has found out that medical undergraduates are more concerned than medical consultants with this 'overestimation phenomenon' of medical popularizations published on the Internet and its potential consequences on patients' (mis)interpretation of their condition. Moreover, whereas students seem to despise this way of disseminating medical information among lay readers, senior practitioners justify and understand the self-access to medical knowledge published in English and in a simplified version. Taken together, these findings suggest that Spanish consultants who have more working experience show sympathy towards patients reading medical popularizations. Physicians also admit to eagering patients to turn to specialised web sites in order to read further. The main reason seems to be that, in their view, an increasing number of patients are capable of inferring necessary and reliable information from English popularization, thus

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compensating for the ever diminishing amount of time doctors can devote to their patients in their medical appointments. All in all, it could be concluded that the lay readership of medical literature demands new ways and new genres to disseminate medical knowledge. In this sense, medical popularizations published on the Internet and written in English seem to be gaining prestige and be trusted as repositories of reliable and demanded information.

Keywords Ethnomethodology · Medical knowledge dissemination · Internet · Spanish medical profession

1 Introduction

We all assume that the academia is considered to be conquered by the English language (Swales 1997; Tardy 2004; Fairclough 2006). More specifically, insightful research lines (Ferguson 2007; Burgess and Cargill 2008; Hyland 2009) are studying in depth the situation of the English language as the international code for knowledge exchange and therefore its later access and publication. A main concern in this field of research is the difficulties that not only non-native researchers but also native researchers and speakers have when transferring their scientific results into academic papers for its publications. This is very well known as *English for Academic Purposes* (EAP) or more accurately defined as *English for Research Publication Purposes* (ERPP). Thus, Spanish lay readers face two main difficulties when reading medical research papers (hereafter Med-RAs) written in English. On one hand reading on a foreign language and on the other hand, reading scientific knowledge packaged in a highly conventional way in order to fit the demands of the "publishing market" nowadays extremely needed not only for academic prestige but also for professional promotional demands.

Nowadays, nobody denies the leading role of the English language as regards academic scientific knowledge dissemination. Academics from very different disciplines and nationalities (see for instance Bosch et al. 2000, 2002; Hewings 2002; Hyland 2002) state that more than ever, English plays the communicative role that Arab, Greek or Latin played centuries ago as languages of science. The globalization of the scientific activity, based on the use of English as vehicle of communication and the use of new technologies such as the World Wide Web, facilitates access to the potential academic audience from the same or related disciplines. This piece of study aims to observe if this combination of English as the *international language of science* and the accessibility of newly published scientific information on the Internet may have provoked a growing interest in medical knowledge among lay readers who do not speak English as a first language. In addition, this chapter also aims to reflect about the potentially conceived as "dangerous combination" of Spanish patients reading medical information written in English and the fact that this medical knowledge has been adapted for a

lay Internet audience with apparent no professional supervision (hereafter referred as Med-E-Pops; medical popularizations published on the Internet—medical electronic popularizations).

Thus, to fulfil these objectives, I first develop in this introduction the point of departure and inspiration of the present study. Then I move to reflect on one of the reasons why Spanish lay readership may be incapable of reading Med-RAs and finally I will comment on some cross-cultural traces in order to turn to the following methodological sections which also gather some theoretical traces of the ethnomethodologic approach adopted in this study.

While writing my MA thesis (Herrando Rodrigo 2010) I observed that doctors were really concerned with an apparently threatening issue in their everyday working activity: Patients trying to read academic research papers written in English and available on Internet or, even worse, reading and therefore believing whatever they simply 'googled'. In that piece of research I carried out a contrastive study of several metadiscourse categories in two different corpora. Both corpora dealt with the study of hipospadias—urological male birth malformation—in the last 25 years. Corpus A comprised 20 electronic popularizations published in English on the Internet and corpus B comprised 20 research articles published in specialised journals. To gather my corpora, a preliminary ethnographic study was carried out at the two main hospitals' urology departments in Zaragoza (Spain): *Hospital Clínico Universitario "Lozano Blesa"* and *Hospital Universitario "Miguel Servet"*. In several interviews with my senior practitioner informants, an extra linguistic issue came into light. That study revealed a growing concern on doctors' behalf for the kind of literature patients usually read on the Internet. On one hand those texts were quite often read in English because patients believed that international papers published in English were more likely to contain newly discovered aspects of the issue they wanted to know about. Nonetheless, patients too often overestimated these pieces of information and those potential medical contents tended to provoke confusion and misunderstandings among patients. To my surprise, practitioners affirmed to recommend their patients certain webs that publish reliable medical popularizations written in English.

Hence, drawing on the experiences and data of my MA (Herrando 2010) I decided to conduct further ethnomethodologic research to contribute with empirical data to the hypothesis that the combination of Spanish lay readers plus English popularizations published on the Internet is a threatening and dangerous combination for medical professionals' everyday work.

We should also take into account that the process of adopting English as a *lingua franca* and its implications regarding a cross-cultural angle in academic genres has been the perspective adopted in the study of research articles (Moreno 1997, 2004; Flowerdew 2002; Martínez 2005; Mur Dueñas 2007a, b, 2010a, b; Carciu 2009), abstracts (Burgess 2002; Martín Martín 2002, 2003; Salager-Meyer et al. 2003; Lorés Sanz 2006, 2011a, b; Lorés Sanz and Murillo 2007) or academic book reviews (Moreno and Suárez Tejerina 2006; Suárez Tejerina 2006; Lorés Sanz 2009). However, it is out of the scope of this chapter to analyse in depth how

cross-cultural aspects may affect the reception and therefore the overestimation of pieces of medical information published on the Internet.

2 Methods

As commented before, this chapter has been carried out under an exploratory ethnomethodological approach or suvey-based approach. Hymes refers to Ethnography as quoted below:

> The fact that good ethnography entails trust and confidence, that is requires some narrative accounting, and that it is an extension of a universal form of personal knowledge, make me think that ethnography is peculiarly appropriate to a democratic society. (Hymes 1996: 14)

To explore in depth all the different facets of Ethnography is beyond the scope of this piece of research. Here in this Chap. 1 have therefore decided to focus on ethnography as a methodological angle to observe if patients overestimated medical information written in English and published on the Internet.

We should go back to the early 1920s with Malinowsky's studies and to Firth's early 1935s studies to draw attention on the beginning of "the science of contextualization": in other words to set up what is said to be known as the beginning of ethnography (see also Firth 1957; Malinowski 1923). According to Kell (2010: 217) ethnography has been traditionally viewed as "involving the lone anthropologists entering into and undertaking fieldwork in a 'strange' culture, in an unfamiliar but bounded location for a lengthy period, returning 'home' and rendering these experiences into monographs for—often—educated Western audiences". There are of course, different types of ethnographic research. Street (2010) simplifies them into two main streams. The first would be "ethnographic imagination" (see for further reading Comaroff and Comaroff 1992) is founded on a cycle and can be applied in micro situations of engagement and comparison, as well as larger ones, including those where researcher enter and leave sites of learning over a period of time (see Heath and Street 2008). The second stream would be "ethnography as epistemology" (Blommaert 2005a, b). Blommaert studying Bourdieu[1] frames ethnography as an epistemological issue because this discipline is a point of departure for theoretical questions that can come up with theory. Ethnography is then seen as an epistemological tool to arrive at theory and that makes it valuable for many disciplines in different ways. Kell (2010: 217) adds that what is shared across ethnographic approaches is the overall epistemological orientation: "the idea that ethnographer seeks to engage with the subject's experiences first-hand and that ethnographic data is produced dialogically in the field, as well as dialectically in an engagement with existing theoretical

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[1] Pierre Bourdieu is usually referred as a sociologist but is best known for his ethnographic studies in his own native environments in France and in Argelia among the three Berber groups: the Kabyles, the Shawiya and the Ibadities (see for instance Bourdieu 1986).

frameworks and wider research". The approach of this study would be framed on one of the principal categories that Green and Bloome (1997: 183) developed when describing their ethnographic typology:

> […] *doing ethnography* involves the framing, conceptualizing, interpreting, writing and reporting associated with a broad, in-depth, and long-term study of a social or cultural group, meeting the criteria for doing ethnography as framed within a discipline or field […] By adopting and *ethnographic perspective*, we mean that it is possible to take a more focused approach (i.e. do less than a comprehensive ethnography) to study particular aspects of everyday life and cultural practices of a social group. Central to an ethnographic perspective is the use of theories of culture and inquiry practices derived form anthropology or sociology to guide the research. The final distinction, *using ethnographic tools*, refers to the use of method and techniques usually associated with fieldwork. These methods may or may not be guided by cultural theories or questions about the social life of group members.

Encouraged then by former research that turns to ethnomethodogy approaches to linguistic issues (see for instance: Flowerdew 2001; Mur Dueñas 2007a; Pérez-Llantada 2009; Burgess and Ivanič 2010) I turned to ethnography to carry out the present study.

It is not under the scope of this chapter to reflect on the highly interesting state-of-art of medical knowledge dissemination or medical popularizations (Myers 1989; Nwogu 1991; Fernández Polo 1995; Gil Salom 2000; Guillén Galve 2001; Giunchi 2002; Gallardo 2005; Giannoni 2008; Hyland 2010). The present paper includes a preliminary study of a research project that is currently being developed,[2]—inspired by former research (Herrando 2010)—aims to reflect on the somehow spread assumption that Spanish patients who read medical popularizations written in English and published on the Internet overestimate these pieces of writing and sometimes even put these statements before their doctors' judgements.

For the analysis and data gathering, senior doctors from 20 different hospital departments who were also involved in teaching at the Faculty of Medicine in Zaragoza (Spain) and medical students who had finished their medical degree practicum were asked to participate in this ethnographic study.

Attention should be paid to how this exploratory ethnographic study was first carried out with medical practitioners who develop their professional career at University hospitals in Zaragoza. Furthermore, this section also displays how medical students were also asked to participate and share their experiences as far the issue under study in this chapter is concerned.

Though the number of people who were part of the groups under study is not large, according to the statistics experts who have been consulted, this is sufficiently representative in order to carry out a SPPS ethnographic study of Spanish speaking practitioners and future professionals in Zaragoza. Regarding the professional Medical Doctors (MDs), 110 questionnaires were selected among more than 200 completed questionnaires. The criterion of selection was that only questionnaires

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[2] The research mentioned above is framed under a project named PESUZ-10-5-028 funded by the *Vicerrectorado de Innovación docente* University of Zaragoza.

from doctors who are in contact with these two worlds: teaching and hospitals were selected. As mentioned before, this exploratory survey comprises further research on medical knowledge dissemination on the Internet. The two questions that were launched to both doctors and students were: *Based on your working experience,*

   (a) Do Spanish patients overestimate medical popularizations written in English and published on the Internet?
   (b) If so, Why do patients overestimate these popularizations?

The main variable that was taken into account to define this sample was that all the questionnaires selected were filled in by specialist, doctors from different areas who are currently involved in the teaching of future doctors or undergraduates at the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Zaragoza (Spain). This is the reason why I took only the 110 questionnaires belonging to practitioners linked to these two realities; hospital practise and teaching. These consultants work in one of the two University Hospitals of the city (*Hospital Clinico Universitario: Lozano Blesa* and *Hospital Universitario Miguel Servet*). The specialities of the consultants who kindly participated in this ethnographic study were varied[3] and the average of working experience was 17.82 years (with 5 years being the minimum and 40 years of experience the maximum). No gender parameters were taken into account. The process of collecting the questionnaires was longer than expected. Doctors are bombarded with a large number of different enquiries from different institutions every week, and therefore not everybody was willing to collaborate. I mainly had the help of my Faculty colleagues (doctors and nurses), acquaintances, friends and family in order to get the information back. The span of time was longer than expected due to the fact that many doctors refused to fill out the enquiry in English. I then had to translate it into Spanish and distribute it again. The forms were collected personally at hospitals and health centres or by email. Collecting the forms from the doctors took 6 months (from September 2010 to late February 2011). In March 2011, results were transferred to an Excel sheet and in April 2011 statistics were finished. Simultaneously, informal interviews with my informants were carried out because many of them indicated that they were unsure about the purpose of the study.

As for the students, the process of delivering and receiving back their responses was more controlled. I made the most of my teaching situation as I teach Medical English at the Faculty of Medicine as an optional subject. Students were also asked the same questions:

   (a) Do Spanish patients overestimate medical popularizations written in English and published on the Internet?
   (b) If so, Why do patients overestimate these popularizations?

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[3] 20 medical specialities: Accident and Emergency, Haematology, Obstetrics and Gynaecology, Pharmacology, Microbiology, Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation, Internal Medicine, Radiology, Cardiology, Neurology, General Surgery, Anaesthesia and Intensive Care, Paediatrics, Paediatric Surgery, Dermatology, Traumatology, Neumology (Pulmonology), Ophthalmology, Otorhinolaryngology and Urology.

Fifty six out of ninty three enquiries were selected at random. These students were finishing their degree and therefore they were all in their fifth and sixth year. All of them were older than 23 and had fulfilled their practicum at the different hospital departments successfully. No gender parameters were put into consideration. The timing as regarding data collections was more controlled than with the doctors' gathering process. My students were given 3 months to complete the questionnaire and along November 2010, December 2010 and January 2011 these questionnaires were collected. Results were transferred into an Excel sheet in February 2011 and stats were finished in April 2011.

Eventually a contrastive study was intended to be carried out between practitioners and future professionals of medicine taking into account that the second question that had been launched to both groups was quite open. Nevertheless, the answers to these questions were easily classified into four different meaningful potential groups of answers as is shown below in Sect. 3.

3 Results

3.1 Data Gathered from the Questionnaires to Doctors

Most of the senior practitioners (75.5 %) stated that Spanish patients overestimate Med-E-Pops as Fig. 1 displays.

Analysing the answers to these questions, I could easily establish four main groups of answers according to their thematic similarities, as Fig. 2 shows.

Figure 2 shows that 24.5 % of the practitioners who participated in this survey do not consider that Spanish patients overestimate Med-E-Pops. This survey highlights, supported by 26 out of 110 doctors' opinions, that contrary to my previous assumptions patients may not overuse Med-E-Pops. Besides, affirmative answers have been grouped and coded in four main answers that justify their potential overestimation. The first one; *Yes they do because it is very easy to get information related to what they are looking for (or suffering from)* is the most recurrent answer (39.1 %). These tokens account for the 'easiness' of Med-E-Pops for justifying its use among their potential readership. A very high percentage of the practitioners that participated in this survey simply perceive that the easiness and availability of the Internet account for its use as an accessible and understandable source of medical information. 19.1 % of the doctors claim that patients overestimate these publications because they are sensationalist and aim to have access to a general audience. This last group of answers may negatively refer to these Med-E-Pops as a source of misunderstanding and sometimes further aims such as medicines marketing or lab-selling policies could lie underneath. 10.9 % of the practitioners answered that patients overestimate Med-E-Pops and what is more, attend to the doctor's visit with their own final diagnosis based on what they

Fig. 1 Percentage of doctors who think that Spanish patients (do not) overestimate Med-E-Pops

Do patients overestimate Med-E-Pops?

24.5%

No
Yes

75.5%

I Distribution of practitioners' answers

0. I don't think that patients overestimate these pieces of information

1. Yes they do because it is very easy to get information related to what they are looking for (or suffering from)

2. Yes they do because these publications are sensationalist and aim to have access to a general audience. This kind of writing sometimes causes misunderstanding

3. Yes they do. They visit us with their final diagnosis based on what they have read on the Internet. Patients seldom These conclusions seldom prevail over the doctor's diagnosis

4. Yes they do because in the visit there is hardly enough time for solving all the patients´ questions or doubts

0%   10%   20%   30%   40%

Fig. 2 Distribution of practitioners' answers

have read on the Internet. These answers have been coded as 'self-diagnosis'. Some of these questionnaires thanked that patients have interest on their own medical condition. According to these practitioners they come across patients who are not aware of the implications and consequences of not following doctors' advice. On the contrary, there were also professionals that stated in their questionnaires that some patients were too obsessed with what they read on the Internet. Finally, 7.3 % of the senior practitioners stated that patients overestimate Med-E-Pops because doctors do not have enough time to solve all the questions

and doubts that patients may come across. In other words, due to the 'lack of time' doctors have to assist all the patients in the Spanish Health System, patients turn to the Internet to read further and to try to solve their doubts and questions. MD's then, justified with sympathy the reading and therefore use of Med-E-Pops.

3.2 Data Gathered from the Questionnaires to Medical Students

Regarding future practitioners, only 5.4 % believe that Spanish patients do not overestimate Med-E-Pops. Thus, the remaining 94.6 % of the medical students claim that patients pay too much attention to these publications (see Fig. 3). It is important to notice that the perception of professionals and future professionals of Medicine in Zaragoza differ a lot regarding the overuse of Med-E-Pops. Students account for a greater overuse of Med-E-Pops than doctors. Reflections about the potential reasons for this different view will be expanded below when contrasting both groups' answers.

The potential reasons that future professionals of medicine give to justify the overestimation of Med-E-Pops by patients have also been classified and coded in four main groups of answers. As observed in the following Fig. 4, 32.1 % of medical students say that patients overestimate Med-E-Pops because they are easy to comprehend and to access. Again, this group of answers could be coded by their 'easiness' and accessibility. 28.6 % of these future doctors stated that Med-E-Pops are easy to find and easy to comprehend. Nevertheless, students added in their questionnaires that as far as their very short experience was concerned, patients tended to believe everything that was written being that true or not. Here the problems of 'credibility' and/or 'reliability' arise. 17.9 % of the undergraduates claim that patients get their own diagnosis being even hypochondriac. Concern


Fig. 3 Percentage of students who think that Spanish patients (do not) overestimate Med-E-Pops

Do patients overestimate Med-E-Pops?

5.4%

No
Yes

94.6%

Distribution of medical students' answers
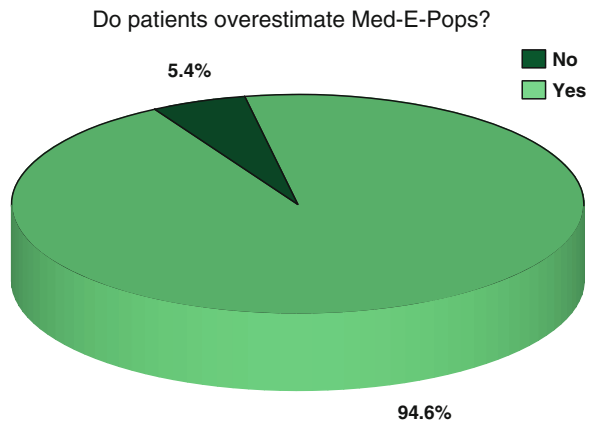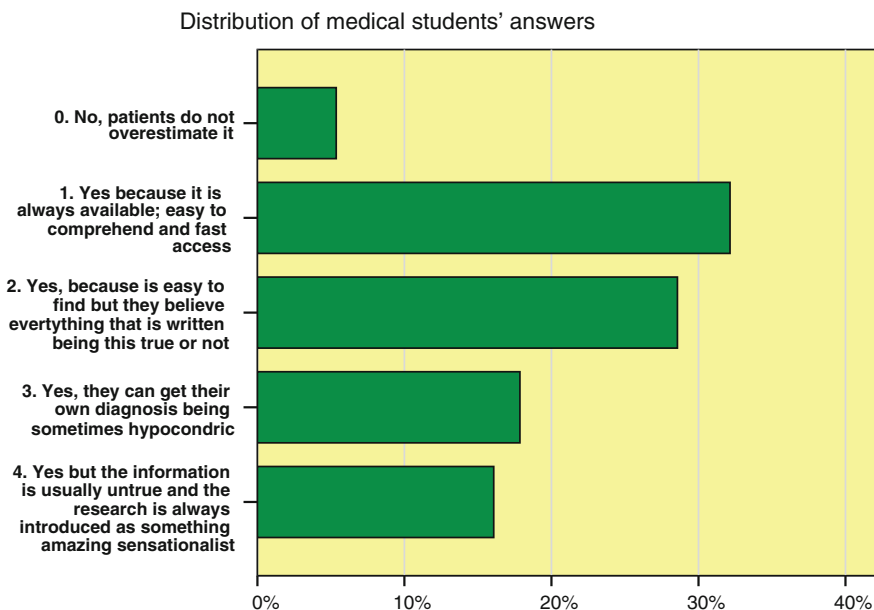
Fig. 4 Distribution of medical students' answers

was paid on the fact that patients too often came to doctors' offices with their own 'home-made' diagnosis. This diagnosis was most of the times wrong and too negative. 16.2 % of the affirmative answers, coded in this chapter under the label of 'sensationalism', also add that this information is too often untrue and that formal research is presented as something amazing and sensationalist. Figure 4 graphically shows below how students' answers can be distributed. This figure portrays that despite the varied affirmative answers, a significant number of them (60.7 %) claim that patients overestimate Med-E-Pops because they are easy to find but they do not contrast information believing everything that is said, sometimes leading them towards misunderstandings and untrue assumptions about their potential self-diagnosis. When coding these answers it could be read that sometimes patients insisted too much on the information that had been read on the net. According to some of these questionnaires, 'self-diagnosis' led most of the times towards hypothetical and unrealistic assumptions that disturbed patients in excess. Thus, doctors apparently had to devote more time in refuting those assumptions than in explaining what was really happening. See for data Fig. 4.

Finally, a contrastive study was carried out between the answers to the questionnaire of senior practitioners and future professionals of Medicine. The difference of both groups' answers to; *Do patients overestimate Med-E-Pops?* is very significant as Fig. 5 displays below. Whereas 24.5 % of senior practitioners believe that patients do not overestimate these medical electronic texts, only a limited 5.4 % of undergraduates affirm that patients do not overuse them. This

Fig. 5 Contrastive results from doctors and students expressed graphically in percentage
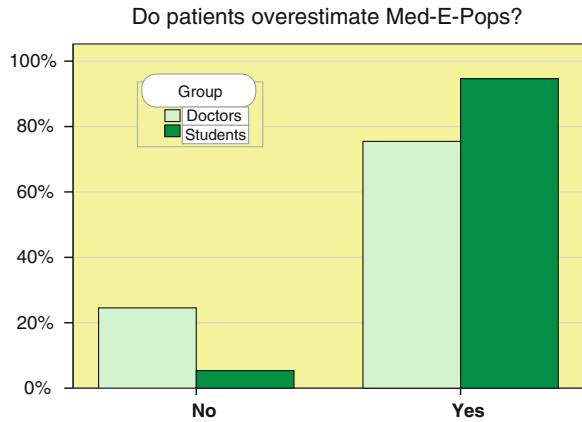
meaningful difference may respond to the fact that students do not still have the same professional experience as senior practitioners have. Undergraduates have been exposed to less patients and therefore medical situations in which these circumstances have (not) taken place. They could have maximized their scarce experiences with patients. Besides, the generational gap between professionals and future professionals may have also influenced the way both groups conceive this newly 'overestimation phenomenon'. See Fig. 5.

