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Iga Maria Lehman

The Co-Construction of Authorial Identity in Student Writing in Polish and English

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For my Children:

Jakub, Robert and Alexandra

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Introduction

Drawing on the subjects of literature, my professional experience and personal reflections I am going to analyze in this dissertation the factors that shape the identity of an academic writer. My observations and hypothesis will be verified by the findings of my own semi-ethnographic study which aims to investigate different aspects of Polish academic writers' identity as revealed in their writing samples written in Polish and English. The following research question is the main subject of inquiry of this research project:

- Does a dual authorial 'self' exist? If it does, how is it developed and expressed in student writing in English and in Polish?

Specifically, the purpose of this dissertation is to test the validity of the hypothesis that each academic text is an act of identity in which writer's *self* constitutes and is constituted. Writers bring their 'autobiographical self' to the act of writing which reveals the interests, values, beliefs and practices of the social groups and discourse communities with which they identify themselves along with writers' personal experiences and their unique personality features. By drawing on their autobiographical experiences expressed by a means of a language specific for each author, writers constitute the discourse. Undoubtedly, the choice of language for academic discourse is not a mere linguistic decision, but involves considerable socio-cultural consequences in the form of writer's alignment with a rhetorical convention of a particular culture and discourse community. The rhetorical preferences arise from historical and intellectual traditions and feature different approaches to issues such as linear and digressive paths of thought development, variation in form and content, as well as reader-writer interpretative responsibility. Discrepancies in underlying socio-cultural values also account for the elitist attitude to academic writing which is present, for instance, in the Polish writing tradition and the more egalitarian approach observed, for example, in the Anglo- American rhetorical convention.

The approach to the authorial identity that I am presenting here can be supported by Fairclough's view of the relationships between language and identity. Fairclough takes up the 'translinguistic' ideas of Bakhtin and asserts that "[t]he matching of language to context is characterized by indeterminacy, heterogeneity and struggle" (1992c: 42) which means that it is critical not to rely exclusively on any typology in the analysis of discourse phenomena as it may lead to misattribution of intention and communication failure. Although it is important to recognize the influence of rhetorical patterns of a particular culture on academic texts, the features of academic discourse cannot be viewed as static, fixed and unchanging because we will fall into the trap of prescriptivism that comes with such a perspective (as presented, for example, in Galtung's typology of intellectual traditions or Kaplan's classification of cultural thought patterns). Therefore, I claim that discourse characteristics, which reflect writer identity, are not fixed in any specific way, but are rather influenced by

the particular social groups and discourse communities to which the writer belongs and also by the writer's life history and their unique personalities.

The general methodological approach of my study is descriptive and predominantly qualitative. It is strongly draws on research methods from ethnographic inquiry used by Geertz and Ivanič in the studies upon which this research is modeled. The 'thick description' proposed by Geertz that views culture as a semiotic concept will be used to describe students' written work. Believing, with Geertz (1973: 5) that, "[m]an is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun", I take culture to be those webs, not an exercise in experimental science in search of law but an interpretative one in search of meaning. Then four aspects of 'self,' as outlined by Ivanič (1998) in *Writing and Identity*, will be used here to provide a framework for investigating the role of identity in students' writing in Polish and English.

The subjects participating in the study are Polish students in the fourth year of their full-time English Philology studies (the first year of master's studies) and Polish students in the first year of their full-time Polish Philology studies at the master's level. The sample size consists of 16 student participants and is divided into two groups: a research group and a control group.

I am convinced that ethnographic methods based on 'watching and asking' (K. Hyland 2009: 36) are best suited to investigate the dynamic and complex view of authorial identity. Ethnographic research allows for an in-depth insight into the choices writers make that reveal the tensions between the dominant ideologies of a given discourse community, the power relations institutionally inscribed in them and writers' own interpretations of their personal and socio-cultural experiences. The important aspect of an ethnographic approach to the creation of authorial identity is what Hyland calls *performance* since "[w]e perform *identity work* by constructing ourselves as credible members of a particular social group so that identity is something we *do,* not something we *have*" (K. Hyland 2009: 70).

My study, which investigates the factors that affect the co-construction of authorial identity in cross-cultural perspective, is the answer to Cherry's (1988) call for studies oriented towards the writer's self-representation in academic writing.

1. Historical origins of Polish and Anglo-American rhetoric

There are significant differences in the way human consciousness functions and consequently manages knowledge and verbalization in primary oral cultures (cultures not affected by the implementation of writing), and in those that draw on the resources created by the technology of writing. More often than not, we are not aware of the fact that many features of the organization and expression of thought in contemporary oral and written discourse are not an innate part of human reality, but became available to people due to writing. Walter Ong (2002) has argued convincingly that orality and literacy produce two types of reasoning, two types of communication and subsequently two types of culture. Since, on a daily basis, we experience the interface of those two types of communication, it is critical to investigate the impact of our oral cultural heritage on the development of writing, as well as the changes in our thought processes induced by chirographic culture. Orality-literacy studies have contributed remarkably not only to the development of literary theory, criticism and discourse analysis, but also to the understanding of our cultural identities and to gaining an awareness of the functioning of other cultures.

1.1. Primary oral verbalization and written discourse: modes of thought and expression in oral and chirographic cultures

The significance of oral culture should not be ignored in the history of humanity, since it inspired and fostered the development of human societies for more than 30,000 years before the first script was written (about 6,000 years ago). Additionally, the basic evidence that language is predominantly an oral phenomenon is the fact that, out of the many thousands of languages spoken in the course of human history, only about 106 have developed a written form that was advanced enough to produce literature. Today, of approximately 3,000 languages that are spoken, only 78 have literature. Ferdinand de Saussure emphasized the supremacy of oral communication over written communication, and viewed writing as a sort of complement to oral speech, not as a transformer of verbalization (F. Saussure 1959: 23, 24). However, language study is possible mainly due to written texts, not oral discourse, which is too analytic (because of the variety of components) for coherent, organized research. It is written discourse that makes possible the sequential, classificatory and explanatory investigation of phenomena. Ong claims:

> [w]riting from the beginning did not reduce orality but enhanced it, making it possible to organize the 'principles' or constituents of oratory into a scientific 'art', a sequentially ordered body of explanation that showed how and why oratory achieved and could be made to achieve its various specific effects (W. Ong 2002: 9).

Diachronic studies of oral and written cultures and their reciprocal influences at various stages of their evolution allow us to create a frame of reference for better understanding pristine oral cultures and later writing cultures, including the writing culture of new technologies. "In this diachronic framework, past and present, Homer and television, can illuminate one another" (Ong 2002: 2).

The focus of this chapter will be on the differences and similarities between an oral and literate mindset (with emphasis on thought processing, organization and expression), the mutual influence of oral and writing cultures, and culturally determined preferences for oral or written communication.

1.2. Oral Culture as 'primary modeling system' and writing culture as a 'secondary modeling system'

A growing interest in comparative analyses of primary oral and written modes of verbalization started with applied linguists and sociolinguists (the structuralists investigated oral traditions but did not compare them with written composition). Jack Goody's works, such as Literacy in Traditional Societies (1968) and Domestication of the Savage Mind (1977), provided a detailed description of the changes in human mentality and social structures brought about by the implementation of writing. Other researchers of speech and text, such as Ong (1958, 1967), McLuhan (1962), Haugen (1966), Chafe (1982), Tannen (1980) and others, further contributed to the collection of linguistic and cultural data on this subject. However, the most significant analyses of the differences between the oral modes of organization and expression of thought and written modes were not conducted by linguists or cultural anthropologists but were initiated in the field of literary studies by Milman Parry (1902–35) on the texts of the Iliad and Odyssey, and continued, after his death, by Albert B. Lord and Eric A. Havelock. Perry's discovery, presented in his doctoral dissertation, provided a deductive account of the nature of the Iliad and Odyssey, literature's greatest secular poems in the Western tradition, and revealed that essentially every distinctive feature of Homeric poetry is a product of oral methods of composition. Parry arrived at this conclusion by putting aside biased assumptions about organization and expression of thought developed by generations of literate culture and conducted in-depth analyses of the verse itself. The language of the epic Homeric poems, revealing features of early and late Aeolic and Ionic languages, can be best explained as a language generated over the centuries by epic bards. The fixed set of expressions used by these poets was either preserved in its original form or altered for the sake of metrical purposes. The meticulous study conducted by Parry revealed that Homer repeated certain formulas. "The meaning of the Greek term 'rhapsodize', rhapsõidein, 'to stitch song together' (rhaptein, to stitch; õide, song), become ominous: Homer stitched together prefabricated parts. Instead of a creator, you had an assembly-line worker" (Ong 2002: 22). From the perspective of a contemporary, literate reader, the Homeric

poems that feature set phrases, formulae, and expected qualifiers can be classified as clichés, since they lack uniqueness of ideas and composition. However, the entire oral world of thought favored the formulaic constitution of thought because a story, once heard, had to be constantly repeated, so that it should not be lost. For memorization purposes, to preserve wisdom and knowledge, thoughts had to be organized in mnemonic patterns. Mnemonic devices feature rhythmic, balanced patterns, repetitions or antitheses, alliterations and assonances, epithetic and other formulary expressions, fixed thematic settings (a gathering, a meal or a duel) and proverbs which are repeatedly heard by everyone, and consequently take root deep in both the conscious and subconscious. Hence they are available to be recalled at any occasion. Xhosa poets can be set here as an example of how a strongly formulaic style marks not only poetry itself, but thought patterns and expression in an entire primary oral culture. According to Finnegan (1977) who quotes Opland's account of the poetry style of primary oral Xhosa poets, the poets continued to use a formulaic style in their poetry even when they learned how to write.

Around 700–650 BC the Iliad and Odyssey were written down using the Greek alphabet (Havelock 1963: 115). Nevertheless, their language did not resemble the Greek that was spoken at that time, but featured the knowledge and style of poets who learned from one another across the generations. Even today we can discover reminiscences of this comparable language when we read certain formulas in English fairy tales.

It was a lengthy and gradual process to turn writing into a sort of discourse, an act of composition which does not create the impression that the person writing is actually speaking out loud and repeating schematic thought patterns and modes of expression. According to Clanchy (1979) even in the 11th century, the English historian, theologian and ecclesiastic Eadmer of Canterbury perceived the act of composing in writing as 'dictating to himself'. Mainly due to the teaching of the old classical rhetoric, oral patterns of thought and expression were preserved in literature for centuries to come and were still present in Western culture about two thousand years after Plato's assault on poetry and storytelling (poetry and storytelling were presented as a 'crippling of the mind' in his Republic).

Today there are still cultures that despite being acquainted with the technology of writing for centuries have never completely interiorized it. Contemporary Arabic culture and certain Mediterranean cultures (including Greek) strongly draw on formulaic styles of expression. A powerful principle for the organization of writing in Arabic is parallelism, originating from the oral tradition, at sentence and paragraph levels. Such structures are found in the Koran, which was composed in the seventh century BC. Arabic writing does not follow the principles of Western paragraph organization (a main idea supported by convincing evidence), but develops paragraphs through a series of positive and negative parallel constructions. "Kaplan relates the parallelism of Arabic prose to parallel constructions used in the King James version of the Old Testament, most of which was translated into English from Hebrew, which, like Arabic, is a Semitic language whose coordinating structure favors rhetorical parallelism" (Connor 1996: 34, 35). Another characteristic

feature of Arabic prose is the role of repetitions (most probably evolving from the oral tradition) as an argumentative strategy which reflects the formulaic style of expression. The sociolinguist, Barbara Johnstone, conducted valuable research on the differences between a Middle Eastern argument and a Western argument. She analyzed the factors that caused the 1979 interview between Italian journalist Oriana Fallaci and Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini to descend into a slanging match. Johnstone found that the entirely different persuasive styles used by both interlocutors lay at the core of the controversy regarding this conversation. Fallaci used a quasi-logical, western style of argumentation in which she supported her statements with facts and data. The premise "There is no freedom in Iran" would come from the obvious evidence such as: "People are imprisoned and executed if they express their opinions freely". The basic presumption of the argument was left unstated. The presumption for the above argument could be, for example: "Freedom means being able to express one's opinion freely". Khomeini, however, used a Middle Eastern style of argumentation and persuasion through parables from the Koran with analogies such as: "Just as a finger with gangrene should be cut off so that it will not destroy the whole body, so should people who corrupt others be pulled out like weeds so that they will not infect the whole field". To back up his assertions, he appealed to the authority of Islam by saying "because Islam says so". As the above evidence illustrates, there are vast discrepancies between deeply interiorized literacy (as in the case of Western culture) and partially oral states of consciousness (like for instance in Arabic culture) that can lead to miscommunication and cross-cultural conflict.

