論　文

The Value of Contrastive Rhetoric in the Japanese EFL Classroom

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要　　旨

　　対照修辞学は多文化におけるレトリック方法の違いに焦点をあて，第二言語を習得する際にも母国語と同じ方法がとられると示している。対照修辞学は漠然としていて，言語学の中でも時流からはずれ関心をもたれていないが，EAP（学問的英語）の視点から教師にとって一概に価値がないわけではない。

　　この論文で私はまず対照修辞学の発展を説明し，次に実用的な成果が乏しい対照修辞学が，英語の授業でどのように活用できるかを論じる。数少ない英語／日本語における対照修辞学研究結果を参考にし，この学問の知識がどの教授法に一番役立つかをについて議論する。

Keywords: Rhetoric　レトリック, contrastive rhetoric (CR)　対照修辞学,
　　　　　　 Japanese　日本語, English　英語, English for Academic Purposes (EAP)
　　　　　　 学問的英語, Japan　日本, pedagogy　教授法

Abstract.

Contrastive rhetoric focuses on the differences of rhetorical styles across cultures and suggests that these styles are replicated in the L2. Contrastive rhetoric is a vast and largely unfashionable area of

linguistics, yet, its lack of appeal to many in the field does not necessarily mean it is not of value to teachers, particularly teachers of EAP (English for Academic Purposes).

This paper will look at the developments in the field of contrastive rhetoric and argue that, rather than being an academic area of linguistics with extremely limited practical implications, contrastive rhetoric can make a contribution in the English language classroom. An attempt will be made to identify what areas of pedagogy it can best contribute towards. To help meet this end, this paper will also review the findings of the limited number of English-Japanese contrastive rhetoric studies available.

1. Introduction.

Contrastive rhetoric (CR) has been broadly defined as "The view that the rhetorical features of L2 texts may reflect different writing conventions learned in the L1 culture, and the cross-cultural study of these differences" (Hyland, 2006: 312). Although primarily focusing on expository writing, CR has expanded since its inception in the 1960s and today represents an extremely complex field combining, among others, issues of writing, culture, and learning/teaching a second language (Atkinson, 2004).

The aim of this paper is to examine the developments within CR and its implications for pedagogy. Due to space limitations and the breadth of CR, focus will fall upon cultural issues in CR and implications of CR in pedagogy. The purpose of the investigation is to assess the value of CR for me as a teacher of English for Academic Purposes (EAP) in Japan. To assist me in this endeavour, I will also review the findings of Japanese-English CR studies.

2. The Origin of Contrastive Rhetoric.

Principles underlying CR have been seen as lying in the Whorfian hypothesis of

linguistic relativity (Connor, 1996; Celce-Murcia & Olshtain, 2000; Kubota & Lehner, 2004). The hypothesis asserts that a person's thoughts are controlled by patterns of which they are unaware imposed by their L1. Thought patterns are illustrated in the systemizations of the language used and highlighted through a comparison with other languages, particularly those of another linguistic family. Every language is a 'vast pattern-system' that is culturally unique and categorised in the way a person communicates and interprets the surrounding world (Carroll, 1956).
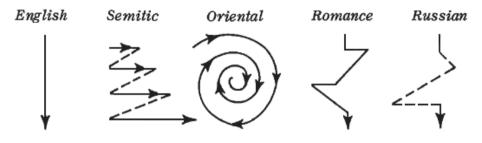
Applying ideas of the Whorfian hypothesis to L2 expository writing, Kaplan's (1966) paper is regarded by many to be the origin of CR (Leki, 1991; Connor, 2004: Celce-Murcia & Olshtain, 2000; Hyland, 2003a; Kubota & Lehner, 2004). However, this view is not unanimous. Ying (2000), for example, suggests that the origins of the field of CR can be traced to eighteenth century Germany.

Kaplan argued that logic, which dictates rhetorical organisation, is a cultural phenomenon and an expression of world view. By recognising the cultural differences within the rhetoric of writing, Kaplan moved beyond previous language teaching, informed by contrastive analysis that had only recognized cultural variation at the sentence level through grammar, vocabulary and sentence structure. Kaplan viewed contrastive analysis as inadequate and, consequently, the native English reader is left frustrated as students' essays conflict with their culturally shaped rhetorical expectations.