Having coded the groups of affirmative answers to the question regarding the reasoning for overestimating Med-E-Pops enables us to explore the different arguments that doctors and students give to the overuse of Med-E-Pops. Both doctors and undergraduates perceive in a similar number that the easiness and accessibility of Med-E-Pops is one of the main reasons why Spanish patients turn to these texts. Besides, in a very similar percentage, both groups think that these texts attract patients' attention because they are too sensationalist and 'catchy'. Their views start to differ when it comes to the aspects named below. While 10.9 % of doctors think that patients visit them with their final diagnosis according to what these patients have read on the Internet, students go beyond and add that these patients are wrongly led to unrealistic assumptions that even approach hypochondria. Eventually, differences become wider between professionals and future medical professionals of the medical field regarding the only answers' group coded that does not coincide between doctors and students. Whereas 7.3 % of doctors justify patients reading Med-E-Pops because professionals lack enough time to explain everything patients would need, students (28.6 %) challenge the credibility and reliability of Med-E-Pops. They also blame patients and its reading habits for the misunderstanding and the consequent waste of time needed to solve and clarify the confusion created by Med-E-Pops.

4 Conclusions

In this Chap. 1 have attempted to explore one specific issue in medical knowledge dissemination, in English; more specifically, why Spanish patients turn to Med-E-Pops, in search of information about a certain medical condition. Leaving a purely theoretical cross cultural angle consciously out of the scope of the present paper, I have adopted an ethnometodologic approach to observe whether professionals and future professionals of the field of Medicine perceive that doing so—turning to Med-E-Pops—patients dangerously overestimate the non-academic information gathered in these electronic texts/sites. Inspired by former research (Herrando 2010) that suggested that patients may be overestimating these sort of publications, I set up a survey among senior practitioners who were teaching at University and who were having ordinary contact with patients, and among future professionals—undergraduates who have finished their practicum at the Faculty of Medicine and were just about to finish their degree in Medicine.

The origin of this piece of research has to be traced back in a preliminary ethnomethodologic approach that was taken in one department—the Urology department of the two main University Hospitals in Zaragoza (Spain). In that study, doctors were greatly concerned with the growing overestimation of Med-E-Pops. However, a significant percentage of the doctors who participated in this piece of research and who deal with a wider sample than my previous study with urology practitioners stated that patients do not overestiomate these texts so much. This considerable percentage may be justified by the variety of specialities and years of professional experience. The present study is therefore wider than my 2010 piece of research and more reliable due to the number of subjects and variables, yet expandable.

The contrastive results gathered in the previous section show that undergraduates are more concerned with this 'overestimation phenomenon' of Med-E-Pops than doctors. Whereas students think that these texts are a threat to patients' correct and accurate perception of their medical condition, senior practitioners seem to justify and therefore understand this fact in terms of patients' self access medical knowledge. Meanwhile, future professionals show their fear, distrust and suspicion to the consequences of too much uncontrolled reading of this type of literature. Obviously, the expertise of practitioners prevails over the fear of these future doctors. These students, despite having finished their practicum, have little experience and therefore could be maximising these negative perceptions. Despite the difference in age, generation and in working experience, these professional groups stated and coincided in reasoning that the combination of easiness and accessibility was the main variable for doctors and students. Not only easiness but also the other two potential reasons; sensationalism and faded self-diagnosis were also shared by both groups. Senior practitioners, who have a wider perspective, blamed the lack of time available for assisting patients in the Spanish Health System as one of the four main reasons for patients to read Med-E-Pops. MDs usually have an average of 7 min to devote to each patient. This fact may be

insufficient for patients to reflect on all the potential questions and doubts that may have about what they might be suffering from. Whereas senior doctors understand with sympathy this potential reasoning, students show no understanding when patients defend the credibility and reliability of what they read on the Internet. All in all, this exploratory piece of research has cast light over the potential reasons for patients to turn to Med-E-Pops. It should be useful for future professionals to reflect on the only different reason that both groups bring to this ethnomethodo-logic reflection. In other words, future professionals and doctors coincide in three of the four main reasons given for the spread use of Med-E-Pops: easiness, sensationalism and the possibility of finding self-diagnosis. Students who have little experience show a harsh attitude towards patients who enhance the reliability of Med-E-Pops potentially due to their temporary lack of experience and therefore wider perspective. These two groups, practitioners and medical candidates, belonging to the same professional setting, coincide in the recurrent use of Med-E-Pops and in three main reasons for their usage. Thus, though their working experience and age are very different, the fact that both groups coincide in most of the coded answers validates this exploratory piece of research.

Nonetheless, caution should be paid on the source of some of these Med-E-Pops because, everything could be nowadays *googled* and many sensible or on the contrary insensible results might easily appear on our screen. All in all, it is my intention in further studies to expand this avenue of research for pedagogical purposes due to the fact that society claims more and more the necessity of reliable but understandable lay medical literature of easy and fast access as the one provided nowadays by the World Wide Web.

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Part III
Conference Participants

Communicating Research at International Conferences: A Multimodal Analysis of an Intercultural or a Disciplinary Specific Genre?

Teresa Morell

Abstract In this study we set out to explore how successful academic speakers, who use English as an additional language (EAL), combine "modes", that is ways of representing and communicating meaning, such as speech, body language, written texts and non-verbal materials, in their oral paper presentations at international conferences. This combination of several semiotic modes in the design of a semiotic product or event as defined by Kress and Leeuwen (2001: 20) is called "multimodality". To determine how effective presenters combine modes, we analysed the multimodal discourse of four 20-min talks, two from the social sciences and two from the technical sciences, which had been highly rated by academic peers. In addition, the speakers were interviewed to gather insight as to whether paper conferences are intercultural or discipline specific genres. The results of this qualitative study lend support to the hypothesis that effective speakers at academic conferences tend to use a variety of modes either simultaneously or consecutively to convey specific meanings. In so far as the question of whether oral presentations may be considered intercultural or discipline specific genres, it appears to be that in some social sciences presentations at international conferences are intercultural genres, whereas in some technical sciences they are discipline specific genres. Nevertheless, the pervasive use of technology and the growing use of EAL may, in time, lead many of the fields of both hard and soft sciences to have a discipline specific academic presentation genre. These findings, although limited, can be helpful for devising strategies that academics, especially those who use EAL, should keep in mind when preparing and carrying out oral presentations for international audiences.

Keywords Multimodality · Spoken academic genres · Conference papers · Intercultural or disciplinary specific genre

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1 Introduction

Carrying out an effective academic oral presentation at an international conference is a matter of using a variety of modes, that is, ways of representing and communicating meaning (Kress 2003), so as to be understood and appreciated by a multicultural audience. In recent years since multimedia packages have become commonly used by conference speakers, who speak English as an additional language (EAL), it appears to be that having the ability to orchestrate semiotic resources or modes such as images, writing, layout, sound, gestures, speech and 3D objects (Kress 2010) may be more important than having a good command of the spoken language or verbal mode. In addition, academic paper presentations have gone from what may have been considered an intercultural genre to a present day disciplinary specific genre.

The advent of the digital era and the pervasiveness of technology have broadened our view on language and how it is regarded in the academic world. Due to the fact that the tools for communication of the twenty-first century have increased in their degree of multimodality, "the use of several semiotic modes in the design of a semiotic product or event…" (Kress and Leeuwen 2001: 20), academic genre studies have started to take on other dimensions. In other words, our cultural artefacts include numerous modes of representing and communicating meaning. Therefore, it is no longer enough to take into account the written or spoken texts and their underlying meanings. We now need to explore, in so far as oral presentations are concerned, not only how the verbal mode is perceived, but also the written, the non-verbal material (NVM), and the body language modes that characterize the diverse mediating tools and resources that we use in present day conferences.

In the same manner in which studies on written academic genres help researchers communicate their work in writing, studies on spoken academic genres will aid them in face to face communication. Unfortunately, the analysis of scientific academic discourse has focused primarily on written genres, and spoken research genres have received little attention (Rowley-Jolivet 2002; Lynch 2011). In so far as studies on academic speakers and English as Foreign Language (EFL) or English as Additional Language (EAL) audiences are concerned, there has been a greater focus on lecturing (e.g., Young 1990; Flowerdew 1994; Miller 2002; Thompson 2003; Crawford 2004; Morell 2004, 2007a) than on presenting papers at conferences. Among the few publications that provide us with valuable insights into oral presentations are Hincks (2005), Hood and Forey (2005), Webber (2005) and Rowley-Jolivet (2002). Hinks (2005) measures speakers' voice pitch in determining a presentation's liveliness; Hood and Forey (2005) investigate how speakers use interpersonal features in the introduction of conference papers; Webber (2005) studies the interactive features in medical conference monologues; and Rowley-Jolivet (2002) analyses 90 conference papers to explore the role of visual communication in the scientific conference paper. The first three articles (Hinks 2005; Hood and Forey 2005; Webber 2005) take into account the linguistic

or paralinguistic features of presentations, in other words what is termed the verbal mode in this article. In contrast, Rowley-Jolivet (2002) examines the visual mode or what is named the non-verbal materials (NVM) (i.e., graphs, diagrams, figures, charts, tables and images) mode in the present study.

Although each of the studies mentioned lend support to the investigation at hand, they differ in that they do not take a multimodal approach or what may be described as "the exploration of how meaning is communicated and represented through a myriad of modes" (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001; Levine and Scollon 2003; Kress 2010). Studies with a multimodal approach have focused mostly on teaching contexts. Therefore, the study we are about to present together with Morell et al. (2008) and Morell (2007c), unlike most previous studies on the genre of academic presentations and the previously mentioned investigations with a multimodal focus, aims to explore conference papers through a multimodal approach.

The study has a twofold objective. First, it sets out to explore the use of the verbal, written, non-verbal material (NVM) and body language modes in four presentations, two from the technical sciences and two from the social sciences, which were rated highly by peers, to determine what aspects they had in common that lent to their success. Second, it reports on interviews with the presenters to obtain insight as to whether paper conferences are intercultural or disciplinary specific genres—a topic which has been dealt with in written genres (e.g., Dahl 2004; Mauranen 1996) but very little in spoken genres (e.g., Rowley-Jolivet 2002; Ventola et al. 2002). The qualitative study reported here follows an IMRD (Swales 1990) structural framework. The methodology section, which follows, first describes the multimodal analysis and then the interviews with the four speakers. In the results section can be found the main modal characteristics of each speaker's presentations, and the findings from the interviews. Finally, in the discussion section, our findings are presented as multimodal strategies for carrying out paper presentations, and we reflect on the question of whether oral presentations at international conferences should be considered as an intercultural or a discipline specific genre.

2 Methodology

The small scaled qualitative study presented in this chapter aims to initiate exploration into the multi-semiotic or multimodal academic discourse of oral presentations, which includes the verbal, written, non-verbal material (NVM) and body language modes. A multimodal analysis of four 20-min paper presentations, two from the technical sciences (labelled TS1 and TS2) and two from the social sciences (SS1 and SS2), was carried out to determine what characteristics they had in common that rendered them as successful. Each presentation was video recorded, observed and analyzed. In addition, each of the presenters were interviewed to find out about their previous experience in international conferences as

well as their beliefs about what made a presentation effective. Furthermore, the speakers were asked if they believed their thoughts on the matter were based on their national cultural background, knowledge of intercultural communication or disciplinary specific culture.

The choice of these specific presentations was due to the positive feedback received from peers, who had observed and rated them as effective, in so far as their success in attracting attention and conveying their message. In all four cases, the speakers and their audiences were using English as an Additional Language. Prior to the recordings and the analysis of the presentations, each of the speakers along with twenty other academics had taken part in a 20-h preparatory workshop, whose main objective was to aid them in carrying out research paper presentations at international conferences (see Morell 2007b). The guidelines they were given are based on those found in Morell (2007b) and (2009).

Each of the four paper presentations studied followed through with most of the recommended strategies and guidelines and were, thus, rated as effective by the workshop instructor (i.e., the author of this chapter) and at least 15 other researchers, who had participated in the aforementioned course. The video-recorded versions of the highly evaluated talks were carefully analyzed to have a close look at aspects of the verbal, written, non-verbal material and body language modes. The verbal mode was examined first to determine the paralinguistic aspects (i.e., tone, intonation, pronunciation, stress on key words, volume, speed, etc.) and the use of discourse markers that played an important role in the effectiveness of the talk. In second place, the written mode found on the projected slides was taken into account to see if there was contrast between background and lettering; an appropriate use of font size, number of words per line, number of lines per slides; and to note how the written propositions were shown. Thirdly, the quantity and quality of the non-verbal materials—NVMs used (i.e., the graphs, charts, tables, diagrams and images) were considered to determine what purpose they served (decorative, illustrative or expository) and to see if they contained items that facilitated their interpretation (e.g., explicit keys and labelled variables). Finally, the speaker's body language was observed to take note of their eye contact, gestures, hand movements, and body positions in relation to the talk and the audience. Once each of the separate modes had been examined and annotated, the videos were viewed again to check the sequential use of modes and to determine if there were specific patterns of consecutive or simultaneous use of them.

The multimodal analysis described above was preceded by semi-structured interviews with the four speakers (TS1, TS2, SS1, and SS2), who had carried out the well-rated presentations. The speakers were asked about their competence and use of the English language, as well as their experience and beliefs in carrying out effective oral presentations in English and in their mother tongue. In addition, they were asked if in their specific fields there were any set ways of giving oral presentations and if there was a difference in the manner in which those of their fields gave talks at national and international conferences.

3 Results

A summary of the multimodal analysis of each of the presentations is found on Table 1, where the first column gives the abbreviated label for each speaker, according to their discipline (TS1 = Technical Science 1, TS2 = Technical Science 2, SS1 = Social Science 1, Social Science 2) and specific field. The following four columns, with the headings–verbal, written, NVM (Non-Verbal Material), body language—gather descriptive information that characterize the speaker's use of the mode. The last column, Combination of modes, denotes the speakers' consecutive or simultaneous use of two or modes, as well as any predominance that may have occurred.

As previously mentioned, the four selected presentations had successfully followed through with the recommended guidelines and strategies, and had received positive evaluations. Therefore, they were the objects of study in the multimodal analysis to help us determine what modal aspects characterize good presentations. Consequently, we will now proceed to interpret our findings and to relate what the four have in common, in terms of discourse elements used during the presentation.

All four began by greeting the audience and introducing themselves verbally, while in the background they had projected a slide with the title of their talk along with their names, affiliations and e-mails. Each then proceeded to attract the attention of the audience by asking a question, narrating an anecdote, or showing an image. Three of the four (TS1, TS2, and SS1) announced their objective(s) through the verbal and written modes, and the same is true for the index that was stated and written with bullets on a slide in those three cases. In so far as the verbal mode is concerned, they all used intelligible pronunciation, appropriate tone and intonation, while some stressed on key words (e.g., TS2) and some made greater use of discourse markers than others (e.g., SS1). Although they could all be understood with almost no difficulty, SS1 spoke a bit quickly and at times it may have been problematic to follow for some of the audience, especially when there was no other mode accompanying her speech. Similarly, TS1 had a few hesitations in her verbal explanation of two NVMs, but the explicitness of the diagrams compensated for understanding. In all cases, there was a concluding message on the second to last slide, which was shown and then explained, before the title page with their name, affiliation and e-mail was shown once again, while they opened to questions and thanked the audience for their attention. In general, the four presentations were relatively easy to follow and each speaker took the audience into account. In other words, they were aware of the fact that a presentation is effective if the speaker is able to connect through the different modes with the listeners, who are able to capture the intended message.

The main similarity between the two TS and the two SS presentations lies within the use of NVMs and verbal modes, respectively. While the TS talks relied more heavily on the NVMs, the SS ones depended more on the verbal. Although in all cases, the slides with their written texts and NVMs were organizational and

Table 1 A multimodal analysis of 2 technical and 2 social science presentations

Speaker (discipline)	Verbal	Written	NVM	Body language	Combination of modes
TS 1 (Computer science)	Verbal elaboration on images and written bulleted text	Clearly written singular objective, content index and enumerated results and conclusions	22 slides—12 with short written texts (only key words) and 10 visuals (images) (all illustrative)	Continuous eye contact with little movement of body position	Verbal after written or image. Consecutive or simultaneous use of modes
TS 2 (Organic chemistry)	Verbal used to accompany numerous NVMs. Much metatext to indicate procedures illustrated and explained on NVMs	Clearly written objective, no index but 5 introductory slides with NVMs. IMRD structure	22 slides—7 with text, 15 with NVMs (1 pie chart, 7 diagrams, 2 images, 1 line graph, 1 table, 1 combined diagram and table, 2 combined diagram and image (all expository)	Occasional eye contact with continuous focus on slide with pointer and highlighting techniques	Simultaneous use of NVMs and verbal mode. NVMs predominant throughout
SS 1 (Literary studies)	Verbal with numerous discourse markers to elaborate interpretation of authors' views and work	3 point bulleted objectives, background details in introductory slides, enumerated facts and interpretations in bulleted written text with key words only	22 slides—9 combined text and image, 7 with bulleted text, 5 illustrative and decorative images	Extensive use of hands and some indications to focus on screen	Verbal predominance with images in background and some consecutive use of written, verbal and image
SS 2 (classical latin and catalonian)	Verbal introduction with no reliance on slides, made up of simple short sentences, followed by metatext to explain and compare diagrams and images of classical texts	Very little written texts except for script on images	28 slides—11 with images of classical texts, 6 with a combination of short text and image, 5 with combination of diagram and image, 5 with short text, 1 with a diagram (all expository)	Used hands for explanations and pointed on diagrams and images	Consecutive use of verbal and NVMs

interactional tools, it would have been difficult to carry out the TS presentations without them. This is especially true for TS2 that reported on an experimental study with complex apparatuses and mathematical formulae and numerical tables, which Rowley-Jolivet (2002: 27) calls 'numerical visuals'. In contrast, SS1 and SS2 had higher concentrations of the verbal mode and their NVMs were more decorative or illustrative in nature.

The speakers' (TS1, TS2, SS1 and SS2) responses to the questions about their level of English and their experience giving paper presentations can be found in Table 2. The first column gives the abbreviated label for each speaker, according to their discipline (TS1 = Technical Science 1, TS2 = Technical Science 2, SS1 = Social Science 1, Social Science 2) and specific field. The following column indicates their English level according to the Common European Framework (A1, A2–beginner, B1–intermediate, B2–upper intermediate, C1–advanced) and the next two specify the number of times they had given a conference paper in their mother tongue (Spanish and/or Catalonian) and in English, respectively.

The interviews also allowed us to obtain further insights about the speakers' specific fields with regard to their set ways of giving oral presentations, and if there was a difference in the manner in which those of their fields gave talks at national and international conferences. Both TS1 and TS2 claimed that in their fields conference papers followed very closely with the written research article formats. In other words, the typical IMRD (Introduction-Method-Results-Discussion; Swales 1990) structural framework used in scientific written discourse to report research was adapted for the conference paper delivery. This was true, according to TS2, at both national and international conference contexts, in Spanish and in English. In addition, most speakers used multimedia packages (e.g. Power Point and LaTex) to aid their delivery. TS2 also mentioned that she noted differences between those who spoke English as a mother tongue and those who used it as an additional language. For example, many speakers of English as a first language

Table 2 Speakers' English level and conference paper experience

Speaker	Level of English (CEFR)	Conference paper experience (no. of presentations given in mother tongue)	Conference paper experience (no. of presentations given in English)
TS 1 (Computer science)	C1	2	15
TS 2 (Organic chemistry)	B1	3	2
SS 1 (Literary studies)	B2	10	0
SS 2 (Classical latin and catalonian)	B2	15	2

started their talks with an anecdote or something that connected with the audience (e.g., talk about the weather or about the city or country where the conference was taking place), whereas this was seldom true for EAL speakers.

In contrast, SS1 and SS2 were not sure about having any specific organizational patterns for delivering papers in their specific fields of study. SS1, who did not have any prior experience giving a presentation in English, stated that in her experience with paper deliveries in Spanish she had noticed that many speakers brought written texts with them that were either read or, at least, used as notes to provide the audience with a more spontaneous speech. However, in more recent national conferences she had noticed that more speakers were beginning to use multimedia packages.

4 Discussion

As was stated at the start of this chapter, the multimodal analysis of four effective paper presentations was carried out to determine what characteristics they had in common that rendered them as successful. In essence, we have found that the four presentations took the audience into account and were relatively easy to follow. In other words, they were able to use and combine the modes so that they could connect with the audience and transmit their intended message. If we examine the separate modes (i.e. verbal, written, NVM, body language) individually to determine their functions in making these presentations notable, we may come to the following conclusions, which can serve as strategies for other speakers:

a. When using the verbal mode, speakers need to take into account their tone, intonation, pronunciation, stress on key words, volume, speed, and the use of discourse markers.
b. When using the written mode, speakers need to take into account contrast between background and lettering; an appropriate use of font size (25 minimum), number of words per line (5–7), number of lines per slides (maximum 7); and written propositions should only be shown when they are being referred to.
c. When using NVMs speakers need to take into account their quantity and quality. They should also choose them according to the purpose they want them to fulfil (i.e., decorative, illustrative or expository), and make sure that they contain items that facilitate their interpretation (e.g., explicit keys and labelled variables).
d. When using body language, speakers need to take into account eye contact, gestures, hand movements, and body positions in relation to the talk and the audience.