Ong rightly observed that: "[o]ral expression can exist and mostly has existed without any writing at all, writing never without orality" (Ong 2002: 8). Borrowing the term from Jurij Lotman (1977: 21, 48–61) writing can be labeled as a 'secondary modeling system', a derivative of a spoken language that remains 'a primary modeling system' of any culture.

1.2.1. Distinctive features of orally based thought

A contemporary, literate person usually makes the wrong assumption that the oral verbalization of primary oral cultures was virtually the same as written verbalization, except for the fact that oral societies produced texts that were not written down. The dominance of literate thinking prevents us from perceiving primary orality accurately and meaningfully because writing makes us think of words as visible signs (for example, if we are asked to think of the word 'therefore', we will most probably visualize the spelt-out word, not its oral equivalent). For a literate person to think of words totally dissociated from writing is impossible, since words come to us in written form. Therefore, a literate person is unable to retrieve the same sense words had to primary oral people. Ong rightly comments:

> Thinking of oral tradition or a heritage of oral performance, genres and styles as 'oral literature' is rather like thinking of horses as automobiles without wheels (...) starting backwards in this way – putting the car before the horse – you can never become aware of the real differences at all (Ong 2002: 13).

Considering the vast discrepancy between oral and written verbalization, we might ask the question of how to understand the term 'oral literature'? The word 'literature' comes from the Latin word literatura which has the root meaning litera, a letter of the alphabet, and essentially refers to 'writings', indicating a sequential, explanatory and precise description of the subject. The term 'text', however, etymologically relates to a root meaning 'to weave' and appears more congruent with oral utterances than the word 'literature' (which etymologically refers to the alphabet letters). In the ancient Greek tradition oral discourse was considered the art of weaving or stitching – to 'rhapsodize' meant to 'stitch songs together' and relied heavily on heavy patterning and communal fixed formulas. Yet, in the contemporary western tradition the 'text' of a narrative is basically associated with written discourse, which reveals the backward order: the horse seen as an automobile without wheels.

As the aforementioned example illustrates oral culture significantly differs from literate culture particularly with regard to the modes of expression used in discourse. This difference in the way experience is intellectually organized and articulated results from the differences in thought processes (psychodynamics) between the oral and written traditions. The understanding of formulaic, patterned and mnemonic organization and expression of thought allows us to spot the differences and similarities between oral and literate ways of thinking, as well as to examine the influence of the oral tradition on writing culture. The inventory of features presented in this work that distinguishes oral-based thought and expression from the chirographic one is influenced by Ong's (2002) record of the characteristics of oral discourse. It is crucial to emphasize the fact that this list should not be treated as exclusive or conclusive, but rather suggestive, as it illuminates areas for further research.

Characteristics of oral-based thought and expression:
   i)   Additive style
One of the most distinctive features of the oral style is its additive character; this can be seen, for example, in Douay's version (1610) of the story of creation in Genesis, which draws strongly on the additive Hebrew original.

In the beginning God created heaven and earth. And the earth was void and empty, and darkness was upon the face of the deep; and the spirit of God moved over the waters. And God said: Be light made. And light was made. And God saw the light that it was good; and he divided the light from the darkness. And he called the light Day, and the darkness Night; and there was evening and morning one day.

In the contemporary edition of the New American Bible (1970) some of the nine 'ands' from Douay's version have been replaced by 'when', 'then', 'thus' and 'while', to provide the flow of narration that is in line with the analytic, reasoned subordination required by writing (Chafe 1982) and to meet the expectations of a twenty-first-century reader with a literate mindset.

In the beginning, when God created the heavens and earth, the earth was a formless wasteland, and darkness covered the abyss, while a mighty wind swept

over the waters. Then God said, 'Let there be light', and there was light. God how good the light was. God then separated the light from the darkness. God called the light 'day' and the darkness he called 'night'. Thus evening came, and morning followed – the first day.

According to Givón (1979) written structures rely strongly on syntactics (organization of the discourse itself). Grammar in written discourse features more subordinated and fixed constructions than in oral discourse because meaning in a text is communicated considerably through linguistic structures, not through the existential context, which is in a way independent from grammar and determines the understanding of oral discourse.

ii) <u>Aggregative style</u>

Aggregative style is characterized by strong reliance on formulas grouped in clusters, such as parallel terms or phrases, antithetical terms or phrases, and epithets (for instance, the brave knight or the wise king, instead of the knight or the king). The elaborate style of expression in oral discourse is considered bulky and redundant according to literate culture standards.

iii) <u>Redundancies</u>

The thought that is developed in a discourse tends to be elaborate and continuous. Therefore, it is difficult for a hearer to follow the flow of discourse without being distracted and losing track of the thought being conveyed. A reader does not experience such a problem, because the context, once lost, can be retrieved anytime by skimming back over the text in search of the lost information. However, in oral discourse the situation is different because there is nothing to loop back into besides human memory. Thus, oral discourse must be equipped with signposting devices, such as redundancies and repetitions, to keep both interlocutors on track. Redundancy is a characteristic feature of oral expression that is notoriously discredited in written discourse, which values linearity and analytic thought. Eliminating redundancy requires a technology such as writing, which puts constraints on human imagination by preventing the flow of thoughts from falling into their natural patterns.

In primary oral cultures redundancy and repetitions were also a requirement in public addresses to large audiences, when not every word a speaker uttered was heard by the audience (today electronic amplification has reduced acoustic problems to a minimum). Moreover, since oral cultures favored fluency over abundance of words and eloquence, repetitions were used to avoid hesitation and silence while a speaker was looking for the next idea. Rhetoricians in early written texts back in the Middle Ages and Renaissance labeled this tendency copia verborum and applied its principles to the new incarnation of oral rhetoric called the art of writing. Some reminiscences of copia verborum continue to be intensely used in the Western European writing tradition. Particularly in languages that were historically classified under the Teutonic intellectual style (developed by German academic thought and extending to such languages as Russian, Czech or Polish), a tendency for "branching" progression (digressiveness) in the development of ideas, remains a dominant style marker. Although this observation, presented in Clyne's work on the

textual phenomenon of digressiveness, can be only treated as a sweeping generalization showing the direction for further research, it points to the central difference pertaining to varying levels of linearity in the thematic and formal progression of ideas in discourse development across various writing cultures. Both thematic and formal digressions, defined as a supplementary, additional and peripheral text, are interpreted as aimless, unfocused and redundant in some rhetorical traditions (for example Anglo-American), but in others, like German, Russian, Polish and Czech, are viewed as products of a curious mind. Gajda (1982: 154), for example, discusses internal divisions within academic texts in Polish and describes the vertical articulation of the Polish rhetorical style that may draw on the residue of copia verborum.

iv) Conservative style

Oral culture constrains intellectual experimentation, since the key to preservation of what has been learned over the ages is the constant repetition of conceptualized knowledge, not artistic finesse and creativity. Therefore, the figures of wise men that pass stories from generation to generation are highly respected in the oral tradition. Storing knowledge in written form diminishes the significance of the respected repeaters of the past and paves the way for younger discoverers of something new.

Nonetheless, it would be an oversimplification to claim that oral cultures lack originality. The uniqueness and creativity of the oral narrative lies in the interactive nature of the communication between a speaker and the audience – each story has to be introduced and developed in a unique way to evoke a wide range of emotions so as to provoke the audience to respond strongly. Due to the repetitions and the introduction of new elements into old stories, there will be as many minor variants of a myth as there are repetitions of it (Goody 1977).

v) Themes based on human action context

Since oral culture is deprived of complex analytic categories to structure the abstract concepts that are available to writing culture, it must organize and express its knowledge with reference to the human world. It does so by engaging human beings in all kinds of interactions with an unfamiliar, outside world. Oral cultures have created few texts devoid of human or quasi-human activity; even narratives that present listings of items or genealogical descriptions are embedded in a human action context. One of the most representative examples of the themes based on human activity is the description of the catalogue of the ships in the second book of the Iliad – over four hundred lines – which compiles the names of the Greek leaders and the regions they ruled in the overall context of human action: the names of persons and places occur as involved in actions (Havelock 1963). Furthermore, such a detailed verbal articulation as the description of navigational procedures from the Iliad cannot be found in any abstract, manual-style description typical of writing culture.

As for now a black ship let us draw to the great salt sea

And therein oarsmen let us advisedly gather and thereupon a hecatomb

Let us set and upon the deck Chryseis of fair cheeks

Let us embark. And one man as captain, a man of counsel, there must be
(quoted in Havelock, 1963:81)

Oral culture is predominantly concerned with preserving knowledge, which makes the human action context a priority. Conversely, writing culture discourages developing themes that involve direct human activities and demonstrates a preference for using abstract concepts.

vi)   Agonistically and praise-toned narratives

According to writing culture standards, the narratives produced by oral culture exhibit exceptionally agnostic verbal expression. Writing is mainly concerned with abstractions that separate knowledge from the human world, like, for example, from the world depicted in literature based on oral thought where people are engaged in wars, battles, arguments and quarrels. Ong calls this phenomenon, "[s]eparating the knower from the known" (Ong, 2002:43). In the case of narratives produced by oral culture, knowledge is embedded in a context of struggle that is an integral part of the human experience. "Proverbs and riddles are not used simply to store knowledge but to engage others in verbal and intellectual combat: utterance of one proverb or riddle challenges hearers to top it with a more apposite or a contradictory one" (Abrahams 1968; 1972). Speeches delivered by characters in which they brag about their physical prowess are common occurrences in such distinguished pieces of oral literature as the Bible (for example, the scolding between David and Goliath), the Iliad, Beowulf or in medieval European romances. The frequency of the phenomenon of mutual name-calling in oral cultures, stretching from antiquity to modern times, prompted linguists to come up with a name to describe it. The names: flyting and fliting have been used interchangeably in reference to the verbal insult. This tradition is still alive in some African-American communities in the United States and is called, depending on the region, 'dozens', 'sounding', 'joning', 'wolfing' or 'sigging'. The participants insult each other by vilifying each other's mother in front of an audience of bystanders who actively encourage more flagrant name-calling to heighten the tension. The 'dozens' is more a rhetorical practice to amuse the audience than an actual fight.

Parallel to the agonistic character of narratives in the oral tradition is the expression of praise typical of the literature from ancient times to the eighteenth century. To a contemporary reader the rhetorical diction of fulsome praise seems insincere, pretentious and superficial, but in the highly polarized oral world of good and evil, virtue and vice, villains and heroes it served didactic purposes.

Throughout the centuries the word 'praise' expanded its meaning by conceiving such synonyms as, 'acclaim', 'commend', 'extol', and 'laud' widely used in literary and everyday diction. These verbs mean to express various levels of approval or admiration. To praise is to voice approbation, commendation, or esteem: "She was

enthusiastically praising the beauties of Gothic architecture" (Francis Marion Crawford). Acclaim usually implies hearty approbation warmly and publicly expressed: The film was highly acclaimed by many critics. Commend suggests moderate or restrained approval, as that accorded by a superior: The judge commended the jury for their hard work. Extol suggests exaltation or glorification: „that sign of old age, extolling the past at the expense of the present" (Sydney Smith).

Laud connotes respectful or lofty, often inordinate praise: "aspirations which are lauded up to the skies" (Charles Kingsley) (http://www.answers.com/topic/praise). The agonistic dynamics of oral thought processes and verbalization strongly affected the development of Western literate culture. The 'art' of rhetoric, originating in the dialectic of Socrates and further developed by Plato and Aristotle, fostered the process of systematization and adaptation of agonistic oral thought and expression to the scientific basis of writing.

vii) <u>Empathetic and communal character of a narrative</u>

Primary oral culture does not preserve knowledge in the form of an abstract and self-subsistent corpus. For an oral culture, learning and knowing means achieving close, empathetic, communal identification with the known (Havelock, 1963: 145–6). In writing 'objectivity' is reached through the separation of the knower from the known, which consequently creates the sense of personal disengagement and distance. In the oral tradition "objectivity' is dictated by formulaic expressions that present an individual's reaction as an integral part of the communal reaction, exhibiting the community spirit of the oral diction. This reaction with 'soul' was disapproved of by the precursors of the art of rhetoric. Havelock (1963: 197–233) observes, "Under the influence of writing (...) Plato has excluded the poets from his Republic, for studying them was essentially learning to react with 'soul', to feel oneself identified with Achilles or Odysseus".

viii) <u>Homeostatic character of oral texts</u>

The meaning of words in a primary oral setting significantly differs from their condition in literate cultures. Oral societies live in a present which keeps itself in harmony or homeostasis by becoming disintegrated from the past events which have no relevance for the here and now. Conversely, literate cultures that focus on sequential time that connects past, present and future had to invent dictionaries to come to terms with the complexity of various meanings of a word that occur at different times. Dictionary definitions show that words have layers of meaning, many of them quite irrelevant to the original meanings, thereby causing semantic discrepancies. Ong (2002), after Goody et al., makes the following observation about the nature of the meaning of words in oral cultures:

> The meaning of each word is controlled by what Goody and Watt (1968:29) call 'direct semantic ratification', that is, by the real-life situations in which the word is used here and now. The oral mind is uninterested in definitions (Ong 2002: 46)

Words procure their meanings from the entire human context, which includes the wide spectrum of nonverbal communication: gestures, posture, facial expressions as well as vocal inflections.

ix) Situational character of oral texts.