Kaplan concluded students' work fell in to certain cultural groups that shared a similar rhetorical style:

- Semitic — Based on a series of complex parallel constructions, both positive and negative.
- Oriental — Circling around the subject and showing it from a "variety of tangential views".
- Romance — Much more room for digressions.

These different rhetorical patterns were illustrated in the following diagram:

(Kaplan, 1966 : 10).

The English expository paragraph was described as linear, usually beginning with a topic statement followed by evidence to develop it and relate it to other ideas (inductive reasoning). Alternatively, it may state examples and then relate them to a statement at the end of the paragraph (deductive reasoning). These forms of reasoning are expected by native English readers as part of any formal communication with no digressions, no superfluous material and nothing important omitted (Kaplan, 1966).

3. Developments and Debates in Contrastive Rhetoric.

Despite Kaplan's 1966 article, text linguistics remained focused on spoken discourse (Leki, 1991). In the late 1970s, research on writing still stressed sentence level issues and comparisons (Kaplan, 1983). However, from the 1980s onwards, there was a "flurry of activity" in the field of contrastive rhetoric (Connor, 1996 : 155) due partly to developments in discourse analysis and text linguistics which "sparked renewed interest in contrastive rhetoric and the exploration of more than the strictly surface features of discourse" (Leki, 1991 : 125).

3.1. Approaches to CR.

CR research increasingly attempts to look at the L1, more specifically, how L1 texts are created and understood, as a way of understanding the rhetoric students employ in English L2 writing (Eggington, 1987; Petrić, 2005; Mohan & Lo, 1985; Mauranen, 1993; Valero-Garces, 1996; Moreno, 2004). This typically falls within two main approaches:

"(a) to examine L1 texts from different cultures, often professional, published work, written for native speakers, and the rhetorical contexts in which these texts are inscribed; or (b) to establish textual criteria and search for those qualities in samples of successful and unsuccessful texts by students writing in their L1"   (Leki, 1991: 126).

Connor (1996) expands methodological diversity further suggesting six main categories of CR research:

- Reflective inquiry — Identify problems through observation/literature review.
- Quantitative descriptive research — Isolate important variables and quantify them.
- Prediction and classification studies — Determine the strength of relationships between variables.
- Sampling surveys — Describing a large group in terms of a sample.
- Case studies and ethnographies — qualitative descriptive research looking at subjects in context.
- Experiments — Mostly quasi-experiments, very rare.

(Connor, 1996: 156).

The sheer scope of CR encompassing culture, writing, pedagogy, linguistics, and language acquisition is likely to attract a wide spectrum of interested parties from different academic backgrounds. With linguists, applied linguists, anthropologists, and researchers in education all entering the field, it is unsurprising that such methodological diversity exists.

Diversity in methodology and goals creates difficulty in comparing results, making the usefulness of CR research somewhat opaque (Leki, 1991). This view is shared by Kachru (1995) though for the reason that all CR methodology is based on Western rhetorical tradition. Kachru (1995) questions if the results of CR studies are a consequence of the methodologies followed rather than a clear indication of rhetorical differences found in expository prose.

3.2. Genre.

> "A genre comprises a class of communitive events, the members which share some set of communicative purposes".   Swales (1990: 58).

Swales (1990), suggests that the choices of content, style and the purposes the communicative purposes the genre serves are dictated by the discourse community. A discourse community contains members with a suitable degree of content and discoursal expertise who hold broadly agreed common public goals, have some specific lexis, and have ways/opportunities to communicate (Swales, 1990).

Such a broad term as expository writing, the subject genre of most CR, is likely to encompass many different discourse communities, each with their own preferred rhetorical styles and expectations, and often operating in more than one genre. This division is particularly the case among different academic subjects and between the same subject across different cultures (Swales, 1990).