In so far as the combination and sequencing of modes is concerned, we have found that when speakers become more aware of the different modes of communication that they have available to them, they also begin to plan the effect of different sequences and the possibility of foregrounding specific modes at precise

moments of their presentations. We have seen that the speakers chose a variety of modal combinations that were either of a consecutive or simultaneous nature. The organization and progression of the presentations was often denoted by a consecutive pattern with bulleted short written propositions that were first shown and then spoken about before showing the next bulleted proposition. Thus, in these cases, the consecutive pattern was 1st written, 2nd verbal, 3rd written, 4th verbal. In those which used NVMs of a graphic nature, there was usually a simultaneous use of the verbal, the body language and the NVM. In these cases, the different modes were being used to refer to the same information. This leads us to believe that effective speakers at academic conferences tend to use a variety of modes that are often overlapped but work together to convey specific meanings. Consequently, a strategy that may be recommended is to use various modes to refer to the same proposition, and if it is complex it may be a good idea to use the modes consecutively.

These findings, which have been reported as strategies, should serve researchers who speak EAL to realize that they need not fear if they are not highly competent in speaking English. As was demonstrated by TS2, who has a B1 English level, higher reliance on the visual modes (i.e., the written, body language, and especially NVMs) can compensate for verbal deficiencies. Furthermore, the visual channel holds a heavy organisational, interactional and ideational burden (Rowley-Jolivet 2002).

If we use the limited findings of this study to answer the question of whether paper conferences are intercultural or discipline specific genres, we may conclude that there is a general difference between the social (or soft) sciences and the technical (or hard) sciences. On the one hand, some social sciences appear to have closer connections to national cultures, and at international conferences they may be considered intercultural genres. On the other hand, some technical or hard sciences make use of the well established IMRD structural framework and field specific NVMs are widely used to communicate scientific discourse (see Rowley-Jolivet 2002). Therefore, generally speaking, technical science paper presentations may be considered discipline specific genres. Although we cannot make any firm statements based on our small-scale study, it appears to be that the pervasive use of technology and the growing use of English as an Additional Language will, in time, lead to discipline specific academic presentation genres in many of the fields of hard and soft sciences. Nevertheless, there is a need to do further research on paper presentations held at international conferences of the many different fields of the social and technical sciences to provide more evidence to determine if they can be considered intercultural or discipline specific genres.

To conclude, I would like to claim that although orally presented conference papers can be seen as the "spoken" counterpart of the written research article, they are much more than just "speech" and they have a tremendous potential for communication, especially if we take into account the many modes that can be used to convey meaning. Furthermore, as Lynch (2011: 86) also states "the interrelationship between the four elements of delivery discussed by Morell et al. (2008)—spoken input, written input image and body language is a territory to be explored".

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Native and Non-Native Speaker Interpersonal Skills at Conferences: Managing Self-Mentions and Humour

Francisco Javier Fernández Polo

Abstract Getting the audience on your side seems crucial to the success of a conference presentation (Rowley-Jolivet and Carter-Thomas 2005). Yet, non-native speakers seem to minimize the importance of this element, focusing on propositional content and neglecting interaction (Swales 2004). Two strategies typically used by successful speakers to create interpersonal links with their audiences are self-mentions and humour. Research on personal references in academic discourse has traditionally focused on writing (Ivanič 1998; Fløttum et al. 2006). Contrastive research on self-mentions in academic writing (Lorés 2006; Mur Dueñas 2007) suggests the existence of culture-specific practices that might transfer into the non-native speakers' English writings. No evidence exists of the implications for their speech practices. The role of humour in academic speech has been studied by Fillmore (1994) and, more recently, by Lee (2006), but only in the contexts of PhD defenses and university teaching. The use of humour at conferences by non-native English speakers has been cursorily explored by Frobert-Adamo (2002) and Vassileva (2002), but their data are scarce and their analyses slightly outdated. In this chapter we explore differences between native and non-native speaker scholars regarding their use of self-mentions and "non-seriousness" (Chafe 2007) at international conferences in English. Our corpus consists of two subsets of CPs, totaling 228 minutes of speech. The field is Linguistics and the presentations are broadly comparable in terms of field and other situational features. The analysis takes a multimodal perspective, based on written transcriptions, and audio and video materials. In our study, self-mentions include both subject and object pronouns and possessive adjectives. Instances of "non-seriousness" were identified following Chafe's (2007) definition and taxonomy. The analysis of self-mentions reveals: (a) a very high incidence of these forms, compared to similar written materials; (b) no major differences in the number of self-mentions in both native and non-native presentations, but (c) important

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differences in the nature of the verbs in "I + verb" structures, generally, more formal and written-like in the NNS presentations. As regards non-seriousness, the analysis indicates that: (a) episodes of non-seriousness tend to be less frequent, shorter and less strategically located in NNS presentations; (b) both groups use non-seriousness for much the same purposes, to minimize the effects of various undesirable and abnormal situations arising in the context of the presentation, such as slips of the tongue, unreasonably long examples or the use of unfamiliar terminology. All in all, our group of native speakers shows a keener awareness of the need to connect with their audiences, by adopting a more colloquial, casual style and introducing moments of shared amusement to gain their allegiance and support. The present research leaves open whether the NNS's distinctive behaviour in our research is the result of the transfer of native linguistic and cultural practices, or is intrinsically characteristic of L2 production. We would favour, pending further research, this second interpretation. Some of the lexical and pragmatic choices made by our NNSs have been shown to coincide with those observed in ELF speakers elsewhere. One characteristic feature of ELF is the tendency to overemphasize the importance of the ideational function of discourse.

1 Introduction

Although written genres are still the main locus of research in the field of English for Academic Purposes, lately there has been an evident upsurge of interest among specialists in academic speech produced in both teaching and research contexts. One of the favourite topics of research in this area are the different strategies employed by speakers to narrow the distance between themselves and their audiences, one dimension where interesting differences have been noted between English native (NS) and non-native speakers (NNS). Swales (2004) suggests that the group of so-called Narrowly English Proficient speakers, of which NNSs are an important component, tend to adopt more "closed" written styles of presentation than Broadly English Proficient speakers. And for those who wish to approximate to the more "open" presentation styles characteristic of the BEP speaker, Swales suggests paying special attention to the use, among others, of first and second-person pronouns and of colourful language, or of humour.

Self-mentions in scientific discourse have been thoroughly studied, for example, by Ivanič (1998), Hyland (2001), Fortanet (2004), Fløttum et al. (2006), Lorés (2006) and Mur Dueñas (2007). In general, it is claimed that presenting research from a personal perspective is a motivated choice of great importance for the credibility of the presentation. Some of these studies adopt a cross-cultural and cross-linguistic perspective and find, as pointed out by Swales, that NNSs, compared to academic English standards, do tend to use less self-mentions in their native tongues and might transfer this feature into their English production (Vassileva 2002). However, the evidence is inconclusive and, more importantly,

most of these studies focus on written academic discourse or on oral genres other than the conference presentation, which will be our object of study in this chapter.

The use of humour in discourse has received a lot of attention from linguists, particularly conversation and discourse analysts (Norrick 1993; Attardo 1994; Glenn 2003; Partington 2006; Chafe 2007). Its specific role in spoken academic interactions has been studied, for instance, by Fillmore (1994) and more recently by Lee (2006). More specifically, differences between NSs and NNSs in the handling of humour in conference presentations have been cursorily studied by Frobert-Adamo (2002) and Vassileva (2002), but their data are scarce and their analyses superficial and slightly outdated, given the important theoretical developments in the field since the publication of their research.

In this chapter, we will try to determine to what extent English NNSs presenting their research at conferences differ in their use of self-mentions and in their handling of humour and other forms of "non-seriousness" (Chafe 2007) from their NS counterparts. As regards the first issue, we will focus on the possible differences between the two groups of speakers both in the extent to which they step into the discourse explicitly through the use of self-referential expressions, especially first-person pronouns, and also in the kind of actions that typically combine with these self-mentions. As for humour, we intend to provide a comprehensive description of the different forms and functions of the humour produced by both groups of speakers at conferences and find whether or not they differ across the two categories of speakers.

2 Materials and Methods

Our study takes a corpus-based approach. Our spoken corpus consists of 10 conference presentations, 5 by native and 5 by non-native speakers of English, totalling 228 minutes of speech, just under 40,000 words of transcribed text (19,386 and 18,739 respectively). The field is Applied Linguistics, and the talks were recently presented at several international conferences in Spain and Portugal. Both groups of presentations are broadly comparable in terms of discipline, audience, topic and methodological approach. The talks were audio and video-taped and transcribed for the purpose of this research. The analyses regarding the use of first person pronouns and adjectives were largely done with the help of the AntConc software (version 3.2.1w). However, given the inherent ambiguity of some of these forms, particularly first person plural pronouns, their automatic retrieval had to be complemented through manual analysis to distinguish between the different values and to filter out forms that did not actually refer to the speaker, for instance, in quotations. Naturally, all manifestations of humour in the texts had to be detected and analyzed manually in the transcriptions, with the help of both the audio and the video recordings.

3 Results and Discussion

3.1 Self-Mentions

One of the most conspicuous features of present-day international scientific English is the general tendency to abandon its traditionally detached and impersonal nature (Halliday 1993). Modern scientific communication is strongly argumentative and persuasive. In the highly competitive context of present-day science, stressing and persuading others of the value of our claims has become crucial, and consequently the building up in the text of favourable personal relationships with the audience. The increasing use of more personal forms of scientific presentation is generally associated with the progressive marketization of scientific discourse—indeed, of all public discourse (Fairclough 1993). The objective becomes "selling" as much as "telling". It is generally believed that, by explicitly stepping into the discourse through self-mentions, authors seek to stress the value of their research and to render their claims more convincing (Hyland 2005: 53).

The study of academic English across cultures has revealed important differences in the use of self-mentions by scholars from different cultural backgrounds. Most of these studies explore differences in academic writing (Mauranen 1993; Mur Dueñas 2007), with oral genres receiving much less attention. Some notable exceptions are Vassileva (2002) and Webber (2005). Vassileva, for instance, finds that Bulgarian scholars presenting their research in English show a clear tendency to de-emphasize their presence in the text as compared to native English scholars. Two reasons are adduced for this: the influence of written scientific English models on the Bulgarian scholars' spoken practices and cultural differences regarding self-promotion.

The analysis of self-references in our corpus includes both first-person singular and plural forms, subject and object pronouns (*I*, *me*, *we*, *us*), as well as possessive adjectives (*my*, *our*). Of the 5 CPs in the two groups, NSs and NNSs, 2 were multiple-authored. This fact is relevant to interpret the results of our analysis, particularly as regards the presence of first person plural forms. The analysis also takes account of the inherent ambiguity of the plural forms (*we*, *us*, *our*), which can refer to the speakers alone (exclusive *we*) or to the speaker and the addressee (inclusive *we*). Only exclusive *we* is self-referential strictly speaking. Consequently all inclusive *we* forms were filtered out from the data. Here is a breakdown of our findings (Table 1):

Table 1 Self-references in both NS and NNS presentations

	NS	NNS
I-forms (I, me, my)	324	236
Per 1000 words	16.71	12.59
We-forms (we, us, our)	133	146
Per 1000 words	6.86	7.79
Total self-references	406	382
Per 1000 words	20.94	20.38

In general, both groups of conference presentations contained a very high incidence of self-mentions, singular and plural, compared to similar written materials such as research articles. For instance, Hyland (1998) reports a 3.5/1000-word incidence of self-mentions in his RA corpus and Mur Dueñas (2007) a 9.38/1000 index in her American corpus of Business and Management articles, well below the 20.94/1000 word incidence in our spoken corpus. On the other hand, our figures are similar to those reported by others for conference language, such as Webber (2005): 25.30/1000 words.

Some notable differences between NSs and NNSs can be observed in the use of self-references, particularly of the first-person singular forms, not so the plural. But even for the first person singular, the differences between native and non-native speakers are much lower than those reported by previous studies on NNS academic speech such as Vassileva (2002). In general, then, the overall incidence of self-references is surprisingly similar in both groups, questioning the traditional self-effacing tendency which is claimed to characterise NNS scientific discourse. These rather surprising results can be attributed to one or a combination of two different factors: the relatively high English expertise of our NNS subjects, all of them English-language specialists, and the progressive adoption by international scholars of the self-promoting kind of rhetoric characteristic of native speaker discourse.

It is not just the very presence of explicit self-mentions that renders the discourse more or less appealing or convincing for the audience. It is also the choice of predicates the first person collocates with. An analysis of the verbs that collocate with the first person singular pronoun *I* reveals interesting differences in the nature of the predicates between both groups of speakers (Table 2).

In general, the group of NNSs tend to opt for the kind of formal verbs characteristic of academic writing: verbs of a metatextual nature such as *focus* or *argue*, or research process verbs such as *classify* or *retrieve*. In contrast, NSs show a preference for rather informal verbs such as *talk*, *give* or *get*, although there is also an exceptional "getter" in our NNS group.

A cursory glance at the data reveals some striking differences in the relative frequency of some of the predicates in both groups. The stance-taking expression "I think" is clearly the most frequent I + verb combination in the NS presentations, but it is far less popular among the non-native speakers. Our findings are consistent with the much wider evidence provided by such big corpora as the BNC and the COCA. According to Baumgarten and House (2010: 1186) "I think" is the single most frequent I + verb combination in the spoken components of both corpora. More interestingly, they also find, as we do, that "I think" occurs far more frequently in L1 speech than in English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), particularly in what they call the "verbal routine-like" use of the expression, where it does not take a complement clause. They attribute this finding to the fact that the discourse marker "I think" is the result of a process of grammaticalization which is at a much more advanced stage in native varieties of English than in L2 or ELF varieties, where the change takes longer to interiorize.

Table 2 Verbs collocating with *I* in NS and NNS CPs

NS		NNS	
Think	68	Have	22
Say	24	Say	22
Need	16	Mean	18
Want	15	See	11
Go	14	Think	11
Have	11	Be	10
Like	10	Study	9
Know	10	Use	9
Use	9	Want	8
Talk	9	Classify	7
Give	9	Focus	6
Show	7	Know	6
Get	7	Like	6
Find	7	Look	5
Do	7	Become	4
Try	5	Find	4
Study	5	Get	4
Record	5	Argue	3
Feel	5	Choose	3
Analyze	4	Feel	3
Look	4	Notice	3
Start	3	Refer	3
Read	3	Retrieve	3
Leave	3	Try	3
Collect	3		
Belong	3		

A closer look at the table still reveals other interesting differences in the choice of predicates among both groups of speakers. There are two expressions that are favourite with the non-native speakers, "I mean" and "as I said".

The combination "I mean" occurred just twice in the NS materials, while it was used 18 times in the NNS presentations. This finding can be attributed to the special pragmatic role of this discourse marker. The basic meaning of "I mean" is to indicate "upcoming adjustments, from the word-level on up to the negotiation of meaning" (Fox Tree and Schrock 2002: 741), more generally, to introduce self-repairs. Self-repairs being a distinctive trait of ELF discourse (Seidlhofer 2004; Mauranen 2010), a higher incidence of "I mean" in the non-native speaker presentations was therefore to be expected. We would argue, though, that an excessive use of the expression may have a negative impact on the effectiveness of the presentations. If "I mean" forewarns the intention of the speaker to introduce upcoming adjustments, then it should be an unfavoured strategy, one that compromises the speaker's self-image (Fox Tree and Schrock 2002: 744), in certain contexts, such as the conference forum, where it is crucial to give the impression that the speech has been carefully planned. In the following example, for instance,

the use of "I mean" in the middle of his crucial interpretation of findings exposes the speaker's evident lack of confidence, and undermines the credibility of the forthcoming arguments:

> well, how do i interpret this? well, first of all, eh, my interpretation of this, **i mean**, this is just a hypothesis, which is partly eh stated by X.

Another very popular expression among the non-native speaker presenters was "as I said" (11 occurrences). This would qualify as an endophoric marker (Hyland 2005), helping readers to retrieve previous information in the text and facilitating the interpretation of complex arguments. However, when overused, this type of expressions may also be indicative of excessive anxiety on the part of the speaker, projecting an impression of insecurity that can again taint and seriously compromise the persuasiveness of the presentation, like in the following example:

> <GESTURE: addressing audience > **i mean** and **as i said** the data are very very small and and we cannot take conclusions draw conclusions indeed.

3.2 Humour and Non-Seriousness

Humour seems to play a number of important functions in communication, such as creating solidarity, reinforcing in-group membership and preventing and mitigating conflict. As recently expressed by Norrick and Spitz (2008): "an orientation toward humour by one or more participants from the outset in a potentially thorny interaction can mitigate controversy and prevent serious conflict." What is true for conflict talk in everyday conversations may also be true for the potentially conflictual context of the academic talks at conferences.

The notion of humour is a highly debated issue in linguistics. We were interested not only in more or less planned humour such as jokes, which were rather infrequent in our materials, but also in episodes of what Chafe would call "non-seriousness", in which there is some degree of intention on the part of the speaker to be funny or to make the audience laugh. After all, most conversational laughter is not the response to jokes or other formal attempts at humour (Partington 2006, p. 82, citing Provine 2000). Episodes of laughter by participants are not rare in our CPs. For convenience, we will consider all these as episodes of humour, in a very broad sense of the word.

Identifying the presence of humour in conversation is a complicated task. Simply paying attention to the presence of general laughter would miss a lot of the humorous episodes that occur in the presentations: for some reason or another, audiences do not always exteriorize their reaction to humour, or at least not ostensibly (Hay 2000).

To identify episodes of humour in the CPs, we carried out a multimodal analysis of the presentations, paying attention to both language and body language. For instance, speakers often signal that they intend something to be taken

humorously through subtle changes of gaze (suddenly looking at the audience) or changes in the tone of their voice, accompanied by a slight smile. The fact that I was a participant, therefore physically present at the events, crucially facilitated both the identification and interpretation of these episodes of humour. Of course, some important limitations still subsist: the video data that we obtained focused on the presenter, and I could only count on the audio materials to identify laughter from the audience; similarly, the audience's smile is often impossible to identify, as it leaves no trace in the audio record.

Table 3 shows a rough count of the humorous episodes in our presentations. This can provide a very general indication of the presence of humour in both native and non-native materials. The following three major questions guided our analysis of these episodes: (a) What differences, if any, are there in the size of the humorous episodes found in both English native and non-native presentations? (b) Where do these episodes occur in the body of the presentation? And finally, (c) what do participants in the events, speakers and audiences, typically smile or laugh at during the presentations?

Regarding their size, the humorous episodes we identified in the data were typically short. Obviously, there is not much time for interpersonal diversions in such a time-constrained event as the CP. The few long elaborate instances of humour in our corpus are all found in the native data. Cracking a joke, particularly an elaborate joke, before a large audience in a formal setting such as this is a strategic but risky decision: a successful joke may be very effective in terms of gaining the allegiance of the audience, but a failed joke is usually very embarrassing and face-threatening for the speaker. Making an elaborate joke demands both courage and a high degree of confidence in one's linguistic capabilities, to be able to create a sustained episode of humour. NSs naturally seem to have an advantage in this respect. The following is an illustration of an elaborate episode of humour from the final sections of a talk by a NS, reporting on the results of a seminar for English teachers in Japan organised by the presenter's group.

> and there was a keynote speaker who spoke for hours and everybody (just) slept, sorry to the whole group of four hundred, so, with all respect, uh the teachers are busy they wanna get into class, they wanna get their hands dirty they don't wanna just sit there and sort of get well some of them don't mind catching up on their sleep < SS LAUGHTER > …

A few minutes later, the speaker closes off the talk by building on the same funny anecdote, resulting in a general burst of laughter from the audience.

Table 3 Episodes of humour in the CPs

	Nr. of episodes	/1000 words
NS	51	2.62
NNS	39	2.07
Total	90	2.35

> if people would like to know more please feel free to contact me. my email address is there, thanks for listening, c- not catching up on your sleep < SS LAUGHTER > too much.

The effectiveness of the retake derives from the fact that the audience finds it pleasurable to identify the anaphoric reference to a previous joke, plus the fact that they are directly being made part of the joke themselves.

The absence of this kind of elaborate humour in the NNSs talks may result from their lack of confidence in the foreign language and/or the fact that the presentation is more closely based on a carefully prepared and rehearsed presentation, that gives primacy to factual information over accessories such as humour (Frobert-Adamo 2002: 218).

As regards their location in the talks, of course humorous episodes occur in all sections of the presentations, but they seem to cluster round what can be characterized as moments of tension. For instance, one very common place for humour to occur is at the end of the talk, just before the question-time, like in the previous example. In this particular context, it probably indicates a veiled intention on the part of the speaker to shun off criticism and gain the audience's allegiance before the ensuing discussion time.

Humour is also particularly common in the context of the presentation of heavy or complex data, a way of compensating for the audience's effort, seeking their comprehension and alleviating their task. The following is taken from a presentation by a NS. At this point the audience has been listening for 19 minutes and we are approaching the end of the talk when suddenly the speaker introduces a new slide consisting of a complex diagram, which will probably require a rather long explanation. In anticipation of the logical reluctance of the audience, the speaker introduces a moment of amusement:

> okay these are the factors that we found… uh if anyone wants this powerpoint please send me an e-mail i will quite happy, to send it to you, that way it will save you writing everything down. i'm afraid this is (what) i nicked this phrase from a from somebody in (xx) TOEFL conference last year, it's a no handout uhhh syndrome today N–H–S sorry no handouts, but i'll be more than happy to send you the powerpoint should you wish to uh have it. so and these're the things that we found that influenced anxiety.

Another favourite place for humour is at the outset of the talk. This coincides with both Fillmore's (1994) and Swales' (2004) findings for a different oral academic genre, the PhD defense: at the beginning of the defense humour is used by all parties to create a non-adversarial environment. As for CPs, a rather standard joke among academics at international conferences seems to be to start off by showing their incompetence in the local language, for instance, by greeting the audience in the local tongue with a very emphatic foreign accent. Here is a very elaborate version of this common gag by one of the NSs in our corpus:

> good morning everyone. buenos días < S1 BOWS TO AUDIENCE > < SS LAUGHTER > uhm, it's a real pleasure to be here. in fact, like the first speaker, XXX, i'm also living and working in Japan but we don't know each other so it's somewhat of a coincidence this morning. but i got in the early hours yesterday, and uhm, i tried to_ i haven't

been in Spain for about twenty years and this is the first time to come to this beautiful region, and i tried to remember a few words but whenever i tried to say something bits of Japanese kept coming out. < SS LAUGHTER > so, so that's not a very good idea i think so, uh, i'll keep trying but, be best if i use English for this presentation.