In the presence of analytic categories available to writing, all conceptual expressions in chirographic cultures are abstract to a certain degree. Words refer to concepts rather than to individual, perceived reality and thus, for example, the term 'bird' can apply to any bird.

Oral cultures conceptualize all their knowledge with reference to a context which is as concrete as possible, in the sense that it is embedded in the human world. For example, Anne Amory Parry (1973) made an interesting discovery about the epithet amymõn used by Homer to describe Aegisthus: the epithet means not 'blameless', as translated in literate culture, but 'beautiful-in-the–way-a- warrior-ready-to-fight-is-beautiful'.

Along the same lines Luria (1976) analyses the operational thinking in the oral tradition. Luria conducted broad research with illiterate (that is, oral) persons and partially literate subjects in Uzbekistan and Kirghizia in 1931 and 1932. The research, embedded in a framework of Marxist theory, focused on the differences between orality and literacy. What the contrasts demonstrated in the research revealed can be expressed by the following conclusion: "[i]t takes only a moderate degree of literacy to make a tremendous difference in thought processes" (Ong 2002: 50).

The following of Luria's findings, reported also by Ong, are of significance for the purpose of understanding the peculiarities of oral thought processes:

i) Oral subjects did not identify geometrical figures by assigning them abstract names such as circles, squares or triangles but by giving them the names of objects. Thus, for instance, a square would be called a mirror or a door; a circle would be labeled as a plate or a moon.

ii) Oral subjects were shown drawings of four objects, three belonging to one category and the fourth to another and were asked to distinguish between similar and odd objects. One series consisted of drawings of a hammer, a saw, a log and a hatchet. The subjects consistently thought of these objects not in categorical terms: three tools and the log, not a tool, but applied practical, situational thinking to their judgment. For example a 25-year-old illiterate peasant said: "They're all alike. The saw will saw the log and the hatchet will chop it into small pieces. If one of these has to go, I'd throw out the hatchet. It doesn't do as good a job as a saw" (Luria 1976: 56).

iii) Oral subjects were not familiar with formally syllogistic and inferential reasoning and consequently they did not apply formal deductive procedures to their thinking. They were not willing to tailor their thinking patterns to pure logical forms, which they found unappealing. When asked to construct a syllogism on the basis of the following sentences: Precious metals do not rust. Gold is a precious metal. Does it rust or not?, typical responses included: "'[d]o precious metals rust or not? Does

gold rust or not?' (peasant,18 years of age); 'Precious metal rusts. Precious gold rusts' (34-year-old illiterate peasant) (Luria 1976: 104).

iv) Oral subjects reacted with resistance to requests for definitions, even for the most specific objects. Luria recorded the following conversation: "'Try to explain to me what a tree is.' 'Why should I? Everyone knows what a tree is, they don't need me telling them'", replied one illiterate peasant, aged 22 (Luria 1976: 86). Real-life settings are more appealing and speak more strongly to oral modes of thinking than formal definitions.

v) Oral subjects experienced problems in verbalizing a conception of self and one's identity in the sense literate persons do. The process of self-analysis requires a deconstruction of situational and homeostatic thinking and isolation of the self from the surrounding world in order to examine the very essence of human personality in abstract categories. Luria posed the question pertaining to self-evaluation only after a sustaining discussion about people's characteristics and their individual differences (Luria 1976: 48). Among the most common responses to the question: "What kind of person are you?", he received the following: "What can I say about my own heart? How can I talk about my character? Ask others; they can tell you about me. I myself can't say anything" or "We behave well – if we were bad people, no one would respect us" (Luria 1976: 15).

The sense of identity and self-awareness in oral cultures are shaped by interpersonal relations and feature a communitarian cultural orientation. Ong observes, "Self-evaluation modulated into group evaluation ('we') and then handled in terms of expected reactions from others" (Ong 2002: 54). The strong sense of belonging to a community makes people perceive their identities through the prism of the group. The well-being of the group ensures the well-being of the individual, so by considering the needs and feelings of others, one actually protects oneself. Pillay, when writing about the understanding of one's identity in communitarian cultures, discusses a Pan-African term ubuntu ('humanness or personhood'). The literal translation of this expression is: "A person being a person through other persons" (Pillay 2006: 37).

People who have interiorized writing have developed a special kind of consciousness that determines the way they organize their oral expression in thought patterns and verbal patterns. Orally-based thought is situational, homeostatic and aggregative (the oral mind totalizes) and is unable to construct elaborate, analytic linear sentences which can be produced due to the impact of the technology of writing on human thought processes. However, just as it is not a measure of somebody's intelligence that he/she knows how to write, similarly it is also not a measure of a person's intelligence if he/she cannot think in analytic, deductive, abstract and individualistic patterns.

1.2.2. Formative factors of rhetoric

The ancient Greeks initiated the intense interest in the development of the art of rhetoric which has become one of the most comprehensive academic subjects in the entire western world for the centuries to come. In the discussion of the origins of rhetoric it is impossible to ignore the valuable oral tradition on which writing draws. Therefore, to fully understand the impact the oral tradition exerted on writing, it is critical to examine the historical and intellectual conditions out of which Greek rhetoric emerged.

Since the study of the rhetorical theory and practice was launched by the teachers of argument in Sicily at the beginning of the fifth century, it is relevant for the purpose of this section to briefly review the current knowledge referring to the antecedents of the art of speech, text and style. The definition proposed by Cole describes the function of rhetoric at that time. He argues that it was designed as: "a speaker's or writer's self-conscious manipulation of his medium with a view to ensuring his message as favorable a reception as possible on the part of the particular audience being addressed, "[a]nd is a "typically fourth-century phenomenon" (Cole 1991: 19). Schiappa (1991) claims, and Cole supports his view, that the term rhêtorikê, was used to designate an intellectual discipline relating to the skill of the rhêtôr, and was coined by Plato during the composition of the *Gorgias*. It is clear, however, that the use of rhêtôr (an earlier form- rhêtêr), concerning a public speaker or pleader, appears prior to the fifth century. Schiappa traced "[t]he earliest surviving use of rhêtôr in the Brea Decree, ca.445 B.C.E". (Schiappa 1991: 41).The *Iliad* also contains various examples of rhêtôrs, speakers whose intent is to influence others' actions through persuasion and the invocation of divine will.

The rhetorical predisposition (ability to cause a certain reaction through eloquence of expression) was indigenous to the linguistic and cultural heritage of the Greeks. It is illustrated in speeches from books 2 and 9 of the *Iliad,* the bardic poems of the *Odyssey,* the oratorical style of Hellenic tragic and comic playwrights as well as in Sophistic rhetoric.

Contemporary cultures draw on the structural and content-based rhetorical principles laid down by Aristotle in *Poetics* and the prior influences of Thales, Heraclitus, Socrates, Plato (who outlined the art of rhetoric in the *Phaedrus*) and others. It was practiced consciously or subconsciously by Demosthenes, Aeschines, Pericles a century before Aristotle and then by Protagoras, Gorgias and other fifth-century Sophists. Nevertheless, the following questions arise here: What made argument and consequently the art of rhetoric possible before those scholars? What factors induced the emergence of rhetoric during the fourth century? While analyzing the features of Archaic Greek culture that conceived the art of rhetoric Havelock observes, "[i]n its formative and creative stages, it was wholly nonliterate (...) [The Greeks possessed] an astonishingly sophisticated but unwritten language" (Havelock 1983: 7). He subsequently argues that the Archaic Greek culture, even after the invention of writing, demonstrated oral modes of thinking for the proceeding several centuries.

Johnstone lists the most salient determinants involved in the emergence of the art of rhetoric in the fourth century:

1. the oral tradition in Greece and the transition from orality to literacy
2. the emergence of the *polis* [1]
3. the shift from *mythos* to a naturalistic cosmology, with its consequent development of a scientific, rational worldview and a philosophical terminology and syntax (Johnstone 1996: 4)

Johnstone further elaborates on their effects on various aspects of Hellenic intellectual life. Firstly, the oral eloquence of the proto-rhetorical age shaped the tastes of the audience and subsequently established the communicative habits that constituted the rhetorical culture of the Classical Period. In the *Encomium of Helen* Gorgias compared the effect of speech on the soul to the power of drugs on the body and stated the rhetorical truth: "[s]peech is a powerful lord".

The second formative factor in the origins of rhetoric was the objectification of speech through writing which accommodated the art of oral persuasion to the requirements of teaching and studying. Johnstone calls this factor 'reinvention of writing' because, "[h]owever limited in function and despite being Minoan and the Mycenaean periods were forms of recorded speech" (Johnstone 1996: 5). The objectification of speech allows the conscious manipulation of the medium of expression to produce desired effects on listeners. The written discourse has become an individual entity which made itself available for revision and study. In doing so an utterance has taken the form of a message, and thus could be expressed indifferently in search for the most effective way of communication.

Political developments and activities in the fourth- century Greece and, as some scholarly speculations suggest, of an earlier era contributed to the emergence of the art of rhetoric. For example, Donlan in his paper "*The Dark Age Chiefdoms and the Emergence of Public Argument"*, while discussing the origins of the *polis*, emphasizes the methods of persuasion and argument used by Dark Age chiefs (*basileis*) to win the loyalty of small farmers who were soldiers in their fighting forces. He notes that, "[t]he leader-people arrangement worked by persuasion and argument". Further, he continues", the occasions of public discourse were the same in the pre-state chiefdom as in the *polis*. The full assembly of all adult males (*agorê* in Homer) and the smaller council of the leading men (*boulê*) passed on into the city-state". He concludes by saying that "[s]peaking persuasively was a necessary skill for political leaders, at least as early as the ninth century B.C.E., and most likely a good deal earlier" as well as that "what one must call a self-conscious ort of oratory was well established in the later Dark Age. Nor is there any reason, social or aesthetic, to believe otherwise (Donlan 1988 as anoted in Johnstone 1996: 6).

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[1] polis – the ancient *Greek* city-states

Plato himself claimed that what Gorgias recognized as "the speaker's art" (*hê rhêtorikê technê*) was the product of craftsmanship activity that had been practiced in Archaic Greek for the previous two hundred years.

The mythopaeic view of the world, typical for the oral consciousness of Archaic Greeks, exerted a significant impact on the development of naturalistic cosmological approach in the fourth century and contributed to the conception of rhetoric. Due to the rational worldview and subsequently rational uses of language, the Greek "proto-philosophers" could establish an abstract, analytical syntax and vocabulary. The linguistic resources they invented were critical to the development of the theory and technique of rhetoric laid down by Aristotle in *Poetics*. His treatise on the art is the first systematic account of Classical theory which is based on three rhetorical devices: argument, proof, and probability.

The transition from myth and poetry to cosmology and analytic prose constitutes a fundamental change in the intellectual thought in the history of humanity. Guthrie observes that this change from *mythos* to *logos* is predominantly marked by the shift from perceiving world events in terms of "a clash of living, personal will "[t]o seeing them as manifestations of "impersonal forces [...]. Myth seeks an individual cause [for an event] – the wrath of a god, the jealousy of a goddess-whereas reason in only satisfied when it can explain in terms of a general law" (Guthrie 1953: 5). Therefore, myth explains the origins and the ways natural world works in terms of how supernatural beings (whose wills are not governed by any absolute law) influence human lives. Homer's and Hesiod's epic poetry, for example, constitute an extraordinarily valuable account about the Heroic Age that served as a vehicle of preservation and inspiration, not as definition and justification. Along these lines Havelock claims:

> All cultures preserve their identity in their language, not only as it is casually spoken, but particularly as it is preserved providing a storehouse of cultural information which can be reused (...). [How] is such information preserved in an oral culture? It can subsist only in individual memories of persons, and to achieve this the language employed – I may call the storage language – must meet two basic requirements, both of which are mnemonic. It must be rhytmic, to allow the cadence of the words to assist the task of memorization; and it must tell stories rather than relate facts: it must prefer mythos to logos. For the oral memory accommodates language which describes the acts of persons and the happening of events, but is unfriendly to abstracted and conceptual speech (Havelock 1983: 13)

According to Johnstone (1996) Hesiod's *Theogony* remains the most representative example of the mythopoeic consciousness. It depicts the world in which humans, governed by the caprices and contents of divine entities, live highly unpredictable lives. Epic poetry at that time was not only a medium of preservation but also functioned as a vehicle of evocation and inspiration. It was also meant to serve didactic purposes for its themes such as heroism, pride, betrayal, contest, loyalty advocate ideals to which human beings should aspire. No wonder that reading Homer was a large part of the moral education of the Archaic and Classical Greeks.