Swales (1990) rejects the idea put forward by commentators such as Widdowson (1979) that academic disciplines have universal rhetorical tendencies that transcend national/cultural, and therefore, linguistic boundaries. The Universalist argument fails to take into account differences among cultures which develop from "peculiarities of study modes, teaching styles and general educational expectations within particular institutions" (Swales, 1990: 65). These differences point to different educational cultures and discourse communities which employ their own rhetoric.

Rhetoric is not isolated to expository writing, nor is expository writing the only type which EAP students, or students learning English for other purposes, will create. Unsurprisingly, CR from the 1980s began to move away from expository writing and look at other genres. Notable examples include Connor's 1988 (cited in Connor, 1996) examination of Japanese and American business negotiation and Mauranen's (1993) investigation of Finnish and English metalanguage strategies. Such studies compared actual examples of the genre in L1 and English rather than comparing them against style guides as did Kaplan (1966) and Ostler (1987).

Using texts of the same genre is of the upmost importance (Swales, 1990) and, if possible, of the same sub-genre (Grabe, 1987). Distinctions and divisions of genre in English may not be the same in other cultures. Hindi horoscopes, for example, have no European parallel and Anglo-American written invitations have no Indian parallel (Kachru, 1995). Despite such extreme examples to the contrary, expository writing does have parallels in other cultures, however, the cautions of Kachru, Swales and Grabe remind us the importance of ensuring the comparability of genres in CR.

3.3. World Englishes.

In EAP, the presentation of an Anglo-American rhetorical style as the desired form for students to emulate comes with two major assumptions. Firstly, that an Anglo-American rhetorical style exists. Rhetorical conventions differ from country to country making such a thing as Anglo-American rhetoric difficult to identify. Connor (1996) suggests that CR is now taking into consideration the variation in 'native' Englishes, as well as non-native varieties of English, developments welcomed by Kachru (1995) who feared that such groupings were increasingly being presented as being valid.

The second assumption is the superiority of the Anglo-American rhetorical style over other 'Outer Circle' or non-native varieties. This view may devalue other English varieties despite arguments that "just as no language is more or less logical than any other, so no rhetorical pattern is more or less logical than any other" (Kachru, 1995:28). In addition, "A narrow view of what constitutes good writing may shut out a large number of original studies from publication and dissemination" (Kachru, 1995:29). The assumption of superiority therefore has implications for the global transfer of knowledge.

Anglo-American superiority implicit in much CR is especially flawed if one subscribes to the notion of historical cycles of rhetoric. Swales (1990) questions whether rhetorical style is actually a result of 'intrinsic cultural differences' or simply a stage in an educational cycle. This suggests Anglo-American rhetoric has not always been linear making it possible to conclude that it will not remain so and the rhetorical styles of other cultures will also change. Suggesting the superiority of one

style not only demeans that of other cultures but also the past and future developments of its own.

3.4. Culture.

A major problem within CR is the use of culture as a term of differentiation of rhetorical style. Cultural boundaries often parallel national borders, for example, in studies of Japanese (Hinds, 1983; Kobayashi, 1984), Chinese (Mohan & Lo, 1985), and Finnish (Mauranen, 1993). Kaplan (1966) went further by grouping the rhetoric of several nations and cultures, comparing their rhetoric to that of Anglo-American English, itself a contested union (Kachru, 1995). Lumping cultures and nations together has resulted in the creation of contrastive generalizations such as individualist Vs collectivist (Connor, 1996) or direct Vs digressive cultures (Kaplan, 1966). Such generalizations ignore divisions within cultures highlighted by genre, assuming a non-existent homogeneity and encourage stereotyping.

Nationality does not correspond perfectly with culture. A number of writers have criticised the grouping of cultures within CR (Scollon, 1997; Kachru, 1995; Zamel, 1997), and the dichotomy that often results, such as East Vs West (Kubota, 1999). National boundaries which are often given as cultural boundaries frequently contain more than one culture, and more than one rhetorical pattern. Eggington (1987), for example, found the considerable number of Korean academics who had studied in the United States employed a linear rhetorical style whereas others who had not, "presented in a more traditional non-linear style" (Eggington, 1987: 166). Though it can be argued that American educated Korean academics constitute a different cultural group it clear that Atkinson (2004) is correct and a better understanding of culture in CR is required.