Interestingly, 2 of the 5 NSs in our corpus use more or less elaborate forms of humour at some point both in the set-up and closing stages of their talks. None of the NNSs does.

Finally, as far as the target is concerned, most of the examples of humour found in our data would rather qualify as episodes of what Chafe describes as "nonseriousness without humour", non-humorous situations that elicit laughter from participants in the conversation—the speaker, the audience or both. Many humorous episodes in the talks (see also Frobert-Adamo 2002) arise in contexts where the speaker is going through a difficult moment, typically some problem with either the form or the content of their presentation or the reported research. When this occurs, speakers often smile and, most significantly, the audience responds with another smile. As explained by Chafe (2007: 85), in such circumstances, non-seriousness, by "mitigating the unpleasantness helps to keep the talk moving forward on a more comfortable level."

According to Chafe (2007: 74), there are two general kinds of non-humorous situations that frequently lead people to respond with non-seriousness: "undesirable" situations and "abnormal" ones. Undesirable situations often elicit smiles and laughter from conversational participants to reduce the seriousness and "edge off what would otherwise be something purely negative". In an abnormal situation, which is contrary to our expectations, "if we can feel less obligated to take it seriously our emotional balance can shift towards a world that is more reassuring."

In our data, the kind of "undesirable" situations that typically trigger smiles and laughter include such errors as some incongruence between speakers' announced plans and the actual presentation, a mismatch between their thoughts and the actually uttered words, the presentation of an excessively long example, or a mismatch between the projected slides and the actual content of the presentation. These are frequently accompanied by an initiating smile from the speakers to recognize the problem, after which they often glance at the audience to invite shared laughter and solidarity. In fact, the audience generally responds with an affiliative smile to reassure the speaker.

In the following example, the speaker has been commenting on some data that are supposed to be projected on the screen, suddenly to discover that he had been showing the wrong slide. The speaker's smile reflects his natural embarrassment, but is also an attempt to mitigate the mistake and invite the audience to take this as a good opportunity for shared amusement.

and what i found in the data if i looked very closely using if i using corpus software if i looked closely identifying where third person s occurs, looking very closely at those um extracts where third person s appeared you can see that very often the third person s-form appears in a very close proximity to the use of that form by an L1 speaker. okay? so, to summarise, so you didn't see that (xx) < S1 SMILE > so that's what i was just talking about, third persons okay?

Another regular source of humour in our presentations is self-deprecation (Chafe 2007: 76). Speakers' self-abasement is usually fake, and so is normally assumed to be by the audience. In this example, however, the speaker openly confesses to a minor methodological limitation of her research. Her embarrassment is perceptible in her fiddling with her printed copies of the talk, as well as in the fact that her confession is punctuated by smiles on her part and on the part of the also half-embarrassed audience.

> now in terms of the text analysis approach that we used well we took a corpus-driven approach based on the manual analysis of all the texts in the corpus, we we we decided not to use < S1 ADDRESSES AUDIENCE > i mean the corpus mm was small enough in order to be able to do manual analysis but in any case it was necessary so < S1 LAUGHTER WITH SOME UPTAKE FROM AUDIENCE > . perhaps if uh we could've a- analysed more cor- more corpora < S1 FIDDLES WITH COPIES > if we had taken mm uh i mean uh other means for analysing such as uh corpus linguistics tools but we decided not to < S1 GASPS > .

The audience's smile must be interpreted as affiliative rather than mocking. In this context, the absence of an affiliative smile would be taken as an indication that the speaker is being seriously punished for her mistakes. Such instances of sincere self-criticism accompanied by laughter or smiles were only found in the NNS data. The NS presentations contain several instances of apparently self-denigratory humour, but they are clearly not genuine and not embarrassing, either for the speaker or for the audience.

Among the "undesirable" situations that frequently trigger smiles and laughter from all parties at a conference presentation, there is also the mentioning or citing of the work of a member of the audience. Myers (1989) explains that citing other people's work is a potential FTA for both the cited author and the audience. Authors of research articles employ a number of rhetorical strategies to reduce the intrinsic threat of personal citations. But in the special context of the conference presentation, participants resort to the use of gesture for the same purpose. Speakers' smiles function to mitigate the FTA involved in citing a member of the audience. Similarly, the smiles of the audience and the cited author are a way to reassure the speaker that the mitigating act has been accepted and the presentation continue on amicable terms (no grudges!). Here is an example from our corpus of presentations:

> well there have been a number of important studies uh which have investigated interpersonal values and the strategies used for offering praise and criticism, (xx) uh two very good examples are (x) two thousand and (x) who is here too, < SS LAUGHTER > uh two thousand

Finally, another common source of non-seriousness or humour at conference presentations is allusions to undesirable circumstances of the presentation. One such occasion, occurring very frequently in the context of the CPs, are speakers' explicit mentions of their concerns about the excessive time-constraints of the

event and the fact they might be running out of time and going through a dire situation. In the following example, the moderator informs the speaker that her time is about to finish. The speaker recognizes this as a potential problem but at the same time puts up a smile "to take the edge off what otherwise would be something purely negative" (Chafe 2007: 74). Although not figuring in the transcription, it is very likely that both the moderator and part of the audience had mirrored the speaker's smile as an expression of understanding and solidarity:

> <S1 > but well i won't go into these constructions < S1 SMILING > due to time < LOOKING AT MODERATOR FOR CONFIRMATION > restrictions.

> <MODERATOR > < OVERLAP > (xx six, six minutes) </OVERLAP>

> <S1 > <OVERLAP > (5 min yeah) </OVERLAP > , (still a lot to cover) < S1: LAUGHTER > so this table summarises er what's been found (on the mental focus)

Some of the non-humorous situations that elicit laughter in our presentations are not as a result of a mistake or any similarly "undesirable" circumstance, but would rather fall under what Chafe describes as "abnormal or unexpected" situations. In the specific context of the conference talk this would include, for instance, those moments when speakers are aware that they are making a conceptual distinction which might be questionable, when they use terminology and methods that they assume their audience might not be familiar with, or when they present some unexpected results. The first two are illustrated in the following examples from our corpus:

> …and directive expressions can function on two distinct levels. either on the S–O-A related level or state of affairs-related level erm in which we deal with erm events that relate to the real world or on a speaker-related level and then these expressions relate to the speakers' argumentative goals. these two levels are not my invention < S1 SMILES >

> secondly i also conducted a multiple distinctive collexeme analysis < S1 SMILES AND GRIMACES > , which is a type of collostructional analysis erm designed by Gries and Stefanowitsch, < CLEARS THROAT >,

In all these situations, presenters' smiles signal their awareness of the presence of a potentially disruptive element, of which they are asking the audience's acceptance. Similarly, the audience's smiles, although missing in the transcription, would indicate that their positive or favourable attitude towards both the presentation and the speaker remains, for instance, in the last example, the fact that they accept the proposed terms and conceptual distinctions in spite of their strangeness.

Finally, many instances of humour in the presentations have as a target the data of the research. In this field of applied linguistics the data often consists of examples of real language use by non-academics. The mere reading out with a slightly humorous intonation of examples of real, everyday discourse in the context of the presentation often begets bouts of laughter from the audience. Of course the examples must have something intrinsically humorous. But the speaker reinforces the intrinsic comic potential of the episodes by stressing the intonation

or gesticulating in an exaggerated manner, like in the following excerpt, where the presenter is narrating a teaching episode full of misunderstandings with one of his Japanese students:

> this situation was a little complex, the teacher was asking the students for Japanese words that had been adopted into Japanese from English. < READING > teacher, (ah) sorry, teacher asked them for an example. student, no idea. teacher, sorry? student, no idea. teacher, no idea is Japanese? < S1 VERY EMPHATICALLY > no idea? student, i have no idea. < SS LAUGHTER > teacher, ah, you have no idea, ah, < FOREIGN > eigo da < /FOREIGN > . i was thinking, i was thinking you were saying that,_i thought you were saying that this is a Japanese word < /READING > (wow), there's a lot of mis-understanding in this classroom situation. < SS LAUGHTER >

There seems to be a clear intention here on the part of the speaker to exploit the example to create humour and move the audience to laugh. Actually, he glances at the audience repeatedly throughout the episode, as if to trigger or ascertain the effectiveness of the strategy, and frequently makes pauses for shared laughter. In general, this kind of humour reinforces the solidarity between audience and presenter by stressing their condition of expert observers of the non-esoteric everyday reality.

Of course there are other sources of humour in our small corpus of presentations: the unexpected use of informal, colloquial language, what Partington (2006) calls "register play", that usually results in generalized laughter; allusions to the fact that the presenter is a regular person, to his or her non-academic life, Partington's "regular guy narrative", for instance, when one of the speakers tells the audience where their university is situated, inviting them to visit the place. Here we have only looked cursorily at this very interesting topic, which, as has hopefully been shown, plays such a major role in the eventual success of the presentations.

4 Conclusions

Although the role of native models in international academic English is being increasingly questioned nowadays from both native and, especially, non-native speakers' benches (Swales 1997; Canagarajah 2002), except for a few major figures with international prestige in their academic community and a bunch of courageous champions of the rights of the non-native speaker, the main aspiration of many a non-native speaker in the academy is still to reproduce major native models. They are being particularly successful in writing, where help is aplenty, from a simple copy-and-paste strategy to the use of a competent language mediator (Lillis and Curry 2006). Neither of these is available in real-time speech production. It is also true that pressure –from reviewers and referees of all sorts– on the non-native speaker to conform to English native norms is greater in the medium of writing than in speaking, which results in a greater homogeneity in the writing practices of native and non-native speakers than in their speaking. And yet, the great bulk of research on the differences between native and non-native academic English practices has concerned written texts so far.

Our intention in this chapter was to help filling this gap. Following Swales (2004: 206), we sought to find out whether or not there existed differences between native and non-native speakers at conferences regarding the use of two characteristic features of English academic speech: self-references and humour. Accumulating evidence on academic writing showed that non-native speakers seem to be less prone to stepping into the discourse explicitly through the use of references to their persona, that they prefer a more detached, impersonal style of presentation, and that they may use humour more sparingly. This study set out to further investigate these issues, this time in academic speech.

As regards the first variable, in general, the results of our research show that the number of self-references was surprisingly similar in both native and non-native presentations. This seems to contrast with the findings of the few existing studies on this issue to date (Vassileva 2002). We explained these surprising findings as being a result of the special nature of the non-native speakers in our study, experts in English with a high command of the language. They may also be indicative of the effects of a possible generalization, at a global scale, of the kind of marketing rhetoric characteristic of present-day scientific discourse in English.

The research also brought to light interesting differences between the groups in the nature of the verbal predicates collocating with self-mentions. Compared to the rather informal nature of the verbs in the native speaker presentations, the non-native speakers in our study tended to favour the use of I + verb combinations typically encountered in scientific writing. In Swales' terms (2004), they opted for a more "closed" presentation style. Finally, the non-native speakers in our corpus also showed a striking fondness for a series of metadiscoursal phrases like "I mean" or "as I said", which have been found in ELF research to be characteristic of ELF discourse. It has been hypothesized that in such a context as the CP, where it is crucial to convey the impression that the presenter has full control of the topic, such markers of hesitation and self-repair may be indicative of a certain lack of confidence or assertiveness, and eventually undermine the presenter's credibility before their audience.

As regards the use of humour, quantitatively, the moments of humour and non-seriousness are rarer in the non-native speaker presentations than in the native speaker ones. More importantly, the native speakers used the few moments of non-seriousness that can be fitted into this type of content-focused academic event more to their advantage: their humour episodes were more elaborate and more strategically distributed throughout the presentations, for instance, in the introductory and concluding sections, where it is particularly important to gain audience empathy.

Of course, further research is needed to confirm and fully interpret the meaning of these findings, particularly given the small size of the data on which this study is based. However, the differences that have been pointed out between native and non-native presentation styles are highly important, particularly if we consider that the use of self-references and the strategic display of humour play key roles in the context of the conference talk by conferring authority to the propositional content, and preventing or mitigating conflict between presenters and audiences.

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A Cross-cultural Study of Indirectness and Hedging in the Conference Proposals of English NS and NNS Scholars

Hacer Hande Uysal

Abstract Use of an appropriate degree of indirectness and hedging is critical in effective scientific academic writing (Hyland 1995). However, perceptions of appropriateness in indirectness and hedging are claimed to be culture-specific, even sometimes causing socio-pragmatic failure in intercultural communication (Hyland 1995; Thomas 1983). Despite the importance of the issue, not much is known about what constitutes an appropriate degree of indirectness in academic discourse and to what extent it differs across cultures (Hinkel 2005). The present study, therefore, investigates whether cross-cultural differences exist in the use and functions of *indirectness and hedging* devices in a corpus of 120 conference proposals written by Indian, Japanese, Turkish (NNS), and Anglo-American (NS) scholars. Hinkel's (1997, 2005) categorization of indirectness and hedging devices served as the framework for the analysis. The analysis included thirteen types of indirectness and hedging devices under three major headings as rhetorical devices *(i.e. disclaimers and denials, vagueness and ambiguity markers)*, lexical and referential markers *(i.e. hedges, point of view distancing, downtoners, dimunitives, discourse particles, demonstratives, indefinite pronouns)*, and syntactic markers (i.e., *passive voice, if conditionals)*. The data were subjected to statistical analysis first by employing Kruskall-Wallis test to compare the three NNS groups in terms of the frequencies of indirectness devices (IN-TR-JP). Then, Mann–Whitney U test was used for paired comparisons similar to Hinkel (1997), first between each NNS group (IN-TR, IN-JP, JP-TR) and then between English NS and each cultural group (NS-IN, NS-JP, NS-TR). After the statistical analysis, the functions of the indirectness devices that differed across groups were also examined. The results indicate significant differences across the cultural groups in both frequencies and functions of various indirectness/hedging markers. While NS and Indians used few instances of indirectness devices, Turkish and especially Japanese scholars preferred higher frequencies of indirectness and hedging devices in their proposals.

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The results indicate that these significant cross-cultural variations in hedging and indirectness in the genre of conference proposal may be cultural, thus may cause problems for international scholars such as Indian, Japanese, and Turkish scholars in their attempts to be accepted and disseminate their work in international conferences as their proposals can be perceived as either too direct or indirect. The results are also striking because as opposed to most previous contrastive rhetoric or intercultural communication studies that often portray Western texts (especially Anglo-American) as direct as opposed to Eastern texts as indirect and hesitant, the present study found significant differences even among texts of scholars all largely from Eastern cultural backgrounds. This result, therefore, call simple assumptions and overgeneralizations regarding Western and Eastern cultural styles into question. Further discussions on the results and implications for further research and pedagogical applications will be provided.

1 Background

Although scientific academic writing was previously regarded as objective and independent from cultural influences, increasing cross-cultural research on rhetorical and pragmatic aspects of academic discourse has revealed that this is definitely not the case (Bennett 2010, 2011; Duzsak 1997; Hirano 2009; Loi 2010; Martin 2003; Mauranen 1993a, b). On the contrary, recent views have considered written texts, including the scientific ones, as embedded in socio-cultural contexts (Hyland 1995, 1998; Nystrand 1989) and regarded all communication in this sense as "intercultural" (Scollon and Scollon 2003: 540). Cross-cultural research into written discourse in general has provided ample evidence for the presence and nature of cultural differences in a range of genres in terms of various rhetorical structures, such as the use of coordination versus subordination (Ostler 1987), organizational patterns (Connor 1987; Kaplan 1966; Kubota 1998; Uysal 2008a, 2008b); argument structure (Choi 1988; Kamimura and Oi 1998; Qin and Karabacak 2010; Uysal 2012), coherence (Clyne 1981), cohesive devices (Hinkel 2001), metatext (Mauranen 1993a, b), straightforward versus flowery language style (Sa'addeddin 1989), and reader versus writer responsibility (Hinds 1983).

Use of indirectness and hedging—a pragmatic aspect of writing— has also been claimed to vary across cultures (Clyne 1994; Spencer-Oatey 2000; Hinkel 2002; Lewin 2005). For example, a direct style with open and assertive statements was observed in arguments in US (Okabe 1983; Tannen 1998), Czech Republic (Bloor and Bloor 1991), and Northern European countries (Beltran; Salo-Lee and Maestro 2002; Nikula 1997). In contrast, an indirect argument style was found in collectivist cultures, such as Korean, Japanese, and Chinese to avoid threats to face and

to establish harmony as valued in the Confucian philosophy (Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey 1988; Hinkel 2002). In addition, intercultural communication studies revealed that Japanese were more hesitant and tentative in their arguments (Hazen 1986; Okabe 1983; Tannen 1998), "avoided open disagreements" and "showed preference for ambiguity" with frequent use of hedging as softening devices than Americans (Hazen 1986: 228). Hinkel (1997) also found that Chinese, Korean, Japanese, and Indonesian speakers used indirectness devices such as rhetorical questions, disclaimers and denials, vagueness and ambiguity markers, hedges, ambiguous pronouns, and passive-voice in greater frequencies in their texts than did Americans. Moreover, Japanese, Indian, and Korean speakers were also observed to structure their texts in more indirect and circular ways when compared to Americans (Choi 1988; Hinds 1983; Kachru 1988; Kamimura and Oi 1998).

In scientific academic discourse, however, hedging and indirectness have been studied mostly in Anglo-American texts across disciplines and genres rather than across cultures. For example, Salager-Meyer (1994) showed that while discussion and comment sections followed by the introduction included the highest frequencies of hedges, methods section contained the least amount of hedging in medical reports and research papers. In addition, shields, compounds, (and approximators were the most common types of hedges. Similarly, Vartalla 1999) found that hedges were frequent in the discussion and introduction sections in medical discourse; yet, their communicative functions varied across genres. Vassileva (2001), on the other hand, took a contrastive academic rhetoric perspective and investigated whether Bulgarian, Bulgarian English, and English research articles differed in terms of the use of hedges and boosters. The results revealed that while English research articles consisted plenty of hedges, Bulgarian English articles lacked hedges; thus, they were inappropriately assertive and direct. Vassileva concluded that Bulgarian scholars' unawareness of the necessity of hedges in research articles can lead to pragmatic failure, and suggested inclusion of this aspect in L2 academic writing classes.

Despite the limited research on hedging and indirectness in scientific academic texts, scholars have continuously noted the critical role of this pragmatic aspect in composing effective academic texts in English. One reason is that while use of too many indirectness and hedging devices may be perceived negatively as a sign of professional incompetence or insecurity in what is argued, use of some degree of hedging in opinion statements is also highly required in scientific academic discourse (Hyland 1994, 1995; Hinkel 1997; Swales 1990; Lewin 2005). As Meyer (1997) suggested, while hedging serves as a "negative politeness strategy" and as a "symbol of powerless speech style" in interpersonal communication (p. 21), it is transformed into a rational weakening strategy that has a "paradoxical strengthening effect" in written academic discourse, because "the stronger the claims are, the easier they are to falsify" (p. 40). Therefore, use of an appropriate level of hedging and indirectness, which establishes a sense of "appropriate accuracy, caution, and humility," becomes critical in gaining acceptance of the scientific

community (Hyland 1996: 434). Furthermore, according to Hyland (1995), hedging in English academic writing has three important functions, which are to "distinguish the actual from the potential and imply that a proposition is based on the writer's plausible reasoning rather than certain knowledge" (pp. 34–35); to "help writers avoid personal responsibility for statements in order to protect their reputations and limit the damage which may result from categorical commitments;" and finally, to "contribute to the development of the writer-reader relationship, addressing the need for deference and cooperation in gaining reader ratification of claims" (p. 35).

In summary, existing literature suggests that use of an appropriate level of hedging and indirectness is crucial in scientific academic discourse, and the degree of indirectness in opinion-statements or claim-making in written argumentation varies across cultures. Thus, cross-cultural differences in indirectness/hedging are also likely to exist in conference proposals — another type of persuasive scientific genre. The conference proposal is an important genre that should be subject to cross-cultural investigation because conference proposals are often submitted to review by referees from multiple cultural backgrounds in international conferences. According to Halleck and Connor (2006), conference proposal as a genre has "an utmost importance" as its "acceptance provides scholars with a public platform from which to introduce their work to their peers" (p. 70). The communicative purpose of a conference proposal is to "convince members of an academic discourse community to approve a request to further knowledge in the field" (Halleck and Connor 2006: 72); therefore, cross-cultural variations in referee's perceptions with regards to pragmatics of discourse may cause misinterpretations, resulting in the rejection of the proposal. Because hedging is critical in receiving approval of the scientific academic discourse community, lack of awareness of this pragmatic aspect may put especially international scholars at disadvantage in their attempts to disseminate their work.

For that reason, any cross-cultural variations in hedging/directness in the genre of conference proposal should be identified by empirical research to envisage possible problems international scholars may face and to inform ESL/EFL academic writing instruction to deal with such difficulties by focusing more on the cultural and pragmatic aspects of academic discourse. Nevertheless, to my knowledge, hedging and indirectness in conference proposals have not been explored by any cross-cultural corpus studies to date. Therefore, to close this gap in literature, the present study aimed to compare and contrast the use of indirectness and hedging devices in the conference proposals of Indian, Japanese, Turkish and Anglo-American scholars.

2 Method

2.1 Data Collection and Analysis

A corpus of 120 conference abstracts written by 30 English NS (NS), 30 Indian (IN), 30 Japanese (JP), and 30 Turkish (TR) scholars in English (a total of 31,716 words) constituted the data for the study. The proposals were selected randomly from the abstract book of 38th International Congress of Asian and North African Studies held in Ankara, Turkey and the 5th International Conference on Interdisciplinary Social Sciences held in Cambridge University, United Kingdom. The NS or NNS status of the authors was assumed based on both the authors' nationalities and names; however, the authors were not contacted to verify the status of English to them. In cases where more than one author is involved, it was assured that all authors share similar nationality and language backgrounds. Only the conference proposals written on subjects in social sciences were analyzed because use of hedging and other features of opinion positioning have been reported to differ across disciplines (Hyland 2005). Therefore, by limiting the textual analysis to conference proposals in the discipline of social sciences, the study aimed to control both the genre and discipline-specific variables that are likely to shape the texts besides the cultural factor.