1.3. Major linguistic and logical developments in an art of public argument and a theory of civic discourse

The language of written discourse is characterized by deductive inference, definition and abstraction in contrast to the diction of genealogy and description which is situational, homeostatic and aggregative. Reasoned discourse features the use of the impersonal noun and of verbs of attribution rather than of action which are absent in the narrative structure of myth or folk tale. The themes in reasoned discourse center on events which are arranged according to inherent and singular principle that remains logically consistent throughout. Johnstone observes that in reasoned discourse, "The *kosmos* is ordered by *logos*" (Johnstone 1996: 10).

The language of the reasoned argument was invented long before the Sophists, Plato and Aristotle. Jean–Pierre Vernant comes up with the following explanation of the issue:

> [t]he birth of philosophy seems connected with two major transformations of thought. The first is the emergence of positivist thought that excluded all forms of the supernatural and rejects the implicit assimilation, in myth, of physical phenomena with divine agents; the second is the development of abstract thought that strips reality of the power of change that myth ascribed to it, and rejects the ancient image of the union of opposites, in favor of a categorical formulation of the principle of identity (Jean-Pierre Vernant 1983: 351).

Havelock (1983) makes the same point in "The Linguistic Task of the Presocratics" stating that philosophy invented the language of discourse, elaborated its concepts and logic, and consequently created its own rationality.

One of the major achievements of pre-Socratic thinkers was the invention of theoretical explanation, the intellectual scaffolding of probabilistic argument. This accomplishment resulted in the establishment of a naturalistic worldview which manifested itself in the first writings of the Ionian thinkers, and also in the work of Heraclitus. During the 6th century BC, Ionian coastal towns such as Miletus and Ephesus were the centers of radical changes in approaches to traditional thinking about Nature. Instead of explaining natural phenomena from the traditional perspective based on religion and myth, Ionian thinkers began to form hypotheses about the natural world from ideas generated on the basis of personal experience and deep reflection. Undoubtedly, the major contribution to the development of this view was made by Thales who formulated the thesis about the constitution of the world not from water but from a single, material substance. This line of thinking allowed Anaximander to construct more abstract and complex theses and later thinkers to elaborate on the functioning in nature of a universal, impersonal, divine and most importantly rational principle called *archê*. *Archê* can be defined as an originating, causative element that is regular, measured, consistent and predictable, and that introduces order to the world, hence making it a *kosmos*. The Ionian cosmologists along with later philosophers of nature became engaged in seeking the answer to the question of how to identify and explain this organizing principle – whether, as it says in Kahn's translation of Anaximander, it is "[s]ome (...) boundless *[apeiron]*

nature from which all the heavens arise and the *kosmoi* within them (...) according to what must needs be", (Guthrie 1962: 115, as quoted in Johnstone, 1996: 12) or the essence of *aêr* (the material principle of things according to Anaximander) or the *logos,* the internal consistency of the thing.

This naturalistic worldview, speculative in its nature, made the inception of the idea of probability possible and supported it with the assumption that the world must be organized in a relatively regular, consistent way for an idea to be probable. The first evidence of probabilistic reasoning appears in the sixth century. It suggests that the shift in the worldview (from a mythopoeic theogony to a naturalistic cosmology) was required for the new form of thinking and persuading to occur. Plato ascribes the invention of argument from probability to Tisias and Gorgias (*Phaedrus*, 267a). All the available examples of persuasive oratory from before the fifth century can almost entirely be found in Homer and do not demonstrate argumentative technique of reasoned discourse but oral exhortation. Such an exhortation, although it may be treated as a sort of primitive rhetoric, is not grounded in a probabilistic argument but in the speaker's appeal to divine signs, omens and the gods' will as well as in avoidance of disgrace. Kennedy provides the following commentary on Homeric speech, "[i]n all early invention the most important fact is the absence of what was to be the greatest weapon of Attic oratory, argument from probability. The speakers in Homer are not even conscious that the subject of their talk is limited to probable truth" (Kennedy 1963: 39). Further on Kennedy mentions that the only exception to this rule is *Hymn of Hermes* where one-day-old Hermes, accused by Apollo of the theft of his cattle, argues that it is unlikely that a newborn in swaddling clothes could have done such a thing.

The naturalistic worldview that emphasizes unity and regularity in events not only fostered the development of rhetoric as a theory and a technique of public argument but also required augmentation of lexical resources. The pre-Socratic legacy is evidenced in Aristotle's account of the *pisteis* of rhetoric in which the function of the rhetorical proof is defined as "a sort of demonstration". Aristotle's description of argument, "proof, or apparent proof, provided by the words of speech itself" (1356a 3–4) refers to the use of language where the arrangement and expression of ideas features logical and linear progression. Rhetorical argument, therefore, comprises of principles of deductive logic that are innate in the very nature of the language itself. These rules were first identified and applied by Parmenides and Empedocles more than a century before Aristotle's attempt to systematize the components of rhetorical art.

Analytic thinking and deductive reasoning demand radical changes in syntax where mythopoeic verbs of action are replaced by the verb of analysis 'to be' (*einai*). Johnstone observes, "[v]erbs of becoming and dying away, of doing and acting and happening must be replaced by the timeless present of the verb to be" (Johnstone 1996: 13). While elaborating on "a new language of philosophy" in the work of pre-Socratic thinkers, Havelock points out that the formation of a "single, comprehensive statement" that would organize all worldly occurrences into a single whole, "a cosmos, a system, a one and an all", would require the replacement of

"[v]erbs of action and happening which crowded themselves into the oral mythos by a syntax which somehow states a situation or set situations which were permanent, so that an account could be given of the environment which treated it as a constant. The verb called upon to perform this duty was *einai*, the verb to be" (Havelock, 1983: 21). Vernant (1982) supports Havelock's point in *The Origins of Greek Thought* (particularly in chapter 8) and emphasizes the critical role of the verb *to be* in a new language of philosophy.

The advancement of analytic thought and deductive reasoning, and thus enthymematic argument, was possible due to the development of a rational worldview, analytical syntax as well as philosophical vocabulary that allowed pre-Socratic thinkers to theorize about argument required. In contrast to oral discourse tradition that constrains intellectual and linguistic experimentation, reasoned discourse requires a set of conceptual categories, i.e. an abstract vocabulary, to speculate about and organize functions of thought and speech into discrete categories. Aristotle's theory of rhetorical argument is based on a conceptual system and specific terminology, for example "first principle" (*archê*), "probabilities" (*eikota*), and "the universal" (*to katholou*), which made possible the articulation of the theoretical principles and subsequently the explanation of the art of rhetoric. Havelock offers the following commentary on the development of a new philosophical diction:

> From the standpoint of a sophisticated philosophical language such as was available to Aristotle, what was lacking [for the pre-Socratics] was a set of commonplace but abstract terms which by their interrelations could describe the physical world conceptually; terms such as space, void, matter, body, element, motion, immobility, change, permanence, substratum, quantity, dimension, unit, and the like (...) The history of early philosophy is usually written under the assumption that this kind of vocabulary was available to the first Greek thinkers. The evidence of their own language is that it was not. They had to initiate the process of inventing it" (Havelock 1983:14)

The linguistic experimenting of pre-Socratic philosophers with the development of a speculative terminology (as evidenced in Aristotle's discussion of the Enthymeme with the emphasis on "the particular" -*to kata meros*), "the probable", and "the universal") results in two linguistic modifications: the application of the neuter article *to* in relation to certain nouns and the metaphorical use of these and other nouns that made vocabulary increase in number. Due to these language changes the expression of abstract concepts became possible.

In the process of transition from masculine/feminine (in myth the things in Nature were personified as masculine or feminine, i.e. *ho hêlios* –sun, masculine or *hê gaia* –earth, feminine) to the neuter, the Greek language increased the capacity for expressing the abstract ideas upon which philosophy draws in the effort to explain the world dynamics in rational terms. Aristotle also drew on this accomplishment of the early Greek thinkers when he was conceiving and then verbalized the idea of rhetorical argument or proof. Kahn makes the following observation:

[I]n the historical experience of Greece, Nature became permeable to human intelligence only when the inscrutable personalities of mythic religion were replaced by well-defined and regular powers. The linguistic stamp of the new mentality is a preference for neuter forms, in place of the 'animate' masculines and feminines which are the stuff of myth. The Olympians have given way before *to apeiron* [the unbounded], *to chreon* [necessity], *to periechon* [the environment], *to thermon* [heat], *ta enantia* [opposites]. The stife of elemental forces is henceforth no unpredictable quarrel between capricious agents, but an orderly scheme in which defeat must follow aggression as inevitably as the night [follows] the day" (Kahn, 1960:193)

In addition, pre-Socratics contributed significantly to the metaphorical development of the language of myth. In their search for the idea that "all things are one" (as Heraclitus put it) and the harmony in the *kosmos*, these early researchers of rational world lacked appropriate terminology to describe their discoveries of the cosmic organization. They were descendants of the epic vocabulary of myth which they had to alter to be able to articulate new concepts. It was done by "stretching" (Havelock's expression) the meanings of terms borrowed from the Archaic language. Havelock discusses one of the examples of such "linguistic experimentation"– the origins of the word *kosmos* and notes that:

It was doubtfully put forth by the Milesians, but his [i.e in Heraclitus, fragment DK 30] is the first fully attested entry of the term into philosophical language. It has been borrowed from the epic vocabulary, in particular from previous application to the orderly array of an army controlled by its 'orderer' (*kosmêtôr*); but it is now stretched', so to speak, just as the neuter of the numeral *one* is being stretched, to cover a whole world or universe or physical system, and to identify it as such (Havelock 1983: 24)

In the same vein Kahn observes that, "[a]ll philosophic terms have necessarily begun in this way, from a simpler, concrete usage with a human reference point (…). Language is older than science, and the new wine must be served in whatever bottles are on hand" (Kahn, 1960:1930)

The pre-Socratic metaphorical expansion of the mythopoeic terms such as *genesis, logos, kosmos,* and *archê* was designed to pave the way to the articulation of the new ways of perceiving the causes of events and their mutual relations. Following this line of thought even today a huge part of theoretical language is metaphorical, and for complete understanding of that language and its implications we must look at it in a broader perspective, i.e. backloop into its archaic roots. The major linguistic achievement of the earliest Greek philosophers was to give a figurative meaning to terminology that was a product of, as Aristotle calls it, "the ancient tongue" (Rhetoric 1357b10), the language of myth and to have employed this terminology to conduct the rational analyses of the surrounding world.

Aristotle is the one to benefit from this linguistic achievement. His conceptualization of rhetorical argument, as derivative from probable premises, was possible due to the preliminary existence of such terms as *logos* (as rational principle

and reasoned discourse or argument), *eikos* (as probability, from *eoika,* to be like, to seem likely) and *katholou* (as universal, from *kath'holou,* on the whole, in general).

The art of rhetoric may have been a product of the fourth century thought, but it was invented using the devices designed and developed during the previous two hundred and fifty years. The rhetoric of the most outstanding orators such as Isocrates, Aristotle or Demosthenes evolved out of a Classical consciousness, but this consciousness was shaped by modes of thinking and using language that originated in the Archaic Era. Only keeping this in mind are we able to fully understand the nature of pre-Socratic thought and appreciate its impact on the development of the art of rhetoric.

1.4. The influence of writing on thinking patterns and expression

The technology of writing, which provoked and shaped the intellectual development of literate man, was a very late invention in human history. The first script, in the sense of true writing (that consisted not only of mere depictions of things, but was a representation of a sound, of words that someone intended to say) developed among the Sumerians in Mesopotamia only around the year 3500 BC (Diringer 1953; Gelb 1963), that is some 50,000 years after *Homo sapiens* appeared in the fossil record on the earth (Leakey and Lewin 1979). Despite its late development in relation to other technologies, writing has altered human thinking patterns and expression and consequently has led to the transformation of consciousness from the oral to the literate mindset. According to Ong, "[f]unctionally literate human beings really are: beings whose thought processes do not grow out of simply natural powers but out of these powers as structured, directly or indirectly, by the technology of writing" (Ong 2002: 77). Therefore, writing determines not only the thought processes involved in composing a written text but also influences thought organization in its oral form.