This need has been acknowledged by CR proponents with Connor (2002, 2004a, 2004b) acknowledging this need and proposing an intercultural rhetoric which:

> "Preserves the traditional approaches that use text analysis, genre analysis, and corpus analysis as well introduces the ethnographic approaches that examine language interactions"   (Connor, 2004a: 273).

The welcome development of intercultural rhetoric attempts to move CR away from a static notion of culture to a dynamic one which acknowledges 'small cultures' and the interactions they have with larger 'national' cultures.

CR and Pedagogy.

With CR focusing on writing, it is mainly within writing that implications for teaching arise. Explicitly demonstrating rhetorical differences between English and students' L1 through the reorganising of scrambled paragraphs and the use of prefabricated structures were suggested as classroom techniques for developing writing for advanced learners (Kaplan, 1966).

Such methods correspond closely to a product approach to writing strongly criticised by proponents of process writing. In contrast, the process approach views writing as unpredictable and highly individualistic focusing on the student as a writer who brings in his/her individuality and writing resources (White and Arndt, 1991). Attention is on meaning and the development of student's meta-cognitive awareness rather than on accuracy and form (Hyland, 2003a).

Such priorities have been supported by those engaged in CR. Mohan & Lo's (1985) research amongst Chinese students suggests that problems writing or understanding Anglo-American linear rhetoric was not a result of cultural difference but resulted from their lack of experience in writing. However, students do not begin to write in English without first having had some writing instruction in their L1. In addition, schooling goes hand-in-hand with culture:

> "Writing for most schoolchildren is nearly always school sponsored and inevitably, therefore, reflects the culture of the school system and reproduces culturally preferred discourse styles" (Leki, 1991:124).

It is perhaps through genre that CR offers its greatest contribution to pedagogy, one that is especially useful in an EAP context. As an approach to writing genre highlights the reader, and promotes "knowledge of the culture, circumstances, purpose and motives that prevail in particular settings" (Paltridge, 2001:7) and emphasizes the

constraints of form and content that must be reorganised for a text to fit a social purpose (Tribble, 1996).

In the classroom, the provision of multiple example texts from a specific genre allows students to compare and deconstruct the language used and thereby discover the underlying assumptions and ideologies (Hyland, 2003b). EAP students need to know the general consensus of their discourse community and construct texts that are compatible with it. CR provides vital insights into genre and helps students identify the differences between English varieties and their own L1 versions.

Raising awareness among students and teachers through CR has some positive implications beyond direct writing instruction. Leki optimistically suggests that for students:

> "the findings of contrastive rhetoric often produce instant enlightenment about their writing in English, as students suddenly become conscious of the implicit assumptions behind the way they construct written ideas and behind the way English does"　　　　　　　　　　　　(Leki, 1991: 138).

This is unlikely to always be the case and such 'enlightenment' doesn't necessarily result in sudden improvement. However, raising students' awareness of language is surely the responsibility of the teacher and in an EAP context the expectations of the audience must be made clear. An unexpected result of this is that students' self-esteem can increase as difficulties of writing become attributed to rhetorical differences rather than personal inadequacy (Leki, 1991).

Japanese-English CR.

Hinds (1983, 1987 1990) has been prolific in the area of Japanese-English CR and put forward the *ki-shoo-ten-ketsu* pattern of Japanese composition:

- Ki — Begin one's argument.
- Shoo — Develop further.
- Ten — Turn the idea to a subtheme where there is a connection, but not a

> directly connected association.
> • Ketsu — Bring all of this together and reach a conclusion.

The most notable element of this pattern is *ten*. Here information that is not directly relevant is introduced with minimal syntactic marking. Hinds (1983) suggests that, if transferred, this could cause problems for English readers who do not expect digressions and superfluous material to be suddenly introduced.