Hinkel's (1997, 2005) categorization, which grouped indirectness and hedging devices into thirteen types under three major headings as *rhetorical devices*, *lexical and referential markers*, and *syntactic markers* served as the framework for the analysis. The indirectness devices included in the analysis are described as follows:

1. Rhetorical devices:

   a. Rhetorical questions and tags
   b. Disclaimers and denials: "*not mean to/imply/say, x is not y, not even, no way, not + adjective/verb/noun/adverb….*"
   c. Vagueness and ambiguity: "*a lot of, approximately, around, many/much, number of, pieces, x or y, x or so, several, aspects of, facets of, good/bad, and so on, seldom, who knows, do(es)usually/often/occasionally/sometimes whatever (pron), some,…..*"

2. Lexical and referential markers:

   a. Hedges and hedging devices "*may, can, likely, possibly, seemingly, about, in a way, kind of, more or less, most, by some/any chance, hopefully, perhaps, in case of, as is well known, as people say, apparently, basically, according to, actually, relatively, potentially, probably…..*"
   b. Point of view distancing: "*I believe/think, I am concerned/I would like to think…*"
   c. Downtoners: "*at all, almost, hardly, mildly, nearly, partly, slightly, somewhat, only, as good/well as, enough, at least, merely….*"
   d. Diminutives: "*a little, a few, a bit, virtually…*"
   e. Discourse particles: "*anyway, anyhow*"
   f. Demonstratives: "*that, these….*"
   g. Indefinite pronouns/determiners: "*everybody, nobody, anything, someone..*"
   h. Discourse understatements: "*fairly, quite, rather, not bad…*"

3. Syntactic markers and structures:

    a Passive voice
    b If conditionals.

To understand whether the use of indirectness devices was statistically different across the four cultural groups, the frequency counts of the words or expressions classified under each of the thirteen categories of indirectness devices were first calculated. The coding was done manually by checking the function of each indirectness devices in the context. Then, the total number of words or expressions for each category was compared to the total word count in each text, and percentages were found. For example, in a proposal of 438 words, the percentage of two "rhetorical questions" was calculated as $2/438 * 100 = 0.04$ %. This calculation was employed for each category of indirectness device in all 120 texts, and then the median and ranges were found. First, the three NNS groups were compared to each other through Kruskall-Wallis test to see the categories in which the indirectness devices differ across groups and to rank the three groups in terms of the frequency of indirectness devices (IN-TR-JP). Then, because most percentages calculated were not normally distributed, and because not all texts included all kinds of indirectness devices, similar to Hinkel (1997), a non-parametric statistical test—Mann–Whitney U—was used for paired comparisons, first between each NNS group (IN-TR, IN-JP, JP-TR), and then between English NS and each cultural group (NS-IN, NS-JP, NS -TR). After the statistical analysis, the functions of the indirectness devices that significantly differed across groups were also examined.

3 Results

3.1 Frequencies According to the Types of Indirectness Devices Across Groups

The Kruskall-Wallis test revealed significant differences among Indian, Japanese, and Turkish groups in the categories of *rhetorical questions, hedges, point of view distancing, demonstratives*, and *passive voice*. According to the mean ranks, Japanese proposals had the highest frequency of *rhetorical questions, disclaimers and denials, hedges, and point of view distancing* among the three groups, and Turkish proposals had the highest frequency of *disclaimers and denials, demonstratives and passive* voice. Indian proposals, on the other hand, were the most direct as they had the least frequent use of indirectness devices. The results can be seen in Table 1.

To understand whether these differences were statistically significant, a Mann–Whitney-U test was employed between each pair of the NNS group. According to the results between Indian and Japanese groups, Japanese proposals had

significantly higher frequencies of *rhetorical questions* (z = −2.30 < 0.05), *disclaimers and denials* (z = −2.15 < 0.05), *hedges* (z = −4.18 < 0.01), *point of view distancing* (z = −3.98 < 0.01), *demonstratives* (z = −3.10 < 0.01), and *passive voice* (z = −2.13 < 0.05) than the Indian proposals. Similarly, Turkish scholars used the markers of *disclaimers and denials* (z = −3.26 < 0.01), *hedges* (z = −2.43 < 0.05), *discourse particles* (z = −2.31 < 0.05), *demonstratives* (z = −3.65 < 0.01)*, and passive voice* (z = −2.46 < 0.05) more than the Indian scholars. Although Turkish and Japanese scholars both preferred frequent use of various indirectness devices, Japanese scholars' use of indirectness device markers of *rhetorical questions* (z = −3.21 < 0.01), *point of view distancing* (z = −2.09 < 0.05), and *discourse particles* (z = −2.05 < 0.05) were even higher than the Turkish scholars (Please see Table 1).

When it comes to the comparisons between the NS and each NNS group, significant differences were again observed across groups for different categories (Please see Table 2 for the statistical results). For example, NSs used *rhetorical questions* significantly more than all other groups and used *passive voice* significantly more than Indians, and slightly more than the TR and JP groups. Nevertheless, NSs can still be considered quite direct because they used no point of view distancing, almost no understatements, no discourse particles and diminutives, and significantly fewer hedges and demonstratives than the Japanese and Turkish. Japanese and Turkish scholars, on the other hand, preferred indirectness devices significantly more than the NSs. Japanese, for instance, used *hedges, point of view distancing, downtoners, and demonstratives* more than the NSs. Turkish scholars also used *hedges, point of view distancing, and demonstratives* more than the NS scholars. In this picture, Indians seems to be the most direct with the fewest occurrences of indirectness devices in their proposals. Japanese proposals, on the other hand, had the highest frequencies of indirectness devices in more categories than the other groups.

3.2 Functions of the Common Indirectness Devices Across Groups

The indirectness devices that significantly differed across groups such as *rhetorical questions, passive voice, point of view distancing, and hedging* had both similar and different functions across the cultural groups. For example, passive-voice, which was used with higher frequencies by NSs than the other groups, was preferred while talking about previous research, giving general information about the topic, and describing research procedures or methods by all groups. Nonetheless, NSs generally tended to switch to active sentences with high frequency of first person pronouns (generally 'I') while introducing the present work. This pattern was similar to Indian and to a certain extent to Japanese proposals; however, it was significantly different from the Turkish proposals, which showed a strong

Table 1 Significant results of Kruskall-Wallis test among the three NNS groups. N = 30 for each group

IN-JP-TR	χ^2	Groups	Mean rank	gSig
Rhetorical questions	13.64	IN	43	0.001
		JP	53.5	
		TR	40	
Disclaimers/ denials	11.16	IN	33.95	0.004
		JP	47.2	
		TR	55.35	
Hedges	17.53	IN	30.6	0.000
		JP	58.68	
		TR	47.22	
Point of view distancing	16.04	IN	36.07	0.000
		JP	56.83	
		TR	43.6	
Demonstratives	15.41	IN	30.32	0.000
		JP	51.63	
		TR	54.55	
Passive voice	7.26	IN	35.17	0.027
		JP	49.1	
		TR	52.23	

preference for passive-voice while talking about current research as well. Only in five Turkish proposals, active voice with first person pronoun ('we' even in single authored proposals) was found, but in all such cases, these active sentences were blended with heavy hedging and point of view distancing. Thus, despite the use of active-voice, TR proposals sounded very indirect and hesitant indicating discomfort with self-mentioning and assertive presentation of the current research when compared to the NS proposals as can be seen in the following examples:

NS: "In this chapter I will analyze….. Then, I will look at…." "Here I respond to this controversy with theoretical frameworks………"

TR: "In this work, ….points will be focused on and …..the resources will be investigated…"OR" In this study, **we try to** make cultural links …we **try to** explain …." "**If it is possible,** we **will be happy** to present our paper related with ….."

Indian and Japanese proposals, on the other hand, mostly used active sentences without first person pronouns, which was the second most common pattern in NS and Turkish proposals. Japanese proposals also had active sentences both with first person pronoun 'I' in a very assertive manner similar to NSs and with hedges and point of view distancing similar to TR as can be seen in the following example. In summary, unlike Indians and NSs, Japanese and especially the Turkish scholars' use of hedging and point of view distancing especially while presenting current work created a sense of uncertainty, hesitance, and indirectness.

Table 2 Indirectness strategies and devices for NS, Indian, Japanese and Turkish proposals

INDIRECTNESS DEVICES	Median %				NS-IN		NS-JP		NS-TR	
	NS	IN	JP	TR	U	Z	U	Z	U	Z
I. Rhetorical devices										
1.Rhetorical questions	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	330	−2.54*	421	−0.52	300	−3.42**
Range	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.00						
2.Disclaimers and denials	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	372.5	−1.27	408	−0.66	326.5	−190
Range	0.03	0.01	0.02	0.04						
3.Vagueness and ambiguity	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	384	−0.98	337	−1.68	338.5	−1.67
Range	0.03	0.02	0.03	0.03						
II. Lexical/referential markers										
1. Hedges and hedging devices	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.01	365	−1.26	156	−4.35**	238.5	−3.14**
Range	0.02	0.02	0.04	0.04						
2. Point of view distancing	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	420	−1.43	210	−4.56**	360	−2.56*
Range	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01						
3. Downtoners	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	287.5	−3.16**	299	−3.01**	372	−1.86
Range	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.01						
4. Diminutives	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	448.5	−0.04	440	−0.27	446.5	−0.10
Range	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01						
5. Discourse particles	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	421.5	−0.71	438	−0.32	405	−1.76
Range	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00						
6. Demonstratives	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.02	367	−1.25	175	−4.09**	142.5	−4.57**
Range	0.03	0.04	0.04	0.03						
7. Indefinite pronouns	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.00	385	−0.99	352.5	−1.48	430.5	−0.30
Range	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.02						
8. Understatement markers	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	433	−0.52	435	−0.40	434	−0.49
Range	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.00						
III. Syntactic markers										
1. Passive voice	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	277.5	−2.55*	392.5	−0.85	430.5	−0.29
Range	0.03	0.02	0.03	0.04						
2. Conditional tense	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	442	−0.20	403	−1.45	439	−0.29
Range	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01						

NS = Native speakers of English; IN = Indian; JP = Japanese; TR = Turkish
*2 tailed $p < 0.05$, **2 tailed $p < 0.01$

JP: [T]hrough such discussions, we **hope to** organize a panel that **can**
address…..**Our ultimate hope** is to build a new perspective……

Rhetorical questions, which were again used more by NSs than the other
groups, demonstrated more diverse and richer strategic purposes in NS and Jap-
anese texts than the other groups based on Hyland's (2002) categories. The most
common place of questions in NS proposals was the title or the opening sentence
to get attention. The second most common function was *to set up claims*:

How are we to understand the 'state of the nation' which these circumstances suggest? Let
us invent another scenario. Let us take, as its main ingredients, a toy called 'Bar-
bie';……… a TV series "Friends", where adults behave like adolescents behaving like
children.……What is going on? (Ends with a question, implying the purpose of the paper
and creating suspension)

Another common function was *to frame the discourse*:

What is a racist joke? Can the concept of racism cover actions that are not necessarily
voluntary or ideologically motivated, like laughter? This chapter considers such questions
sociologically…..

Japanese proposals also had clusters of questions mostly in titles for getting
attention and at the beginning for *setting up claims* similar to NS proposals:

Is it possible for us to establish a non-Eurocentric and widely acceptable concept of early
modernity? Of course it is not difficult for us to find similar phenomena in the ….16th to
18th century….. (Claim making).

However, Japanese also used questions *to establish a niche*, and their use of
questions while establishing a niche also strategically combined with making a
claim or framing the discourse as can be seen in the following example:

Here arises **a problem**. Namely, did Sanghadeva in fact translate the text with Daoan and
Huijuan? Did Daoan really become closely involved in the translation of the same original
twice under different titles?…..My paper will present… and **examine the problems
mentioned above**.

Indian and Turkish proposals, on the other hand, had questions with limited
purposes. Indians used questions in lower frequencies either to get attention right
at the beginning or to frame the discourse. Questions in the Turkish proposals were
used only to frame discourse.

4 Conclusions and Discussion

Among the four groups, Indian scholars were found to prefer a direct argumen-
tation style in their writing with the least frequent use of indirectness and hedging
devices. This result seems to be contradicting Kachru (1988) who claimed that
speakers of Indian organize their texts in a non-linear and indirect way. However,
it is important to note that Kachru's study focused on discourse organization rather

than the use of specific indirectness devices. The results of the present study also do not concur with Valentine (1994), who examined hedging in Indian spoken discourse and found abundant hedging in forms of hesitance markers or softeners in disagreement statements. Valentine concluded that Indians frequently use "indirect forms of speech, non-confrontational language, delays, prefacing and other hedging" as acts to reduce threat to face (p. 14). However because Valentine examined hedging in spoken discourse these findings might not be comparable with the present study. The results of the present study, nevertheless, is in line with Sridhar (1991), who found that Indian English users prefer a direct speech for requests when compared to people from Western backgrounds.

The English NSs were also direct in their writing despite their preference for *rhetorical questions* and *passive-voice* more than the other groups. This result was surprising as academic writing classes and textbooks often discourage the use of passive-voice in English except for describing research methods or procedures (Swales 1990; Cargill and O'Connor 2009). Studies on scientific discourse, on the other hand, are controversial, thus do not offer a clear picture about the use of passive-voice. While a high preference for active-voice in English medical texts was observed (Wingard 1981), passive was also found almost 50 % times as opposed to 20 % of active-voice in texts within the disciplines of natural sciences (Master 1991). In terms of functions, Tarone, Dwyer, Gilette, and Icke's (1998) found that in astrophysics articles passive-voice was used when comparing previous literature with present work and while describing a methodological procedure whereas active-voice is used when mentioning one's contribution to the field and any unique procedural choices. Similarly, in the present study, NSs used passive-voice while talking about previous research, giving information about the topic and methods, but used active-voice when talking about the present work. NS proposals also contained the highest frequency of rhetorical questions with greatest diversity of functions. Although overuse of questions has been discouraged in English scientific discourse (especially in hard sciences) for being too personal and informal (Hyland 2002; Hinkel 1997), Hyland (2002) pointed out a frequent and strategic use of questions as direct appeals to the reader for purposes of getting attention, framing and organizing the discourse, creating a niche, expressing an attitude or counterclaim, setting up claim, and pointing forward to further research in Anglo-American articles in social sciences. Similarly, in the present study, NSs used questions with three of these functions—to get attention, to set up claims, and to frame the discourse in their conference proposals.

Turkish scholars, on the other hand, used high rates of indirectness devices in their writing such as *disclaimers and denials*, *hedges*, *point of view distancing*, *demonstratives*, and *passive voice*. Although not much research exists on hedging and indirectness in Turkish academic texts, Uysal (2012) found that Turkish subjects had a common preference for the use of *disclaimers and denials, hedging, and rhetorical questions* in their argumentative essays parallel with the present findings. The present findings also confirm Doyuran (2009) who found high frequencies of hedging in published Turkish linguistic research articles with the

purposes of suppressing the authorial presence and seeking acceptance for claims by admitting the limitations and uncertainties.

Finally, the Japanese scholars were found to be very indirect in their writing with the highest frequency of indirectness devices counted in their proposals. They preferred using *rhetorical questions, disclaimers and denials, hedges, point of view distancing, demonstratives, and passive voice*. Previous research also reported that *disclaimers and denials* are frequently used by Japanese as a strategy to minimize "imposition on and face threat to a reader," (Hinkel 1997: 369) "to minimize responsibility for the truthfulness of a proposition," and "to mitigate the pragmatic force of claims" (Ohta 1991: 222 cited in Hinkel 1997). Similar to the present study, use of high frequencies of *rhetorical questions* by Japanese writers was also reported by Ohta (1991). The findings also agree with the previous literature indicating that Japanese writers prefer an extensive use of *hedging* and softening devices (Hazen 1986; Hinkel 1997; Ohta 1991), and *passive-voice* instead of first person pronoun with the aim of expressing group harmony (Hinkel 1997; Ohta 1991). However, *point of view distancing*, which is another face-saving device and found to be used frequently by Japanese scholars in the present study, was only observed in Japanese spoken discourse, but not in written discourse by previous research (Hinkel 1997).

5 Implications for Further Research and Pedagogical Applications

The significant variations found across cultures in the use of hedging and indirectness in conference proposals—a scientific academic genre—points out that use of hedging and indirectness in scientific academic discourse may be cultural, thus challenges the idea that scientific discourse is objective and universal. As Ornatowski (2007) states, although science by itself may be factual, objective, and universal; the scientific data is expressed through a persuasive rhetoric, reflecting writer's interpretations, discussions, opinion statements, conclusions, values, and norms; therefore, even scientific discourse may be subjective, stylistic, inventive, situated, and context dependent. However, more research should be conducted to shed light on what constitutes an appropriate level of indirectness in English and how different indirectness and hedging in different cultures.

The results are also striking because as opposed to most previous CR or intercultural communication studies focusing on cultural distinctions between Western and Eastern texts, the present study found significant differences even among texts of scholars all largely from Eastern cultural backgrounds. In general, previous studies have portrayed Western texts (especially Anglo-American) as linear with direct and assertive claims as opposed to Eastern texts as non-linear, indirect, hesitant, and vague. The present study, on the other hand, found that while Indian texts were very direct, Japanese and Turkish texts included high

frequencies of various indirectness and hedging devices. This result, therefore, call simple assumptions and overgeneralizations regarding Western and Eastern cultural styles into question.

However, more research is needed to be able to conclude that the variations found were actually caused by the writers' cultural backgrounds. Although there is a relatively higher number of studies on indirectness and hedging in Japanese academic texts, research on the indirectness and hedging preferences of Indian and Turkish scholars in scientific academic texts is almost lacking. This situation causes limitations for further evaluations and comparisons of the findings in relation to previous literature. In order to confirm the results and make stronger claims about whether the observed patterns regarding the use of indirectness and hedging devices for each cultural group actually represent cultural differences, further cross-cultural research and more data are needed on the use of such devices in especially Turkish and Indian scientific academic texts.

In addition, the socio-cultural contexts represented by each cultural group in the present study should also be examined. Especially, people's views regarding what forms an "effective scientific academic discourse" in each cultural context should be investigated. Moreover, to understand whether the differences found in the use of indirectness devices across cultural groups may cause "socio-pragmatic failure" in intercultural communication, the perceptions and reactions of readers from each cultural backgrounds such as Indian scholars' reactions to Turkish conference proposals versus Turkish scholars' reactions to Indian conference proposals should also be investigated.

The results of the present study also have implications for ESL and EFL academic writing instruction. As pragmatic conventions of hedging acquired in ones' first language is suggested to transfer into and influence writing in a second language, this situation is likely to cause problems such as inappropriate pragmatic performance, misunderstandings (Luukka and Markkanen 1997; Zegarac and Pennington 2000: 166), and even socio-pragmatic failure in cross-cultural communication (Thomas 1983). Therefore, to minimize any cross-cultural conflicts and to make intercultural communication more effective, second language academic writing courses first should raise students' awareness about any cultural divergence between their L1 and L2, and then the instruction should highlight the importance of using an appropriate degree of hedging and strategic indirectness in English academic texts, especially in social sciences. As Sionis (1995) suggests such lack of awareness of English argument conventions in scientific writing is the main reason for the rejection of articles that are lexically and syntactically correct.

Unfortunately, although NNSs often have problems with using the right amount of assertiveness, degree of force, and certain indirectness and hedging strategies in scientific academic writing (Flowerdew 1999; Hyland 1995), such an instructional focus often does not exist in English writing classes (Hinkel 2005; Wishnoff 2000). On the contrary, in most English academic writing classes, NNSs are simply advised to employ a very direct argument style in English, to avoid questions and passive voice altogether (Uysal 2012) without considering the distinctions between the requirements of interpersonal and scientific academic genres (Hinkel 1997;

Wishnoff 2000). This confusion in academic writing and lack of special focus regarding indirectness and hedging result in NNS's writing in a too blunt and too direct manner causing credibility problems in their arguments or their using of too many indirectness and hedging devices leading them to be perceived as hesitant, incompetent or unprofessional (Clyne 1991). With regard to the findings of the present study, Indian, Japanese, and Turkish scholars may all be at risk of being perceived as too direct or indirect in their writing.

Instructional activities aiming at consciousness raising regarding pragmalinguistic norms in L2 such as the use of indirectness and hedging can prevent such negative results (Wishnoff 2000; Rose 2005). Use of certain hedging markers especially in making claims and drawing conclusions should be encouraged by instructors of English scientific academic writing courses. As Markkanen and Schroder (1997) states hedging is an important "interactional strategy" (p. 8), and even "obligatory" in scientific academic contexts (Hyland 1996: 434). It increases the credibility of the writer, and protects the writer from "the commitment to the truth-value of a proposition" and possible "humiliation" because when a hedged claim is proven wrong, "it is possible to say the claim was only tentative" (p. 8). Not being able to use indirectness and hedging in appropriate proportions, on the other hand, may result in disapproval or rejection by international conferences or scientific journals.

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Part IV
Non-Research Academic Genres

Breaking the Rules and Searching for Standards in E-mail Exchanges Between Academics

Adam Wojtaszek

Abstract The Chapter aims to establish some focal points for further, more detailed investigation of e-mail communication between scholars using English as their *lingua franca*. On the basis of a corpus of approximately one thousand electronic letters the study highlights a number of intriguing features of this relatively new form of communication. Employing the concept of International University (Björkman 2011), the author makes an attempt to define and describe the community of language users whose main communicative channel comes in form of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF). A significant factor contributing to the homogeneity of this idealised speech community is their professional background as employees of academic institutions, dealing with matters related to research, dissemination of scientific concepts and ideas and organisation of higher education. The language which is used in interactions between the members of the global scientific community is usually English. Given the characteristics of the group of users and the dominating communicative goals, it may be characterised as a peculiar form of English for Specific Purposes (ESP), in this particular case English for Academic Purposes (EAP). The research on Academic English has already accumulated bulky volumes and managed to produce detailed typologies of various genres, such as lectures, conference presentations, seminar discussions, office hours exchanges, research papers, book reviews, dissertations of all kinds, feedback comments on students' work, and many others. Unquestionably, electronic letters exchanged between academics constitute a peculiar, albeit somewhat peripheral genre within broadly understood Academic English, which has been recognised a long time ago (Gains 1999: 81). The investigation, employing selective qualitative text analysis of the corpus, focuses on such issues as participant configurations (manifested mainly in the addresative forms used by writers), linguistic encoding of power relationships and social distance (connected with the issues pertaining to linguistic politeness) and metadiscursive elements in the

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interaction. Additionally, an attempt is made to pinpoint characteristic features of the English language used as a *lingua franca* in electronic mails, on the background of L1 English as used by native speakers. Finally, interesting examples of diversified, local uses of the English language by Polish native speakers are provided and contrasted with the forms employed in international communication within ELF paradigm, echoing the distinction between the local and the global variety of English proposed by Brutt-Griffler (2002: 174–176). In the final part of the paper the contexts shaping the formal and interactional characteristics of academic ELF are described in terms of a Self-Organising System (Gibbs 2005; 2011), followed by suggestions for further research.