Writing makes "-context-free-" language (Hirsch 1977: 21–23) or "-autonomous-" discourse (Olson 1980a) possible because written text, detached from its author, cannot be directly questioned or contested as oral speech. The written discourse disintegrates an utterance from a source, a writer, since s/he cannot be directly reached and/or challenged. Thus, a direct and immediate refutation of the text cannot be performed. This is the reason why the expression 'the book says X' is synonymous to 'X is true'. Furthermore, the inaccessibility of the author grants writing a vatic quality and allows a written text to be regarded as an instrument of secret and magic power. Ong provides the following evidence to support this point", Traces of this early attitude toward writing can still show etymologically: the Middle English 'grammarye' or grammar, referring to book-learning, came to mean occult or magical lore, and through one Scottish dialectical form has emerged in our present English vocabulary as 'glamor' (spell-casting power)" (Ong 2002: 92). Similarly, the *futhark* or runic alphabet of medieval Northern Europe was typically associated with magic. In societies of limited literacy writing was regarded as dangerous to the ignorant reader and required a guru-like figure to mediate between

reader and text (Goody and Watt 1968). Along the same lines, Havelock (1963), cf. Havelock and Herschell (1978) observes that ancient Greek culture introduced a general pattern of restricted literacy similar to that which can be seen in many other cultures: the development of 'craft literacy' at the early stages of the implementation of writing. As the history of the written text indicates, writing became a trade since special craftsmen were required to write documents or letters. Due to the prevalence of this craft, there was no need for an individual to acquire the knowledge of writing. Not until more than three centuries after the introduction of the Greek alphabet, around Plato's time, was that stage surpassed because the populace learned to read and write and craft literacy was no longer required on a large scale. Writing was eventually interiorized enough by the ancient Greeks to affect thought processes generally (Havelock 1963). The broad implementation of writing enabled human consciousness to achieve its fuller potentials. Ong observes that in many ways, "[w]riting heightens consciousness. Alienation from a natural milieu can be good for us and indeed is in many ways essential for full human life. To live and to understand fully, we need not only proximity but also distance. This writing provides for consciousness as nothing else does" (Ong, 2002:81). Thus, the technology of writing, properly interiorized, does not decrease the richness of human intellectual potential and creativity but enlarges it.

1.5. Plato's views on writing

Although Plato's entire epistemology was a consistent rejection of the oral tradition (represented by the oral poets expelled from his Republic), he also thought of writing as an external, alien technology. Plato expressed his objections against writing in *Phaedrus* (274–7) and his *Seventh Letter*. Writing, as the character of Socrates says in the *Phaedrus*, is inhuman, attempting to create outside the mind what in reality can only be constructed in the mind and hence should be treated as a manufactured product. Moreover, Socrates expresses the fear that writing would decrease the potential of the mind through the destruction of memory because literate people tend to rely on an external resource for what they lack in internal resources. Outside a written text, Socrates continues, there is no resource to assist a writer in repeating the same line of thought or to review what he has produced. In oral culture, the articulated thought can be easily retained and retrieved due to the mnemonic thought organization, invented for ready oral repetitiveness. Socrates also argues that a written text is basically unresponsive, whereas speech and thought always exist essentially in a context of interchange between real interlocutors. Writing establishes an unreal and unnatural world unlike oral tradition which creates an empathetic, mobile and personally interactive life world in which human beings are engaged in all sorts of activities such as wars, quarrels or battles. Last but not least, he argues that written word cannot defend itself as the spoken word can: we are quite unable to think of the word without adverting to its spelling. Without writing, words have no visual presence and therefore, for most literates, to think of

words as entirely disassociated from writing is psychologically threatening. Ong (2002) claims that the Platonic concept of 'form' is tantamount to the visually based term 'idea' which comes from the same root as Latin 'video', to see, and has developed such English derivatives as *vision, visible*, or *videotape*. The analogy of Platonic form to visible form has made Plato's ideas isolated from the human life world, devoid of empathy for human fate, voiceless and immobile.

The most evident drawback of Plato's views on writing lies in the paradox that, to make his point effective, he expresses his arguments against writing in writing. According to Havelock (1963), Plato's philosophically analytic thought, including his views on writing, was the outcome of the effects that writing began to exert on human thinking processes and of which Plato was not fully aware.

1.6. Aristotle's arrangement of speech/writing with enthymeme and example

Aristotle's logic, especially his theory of the syllogism, has had an unparalleled influence on the history of Western thought. In his theory of rhetoric, he outlined two main ways of reasoning, deductive and inductive, and proposed two kinds of rhetorical arguments as rhetorical appeals: one is 'enthymeme' which is rhetorical syllogism (deductive argument), the other, 'example' (rhetorical induction). However, Aristotle's logic centers on the first one: the **deduction**. He considered 'enthymeme' as more valid argumentative method than 'example' which is evidenced in his statement that "speeches that rely on examples are as persuasive as the other kind, but those which rely on enthymeme excite the louder applause" (Bizzell, Herzberg 1990: 154). Since Aristotle demonstrated lesser interest in 'example,' Thompson (1975) claims that Aristotle's induction is disorganized and incomplete. For Aristotle, enthymeme is "the most effective of the modes of persuasion" and he calls it "the substance of rhetorical persuasion" (Bizzell, Herzberg 1990: 152).

'Enthymeme' employs a deductive structure which is "[t]he process of going from a major premise to a conclusion by way of syllogism" (Thompson 1975: 12). According to Aristotle's definition, enthymeme is a kind of syllogism in which conclusion is drawn from the two prior premises.

In contrast, 'example' uses an inductive form of reasoning that operates under the order that proceeds from individual cases to general conclusion. Aristotle believed that induction is rooted deeply in example because example constructs an argument which is based on a number of similar cases.

Aristotle divided the structure of speech/writing into four parts: an introduction, a preliminary statement, proof and a conclusion, and proposed that a speaker/writer must present their claim first and then prove it by demonstration. To organize speech/writing, deductive and inductive arguments as a means of demonstrating must be employed to construct the proof.

Deductive and inductive logical arguments made Aristotle's rhetoric distinctive and became the foundation of rhetorical traditions of many cultures. Polish writing convention, for example, draws on inductive reasoning whereas Anglo-American speakers/writers favor deductive text organization.

1.7. Differences in writing patterns across cultures

Around Plato's time, the cultural and intellectual development of modern man inevitably migrated from the orally-based thought to the world of writing. The influences of the post-Socratic philosophy, Platonism in particular, on rhetorical conventions in Europe granted a privilege to writing and depreciated speech by reducing it to the level of unavoidable daily routine. The technology of writing transformed human consciousness from orally-based thought which is situational, homeostatic and aggregative into the literate mindset that relies on analytic, abstract and individualistic thinking patterns. Ong observes that, "[w]ithout writing, the literate mind would not and could not think as it does, not only when engaged in writing but normally when it is composing its thoughts in oral form" (Ong 2002: 92). However, the changes in thought processes brought about by writing were not the same in all cross-cultural and cross-linguistic contexts. Different cultures have developed their own standards for structuring written discourse and presenting content. For example, some writing traditions allow for a certain degree of digressiveness and extraneous material in the development of thematic path, draw heavier on oral tradition and organize thoughts in balanced, parallel patterns, in repetitions or antitheses, in formulary expressions or proverbs. Conversely, other traditions follow a linear development of predominantly abstract ideas and employ deductive and analytic reasoning in their writing.

Even today, with considerable efforts to make academic discourse supra-national and supra-cultural in its scope, the differences in the ways in which cultural knowledge and experience are realised, in both the content and the form of the written text, are substantial. Along these lines, Duszak (1994) claims that traditions of oracy, literacy, intellectual styles of oral and written discourse as well as approach to academic knowledge evolve from underlying cultural values, norms and beliefs. Golebiowski (1997: 45–6) supports this view and argues that, "[g]eneric constrains on academic prose reflect the cultural habits of the writer's academic community".

The aforementioned opinions had earlier been backed by the findings of Kaplan's seminal study (1966) on cross-cultural differences in thought organization in writing, which resulted in Kaplan's identification of five types of writing conventions developed by various cultures: English, Semitic, Oriental, Romance and Russian.
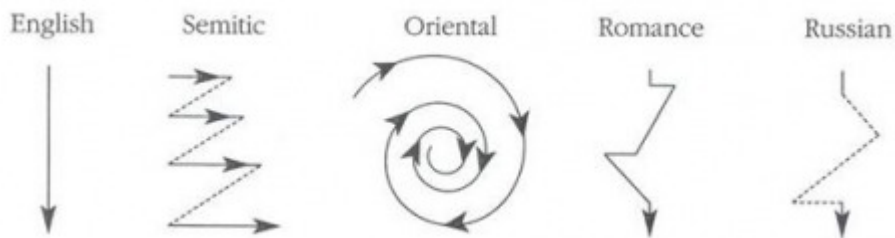
Figure 1. *Patterns of rhetorical organization in various languages (Kaplan 1966: 1–20).*

English (Anglo-American) discourse patterns adhere most strongly to the ways of thinking and expression established by the technology of writing. The structure of an English academic text shows analytic, deductive, abstract and individualistic reasoning, and the content features explicit, overt messages which rely on literal meanings of words. Kaplan's study has demonstrated that English writing features linear progression of ideas in which the clearly stated thesis statement is the central organizing idea of the whole paper. Examples are organized from general to specific to create a so-called 'funnel support'. The key to good organization in this model is to outline the main points of the paper or speech by subordinating supporting ideas to the main ideas. The style of argumentation is quasi-logical with statements followed by evidence and data. The writer is held responsible for providing the structure and the meaning of the discourse. Prior knowledge of the writer's intent is not necessary.

Semitic languages draw heavily on the principles of oral diction because of their strong adherence to classical texts, the Koran in particular. Therefore, they feature discourse development based on a series of parallel coordinate clauses and contain many discourse units, supporting ideas (more than in Anglo-American texts) which predominantly begin with some type of universal statement and are concluded with a formulaic or proverbial truth. According to Williams (1984) the patterns of repetitions of lexical items as well as parallelism revealed in co-reference of the theme in the sequential sentences are used to achieve esthetic or cohesive purposes. Additionally, a Semitic argument is based on persuasion through parables from the Koran and the ground of argumentation is the authority of Islam manifested through the statements such as "because Islam says so". Semitic writers seem to belong to the "reader responsible" category, where the reader must apply his/her background knowledge to understand correctly to the content of the discourse.

"Oriental" writing is indirect because the reader is responsible for filling out information and transitions to construct the meaning, and usually does so, based on shared knowledge between the writer and the reader. Writing which is too explicit is not valued. Lustig (2010) shares this view and claims that the preferred organization of a Japanese paragraph is often called a "gyre'' or a series of "stepping stones" that relies on indirection and implication to connect ideas and provide the main points. The rules for language use in Japan mean that speakers may not tell the listener the

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specific point being conveyed; the topic is circled delicately to imply its domain (Lustig, Koester 2010: 226, 227). Hinds (1987) defines the "Oriental" style of argumentation as quasi-inductive with the main idea typically being placed at the end of paragraphs. Studies of the four Oriental languages' (Japanese, Korean, Thai and Chinese) rhetorical styles demonstrate organizational patterns related to the underlying oral tradition of old poetry or books containing Confucian teachings. The organization of ideas based on a four-part model, the lack of explicit thesis statement, which is actually buried in the passage, and the indirect implication of the main point of the discourse are characteristic for "Oriental" writing. The four-part rhetorical pattern (in Chinese discourse called *qi-cheng-jun-he* where *qi* prepares the reader for the topic, *cheng* introduces and develops the topic, *jun* turns to a seemingly unrelated subject, and *he* sums up the essay) is believed to have originated historically in Chinese poetry. Chinese writing is also strongly influenced by the eight-legged essay which draws on the tradition of writing deriving from classic Chinese books such as the *Four Books* and the *Five Classics* that convey the moral teachings of Confucian.

Kaplan's work (1966) has suggested digressive model of paragraph development in Romance languages and provides samples of French texts that include material irrelevant to the central idea of the text. Moreover, native French and Spanish-speaking writers demonstrate preferences for, as Connor (1996) notes, elaborate and ornate language (i.e., frequent use of additive and casual conjunctions, synonyms, and flowery expressions) and a loose association of clauses. Romance writing tends to be weak on thesis and strong on theory formation and argumentation strategies with the emphasis on the elegance of expression.