The ketsu (conclusion) section may also be problematic as the definitions of *ketsu* and conclusion differ. Ketsu "need not be decisive. All it needs to do is indicate a doubt or ask a question" (Takemata, 1976: cited in Hinds, 1987: 80). Such a conclusion would likely be deemed insufficient by native-speaker English readers expecting something more concrete.

The overall style of Japanese writing has been characterised as reader-responsible (Hinds, 1987). Overly explicit writing is not valued in Japanese writing and readers are expected to 'think for themselves' (Hinds, 1990). This pattern has been termed the 'quasi'-inductive'. The quasi-inductive style differs from the inductive and deductive styles favoured by Anglo-American writers, not only in the responsibility it places on the reader, but that the thesis statement is often hidden within the passage rather than being easily identified at the beginning or end (Hinds, 1990). When asked to score English translations of Japanese writing, English-speaking readers scored the quasi-inductive style consistently lower than Japanese readers thus indicating a preference for rhetorical patterns of their own language (Hinds, 1987).

The work of Hinds however, does not indicate if Japanese rhetorical patterns are transferred to English writing. Yet, it is precisely this question that was the subject of a study by Kobayashi (1984) among U.S students and Japanese students both in Japan and the U.S.

Kobayashi (1984) found that students did transfer Japanese rhetoric into their English writing. However, learners in Japan transferred more frequently than those studying in the United States. Japanese studying in the United States, like American

students, favoured a style of "Text Relating (writers reveal personal values, beliefs, feelings, and experience in relation to the content of the composition)" whereas students in Japan preferred "Topic Stating (writers simply restate the given topic)" (Kobayashi, 1984:737).

Kobayashi's research supports the findings of Hinds that both Japanese and English operate different rhetorical patterns and suggests a tendency among Japanese students to use L1 language patterns and general statement types. This transfer is reduced amongst Japanese studying in the United States who seem to employ a blend of rhetorical style.

The applicability of CR to teaching has also been addressed in a Japanese context. Yoshimura found that students explicitly taught the "organizational pattern, coherence structure, and argumentative patterns" out performed other students in argumentative essay writing (Connor, 2003:231). Despite criticisms against focusing on form (for example, by process writing proponents), Yoshimura claims the successful outcome was partly attributable to Japanese students needing to be comfortable with a form of writing. This would suggest the pedagogical implications of CR are culturally specific. Personal experience and much of the literature (Azuma, 1998; Fujimoto, 1999; Dorji, 1997) supports the idea that Japanese students like to 'play it safe' and know the form well before they attempt to create.

Despite the contributions of Hinds, Kobayashi and Yoshimura there is a noticeable lack of work in the area. It is clear that much more research is needed to gain a better understanding of Japanese-English CR and, most importantly, the transfer of rhetorical preferences to the L2. With the expansion of the notion of culture in CR, studies that take into account its dynamic nature and diversity within entities such as nations will be welcomed.

Conclusion.

Although CR has developed greatly since its beginnings, problems still remain, most notably in the notion of culture and the clumping together of peoples under certain

headers which are often tinged with certain value judgements. Despite such issues, CR continues to develop and, with the proven transfer of L1 rhetorical patterns, it would foolish to ignore it. EAP teachers have a responsibility to make students aware of the expectations of the subject in which they write and it seems clear that raising such awareness can have positive outcomes. The fact that CR seems more applicable to monolingual classes and students that have undertaken some form of contrastive analysis before, as is the case with Japanese students, also contributes to its value in the Japanese EAP context.

When raising students CR awareness, however, it would seem prudent to make it as relevant to the students as possible. To do this, knowledge of genre would seem appropriate as general rhetorical tendencies found between Japanese and English may not be equally represented within the discourse community they are entering. Exposure to such differences in style and expectation can only have a positive impact on the students understanding and development in EAP writing.

Yet it is not only students who can benefit from the 'enlightenment' CR offers. CR can help native-speaker English teachers in Japan understand the rhetorical preferences of their students and allow them to focus on the area of greatest difference/transfer. Although more research is needed, CR offers great potential for teacher and student development and the implications it has for pedagogy should be welcomed.

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