1 Background: Setting

Science and civilisation have been crossing the national and political borders for centuries. The learned men of countless tongues, cultures and traditions have been making their contribution to the progress of mankind thanks to their ability to communicate their ideas over the existing barriers dividing belligerent nations. Medieval universities created a unique space where new ideas could be shared and exchanged, where knowledge could be disseminated and made available to those who were ready and able to take advantage of the opportunity. In spite of their elitist character and geographical confinement, for hundreds of years academic institutions had fulfilled their mission with a great success. A true eruption of scientific activity, however, dates back to relatively recent times, when new inventions enabled fast and efficient communication between people across long distances, liberating them from their physical restrictions.

One of the embodiments of this unprecedented form of scientific cooperation is the institution of *invisible college* (Lievrouw 1990; Price 1963, 1986; Zuccala 2006). Although the term was first used in the 17th century in the context of founding the Royal Society of London, the modern form of this type of organisation has been the subject of research for about 50 years now (Zuccala 2006: 152). In its earliest sense, *invisible college* was a name given to a group of members of the Royal Society of Scientists (most of them being mathematicians, not formally affiliated with any established academic institution), who were meeting on regular basis because of sharing common interests. A more recent definition, proposed by Price (1963, 1986) identifies *invisible colleges* as groups of elite, mutually interacting and productive scientists, who are affiliated with geographically distant institutions, and who participate in continuous exchange of information in order to monitor the progress in the field of their expertise. Price was interested not only in their formal, published or otherwise publicly communicated production, but also in various informal patterns and channels of interpersonal contact between scientists. The most recent investigators of *invisible colleges* point to the necessity of elaborating new methods of research into the

structure of those peculiar forms of collective scientific activity. For example, Zuccala (2006: 166) identifies three vital components: *subject specialty, social actors* and *Information Use Environment (IUE)*, each of which requires from the researcher the ability to employ a different toolkit of complementary research techniques in an attempt to highlight the fundamental interrelationships.

An alternative perspective is offered by those scholars whose main point of departure is the use of the English language as a *lingua franca* (ELF) of international academic communication. The key concept referring to the setting where this kind of communication is possible is the notion of *International University* (Björkman 2011; Jenkins 2011). The concept is in a way a return to the medieval standard of an academic institution in the sense that it entails the use of a transnational medium of instruction, management, research and communication in form of one language enjoying the status of *lingua franca*. The only difference is that in the Middle Ages is was Latin and nowadays it is English. As Jenkins (2011: 926–927) observes, many universities (especially in Europe) claim to be international, which is manifested in their multi-national student intake, perhaps slightly less multi-national staff membership and the predominant use of English as the language of instruction. Such institutions become natural settings for the development of new standards in international communication through the channel of the English language, although on many occasions voices can be heard that the traditionally defined standards should be still followed, preventing ELF from separating from its British or North American national sources (Harris 2007). Nevertheless, for Björkman (2011) the concept of *International University* is a convenient starting point to define and describe the community of language users whose main communicative channel comes in form of English as a Lingua Franca. A significant factor contributing to the homogeneity of this idealised speech community is their professional background as employees of academic institutions, dealing with matters related to research, dissemination of scientific concepts and ideas and organisation of higher education.

2 Background: Medium

Having briefly outlined the organisational settings providing convenient habitat for the international variety of English, I will now turn to the issue of evolving standards and the delicate matter of interrelationships between ELF and the dominant national varieties of the language.

The emergence of a new variety of English was a natural consequence of its role in the contemporary world, with the academic settings providing one of a number of other convenient environments. As noticed by Haberland,

> [t]he number of people who speak and write academic English and who are not native speakers of some other kind of English at the same time is fairly big. It must be possible for those people to attempt a creation of a new norm, which would be different from US or

British English to the degree that speakers of those dialects would have to learn it if they want to write it or speak it properly (1989: 936)

Twenty years later, Coleman (2009) admits that he feels some satisfaction in recognising that English native speakers, arrogantly occupying for so long a privileged position as their language went global, will be obliged to master international English, too. This is confirmed by Jenkins, who suggests that "as ELF gains acceptance, particularly among younger multilingual speakers, and as multilingualism becomes the global academic norm, native English speakers, especially the monolingual majority, are at risk of becoming disadvantaged when communicating in international settings" (2011: 926). Having reviewed a number of studies, she concludes at the end that "ELF research has already demonstrated that native English speakers, particularly the monolingual majority, are less effective than nonnative speakers in international communication" (2011: 934).

The above observations make it evident that there is a growing tension and distance between the native (British, US, etc.) variety of English and the ELF. It raises the questions of ownership, maintenance and authority of codification for the language, which is "especially relevant in view of the increasing use of English in international academic contexts (…), not only (…) publications, but also (…) in teaching (…), in international (and occasional national) meetings and conferences, and as a medium of written communication between researchers and teachers" (Haberland 2011: 939). On the one hand, there are relatively inflexible standards (especially in the context of internationally recognised English language certificates) derived directly from the native norms, where the native-like command of the language is still perceived as the ultimate goal, but on the other hand there are countless examples of successful communication between non-native users in various forms of English which depart from those inflexible standards in many ways.

This might serve as an explanation of the above-mentioned difficulty which the monolingual native speakers of English encounter in certain situations. As Jenkins observes, "they still regard themselves in some senses as 'owners' and 'custodians' of the language [for whom] the internationalisation of English simply means the distribution of national British and/or North American English varieties around the globe" (2011: 933). She mentions the so-called 'offshore university' as one of the most distinct and disturbing embodiments of such custodianship, which is in principle nothing more but a geographically distant clone of a British or North American institution, purportedly importing international standards to the target communities. The internationalism, however, is understood as an exact copy of the teaching and evaluation standards applied in the home institution. In this way the 'offshore universities' are international only to the extent that they apply the imported native British or North American patterns in their functioning and organisation. This is in clear contradiction with the point made by Widdowson almost two decades ago, that "[t]he very fact that English is an international language means that no nation can have custody over it. To grant such custody is necessarily to arrest its development and so undermine its international status" (1994: 385).

The problem is, however, that there is no globally recognised institution which would have appropriate means to take over the codification and maintenance of World English. It seems that the international variety of English develops somehow spontaneously, without any formal and institutional control, in spite of the fact that it draws upon a multitude of local, native and non-native, national and transnational varieties of English. It is interesting in this context that those local variants, naturally incorporating local peculiarities, do not diverge completely, in the same manner as local varieties of Latin produced the present Romance languages. A reasonable explanation is provided by Brutt-Griffler (2002), who maintains that the converging force pulling the local varieties towards the common core comes in the form of a peculiar self-identification of millions of users of non-native English as members of an international speech community, inhabiting the contemporary global econoculture. Following Saville-Troike (1996), she proposes that language users can be affiliated with a number of different speech communities, as they participate in a variety of social settings, assuming different social identities. One of such social settings, increasingly frequently pervading our everyday existence, is the contemporary econoculture, understood as the realms of business, trade, popular culture, science and technology in which many people can participate thanks to their command of English (Brutt-Griffler 2002: 110–113). Communicating globally, they tend to select such forms of expression which do not involve a high risk of misinterpretation and are open and tolerant to the potential cultural heterogeneity of standards used by others. As Brutt-Griffler observes, "[o]ne of the processes within the internationalization of English is (…) transculturation: the process by which varieties of World English increasingly become multicultural media within pluralistic cultural communities" (2002: 117).

Although not specifically mentioned by Brutt-Griffler, the world of academia definitely participates in contemporary global econoculture. The use of English as the language of communication between the scientists around the globe has long and well-established traditions. In the context of language instruction, English for Academic Purposes was one of the first varieties of English for Specific Purposes recognised by many scholars working in the field (Dudley-Evans and St John 1998; Hutchinson and Waters 1987). The research on Academic English has already accumulated bulky volumes and managed to produce detailed typologies of various genres, such as lectures, conference presentations, seminar discussions, office hours exchanges, research papers, grant proposals, reprint requests, book reviews, dissertations of all kinds, feedback comments on students' work, and many others (Swales 1990). Unquestionably, electronic letters exchanged between academics constitute a peculiar, albeit somewhat peripheral genre within broadly understood Academic English, which has been recognised a long time ago (Gains 1999: 81).

3 Foreground: Substance and Findings

The main focus of the present chapter is the investigation of electronic mails exchanged between scientists affiliated with different academic institutions around the world in connection with certain aspects of their professional activity. Student—teacher exchanges have been deliberately excluded from consideration in order to eliminate an additional variable potentially complicating the analysis. The number of authors of the e-mails included in the corpus exceeds one hundred, but only six of them are native speakers of English. All of them represent broadly understood field of applied linguistics, so the issues related to language are in the centre of their professional attention and because of that all of them have achieved the expert level of metalinguistic awareness. It does not mean, of course, that their written production, especially in form of electronic mails, is usually subjected to careful monitoring and reflection, although their command of language can be expected to represent higher than average level.

The corpus itself consists of 950 electronic mails, exchanged in the period between August 2010 and May 2011, in connection with a number of different academic activities such as conferences, publications, staff exchange, journal alerts, international projects and research cooperation. They are all written in English, although in a number of cases both the author and the addressee were native speakers of Polish. There are no instances of e-mails exchanged between two native speakers of English.

E-mails were recognised as a new genre in the last decades of the twentieth century with many features representing an interesting hybrid of written and oral forms of communication (Baron 1998). At first, not all instances of electronic letters exhibited features of a new genre. For example, Gains (1999: 81) notices that "the commercial data examined does not contain new genres, but (…) the academic data may do so and that more tightly-targeted studies could reveal the text features of these genres". In fact, subsequent years brought a number of studies in which such new features were discovered and described. The most prominent ones included the reduction of politeness conventions (Bunz and Cambell 2002; Ma 1996; Murphy and Levy 2006), direct, transactional character of e-mails and their brevity (Baron 2000; Ma 1996; Moran and Hawisher 1998; Ross 2001), their less personal character than face-to-face conversation, but more personal than traditional writing (Nadler and Shestowsky 2006), and their less formal character than traditional written business communication (Baron 2000; Gimenez 2000). In addition to this, Murphy and Levy (2006) point to a higher potential for intercultural misunderstandings in e-mails as well as to the widespread use of uninhibited or carefree language. Many of those features are expected to be found also in the letters included in the corpus created for the purpose of the present study.

The method applied in the study was selective qualitative text analysis, occasionally supported by simple calculations of frequency. The investigation focuses on the linguistic forms encoding participant configurations (manifested mainly in

the addresative forms used by writers), linguistic encoding of power relationships and social distance, issues pertaining to linguistic politeness and metadiscursive elements in the interaction. Additionally, an attempt is made to pinpoint characteristic features of the English language used as a *lingua franca* in electronic mails, on the background of L1 English as used by native speakers. Finally, interesting examples of diversified, local uses of the English language by Polish native speakers are provided and contrasted with the forms employed in international communication within the ELF paradigm, echoing the distinction between the local and the global variety of English proposed by Brutt-Griffler (2002: 174–176).

3.1 Participant Configurations

As e-mail communication was becoming more and more important aspect of our everyday existence and as the number of e-mails received by Internet users every day was increasing, the participant configurations were becoming more and more complicated. What evolved from dialogic, person-to-person information exchange became frequently monologic, multiple-user communicating platform, with a wide array of participant arrangements. E-mail senders are individuals, groups of people, institutions, organisations, advertisers, employers, service-providers, network administrators and other singular or collective entities. The addressees are usually construed in connection with the social roles which they perform, either individually or as members of various social groups: private persons, staff members, conference participants, research scientists, customers, advertising target representatives, Internet users, etc. Because of that e-mails exchanged between the same individuals may sometimes differ considerably, if in some of them the addressee is perceived as an author of a book Chapter, in others as a plenary speaker at a conference, and in others as a family friend. The situation gets even more complicated when certain messages are sent to multiple participants, some of whom are known and some others unknown to the sender. Additionally, an ever-increasing percentage of electronic mails is sent to perfect strangers with whom the sender contacts for the first time, which makes the choice of appropriate forms of address more difficult. The above-mentioned factors found reflection in the investigated corpus, usually in form of peculiar addresative forms used in the opening lines of the message.

The fact that the recipient is quite often difficult to identify for the sender (usually as a result of mass-posting) is manifested in the greetings placed at the beginning of the letter:

(1) Apologies for crossposting: Dear Colleagues, …
(2) Dear SpringerAlerts Subscriber, …
(3) Dear Friends of the Polish American Assistance Association,…
(4) Dear Participant, …
(5) Dear Author, …
(6) Dear All, …

In example (1) the sender is quite explicit about his uncertainty whether the message has reached the appropriate addressees. A similar comment was found in four messages, but the frequency of e-mails where the senders had similar doubts was probably higher. As we can see, in the greeting line the addressees are construed as members of various social groups, named by the words following the universal opener *Dear*. Although some of the addresative forms assume the singular form, they are nevertheless examples of group addressing, as the body text of the message reveals that the recipients were manifold. Example (6) is quite interesting, because the word *All* is not used as a universal quantifier referring to all human beings, but probably to the relatively limited number of all addressees of the message.

On some occasions the messages included in the corpus were evidently instances of spam, where interesting strategies of camouflage were used in order to create the impression that the addressee is known to the sender. For example, in two e-mails the following opening line could be found:

(7) Dear szczyrkconference, …

The name after the word *Dear* was simply the user name of the conference e-mail address preceding the @ sign, so the mail was probably sent by some spamming software which used a default option of addressing the recipients with the first part of their e-mail address, which in many cases is in fact the real name of the recipient. In some other cases the greetings and signatures in the final part of the message were making the impression of well-established familiarity (*Hi, Hello, kisses…, Ann, Susan*), and there were a number of unsolicited messages whose topic lines started with *RE:*, which was supposed to suggest that they constituted responses to messages previously sent by the recipient. The issues discussed above, however, are only the background and introduction to the discussion of forms encoding mutual relationships of academic workers in various social roles in which they appear.

3.2 Hierarchy and Status Encoding

The academic community is characterised by a peculiar type of hierarchy, in which the relative position is usually the corollary of one's academic degree or title, authority reflected in publications and citations and sometimes also age. The interesting thing is that individual perceptions and forms of demonstration of the importance of such a hierarchy may be quite variable. Experience shows that there are individuals for whom explicit reflections of their (usually high) position are an absolute requirement and failure to recognise and highlight it are taken as major offence. There are also those who try to make an impression that their high position is not something which they cherish much, but are still offended when others fail to acknowledge it, as well as those who genuinely do not attach any importance whatsoever to explicit or even implicit recognition of their status.

The general tendency to be observed in electronic mails is to play down the importance of the existing hierarchy and to refrain from its explicit recognition once the initial contact has been established. E-mails are characterised by a very quick transition from the phase of a new relationship to the stage of old relationship (Charles 1996; Jensen 2009). In 13 out of 15 cases of exchanges where the initial contacts involved open recognition of academic titles and other forms of deference, there was a transition to more casual addresative forms, usually involving the use of first names, not later than in the fourth letter in the sequence. The suggestion to abandon the official and deferent style was always initiated by the person with the perceived higher status. The following excerpts illustrate the point:

(8) Dear Dr./Prof. John Smith,
    We are the typesetter named Scientific Publishing Services (…) Please feel free to contact me if you have any questions or concerns. Best wishes, Mary.
    Dear Mary,
    Please call me John. I have been away for a couple of days…
(9) Dear Professor Baker,
    As the organiser of the XXX Conference it is my privilege to invite you…
    Dear John (if I may), Please call me Mary, …[1]

The opening line of the e-mail in example (8) illustrates a very interesting strategy on the part of the sender. As we can see, the typesetting company representatives are not aware of the academic degree or title of the addressees of their letters, so they leave the question open and use a form which allows the addressee to choose the one which is appropriate and perhaps hope that this may be interpreted as an indirect request for the addressee to provide this information in the response. To be on the safe side, they make an assumption that the addressees must hold at least doctoral degree, given the fact that they are about to publish a book. A similar strategy involves the use of *Dear Professor X* in the opening line of a letter directed to someone whose academic status is uncertain, since the use of a higher title or degree than the real one excludes the possibility of causing offence potentially lurking in the non-recognition of higher status. There were at least 15 instances of application of this strategy in the corpus. The exact number cannot be estimated, as in some situations where such an opening line in fact matched the real status of the addressee it could be either the result of applying the above strategy or simply the matter of sender's explicit knowledge.

As mentioned above, however, the vast majority of the electronic letters in the corpus contained linguistic forms encoding recognition of egalitarian status of all participants. This could actually be beneficial for both sides in situations of status inequality, because the ones with the lower position could enjoy the feeling of being accepted and respected by their more powerful peers, of belonging to the prestigious and esteemed intellectual elite of the society, while the more important

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[1] Whenever real names were used in the corpus, they have been changed in order to protect the privacy of the authors.

figures, by demonstrating their negligence of the need to be explicitly acknowledged, could pass for open-minded, polite and unpretentious. The linguistic evidence for this type of attitude comes in a major part in form of explicitly used politeness strategies.

3.3 Face Recognition

Contrary to the findings reported in Bunz and Cambell (2002), Ma (1996) and Murphy and Levy (2006), the e-mails in the investigated corpus do not show any serious reduction of politeness conventions, apart from those messages which come relatively late in a long sequence of exchanges related to the same matter. Potential face threats are usually mitigated in form of application of positive or negative politeness strategies (Brown and Levinson 1987). The off-record type of communication is almost non-existent in the corpus, because the face threat is never very serious and the necessity of making the sender's intentions clear is conducive to the selection of more explicit forms of expression.

Since the overall atmosphere within the academic community is quite egalitarian, many examples of positive face oriented strategies can be found. One of them is frequent use of inclusive *we* in different configurations, encoding the recognition of the sender as a group-member and reducing the degree of imposition:

(10) **We** need to keep up with the deadlines given by the publisher.
(11) I have booked the flight and the hotel, so I guess now **we** need to set the times of my lectures.
(12) Please look at the calendar once again and tell me which day **we're** talking about.
(13) Also, to make life easier for all of **us**, we'd like to publish them a couple of months apart…

In example (10), which is clearly a form of urging the addressee to send the contribution to a volume, the use of *we* has the function of transferring part of the responsibility on the sender, while in the other two instances it appeals to the role of mutual cooperation.

In a similar vein, explicit expressions of readiness to cooperate can be viewed as contributing to the atmosphere of cooperation and common interest, strengthening the bonds between the participants as members of the same, closely related community:

(14) I hope all is in order. Do let me know if you need me to edit further etc.
(15) Please let me know if this is too late, in which case I will do my best to have the paper ready by Friday of this week…
(16) I will be happy to answer any other queries which you might have in connection with our conference.

One more device aimed at strengthening the bonds between the participants is the use of very informal register, characteristic for contacts between people who know each other very well, can engage in joking and can do away with unnecessary formalities:

(17) **Hey** John! Those were **fantastic** instructions! **Thanks** so much!
(18) **Thanx 4** your email and the **inf.** provided.
(19) **Hey** John! Two things! First, I would love to come to the conference this May! If I arrive at 11:30 pm, is there still transportation services still available to Szycrk (**why don't Poles use any vowels???**)? As soon as I know more about my May schedule, I will let you know. **Peace**…MARY
(20) **Hi**, John,
     Had to chase a student away from the scanner, but here is my signature.
     Best,Mary

Still another very frequently used politeness strategy, aimed at satisfying the addressee's positive face needs is the use of optimistic, positive metadiscursive boosters, which is illustrated by the following examples:

(21) I am **really** glad about it.
(22) I will be **very delightful** to participate.
(23) I am **sure** that…
(24) I **do** thank you **from all my heart**…
(25) I am **deeply** grateful for trying to accommodate me.

As we can see, not all forms used by the authors of those e-mails are perfectly error-free, but the intentions behind the application of these intensifiers are quite clear.

The redressive action aimed at the recognition of addressee's negative face is even more frequent, especially in those messages which initiate contact. Thus, although few explicit forms recognising high status are found in form of academic titles or degrees, the necessity to highlight the recipient's autonomy and freedom from imposition repeatedly leads to the application of suitable linguistic formulae.

Quite often sender's reluctance to impose anything on the addressee takes the form of explicit recognition of the latter's freedom of choice, as in the following examples:

(26) So can you let me know which you'd like to go first, **if you have any preference**…?
(27) If you think, however, that you need more time, **we are flexible** and can make other arrangements.
(28) I am looking forward to hearing from you about further details concerning the conference organisation, **at your convenience**.

The above excerpts show a high degree of formality, which is another well-recognised form of negative politeness. The examples included below illustrate this point even better:

(29) If you **require** an official invitation letter, please let me know

(30) I **wonder if you could kindly extend** the due date of the paper submission for some time

(31) **With sincere apologies for any inconvenience** I have caused by this delay.

(32) I **would appreciate your assistance**…

The choice of *require* instead of *want* and the application of other syntactically complex and lexically sophisticated constructions quite distinctly elevates the level of formality of language, which can be analysed here as yet another form of showing deference.

One corollary of the thematic peculiarity of the letters included in the corpus is the inclusion of many e-mails in which the authors were making requests related to the extension of a deadline for Chapter or abstract submission, which is already signalled in example (30), and other matters related to conference organisation. Since the speech act of requesting provides a very natural environment for redressive action aimed at addressee's negative face, it was not difficult to find more examples in the corpus:

(33) I am afraid I am coming back to you cap in hand, so to speak, to ask for a few more days grace regarding the revised version of the paper I gave at the Szczyrk conference.