A departure from the main course of argumentation in the form of thematic and formal digressions is the dominant style marker in Russian writing which has been strongly influenced by German academic thought and affected such languages as Polish and Czech. This view is supported by Clyne (1981, 1987) who argues for style affinities between German and Russian. According to Russian writing conventions, emphasis in a written discourse is put more on the content than on the form since knowledge is considered far more important than the form in which it is conveyed.

Russian writers favor digression as a product of a curious mind and their writing usually contains a multiplicity of viewpoints. Digressions from a linear structure are frequent, as are repetitions. Readers unaccustomed to this kind of writing are left with a sense of textual asymmetry and discontinuity in argument. The realisation of ideas by the writer tends to demonstrate indirectness or implicitness, leaving the interpretation of the writer's intentions to the reader. Russian (along with Polish or Czech) academic writing is characterized by a delayed purpose since a thesis statement is usually explicitly stated in the concluding paragraph.

Although linearity and digressiveness are related to cultural value systems (Clyne 1981, 1987), contemporary academic writers of various languages have a wide range of writing styles to choose from. Liddicoat (1997), on the basis of his research of Romance languages, argues that not all types of academic texts manifest

culture-specific preferences for thought organization and expression. He establishes two categories of texts (texts of culture and texts of the discourse community) and claims that texts of culture (the rhetorical patterns of which Kaplan (1966) and Clyne (1980) seem to be discussing in their work) favor "digressive" paragraphs whereas texts of the discourse community (specialist texts used by a restricted community for highly specific communicative purposes) opt for "linear" paragraphs regardless of the cultural background of the author.

2. Rhetoric of academic discourse in the Anglo-American and Polish traditions

In the world of academia, academic writing is conducted in a variety of forms and text types which demonstrate strong disparities across disciplines, discourse communities and, most importantly, cultures. Its complex and multifaceted nature remains a central topic and a subject of extensive research and debate in applied linguistics, and is becoming an area of research interest in a range of disciplines. Since academic writing is an integral part of academic discourse, an explanation of the term discourse is necessary to gain a fuller understanding of the phenomenon. The word discourse originates from Latin discursus ("dialogue", "dissertation", "reasoning") and in the European-American rhetorical tradition has acquired the following meanings, quoted in the Polish Scientific Publishers dictionary online: "a discussion about scientific subjects", "an argument conducted according to strictly logical reasoning", "a process of reasoning aimed at a cognitive objective through indirect thought operations, different from observation or intuition" (www.encyklopedia.pwn.pl and www.sjp.pwn.pl) (author's translation). Today, discussions about the meaning and function of discourse in academia center on communicative purpose, which includes textual, interactional and contextual considerations of texts. Hyland provides the following definition of discourse that reflects the current perspective:

> Discourse refers to language in action, and to the purposes and functions linguistic forms serve in communication. Here the linguistic patterns of texts point to contexts beyond the page, apply a range of social constrains and choices which operate on writers in any situation. The writer has certain goals and intentions, certain relationships to his or her readers, and certain information to convey, and the forms of a text and resources used to accomplish these. These factors draw the analyst into a wider perspective which locates texts in a world of communicative purposes and social action, identifying the ways that texts usually work as communication (Hyland 2009: 12)

In the same vein, Teun A.van Dijk (1997: 5) characterizes discourse as "[l]anguage use" as well as (…) the communication of beliefs, or a form of social interaction (…) related to the social context". Polish academic discourse studies, although based primarily on the structural and content-based principles for discourse laid down by Michael Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu, were also influenced by van Dijk's concept of discourse. This happened mainly due to the publications of his works in a literary journal *Pamiętnik literacki* at the turn of the 1970s and the 1980s and his later textbook *Dyskurs jako struktura i proces* (2001) which provided an integrated description of three main dimensions of discourse (text-interaction-context).

Context, today, undoubtedly plays a fundamental role in the description and explanation of academic discourse, and, as van Dijk (1997: 19) observes that, "[c]ontext features not only influence discourse, but also vice versa: discourse may typically also define or change such context characteristics".

The most considerable context-bound variation of the expression level of discourse is culture. While academic writing across cultures consists of a similar mixture of text types and genres (such as research papers, grant proposals, academic essays, drafts or article reviews), the disparities between intellectual styles and writing conventions that academic writers subscribe to have been a subject of debate and controversy. "Discourse differences may either be cooperatively and tolerantly accepted or give rise to misunderstanding and conflict, and even to dominance, exclusion and oppression of the less powerful. Hence, the study of intra- and intercultural communication is an important domain of a multidisciplinary [and multicultural] discourse analysis" (van Dijk 1997: 21).

The expanding discipline of intercultural rhetoric investigates the issues that constitute these differences and broadens the area of inquiry to the levels of multidimensional discourse analysis. In order to provide wider cross-linguistic and cross-cultural comparative evidence in the area of textual studies, text analyses include textual, contextual and critical considerations of texts. The methodological approaches to current comparative studies that address these three aspects of written discourse have been significantly influenced by Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional conception of discourse, James Paul Gee's big D Discourse theory and Ken Hyland's theories of academic writing.

2.1. The rhetorical study of written discourse

As the academic world continues to become more and more culturally diverse, it is easy to argue that the need for attention to how we navigate rhetorically within and across cultures has never been greater. Today, however, it seems hardly possible to reach a consensus on the definition of rhetoric, which Aristotle defined as "the ability to see in any given case, the available means of persuasion" (1991: 1355b26); which Cicero described as "the art of speaking well – that is to say, with knowledge, skill and elegance" (1942: 115) and which Edward Corbett referred to as "the art of discourse, an art that aims to improve the facility of speakers or writers who attempt to inform, persuade, or motivate particular audiences in specific situations" (1990: 1). Lichański (2007: 19) observes that other theorists, e.g. David Russell and Wilhelm Windelband, define rhetoric not as the art of persuasion, but as "proper rules of thinking" which enable us to communicate. To support his point, Lichański (2007: 19; author's translation) presents the description of the field by Russell who "[d]ivided rhetoric into two parts: the history of rhetoric and the system/theory of rhetoric. This means that rhetoric – understood as a theory of rhetoric – is a coherent theory of composing with respect to the analysis of any texts". This line of thinking derives from the fifteenth century definition of rhetoric by Tardif, who was the first

modern theorist to assert that the main objective of rhetoric is not to persuade, but to speak well, which in a broader sense, as Lichański explains, means also to write well (2007: 20).

Kennedy (1998: 4) argues that rhetoric determines communication. He writes that "Rhetoric can be distinguished from communication, and communication would not take place without a rhetorical impulse to drive it. There is no "zero degree" rhetoric in any utterance because there would be no utterance without a rhetorical impulse". Therefore, since written discourse is an act of communication, it is also a rhetorical construct. Gill and Whedbee put forward the following claim:

> [r]hetoric invites a construction or reconstruction of events and phenomena. Textual structures are identified, discussed, and in some cases dismantled to determine how they operate to create understandings, to sanction particular ways of viewing the world, or to silence people or points of view (Gill and Whedbee 1997: 160).

Modern rhetoric, beginning as early as the seventeenth century, has found a closer connection between language and thought, discourse and knowledge, than ancient predictions supposed. The latest perspective on language and the nature of academic written communication views rhetoric as the role of discourse which determines how language is used to persuade, to convince and to elicit support (Hyland 2009: 210). For an insightful and valid evaluation of how the art of rhetoric is applied today in the practice of written discourse, it is critical to examine specific knowledge of the cultural context surrounding a rhetorical text. It is a challenge, however, to conduct a culturally contextualized study of rhetoric and to compare academic texts across cultures without static and reductive oversimplifications about the use of rhetoric by various cultures. Thus, there has been a call for an in-depth study of how writing across cultures is tied to the rhetorical history of these cultures.

2.2. Different rhetorical approaches to academic writing: an Anglo-American and Polish contrastive study

The focal point of this subchapter is to demonstrate that the organization of discourse employed by Polish authors is systematically different from that utilized by Anglo-American writers. As Duszak (1997) and Golebiowski (1998) have observed, cross-cultural differences between Polish and Anglo-American academic writing styles mainly affect such aspects of discourse organization as linearity and digressiveness in form and content development, levels of explicitness and metatextual cueing as well as degrees of redundancy and distribution of salience. These disparities in textual organization create different audience expectations with regard to the degree of responsibility a writer has to take for clear and well-organized statements.

A logical consequence of these discrepancies in intellectual styles and academic writing conventions between the Polish and Anglo-American writing traditions is

the existence of different standards regarding what constitutes proper academic writing in each culture. Therefore, the overriding goal of this subchapter is to emphasize that there is no universal pattern of academic communication used by Polish and Anglo-American writers; neither is there a mutual understanding of the disparities in their intellectual styles and discoursal organization. The ignorance of parallel rhetorical conventions limits cross-cultural academic cooperation and advancement of scholarship in both cultures, which leads to conflict and discrimination against alternative rhetorical styles that do not subscribe to the Anglo-American writing monoculture.

2.2.1. Rhetoric in Anglo-American tradition

The first rhetorical treatise published in English was The Arte or Crafte of Rhethoryke (1530) by Leonard Cox. In his work, Cox laid down four canons of rhetoric: judgment, invention, disposition and style which outline the traditional tasks in designing persuasive speech.

Among other books on rhetoric published in sixteenth and seventeenth century England, the most notable contribution to the development of rhetoric in the Anglo-American tradition was made by Francis Bacon in the early seventeenth century. He designed the study of "scientific rhetoric" (Zappen 1989: 74–88) in which he rejected the elaborate style characteristic of classical oration and placed rhetoric in the structure of knowledge, believing that thought is as important as logic.

In the Enlightenment period, the Scottish author and theorist Hugh Blair advocated the integration of rhetorical and literary studies to facilitate a discussion of primary rhetoric in a broader context. Many American colleges and secondary schools used Blair's writings throughout the nineteenth century (Kennedy 1999: 285).

Classical rhetoric was introduced into the curricula of American universities by the Puritans, who put particular emphasis on the organization of written and oral discourse. In an article A Classical Analysis of Puritan Preaching, Joseph Steele (2010) provides a very valuable insight into the organizational framework of a Puritan sermon:

> Organization gives a global perspective to what would otherwise be isolated localities. Sentences and paragraphs are to the student of reading what sermon outlines are to the preacher. We might put it this way: just as Greek philosophers were expected to learn the laws of logic, so too Puritan preachers were expected to learn the laws of sermon organization. Puritan sermons were slaves (in a good sense) to methodology and organization. Puritan sermons were intentionally logical, they were – to borrow the phrase from Dr. Martyn

Lloyd-Jones – logic on fire. The Puritans were deeply concerned (perhaps too much) about form and structure within their sermons (Joseph Steele: 2010)[2].

Along the same lines, Leland Ryken (1986: 101) asserts that "the Puritan sermon was planned and organized. It may have been long and detailed, but it did not ramble. It was controlled by a discernible strategy, and it progressed toward a final goal". The organizational pattern of the Puritan discourse was reflected in the lectures of John Witherspoon, the first American rhetorician. John Quincy Adams, inspired by his views, advocated the advancement of the art of rhetoric in American colleges.

Although in the early twentieth century the teaching of rhetoric lost its former popularity in England (Hunter 2003), composition courses thrived in the United States. From 1890, most universities "[f]ollowed Harvard's lead in establishing a required freshman course in composition" (Daiker 1996: 2). The pedagogy called current–traditional developed from a mixture of the influences of the classical era and the age of the Enlightenment in the eighteenth century (Dornan, et al. 2003: 224). It focused predominantly on rhetoric, grammar, logic, organization and reason. The scholars who gave value to these terms were Blair, Richard Whately, George Campbell and John Locke. Current traditionalism is still used in classrooms today and despite its many flaws, it remains dominant among the pedagogies of writing instruction (Berlin 1987: 558).

Composition courses broadened in scope and the Expressivist pedagogy, also known as neo-Platonist pedagogy, treating writing as a process, came about as a reaction to Current Traditionalism (Berlin 1987: 560). The Expressionistic approach along with alternative views, such as liberal culture and social rhetoric, contributed to the creation of the Process Approach in the 1970s.

In the second half of the last century, the rapidly developing field of structural linguistics took an interest in composition studies and expanded the field of rhetorical studies beyond the realm of literature.

Current written discourse research is marked by the development of modern text linguistics and discourse analysis in mono- and multicultural contexts. Therefore, the late twentieth and the beginning of the twenty first century have come to be called "the Renaissance of Rhetoric" (Kennedy 1999: 293).

2.2.2. Rhetoric in Polish tradition

The onset of téchne rhetoriké in Poland dates back to the Renaissance times. Due to Latin, which was a lingua franca for the European academic world in those times, the growth of the art in Poland ran parallel to its development in other European

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[2] Available at: http://www.reformation21.org/articles/a-classical-analysis-of-puritan-preaching.php

countries (Korolko 1990: 188). Thus, the works of Polish rhetoricians (e.g. Jakub Górski) were widely read not only in Poland, but also outside the country and discussed at rhetorical courses taught at Kraków University and at other schools across the country. Rhetorical publications of those times feature the two treatises De inventione and Rhetorica at Herrenium, and handbooks which included treatises by Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski, the last Polish rhetorician of Europe-wide renown (Korolko 1990: 1888).

Jerzy Ziomek (2000: 43–44) asserts that the important contribution to the development of Polish rhetoric in the late fifteenth century was the output of an Italian refugee, Fillippo Buonaccorsi, whose major work Rhetorica had a strong impact on the development of Polish humanistic thought and the intellectual elite of that time. In his work, Buonaccorsi focuses on invention and precisely imitates the style and thought of classical masters such as Cicero, Quintilian, and Capella, making references to Polish socio-cultural reality to support his point.

Although Polish rhetoric was first used in the eighteenth century by the gentry in their flowery Baroque oration, it was not practiced as an academic discipline. Polish became the language of academic rhetoric mainly due to Stanisław Konarski, an initiator of the reforms of the Committee for National Education and a founder of Collegium Nobilium (1740). Konarski's dissertation "O sztuce dobrego myślenia koniecznej dla sztuki dobrej wymowy" ("On the Art of Good Thinking Necessary for the Art Good Pronunciation") was written in Latin, but the subject of the dissertation was the national language. His work changed the perception of rhetoric from merely a scientific to a didactic discipline. Rhetoric began to be taught in schools under the name wymowa (pronunciation) (Korolko 1990: 188).

The Romantic period marked the end of the normative nature of rhetoric. Ziomek (2000: 50; author's translation) asserts that "Romanticism, along with the concept of an artist-medium, was naturally anti-rhetorical, which does not contradict the presence of a variety of rhetorical figures and tropes in Romantic poetry". The largest and most comprehensive work of that time was Stanisław Kostka Potocki's *O wymowie i stylu* (*On Pronunciation and Style*) which was published in four volumes and dealt with a range of different rhetorical issues from the discussion of the art of oratory to the description of literature-related topics (e.g. genres bordering on rhetoric, including historiography, memoir, fable and allegory, dialogue, letter, fiction) (Ziomek 2000: 51). It should be noted that among the most eminent Polish rhetoricians of the early nineteenth century were Leon Borowski and Euzebiusz Słowacki, from the University of Vilnius, as well as the Polish national poets, Adam Mickiewicz and Cyprian Kamil Norwid, who wrote essays on classical rhetoric.

When Poland regained independence in 1918, there were suggestions of restoring "[t]he subject of pronunciation in the language arts curriculum in middle schools by combining the issues of the art of oratory with the teaching of poetics and 'the culture of a living word'" (Bogołębska 1987: 13; author's translation). Nevertheless, the keen interest in teaching rhetoric at schools initiated only a few studies in the field. Lichański (2007: 171) mentions the contribution of such authors as Wilhelm Bruchnalski, Maria Maykowska and Stefania Skwarczyńska to the

development of rhetoric as a didactic discipline. Further, Mirosław Korolko (1990: 189) believes that the removal of Latin from the middle school curriculum after World War II resulted in an unbridgeable linguistic gap in the studies of rhetorical principles and caused that both Polish and classical rhetoric became merely the domain of Old Polish literature. In addition, Polish philologists of that time, e.g. Maria Mayenowa, Jerzy Axer, Teresa Dobrzyńska, limited the scope of rhetoric to the study of stylistic issues (Lichański 2007: 173).

The approach to rhetorical studies changed considerably in the late twentieth century. Today's Polish rhetoric has made a move back to the ideals of pragmatism and the practical skill of persuasion. Due to the shift of interest, rhetorical studies have expanded their scope and have included fields outside the literary domain, with particular emphasis on research on political and business discourse. There are several significant publications by such authors as Lichański, Axer, Krzysztof Obrembski, Jerzy Bralczyk or Walery Pisarek, who not only discuss rhetorical theory, but also combine it with practice. Unfortunately, speech seems to be considered the main rhetorical genre in these publications because there are hardly any references to written discourse. This observation may illuminate the great potential for the development of written discourse studies.

Rhetoric has been the subject of research and practice in the Polish and Anglo-American academic traditions. However, since the nineteenth century classical rhetoric has continued to have a considerable impact only on Anglo-American academic writing and speaking instruction – unlike in Poland, where the significance of rhetoric declined in the early nineteenth century and has not been restored yet. Thus, there is an urgent need to make the principles of classical rhetoric more accessible to Polish students and to establish unified patterns for Polish academic discourse. Further, to avoid a tug-of-war between the Polish and Anglo-American rhetorical traditions and to access international discourse communities, which are predominantly based on the English language tradition, greater awareness of the organizational rules of English academic texts in terms of structure and style is an absolute necessity.

The existence of an integrated view of Polish academic rhetorical standards and the awareness of the standards that govern Anglo-American text organization will offer a way out of Poland's isolation and will advance international academic exchange. Given the latest developments in intercultural rhetorical research that make room for other than "Saxonic" writing traditions, the need for clear principles, indicating how to navigate rhetorically within and across cultures, has never been greater.

2.2.3. Major Contrastive Textual Studies relevant for Polish and Anglo-American written discourse

As a result of Kaplan's pioneering work (1966), discourse analysis in multicultural contexts has become a worthwhile alternative to the traditional approach to text.

Textual studies steered away from syntactic issues in writing and focused on the comparison of discourse structures across cultures and genres.

The most valued contribution to contrastive rhetoric research was John Hind's (1987) division of languages into writer- and reader-responsible. Hinds, who analyzed the organizational structures of Japanese and American newspaper articles, proposed a new language typology based on the orientation that charges the reader with interpretative responsibility, unlike the one which places responsibility on the writer. His later contribution to contrastive rhetoric research was his 1990 study in which he investigated the deductivity and inductivity of style on the basis of Japanese, Chinese, Thai, Korean, and English writing and discerned a tendency for Oriental texts to be inductive and for English texts to be deductive.

Although Hind's works raised a lot of controversy later on (McCagg 1996, Krikpatrick 1997, Donahue 1998, Kubota and Lehner 2004), they undoubtedly illuminated a new area of research outside the text itself: reader/writer reciprocity.

Of special interest to the author of this dissertation are the comparative studies carried out by Galtung (1985) and Clyne (1987) because their findings, among other things, point to the differences in writing styles between Anglo-American and German intellectual traditions. Duszak (1994: 63) argues that, largely under the influence of Clyne, digressiveness began to be seen as a potential style marker in academic environments that show linguistic and historical compatibilities with German. This concerns above all Czech, Russian and Polish styles of scientific exposition.

According to Galtung (1985), intellectual history determines the writing style of a given culture. He asserts, for example, that varying levels of linearity in academic writing styles result from the differences between four major writing conventions: (1) linear (Anglo-American, "Saxonic" style), (2) digressive (German, "Teutonic" style extending to languages such as Polish, Czech, and Russian), (3) circular (Oriental, "Nipponic" style) and (4) digressive-elegant (Romance languages, "Gallic" style). Galtung also finds that "[w]hile "Saxonic" style facilitates dialogue, scholars influenced by "Teutonic" intellectual styles discourage dialogue, by participating in a cryptic and elitist monologue-type academic prose" (Golebiowski 1998: 68). Galtung's observations were confirmed by Clyne (1987) who described several disparities in discourse patterns between Anglo-American and German writing conventions. He investigated the linear organization of academic papers and articles written by English-speaking and German-speaking linguists and sociologists. Galtung compared textual hierarchy, symmetry of text segments, argument development and uniformity of formal structures. His findings have shown that texts written in German by scientists of German educational background tend to be more digressive, asymmetrical, demonstrate discontinuity in argument, and contain less metalanguage to guide the reader than texts written by their English-speaking counterparts. Clyne (1987) explains that the differences in communication styles and the organization of a written work are culturally determined.

Čmejrková's and Daneš's (1997) comparisons of Czech and Anglo-American academic writing styles demonstrate substantial differences in form and styles between these two rhetorical conventions. Although the focal point of their study is

Czech academic writing, their findings are also relevant for Polish academic discourse since it draws on the same intellectual tradition as Czech. It has been reported that Czech academic writing is characterized by a delayed purpose (the thesis statement is not typically expressed in the introductory paragraph), an ornamental style and a multiplicity of viewpoints. Čmejrková quotes the opinions of Czech linguists about stating the purpose of their writing at the beginning of their articles:

> "I do not feel like stating at the beginning what I want to reach in the end".

> "The article should read like a detective story, it has analogical principles. I wish my reader to follow the course of my thought".

> "If I were to formulate the purpose of my article, I would have to repeat my exposition word by word"
> (Čmejrková 1994: 18).

Additionally, it has been noted that Czech journal articles lack abstracts and advanced organizers as well as feature arbitrary section division.

The role of contrastive rhetorical research is critical in intercultural academic communication, as it facilitates the understanding of writing conventions among various discourse and disciplinary communities, and makes academics sensitive to socio-cultural differences in intellectual traditions and ideologies. Since contrastive rhetorical studies have been severely criticized for the promotion of the Anglo-American monoculture, the original version of contrastive theory has been considerably modified and today exists in a form of intercultural rhetoric. However, the major premise of contrastive rhetoric, as laid down by Kaplan, has remained unchanged: culture makes certain patterns of thinking and behaviors more natural, preferable, and legitimate which is revealed in a host of disparities of writing conventions across cultures.

2.2.4. Polish-English contrastive studies

The earliest Polish/English comparative studies were the outcome of a contrastive project headed by Jacek Fisiak and carried out at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poland. However, as the volume Contrastive Linguistics and the Language Teacher (Fisiak 1981) demonstrates, they are predominantly focused on sentence-level analyses, leaving textual studies for further research. What is more, Golebiowski (1998: 68) argues that they do not offer a comprehensive picture of rhetorical differences between Polish and Anglo-American writing conventions "Textual features … often have cultural origins which transcend sentence limits and cannot be explained in terms of syntactic differences".

The greatest contribution to Polish/English contrastive studies which center on broader perception of discourse, i.e. textual organization patterns, was made by Duszak (1994, 1997) and Golebiowski (1998, 2006).

Duszak (1994) compared Polish and English research articles from the field of language studies. She found that English authors presented their ideas in a direct, assertive, positive and explicit manner while Polish authors expressed their thoughts in indirect, affective, and tentative statements. Furthermore, Polish writers tended to adopt defensive positions as if they anticipated potential criticism and questions. Duszak's study confirmed Anna Wierzbicka's findings (1991) which revealed similar differences between Polish and Anglo-Australian communication patterns.

Studies by Duszak (1997) and Golebiowski (1998) concentrate on digressiveness which has been classified as a predominant style marker of Polish academic writing. While it is present in English texts, it has met with less tolerance in the Anglo-American writing culture. In the Polish academic tradition digressions from the main track of reasoning are not only justified but even encouraged as "products of an inquiring mind" (Duszak 1997: 323), which reveals the main purpose of Polish academic texts: demonstration of the author's knowledge. This attitude counters the objectives of an Anglo-American writer, who wants to establish a successful communication with the reader and views digressions as signs of "an unfocused and rambling style" (Duszak 1997: 323).

In order to address the cultural constraints that affect writers' stylistic choices, Duszak (1997) used Galtung's (1985) typology of intellectual styles in academic writing to analyze digressiveness in English ("Saxonic") and Polish ("Teutonic") traditions. The Saxonic style is said to characterize a low-context pattern of argumentation in English and corresponds to Kaplan's linear organization of paragraph development in this language. Writers have a clear purpose and are direct and positive in their formulas. The Saxonic intellectual approach features explicit messages and relies on literal meanings of words, which demonstrates the general reader-friendliness of academic writing in this culture: the audience is addressed directly and is guided by "landmarks along the way" (Hinds 1987: 67). These landmarks are transition words that help the reader follow the writer's logic. This stylistic feature contrasts with the Teutonic style, characteristic of the German language, and spreading to such languages as Polish, Czech and Russian (Duszak 1997: 324), which is weak on thesis and strong on theory formation, features a flowery and wordy style and digressive argumentation strategies which put heavy demands on the reader's processing abilities.