(34) If it is not a problem I would like to ask you if you could make a cosmetic change in the title of my paper.

(35) I am in an awkward and difficult situation in connection with the administrative procedures which must be followed vis-à-vis the reimbursement of your ticket. I have been informed that in order to prepare the money for you our financial department has to enter some personal information about you to our university system, which includes the date of birth, private address and passport number (…) I am very sorry to have to ask you for this. If you refuse to provide this information I'll understand. If, however, you kindly agree to supply the required information, I will be grateful.

The above examples represent the most extensive formulations found in the corpus, but many instances of less verbose demonstrations of imposition avoidance were also present. They were particularly frequent in those situations where the context of the interaction attributed a certain power advantage to one of the participants by virtue of a temporary function (volume editor, conference organiser, plenary speaker, etc.) performed by him or her.

All in all, as the examples included in this section well demonstrate, the e-mail messages included in the investigated corpus were definitely not characterised by politeness strategies avoidance. In fact, there were so many instances of such metadiscursive mechanisms that the material would be sufficient for a separate paper devoted entirely to the analysis of face-saving devices. Given the overall purpose of the present Chapter, their treatment is necessarily only fragmentary.

3.4 Extending the Standards for ELF

Almost all examples discussed above could well represent samples of native English, even though certain fragments might sound a little less natural. However, one of the most important and prominent consequences of internationalisation of English is the reduction of normative constraints and openness to multicultural idiosyncrasy (Brutt-Griffler 2002). It does not entail, of course, tolerance of all possible recklessness and frivolity on the part of the users. As Haberland (2011: 948) rightly observes, "[m]any non-native speakers have invested heavily in language learning and have spent time and energy acquiring the skills in English that they can put to use (….) [so t]hey expect a return on their investment in linguistic capital". Thus, much variability may be tolerated, but the communicative transparency and mutual illegibility provide natural constraints to it.

The corpus investigated in the present Chapter includes many instances of language behaviours which could not be fitted within the standards applicable to the native use of English, which nevertheless are accepted and repeatedly used by many participants. The demonstration will start with several examples of non-native-like pragmatics, whose background lies in a different way of linguistic encoding of certain speech acts in different languages of the world.

> (36) I am **waiting to hear** from you.
> (37) Same Invitation letters **must be posted** to us. In order to make better progress in the isssuing of visa, **it is better to email** the invitations to the mentioned embassy and consulate **as soon as possible**.
> (38) **Still** my colleagues have not received their invitation letters through post. In such case, **kindly I request you** to email the mentioned invitation letters to the embassy of Poland in Tehran again. **And more specific, what they must do?**
> (39) I'd be **appreciated** if you could…

In examples (37–38) an extensive air of impatience, imposition and authoritarian attitude can be perceived, resulting from the use of the modal verb *must*, the urging adverbial *as soon as possible*, the performative construction *I request you* and other formulations which sound a bit too pressing. On the other hand, they are not strictly speaking rude, because their impositive force is occasionally mitigated (the polite marker *kindly*) or accounted for (the subordinate clause *In order to make better progress…*). In examples (36) and (39) we probably deal with an overextension of the typical use of the highlighted vocabulary items, which nevertheless does not obscure the intentions of the writer, in spite of their oddness. Especially the use of the verb *appreciate* has been quite consistently found to follow the pattern illustrated in example (39), where the passive construction takes the receiving person as its subject, instead of the favour which is mentioned later. This kind of construction was found repeatedly used by authors whose native language was Farsi, Urdu and Hindi.

Apart from the misattribution of pragmatic force, the use of English as the language of communication by some authors representing the native languages

mentioned above occasionally contributed to an interesting exaggeration. In an attempt to apply a more informal style, allegedly ubiquitous in communication between the speakers of English, they actually exceed the regular level of casualness and were found to produce such contributions as the one below:

(40) **Thanx 4** your email and the **inf.** provided. I'd be more than happy to see **U** and Prof. Smith

In the opinion of many of my colleagues whom I managed to consult, the reduction of the formality of the language in similar examples was a bit inappropriate.

There were also many examples of a higher than average level of carelessness on the part of the authors, manifested in typos and grammatical or stylistic mistakes, resulting either from fossilisation of certain constructions, ignorance of some rules, L1 transfer or simply hurriedness and lack of time. If they did not cause misunderstandings and were sufficiently transparent regarding their intended sense, no attempts at signalling their non-standard or erroneous status were usually made and the communication progressed smoothly. The following examples illustrate the point:

(41) One day **back,one** of my close friends(from Malaysia) **told told** me she is **interesting** to participate and **present her article your conference.I wan to know there is** any chance for her to send her abstract.
(42) I **reponded your message** with an attached file
(43) But I **heared** from some friends participating in previous conferences that the **preceeding** of the conference will be ready within two years
(44) My biographic note and postal address is in the **attched** file.
(45) I'm still **wating** for the hard copy of our invitation **lettesr** (…) I hope I can **receiv** them on time.
(46) **Dera** John

These examples are a very good illustration of the tendency described by Murphy and Levy (2006) for the language of e-mails to become increasingly uninhibited and carefree. It has to be emphasised, however, that by mere virtue of their occurrence such formulations do not really become in any way 'standard': in order to do so they would have to be much more regular and frequent. To the contrary, as we can see, they are to a large degree accidental and unique. The only generalisation which can be made, in the context of their occurrence, is the higher tolerance of the general community for such non-standard and erroneous forms and the users' non-insistence on suitable correction.

Parallel to such diversified forms of non-standard linguistic behaviour are the regular and stabilised expressions, very frequently found in certain set positions within the structure of electronic letters. In the opening or closing lines of e-mails we frequently find expressions similar or identical with the following:

(47) Please find attached my answers to your queries…
(48) Attached please find the conference programme…
(49) I am pleased to inform you that your paper (…) has been accepted for presentation
(50) Kindly note that…

(51) Looking forward to hearing from you,…
(52) Thank you for the information concerning…
(53) Unfortunately, due to teaching commitments, it appears that it won't be possible for me to attend…
(54) Please accept my apologies for any inconvenience caused…
(55) I would be grateful if you could confirm that you have received it…

Some of them behave almost like set phrases, with very little or no alternations across the multiple occurrences in the corpus. There are definitely examples of expression directly borrowed from traditional letter-writing (49, 51, 52), but there are also such formulations which are inherently connected with the electronic medium (47, 48, 55). Their status can be compared to what Kecskes (2003) called Situation Bound Utterances. Without analysing their structure in a scrupulous manner, the learners of English acquire them very fast together with their proper contextual embedding and successfully produce required forms when necessary. If we look at one of the examples, the expression in (48) *attached please find the conference programme*, it might strike us as quite odd. Applying our metalinguistic knowledge we would come to the conclusion that a construction consisting of a past participle followed by a politeness marker and the main verb in imperative, complemented by the direct object, is not particularly frequent or typical in English; yet it sounds perfectly natural and acceptable in the context of an e-mail.

3.5 Local Peculiarities Versus ELF

As announced in the outline of the study, the discussion will be rounded up by a short presentation of some examples of a phenomenon which is counterbalanced by the converging tendency represented by ELF. In her account of the unifying forces guaranteeing the relative stability of ELF, Brutt-Griffler (2002) juxtaposes them with the potentially disruptive and dismantling contribution of the local, non-native forms of English confined to specific cultural and social conditions of use. A number of instances were found in the corpus which seem to illustrate well what Brutt-Griffler might have on mind.

Within the Polish context, many linguists and literary critics employed in the English Language Departments of Polish Universities frequently use English on everyday basis. English is the language of instruction and a large part of documentation there, and it is the first choice in situations involving international communication, especially in connection with such areas as conferences, publications and staff exchange. As the people involved usually represent many nationalities, and because electronic correspondence is the customary form of contact between physically distant participants, English is used in e-mails exchanged by them, even if in certain configurations two Polish native speakers are found on both ends of the communication channel. There were quite many exchanges of that kind included in the corpus under investigation. It turned out that some of the expressions and constructions used by Polish participants who were

aware of the fact that they are directing their mails to other speakers of Polish, were quite peculiar and definitely non-standard, against the background of native English. Most of them were also definitely not transparent and sometimes completely incomprehensible for anyone without a good command of Polish. The following example illustrates the tendency described above:

> (56) Dear John, Thank you for the news. I am really happy that my paper has been accepted for publication. The point is that I would like to revise it according to the reviewer's suggestions but I do not have it with the suggestions. Could I get it back (with the suggestions)? **Thank you from the mountain**, MT

The highlighted phrase is a literal and also jocular translation of the Polish expression, which should be expressed in English as *thank you in advance*. In Polish the relevant phrase would be literally rendered as *thank you from above*, and the lexical equivalent of *above* in Polish is polysemous with the Polish word for *mountain*. Using similar expressions, Polish speakers of English take advantage of their awareness that other native speakers of Polish will be able to recover the meaning and the intended joke, which in turn contributes to the expression of strong in-group bonds and familiarity. Those linguistic jokes are exploited, however, only in exchanges between the Polish people and they never interfere with international communication. Thus, the realm of ELF remains tightly separated from the culture-specific, local exploitation of English.

4 Concluding Remarks

The inevitable variety of local, culture-specific Englishes seems to influence the international English used as *lingua franca* to a limited degree. On the other hand, it is obvious that English used internationally is different from the British, North American and other native varieties. The question posed by Haberland, who owns the custodianship over English and who is responsible for its maintenance, does not have a simple answer. On the one hand, it is quite certain that the role of the native speakers has changed considerably, but on the other hand the non-native speakers form a group which is "too large and too differentiated to have a shared single interest in what English should look like in order to suit their needs" (Haberland 2011: 948). The ultimate global shape of ELF is not governed by any single authority and there are too many contributing factors to allow simple modelling. Instead, the inherently complex and largely impenetrable structure of interactions can serve as the major shaping force of English used internationally. In this situation it is tempting to postulate that the contexts shaping the formal and interactional characteristics of ELF (and its academic sub-variety) can be described in terms of a Self-Organising System (Gibbs 2005, 2011). In such a system the overall ultimate structure is the outcome of the micro-level interactions having their immediate effects only locally, but with a potential to accumulate and spread, if supported by other micro-level effects of other interactions. The conducive environment is

provided by the converging force described by Brutt-Griffler (2002), stemming from the feeling of affiliation to the global community of users of English.

Some of the exchanges derived from the micro-level of e-mail communication between members of the Academia were used in this paper to highlight a number of interesting phenomena, making their important, although very insignificant contribution to the vast and complicated system of academic ELF. In order to detect certain more significant patterns, however, a larger scale study would be necessary, based on a much larger corpus. The value of the present investigation lies mainly in suggesting some paths which might be followed in such an extended study.

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Academic Job Postings as Part of Academic Discourse: A Cross-cultural Perspective

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Abstract In view of the fact that academic discourse community is becoming increasingly internationalized and globalized, as well as given that English has come to function as the language of international academic communication, it seems both interesting and important to investigate the discourse of recruitment advertising in global academia from the perspective of broadly understood academic discourse. The aim of this paper is to examine whether, and to what degree, online academic job postings placed by non-Anglophone higher education institutions share the same characteristics generally attributed to academic writing as the vacancy announcements from Anglophone institutions, and, if this is the case, whether the findings justify regarding academic job announcements written in English as acultural. The research is based on a contrastive analysis of a corpus comprising 140 online academic job postings, of which 70 have been placed by universities and colleges located in Anglophone countries (the UK, the USA, Canada, Australia, Ireland), whereas the remaining 70 ads come from higher education institutions based in 26 countries where English is neither the native nor the official language. Both sub-corpora are examined against the background of the rules and conventions generally attributed to academic writing, as proposed by scholars in the field of academic discourse (Hinkel 2004; Hyland 2004, 2006, 2011; Jordan 1997; Macpherson 2008; Osuchowska and Kleparski 2009; Ravelli and Ellis 2005). The empirical analysis utilizes the following research tools: text statistics, rhetorical move analysis conducted in accordance with the principles proposed by Swales (1990, 2004), lexical analysis identifying the core vocabulary used in both sub-corpora and comparing the lexemes against the Academic Word List, analysis of formality and neutrality markers, including the Passive, nominalization, hedging strategies, avoidance of informal grammatical structures, as well as limited use of linguistic means of engagement and persuasion. The results of the study indicate that, in terms of the linguistic characteristics of academic

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writing, online academic job advertisements placed by Anglophone and non-Anglophone institutions demonstrate a high level of homogeneity. The two sub-corpora prove to be remarkably similar in terms of the basic text statistics, the degree of formality, neutrality, and complexity of the lexical and grammatical patterns, the frequency and character of the hedging strategies, as well as the overall persuasive mechanisms employed in both sets of texts. On the other hand, the investigation reveals certain discrepancies between the types of information included in particular moves identified in the two sub-corpora, most probably resulting from different political and socio-cultural conditions prevailing in the respective world regions. All things considered, despite compellingly similar levels of conventionally understood 'academicity' reflected in the two sets of texts, the findings do not seem to justify the conclusion that academic job postings may be regarded as acultural.

1 Introduction

Academic discourse community is becoming increasingly internationalized and globalized. As Hyland (2006: 41) observes, the "global-local distinction is constantly being eaten away by the advance of electronic communications which bring members in other continents closer than those in the next corridor". This, together with the hegemony of English as an academic *lingua franca*, leads to the growing standardization of academic discourse, guided by the criteria dictated by the Anglophone academic conventions.

On the other hand, "communication styles respond most strongly to language- and culture-bound discoursal preferences" (Duszak 1997: 11). Texts produced by academics representing different cultures (and disciplines) have been found to vary in terms of the degree of explicitness and metadiscoursal guidance, redundancy levels, the amount of background information, the use of structural resources and rhetorical devices (ibid.). The tension between what is conventional and culture-specific in academic discourse constitutes and interesting area of study and research.

Given that the production and reception of academic job postings[1] is an important aspect of broadly understood academic culture, rendering it plausible to regard announcements for academic positions as part, albeit peripheral, of academic discourse, it appears both interesting and worthwhile to analyze academic

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[1] Although *job posting* is traditionally understood as "a process of internal recruitment whereby available positions are offered to existing staff before exploring outside sources" (Arthur 2006: 41), and thus the countable form *a job posting* is often meant to denote *a tool of internal recruitment*, the term is increasingly being used (both in the literature and on job search websites) interchangeably with *job advertisements*, in particular when referring to announcements placed online (see e.g. Backhaus 2004; Foster 2003; Hornberger 2010; www.academiccareers.com).

job ads from the perspective of the features and conventions generally attributed to academic writing.

This paper is intended as a continuation of the author's previous study examining to what degree academic job postings reflect academic discourse, as compared with corporate recruitment ads (see Łacka-Badura 2012). The present study focuses on the analysis of textual mechanisms employed in the academic job postings placed by Anglophone and non-Anglophone higher education institutions, with a view to investigating whether both sub-corpora demonstrate similar features conventionally associated with academic discourse.

The analysis reveals a high level of homogeneity between the two sets of texts in terms of their rhetorical and lexico-grammatical patterns, indicating an almost identical degree of conventionally understood *academicity*; nonetheless, the two sub-corpora may not plausibly be regarded as entirely acultural, primarily due to the differences identified in the type of information provided by Anglophone and non-Anglophone institutions.

2 Academic Job Search in the Era of Globalization

Similarly to recruitment for corporate positions, recruiting in the academic context appears to perform, at least from the point of view of the management of educational institutions, the following function: to "attract the attention of the best candidates who may not even be seeking another role, while not raising false expectations and allowing a healthy amount of self-selection" (Secord 2003: 354).

Academics search for jobs in a variety of ways; higher level faculty may be recruited internally, headhunted by departments and institutions, or learn about vacancies through their own networks of colleagues at home and abroad. Among the strategies and resources that academics at all levels can use to find out about job opportunities, academic job advertisements remain to be among the most popular sources of information about vacancies (see e.g. Heiberger and Vick 2001). Analogously to corporate job advertisements, whose secondary role is to project a positive image of the enterprise on the job market (Secord 2003), academic job postings, beside attracting the most valuable candidates and discouraging those unsuitable, also appear to be intended to build or reinforce the reputation and credibility of educational institutions.

The situation of academic staff varies significantly within and across countries, being determined by the country's economic and political power, its size, geographic location, the position that its language and culture occupy on the international scene, as well as the quality of the state's higher education (Enders and Musselin 2008). Despite the undisputed centrality of Anglophone academic world, global trends play an increasingly important role in research and education (Heiberger and Vick 2001). Enders and Musselin (2008: 143) argue that internalization of research, teaching and learning results in a growing international market for academics, not only renowned "members of the professoriate" but also

"junior staff". Although international mobility is predominantly that between highly industrialised countries, as well as that from the South of the globe to the North, yet recent developments on the global job market suggest that this picture might change, with the United States becoming *one* of the "heartlands" of scientific excellence rather than the undisputed centre of the world's research (ibid).

The ever-greater exchange and mobility of faculty across national borders is reflected in the multitude of academic job postings placed by institutions recruiting internationally.

3 Academic Discourse

3.1 The Concept of Academic Discourse

Before analyzing the textual mechanisms incorporated in academic job ads, with a view to investigating the degree of their *academicity*, it seems reasonable to briefly discuss the concept of academic discourse. There is a great deal of debate concerning its very existence and distinction from other types of specialist discourses (see e.g. Butler 2006; Zamel 1998), and even more discussion questioning the necessity of abiding by traditionally understood norms and textual conventions dictated by the Anglophone academic world (see e.g. Benesch 2001; Butler 2006; Swales 1997). Yet many EAP researchers, being well aware of the significant differences among discipline-specific varieties of academic discourse, still agree that there are good reasons for the existence of the notion of 'general' academic discourse (see e.g. Hyland 2006; Jordan 1997). In very broad terms, Bizzel (1992: 209) defines academic discourse as "the discourse of the community in which teachers and students find themselves". Similarly, Davidson et al. (2010: 174) argue that "academic discourse is a code whose sole identifying feature might be its users: faculty and—to the extent that we can enable them to participate in our academic discourse community—students." Having acknowledged the voices that question uniformity of academic English, Łyda proposes a picture of academic language as

> language situated in the context of academic community, continuously modified by its use and modifying the context to perform actions aiming at the attainment of the goals of the community by means of conventionalized forms of communication operating within the community (2007: 37).

As this study does not aspire to contribute to the debate pertaining to the contestation of 'general' academic discourse, it appears reasonable to assume for the purposes of this paper that academic discourse is a reality, and its certain recurring patterns and structures make it distinct from other types of discourse.

3.2 Textual Features and Conventions of Academic Writing

EAP researchers indicate a number features that academic texts appear to share, regardless of the discipline. Hyland (2006) divides the features into three key areas:

- high lexical density (a high proportion of content words in relation to grammar words)
- high nominal style (presenting events as nouns rather than verbs so that complex phenomena are condensed into one element of a clause)
- impersonal constructions (e.g. avoiding the use of first person pronouns, often replaced by passives or 'it' subjects, refraining from expression of emotion).

Similarly, Hinkel (2004: 32) emphasizes "lexical precision", "careful and purposeful use" of discourse markers, "appearance of the writer's objectivity and impersonal register", "non-judgemental interpretations of information, findings and events", and "a guarded stance in presenting argumentation and results".

Along the same lines, Ravelli and Ellis (2005) observe the cautious use of engagement features (e.g. asking questions, making suggestions, appealing to shared knowledge, addressing the readers directly), which seems to result in the absence or very limited use of explicit appraisal, attitude and persuasion.

Employing the *hedging* strategies with a view to creating an impression of objectivity and neutrality, as well as avoidance of informal grammatical structures such as contractions, direct questions and exclamations, are among other features regarded as characteristic of academic writing (see e.g. Jordan 1997; Macpherson 2008; Osuchowska and Kleparski 2009).

The above mentioned conventions have been used as the criteria for analyzing the *academicity* of the Anglophone and non-Anglophone job postings announced by tertiary education institutions.

4 Methodology

The study is based on a contrastive analysis of a corpus comprising 140 online academic job postings, of which 70 have been placed by universities and colleges located in Anglophone countries (the UK, the USA, Canada, Australia, Ireland, New Zealand), whereas the remaining 70 ads come from higher education institutions based in 26 countries where English is neither the native nor the official language. The ads have been randomly selected from 5 academic job search websites: www.academiccareers.com, www.academicjobs.uk, www.academicjobseu.com, www.chronicle.com/jobs, www.tedjob.com/job.

The following research tools have been used to compare the two sub-corpora:

- text statistics (including the number of words and sentences, the number of 'complex' words, average sentence length, lexical density and text readability

indices), with the reservation that the data obtained with the aid of electronic statistical tools are to be treated as only approximate
- text structure analysis following Swales' move-step model
- lexical analysis—identifying the core vocabulary used in both sub-corpora, as well as comparing the corpus lexemes against the Academic Word List
- analysis of formality and neutrality markers (including use of the Passive and nominalization, avoidance of informal grammatical structures as well as limited use of linguistic means of engagement and persuasion).

5 Comparison of Academic Job Advertisements Placed by Anglophone and Non-Anglophone Institutions

5.1 Text Statistics

The basic statistical data have been calculated using the Advanced Text Content Analysis Tool at http://www.usingenglish.com/members/text-analysis/. Additionally, Microsoft Office—Word 2007 has been used to calculate the number of paragraphs. Table 1 summarizes the statistics.[2]

As Table 1 demonstrates, NAJAs turn out to contain a higher number of words and sentences, and a slightly lower number of paragraphs than AAJAs, which may suggest some tendency for the Non-Anglophone authors to provide more detailed summaries of positions announced, and thus produce longer paragraphs and texts. More interestingly, however, the average sentence length, as well as the readability indices, are almost identical for both-sub-corpora, indicating the same (very high) level of difficulty in comprehending the texts of academic job postings. The lexical density ratios for both sub-corpora, albeit slightly different for AAJAs and NAJAs, nevertheless remain within the range of 'high density' values, confirming the high level of text condensation and a multitude of specialized vocabulary in academic recruitment ads.

5.2 Structural Analysis

The move structure framework (see e.g. Bhatia 1993; Swales 1990), where a 'move' is understood as a "discoursal or rhetorical unit that performs a coherent communicative function in a written or spoken discourse" (Swales 2004: 228), has been adopted for analyzing the structural patterns in the corpus. As a detailed analysis of the move-step structure would go beyond the scope of this paper, the

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[2] The indicators used in Table 1 have been interpreted based on the criteria provided at the Advanced Text Content Analysis Tool website

Table 1 Basic statistical data of AAJAs and NAJAs

	AAJAs[a]	NAJAs[b]	Calculated grading/interpretation
Number of words	24697	30093	
Number of sentences	1472	1797	
Average sentence length (words per sentence)	16.7	16.9	
Number of paragraphs	1259	1132	
Hard/complex words (%)	27	28	
Gunning fog index	17.1	17.7	Highly professional
Flesch reading ease	29.9	27.3	Very difficult—college graduate
Lexical density (%)	70.1	62.1	High

[a] Academic Job Ads placed by Anglophone institutions
[b] Academic Job Ads placed by Non-Anglophone institutions

structural patterns will be examined only in general terms, accounting for the presence of particular moves, and not the order in which they appear in the texts.

The content of job advertisements is likely to include the following building blocks: the faculty position, information about the institution, description of the position and responsibilities it entails, the qualifications and experience that candidates are expected to demonstrate, an outline of the remuneration and extra benefits, instructions for responding to the announcement and, in some cases, an Equal Employment Opportunity statement. Besides, all of the online job postings analyzed begin with a highlighted heading providing a very brief overview of the position, including (in a various order) the job title (repeated), name of the employing institution as well as its location and website address, the level/status/ category of the position, the reference number and deadline for application, sometimes the remuneration and benefits. For the purposes of the present study, this overview has been marked as MOVE 0, as it seems to act as a standardized sub-heading, perhaps automatically generated by the website, and does not contribute to the analysis of the differences between the academic job postings placed by Anglophone and non- Anglophone institutions. The only feature of this section that seems to have a bias on the results of the analysis (and thus will be accounted for) is the inclusion of details concerning the compensation package. Since the Equal Employment Opportunity statement appears to play a significant role in creating a positive image of the employing college or university, it has been interpreted as a step in the move presenting the institution, and marked as 2*.

The following structural framework of academic job postings emerges from the analysis:

MOVE 0   Heading and overview of the position ('sub-heading')
MOVE 1   Announcing availability of the position (optionally: repetition of the basic information about the vacancy)
MOVE 2   Presenting the institution – building credibility
MOVE 3   Specifying responsibilities and requirements involved
MOVE 4   Offering benefits
MOVE 5   Inviting applications / Instructing candidates how to apply

Found in all the AJAs analyzed, Moves 0 and 3 appear to be obligatory in academic job ads. Other moves occur with different frequencies in the two sub-corpora, as summarized in Table 2.

The above analysis clearly shows that the distribution of Moves 1, 2 and 5 is almost identical in the two sub-corpora. The percentage of AAJAs and NAJAs including Move 4 is also virtually the same (67.2 and 65.7 % respectively); a closer look at the 'benefits' section reveals, however, considerable differences between the two sets of texts, both in the type of the incentives promised and the degree to which they are specified. The exact amounts of the salary (or salary range) are provided in over three times as many AAJAs as NAAJAs (47.2 % and 14.3 % respectively); by contrast, nearly three times as many NAJAs (34.3 %) describe the remuneration as *competitive* or *attractive* in comparison with AAJAs (only 12.9 %); similarly, the former sub-corpus uses unspecific modifiers (*commensurate with/depending on experience and qualifications*) almost three times as frequently as the latter. These findings might indicate a stronger tendency in the Anglophone academic community to specify the remuneration, as opposed to the non-Anglophone employers who seem to be more likely to encourage candidates with rather vague promises.

On the other hand, NAJAs communicate benefits other than the basic salary not only more frequently (38.6 %, as opposed to 18.6 % of AAJAs), but also more specifically; 7.2 % of the AAJAs mention *generous/comprehensive/attractive benefits*, while 8.5 % promise e.g. *light teaching load, accommodation allowance, free meals, health insurance and assistance towards travelling costs*. None of the

Table 2 Distribution of moves in two sub-corpora of academic job ads

MOVES	AAJAs (%)	NAJAs (%)
Move 0		
Heading and short job description	100.0	100.0
Move 1		
Announcing (explicitly) the availability of a position	85.7	84.3
Move 2		
Presenting the Institution	62.9	57.2
incl. 2* EEO statement	(60.0)	(38.6)
Move 3		
Specifying job responsibilities and requirements	100.0	100.0
Move 4		
Offering benefits incl.	67.2	65.7
Salary/salary range specified	(47.2)	(14.3)
Salary described as attractive/competitive	(12.9)	(34.3)
Salary commensurate with/depending on experience and qualifications	(5.7)	(15.8)
Other benefits	(18.6)	(38.6)
Move 5		
Inviting applications/Instructing candidates how to apply	97.2	95.7

NAJAs analyzed offers benefits without specifying their character; the largest proportion of the NAJAs including 'benefits' promises *free accommodation* or *housing allowance* (31.4 %), followed by *free annual vacation air tickets* (20.0 %), *children education allowance* (21.4 %), *health/medical insurance* (18.6 %), as well as a few instances of *relocation/expatriation allowance*, *pension, paid holidays, personal development opportunities, research allowance, recreational facilities, end of service gratuity* and other benefits.

Table 2 illustrates yet another difference between the two sub-corpora: the percentage of AAJAs including the Equal Employment Opportunity statement is visibly higher than in the other sub-corpus. These findings might indicate a slightly greater care that Anglophone higher education institutions take to explicitly communicate their non-discriminative employment practices, which might possibly be attributed to socio-cultural differences among the academic communities in various countries; nevertheless, a closer investigation suggests that drawing too far-fetched conclusions would be very risky, all the more so that different institutions *in the same country*, regardless of the culture, demonstrate different approaches to openly communicating this statement.

As can be seen in Table 2, very similar proportions of AAJAs and NAJAs include the self-presentation section (Move 2); a more detailed analysis reveals, however, some interesting varieties in the aspects that institutions consider important or attractive enough to include in the texts of job postings. The differences are presented in Table 3.

Table 3 clearly demonstrates that both sub-corpora are quite comparable in terms of the mechanisms used by the author to create the image of educational institutions. Some interesting differences have been found in the last three sections of Table 3: while all AAJAs recommend the cities or regions where institutions are located, almost half of the NAJAs project a positive image of *the country*,

Table 3 Stages/steps of the 'Self-presentation' move (Move 2)

Aspects of self-presentation	AAJAs (%)	NAJAs (%)
Claiming high quality of education	15.7	21.4
Claiming high quality of research	30.0	31.4
Claiming high quality of the faculty/team/environment	25.7	22.9
Claiming global/international character	35.7	30.0
Claiming leading/top position		
Subjective	12.9	18.6
Based on rankings	17.2	10.0
Claiming high prestige/excellent reputation	11.4	8.6
Referring to the institution's long history and rich tradition	12.9	21.4
Boasting of attractive location and modern infrastructure		
City/region	18.6	11.4
Country	–	10.0
Referring to institution's vision/goals/values/mission	12.9	25.7
Claiming accreditation/affiliation with prestigious organizations and institutions	2.9	15.8

described as e.g. *progressive, modern, liberal*, *hospitable, safe*. Similar concepts of *modernity, liberalism, humanistic values, citizenship* are also projected as values pursued by the non-Anglophone institutions in the sections referring to *vision/ goals/mission* and *values* (steps identified in twice as many NAJAs as AAJAs). Apart from that, the authors of the job advertisements placed by non-Anglophone universities and colleges appear to attach greater importance to the employers' affiliations with businesses or other educational institutions (some of them Anglophone), as well as to the fact that the schools have obtained accreditation from institutions and organizations enjoying an international reputation (e.g. prestigious American universities).

The aforementioned differences between the two sub-corpora most probably stem from historical, political and socio-cultural factors: many non-Anglophone institutions, being aware of the dominant position of their Anglophone counterparts in the global academic community, as well as the attractiveness of Anglophone countries as places of work, research and study, take great care to project themselves and the countries where they are located as democratic, modern and safe.

5.3 Formality and Neutrality Indicators

As proposed in Sect. 3.2, relatively high formality and neutrality are among the most prominent features attributed to academic discourse. Apart from lexical density calculated in 5.1, other formality and neutrality indicators analyzed for the purposes of this study comprise: formal lexis and grammar, use of hedges, avoidance or limited use of engagement features and explicit persuasion.

The lexical analysis reveals that 7 out of the 10 most frequently occurring items are common in both sub-corpora: *university, research, application, teach, college, position, candidate*.[3] Not surprisingly, they represent notions that are central to the educational and/or job advertising context. The 50 most frequent lexemes include 31 items (62 %) that appear in both sub-corpora, often occupying a similar position on the frequency list (e.g. *student, academic, experience, information, management, development, level, opportunity*). A still closer examination of the 100 lexemes with the highest rate of occurrence seems to validate the claim that the lexical patterns present in Anglophone and non-Anglophone academic job postings are largely comparable: as many as 67 % of the items are common in both sub-corpora *and* demonstrate a very similar degree of formality, including not only words immediately related to education and employee recruitment, but also more 'general' ones such as *design, demonstrate, service, include, interest, time, new, provide, field, system*.

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[3] Calculation of the number of lexical items in both sub-corpora has been performed using the TextStat 3.0 software. When there is a difference between the British and American version of a word (e.g. programme and program, centre and center), the item is treated as one lexeme.

Table 4 AWL lexemes in AAJAs and NAJAs

	AAJAs	NAJAs
Total number of AWL types in both sub-corpora	445	449
Total number of AWL tokens	2935	3758
(% of the total number of words in both sub-corpora)	(11.9)	(12.5)

The comparison of the lexemes found in both sub-corpora with the Academic World List compiled by A.Coxhead (as quoted by Gillett et al. 2009) seems to confirm the similarity, as demonstrated in Table 4.

Table 4 clearly illustrates that both the variety of AWL lexemes and their occurrence percentage in the total number of words in the two sets of texts are almost identical, with 455 different lexemes and 11.9 % of AWL items in AAJAs, compared with 449 different AWL lexemes and 12.5 % of AWL items in NAJAs. As many as 69 of the 100 most frequently occurring AWL lexemes identified in AAJAs and NAJAs are common in both sub-corpora, some of them with a highly similar frequency of occurrence (e.g. *academic, approximately*, *area, available, capacity, contribute, demonstrate, economics, energy, equivalent, evaluation, evidence, expertise, external, facility, issue, liberal, located, maintain, major, minimum, obtain, participate, period, policy, procedure, promote, relevant, require, requirement, significant, site, team*).

With regard to grammatical patterns, the percentage of passive sentences in both sub-corpora has been calculated using The Microsoft Office Word 2007; the corpus has also been scanned for the presence of nominalized forms, as well as informal grammatical structures, such as direct questions, exclamations, contractions. Table 5 summarizes the occurrence of passive and nominalized forms in both sub-corpora.

The above analysis shows that AAJAs and NAJAs turn out to be almost identical in terms of formality as determined by the occurrence frequency of passive sentences. The results of a rough calculation of nominalized structures in both sub-corpora indicate a somewhat higher rate of nominalization in NAJAs; however, taking into account that the former sub-corpus is larger, along with the fact that both sub-corpora comprise texts in which the occurrence frequency of nominalized structures varies considerably from below 5 to over 50, it seems reasonable to conclude that the difference is not salient enough to suggest that NAJAs are significantly more nominalized that AJAs.

Table 5 Grammatical features of AAJAs and NAJAs

	AAJAs	NAJAs
Percentage of passive sentences in sub-corpora (%)	17	16
Average frequency of nominalized structures	10–19	20–29

The affinity between the two sub-corpora in terms of grammatical formality is corroborated by either the absence or extremely rare use of informal grammatical structures, such as contractions, direct questions and exclamations. The latter, frequent in corporate advertising, are absent in the material analyzed. Among the very few instances of direct questions (2 in AAJAs and 1 in NAAJAs), only one may be viewed as performing a persuasive function, whereas the remaining two serve as introductions to informative sections, for example:

(1) How to apply? (NAJA9)[4]

The fact that no contracted forms have been found in NAJAs, and the sub-corpus of AAJAs comprises only a single occurrence of *we're*, confirms the formal character of Anglophone and non-Anglophone academic job postings.

A total of 137 instances of hedging structures have been identified in 49 (70.0 %) of AAJAs, compared with 121 instances in 48 (68.6 %) of NAJAs, again corroborating the results hitherto obtained. Not only are the proportions of AAJAs and NAJAs that resort to hedging strategies almost identical, but also the linguistic structures employed to serve these strategies in both sub-corpora are largely parallel.

The majority of hedging mechanisms used in the corpus seem to be in line with the primary function of job advertising, i.e. encouraging the best candidates and discouraging those unsuitable by deftly balancing between cautiously expressed promises and requirements, for example:

(2) there is the possibility of a temporary housing allowance and a moving allowance…
     (NAJA45)
(3) Successful candidates will preferably have a terminal degree in a creative or technical
     field and evidence of effective teaching (AAJA37)

By 'softening' the claims made, the hedges used in job postings also act as 'shields' covering educational institutions against the risk of being accused of excessively (and unrealistically) idealizing their position and image. An employer who is presented as *one of the best* rather than *the best*, and *recognized/regarded as the strongest* rather than *the strongest*, creates an impression of being objective and precise.

As indicated earlier, such mechanisms of engagement and persuasion as exclamations and direct questions are virtually absent in the material analyzed. With regard to other patterns of engagement, despite the fact that academic writing is rarely an entirely impersonal monologue (see e.g. Ravelli and Ellis 2005), the convention of limiting the use of personal voice and linguistic mechanisms of engaging

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[4] A complete list of the AAJAs and NAJAs, as well their Internet sources, may be obtained for reference at jolanta.lacka-badura@ue.katowice.pl.

Table 6 Percentage of AAJAs and NAJAs using different terms of address[5]

Number/percentage of AJAs using different terms of address	AAJAs (%)	NAJAs (%)
YOU/your	11.4	1.4
MIXED (you + impersonal)	31.4	42.9
IMPERSONAL (e.g. candidate, applicant, appointee)	57.2	55.7

the reader in a 'dialogue' is perceived as one of the features of academic register (see e.g. Hyland 2006). Ravelli and Ellis (2005: 12) maintain that the use of second person pronouns is "perhaps the clearest textual acknowledgement of the reader". Table 6 summarizes the ways readers are addressed in the sub-corpora analyzed.

The analysis suggests that AAJAs make a slightly more frequent use of the personal voice than NAJAs. While the percentage of texts addressing the potential candidates in an impersonal way only is almost identical in both sub-corpora, NAJAs appear to make less frequent use of direct references to the receivers than AAJAs (1.4 % vs. 11.4 % respectively).

Creating an impression of solidarity and familiarity with the reader is often achieved in various texts through the use of 'inclusive' first person pronouns: *we*, *our*, *ours*, *us* (Ravelli and Ellis 2005). Two instances have been identified in the sub-corpus of AAJAs:

(4) <u>We all realize</u> the value of education and the importance it can play in helping to change people's lives. (AAJA1)

(5) <u>We tend to forget</u> that coastal waters represent only 5 % of the world's oceans…(AAJA41)

Such references to knowledge that the addressers and addressees are supposed to share are most probably made with a view to building solidarity with the reader and evoking the feeling of 'togetherness'. Likewise, phrases such as *to join the team/group of…*, *to be/become part of our team/group*, *to help us/the group* seem to communicate that, if appointed, the candidate will instantly become a member of a well-integrated community. Such indications have been found in 22.9 % of AAJAs and 11.4 % of NAAJAs, for instance:

(6) The successful candidate <u>will join and be supported by</u> a dynamic research group… (AAJA40)

(7) The successful candidate <u>will be a part of</u> the Library and Learning Resources team… (NAJA23)

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[5] Only structures using the pronoun YOU/YOUR have been covered in the YOU category; imperatives such as 'Apply here' used at the end of a job ad have been excluded from the calculation (they are most probably generated automatically by the website).

It appears from the above discussion that AAJAs make slightly more frequent use of engagement patterns than NAJAs. It might possibly result from the authors of announcements placed by non-Anglophone institutions being somewhat more cautious about sounding impersonal, in accordance with the standards generally associated with academic discourse.

Instances of explicit persuasion are remarkably scarce in the material analyzed. With direct questions and exclamations virtually absent, expressions that might be classified as *slogans* have been identified in 3 AAJAs (4.3 %), for example:

(8) Excellence through diversity. (AAJA48)
(9) Make the bright choice for the future of our students and for the future of your career. (AAJA56)

Absent in the sub-corpus of NAJAs, only a single instance of explicit directive/ appeal (other than imperatives used to communicate instructions on how to apply) has been found in AAJAs, bearing resemblance to the style characteristic of inherently persuasive texts:

Similarly, one of the AAJAs includes an invitation (combined with the act of boasting) of a highly persuasive nature:

(10) At Hope we are very clear where we want to be. If you have the drive and ambition to join the team that is working to get us there, we would be delighted to hear from you. (AAJA69)

All the remaining instances of explicit invitations or encouragements appear as part of the Equal Employment Opportunities statement, and are directed at the minority groups who are most welcome to apply.

As regards explicit promises and offers, very few instances have been found in both sub-corpora (in 3 AAJAs and 2 NAJAs), for example:

(11) We offer competitive salaries and excellent benefits, with academic rank based on qualifications (AAJA13)

Persuasion is implied less directly through the use of statements performing the acts of boasting (in the 'self-presentation' section), as well as through representatives acting as promises (in the 'benefits' move). As a thorough investigation into the linguistic mechanisms of implicit persuasion incorporated in academic

Table 7 Number and percentage of sentences classified as 'persuasive' in both sub-corpora

	AAJAs	NAJAs
Number of 'persuasive' sentences/utterances	134	196
Percentage of 'persuasive' sentences in sub-corpus (%)	9.1	10.9

recruitment ads would go beyond the scope of this paper, the analysis has been limited to a rough calculation of sentences most probably aimed at building a positive image of the institutions and persuading the best candidates to apply, as well as identification of positively charged vocabulary, clearly performing a persuasive function.

As mentioned earlier in this section, 62.9 % of AAJAs and 57.2 % of NAJAs comprise MOVE 2 ('self-presentation'), whereas MOVE 4 ('promising benefits') has been identified in almost identical proportion of both sets of texts (67.2 and 65.7 %, respectively). Table 7 illustrates that the approximate number and percentage of sentences/utterances that have been classified as 'persuasive' (rather than 'informative') is very similar in both sub-corpora.

Instances of statements promoting the employers, communicating their noble values and ambitious goals/missions/visions, boasting of the city or country where the institution is located, promising benefits and numerous opportunities to prospective employees, include the following:

(12) The University of Sydney is Australia's first university with an outstanding global reputation for academic and research excellence, … (AAJA16)

(13) KUSTAR has a grand vision to be recognized as one of the leading universities in the world. (NAJA22)

(14) Qatar is a liberal, hospitable and progressive country in the Arabian Gulf. (NAJA33)

The above examples illustrate that both AAJAs and NAJAs resort to similar persuasive strategies with a view to presenting the employers and the positions announced in the most positive terms. A closer look at the 'persuasive' vocabulary reveals a remarkable affinity between the positively charged lexis used in the two sub-corpora; lexemes such as *leading, generous, competitive, attractive, outstanding, unique, the first, the only, excellent, exciting, growing, distinctive, premier, top, ambitious, dynamic, state-of-the-art, world-class, innovative, mission, vision* are used, often with similar frequencies, in both sets of texts, which confirms that the persuasive mechanisms used by the authors of Anglophone and Non-Anglophone institutions appear to be very much alike.

6 Conclusions

The present study has attempted to examine whether, and to what degree, online academic job postings placed by non-Anglophone higher education institutions share the same characteristics generally attributed to academic writing as the vacancy announcements from Anglophone colleges and universities, and, if this is the case, whether the findings justify regarding academic job advertisements written in English as acultural.

The foregoing discussion displays compelling similarities between the two sub-corpora in terms of the basic text statistics, the degree of formality, neutrality and complexity of the lexical and grammatical patterns, as well as the frequency and character of the hedging strategies used in both sets of texts. The overall persuasive mechanisms incorporated in both sub-corpora demonstrate a remarkable affinity, yet Anglophone job postings appear to resort to engagement strategies slightly more frequently than their non-Anglophone counterparts; this tendency might possibly be attributed to strong awareness on the part of the authors of NAJAs regarding the often recommended 'impersonality' of academic discourse, a rule they are perhaps more cautious to observe than their Anglophone colleagues who might feel more at liberty to challenge certain conventions or experiment with them.

On the other hand, although the general structural patterns identified in AAJAs and NAJAs are very much alike, with moves 0, 1, 3, and 5 distributed almost equally in both sets of texts, a more thorough analysis of moves 2 and 4 reveals that NAJAs appear to take less care to present themselves as Equal Opportunity Employers, and demonstrate a somewhat stronger tendency to be slightly more 'promotional' in terms of the type of information provided. Being less precise in stating the amount of remuneration and more subjective in communication of claims regarding the employers' leading position, they present extra benefits, as well as the institutions' affiliations and accreditations not only more frequently, but also more specifically. Moreover, they express the employers' vision, goals and values to a greater degree than AAJAs, and while the latter recommend the cities or regions where educational institutions are located, the former tend to praise the countries as excellent places for work and study. The aforementioned dissimilarities may most probably be attributed to economic, social and cultural differences between Anglophone and (at least some) non-Anglophone countries, rather than to the AAJAs being more 'academic' than NAJAs.

All things considered, it may be concluded from the above analysis that academic job postings written in English demonstrate compellingly similar degrees of conventionally understood 'academicity'. Nonetheless, they may not plausibly be regarded as entirely acultural. Many non-Anglophone institutions, being aware of the dominant position of their Anglophone counterparts in the global academic community, as well as the reputation of Anglophone countries as excellent places for teaching, research and study, seem to take slightly greater care to promote themselves and the countries where they are located as professional, respectable,

attractive, caring, modern and safe. Seeking to achieve this goal, they appear to employ the same linguistic means as the Anglophone schools, while the somewhat different type of information they provide most probably stems from historical, economic and socio-cultural considerations.

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