Duszak (1997: 328) divides digressions in Polish academic texts into two major groups: digressions proper and elaborations. In what follows, she describes "digressions proper" as "discourse segments which are low in thematic relevance to what is in focus" that may "range from single phrases to entire paragraphs". She calls elaborations "thematic inserts that delude the focus". To her, they are additional meanings that appear in a text as explications, amplifications restatements, reformulations, clarifications to what has already been previously said or implied. Both digressions proper and elaborations contribute to a higher level of redundancy in a text.

In addition, Duszak (1997) revised Kaplan's (1966) graphic representation of culture specific thought patterns (Fig.1), called "doodles", and has suggested a

diagram for the Polish "thought pattern" with the loops for thematic detours and reformulations (Fig.2).
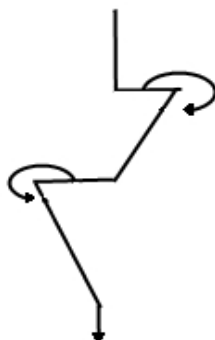
Figure 2. *Graphic representation of digressive patterns in Polish texts (Duszak 1997: 329).*

The study carried out by Golebiowski (1998) points out to different preferences for linear or digressive progressions in how ideas are developed in Polish and Anglo-American academic texts. The text corpus consisted of the introductory sections of articles published in professional psychological journals written in English and Polish by Polish scholars. Golebiowski has identified the following reasons for digressions in the introductions examined:

> [t]o present background information; to review previous research in terms of rhetorical and empirical evidence; to consider various theoretical and philosophical issues; to develop and clarify concepts; explain terminology; and to justify the author's own research or methodology. Authors tend to enter into scholarly discussions, introduce their own philosophy or ideology, or explain why other issues have not been covered or explored (Golebiowski, 1998:74).

The functions of digression identified by Golebiowski are similar to the following findings of Clyne's research (1987: 227) on digressiveness in German academic writing: to provide theory, ideology, 'qualification' or additional information, or to enter polemic with another author.

In her 2006 study, Golebiowski investigated three articles from the field of sociology written by (1) several English-speaking writers within their native academic discourse community, (2) a native speaker of Polish for the English discourse community and (3) a Polish-speaking author for her native discourse community. Salski provides the following commentary of Golebiowski's findings:

> She discovered that native English authors take special care to "guide the reader through the argument and order of discoursal argumentation;" advance organizers and other organizational relationships are used as a substitute for dialogue with the audience. On the contrary, the text written by a Polish author for the Polish audience resembles a monologue, in that the author seems to be more concerned with demonstrating knowledge rather than ensuring the readers' understanding (Salski 2012: 116).

Golebiowski's (2006) conclusions confirmed the results of her earlier study that content and form are not equally valued in the Polish rhetorical tradition because "the evidence of the possession of knowledge is considered far superior to the form in which it is conveyed" (Golebiowski 1998: 85). Both studies demonstrated that Polish academic discourse features "branching" progressions in the development of ideas whereas the Anglo-American rhetorical tradition values clarity in the organization of thoughts and shows sensitivity to the reader's needs.

Other researchers, e.g., White (2001) and Salski (2007), also conducted studies of the dichotomy between writer and reader responsibility in Polish and English academic texts and arrived at similar observations.

Hind's (1987) division of languages into writer- and reader-responsible is often discussed under dialogic versus monologic formula, or expository versus contemplative preferences in academic narration (Čmejrková and Daneš 1997, as cited in Duszak 1997). Anglo-American academic writing features a dialogic formula which, interactive by nature, facilitates a reader/writer communication by ensuring the reader's guidance and discourse predictability, and hence makes an academic text reader-friendly. This attitude contrasts with what Duszak (1997: 13) calls "contemplative rhetoric", which is attributed to Polish scientific prose, drawing on the "Teutonic" tradition. Polish academic writers are expected to "indulge more in acts of creative thinking" and charge the reader with the interpretation of the writer's intent. "It is possible that the Polish style is less "reader friendly" and promotes an elitist attitude to knowledge, deliberately excluding outgroups" (Golebiowski 1998: 85)

In a study on reader-writer reciprocity in Polish and English written discourse, Salski (2007) identified the following constituents of writer responsibility in an Anglo-American academic text: explicit thesis statement, deductive text organization, use of sufficient transitions, precise and concise language and unity of paragraphs which contrast with text characteristics that make Polish academic discourse reader-responsible: inductive text organization, arbitrary paragraphing without topic sentences, wordy and vague style, and frequently absent transitions (Salski 2007: 256-258).

Polish and Anglo-American academic texts differ significantly in their level of reader/writer interactivity. Polish academic culture, subscribing to the "Teutonic" intellectual tradition, features a rather impersonal style of academic discourse, since such reader-friendly devices as advance organizers, signposting (presence of transitions), careful and logical paragraphing or use of precise and concise vocabulary are rare in Polish texts. As Duszak (1997: 18) points out, "instead, intellectual effort is required, and readiness for deep processing is taken as an obvious prerequisite for engagement in academic discourse". This makes academic texts written by Poles complex, incoherent and difficult to read for native English speakers. Thus, negotiation and emergence of compatible standards for the levels of interactivity in academic discourse may open, as Clyne, Hoeks, and Kreutz (1988) observed, the processing barriers that obstruct the integration of otherwise accessible contexts.

2.3. Conclusions

It is therefore assumed that Polish academic writing draws on three major themes: the intellectual history of the country, a cultural value orientation and the dominant style of academic discourse. It is only natural that matters of high importance to the Anglo-American writing culture, subscribing to a different intellectual tradition, are not relevant to Polish academic writers. The major disparity between these two academic approaches pertains to the purpose and the method of communicating content. Polish academic writers, in contrast to their English-speaking colleagues, value the depth, the richness and the creativity of their works more than a clearly structured form. Anglo-American writers demonstrate a preference for a coherent and structured organization of a text in order to ensure that its meaning is fully understood. Research demonstrates that when writing in English, Polish authors do not adhere to the prescribed schemata of an Anglo- American academic paper and employ their native non-linear standards of writing that require high intellectual involvement on the reader's part. The ability to produce an academic text is viewed as an act of creation rather than a skill to be mastered.

The dynamic development of discourse research in the United States has no equivalence in Poland. Textual studies hardly exist in this country, which may be explained by the reluctance of Polish writers to adhere to a dull and rigorously organized discourse pattern. As a result, there is a lack of unified norms and standards for academic writing between Polish and Anglo-American traditions which hinders the exchange of academic thought and obstructs the process of socialization of students into rhetorical conventions of foreign academic disciplines.

3. Culture, education and academic writing: from contrastive rhetoric to intercultural rhetoric

As the academic world continues to become more racially and ethnically diverse, both students and faculty members can ill afford cultural illiteracy. Therefore, approximating the ideal of a successful communication in an academic setting must involve a culturally-sensitive outlook on variations in academic style across cultures. Academic discourse patterns should be analyzed in both monocultural and multicultural contexts since when it comes to writing, students draw on various social, cultural and historical factors which develop differently in different societies. The outcome of these influences manifests itself in interferences at the linguistic and rhetorical levels. Cross-cultural differences have been mainly observed in such aspects of discourse organization as: "[g]lobal and local structures in texts, levels of explicitness and metatextual cuing; degrees of redundancy and distribution of salience; and linearity and complexity in form and content development" (Duszak 1997: 2). In analyzing variations among writing styles, academic discourses have been found to address the issues of involvement and detachment, power and solidarity, face and politeness. Another important difference in organizational structure concerns languages that are writer-responsible versus those that are reader-responsible. Historically rooted intellectual styles also have a critical impact on the way academic discourse is carried out by culturally diverse students and scholars. Consequently, all the differences in intellectual traditions and academic writing conventions must be considered and the awareness of these disparities should contribute to the decrease of the influences of Anglo-American monoculture and the creation of relative standards for what constitutes *good* academic writing[3]. Such changes will foster the process of socialization of international students into the writing/rhetorical/scholarly conventions of the academic world, give them the opportunity to learn other socio-cultural systems, achieve awareness of the structure of their own system, and improve conditions for intellectual inquiry.

Undoubtedly, a call for attention to make those cross-cultural differences in writing explicit and to help students navigate rhetorically, the cultural divide has never been greater. For successful academic communication and improved educational outcomes, it is critical to address the following questions:

- Is it possible at all to agree on the meaning of *culture*?
- How to describe cultures without stereotyping them?
- How to articulate a framework for rhetorical conventions of any culture without over-generalization?

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[3] good academic writing², according to Anglo-American standards, features a linear organizational pattern and holds the writer responsible for providing the structure and the meaning of the discourse. The key to good organization is to clearly state the thesis statement in the introduction, to outline the main points of the paper by subordinating supporting ideas to the main claims, and to restate the exposition in the concluding paragraph.

The intensification of global migrations and cross-cultural exchange sparkled off the ongoing debate over contextualized text analysis as well as a better conceptualization of culture and laid the basis for a new theory of *intercultural rhetoric*. Connor (2011) refers to her paper "Mapping multidimensional aspects of research: Reaching to intercultural rhetoric" to discuss three pertinent components of the new theory: "(1) texts in contexts, (2) culture as a complex interaction of small and large cultures, and (3) texts in intercultural interactions " and explains them in the following way:"(1) the study of writing is not limited to texts but needs to consider the surrounding social contexts and practices; (2) national cultures interact with disciplinary and other cultures in complex ways; and (3) intercultural discourse encounters– spoken and written- entail interaction among interlocutors and require negotiation and accommodation" (Connor 2011).

The theory of intercultural rhetoric focuses on both cross-cultural studies (analysis of the same concept or theme in two respectively different cultures) and studies of interactions (interactive communication situations in which writers of different race, ethnicity, nationality, and religion negotiate meaning and style in the writing and speaking process).

3.1. The advantages and limitations of contrastive rhetoric research

Contrastive rhetoric, which has been investigating cross-cultural differences and similarities in writing in the past 30 years, has failed to address these questions successfully. It has been criticized for insensitivity to cultural differences (Scollon 1997; Spack 1997; Zamel 1997), supporting cultural dichotomy between East and West, and the alleged resulting promotion of the superiority of Western writing (Kubota 1999, 2001). Kubota (1999, 2002) also made contrastive rhetoric responsible for essentializing writers – that is, suggesting that someone thinks, speaks or writes in a certain way because of his/her linguistic background. Thus, there has also been a call to study how writing across cultures is tied to the intellectual history of these cultures. According to Galtung (1985), intellectual history determines the writing style of a given culture. For example, varying levels of linearity in academic writing styles result from the differences between four major writing conventions: linear (Anglo-American, „Saxonic" style), digressive (German, „Teutonic" style extending to languages such as Polish, Czech, and Russian), circular (Oriental, "Nipponic" style) and digressive-elegant (Romance languages, "Gallic" style). However, can the rhetorical conventions of any culture be described without over-simplification that leads to homogenization and inferiority of other styles to Anglo-American writing tradition? Description of academic writing in, for instance, Polish as "digressive" may seem judgmental. The same pertains to a term "circular" that, if applied to writing, usually produces negative connotation. It is evaluated as a blend of illogical, disorganized, awkward and confusing ideas. Duszak also points out that by comparing the digressive style to cooked spaghetti Clyne suggests "Teutonic" writing is of lesser quality.

These criticisms present contrastive rhetoric's view of culture as being static and decreasing the importance of an individual in the writing process. Therefore, researchers of text and style have become vitally engaged in the discussion on the interplay of culture and communication. Enkvist wrote:

> One of the hot subjects in today's linguistics is the field variously known as contrastive (or cross-cultural or intercultural) rhetoric (or, with varying emphases, text linguistics, discourse analysis, or pragmalinguistics) (…) simply defined as the study of patterns of text and discourse in different languages that vary in structural and cultural background (Enkvist 1997:188).

Although Enkvist used such terms as *contrastive rhetoric, cross-cultural rhetoric, and intercultural rhetoric* interchangeably, he pointed at the crux of the argument that is the changing concept of culture and discourse analysis. Connor accepts the term *intercultural rhetoric* as the best-suited name for this area of study today and observes that "*Intercultural* provides a connotation of collaborative interaction between and among cultures and individuals, on one hand, and within cultures on the other" (Connor 2011:1). Therefore, the major focus of intercultural rhetoric is on commonalities instead of differences in the written discourse analysis among writers of various cultural backgrounds. Current understanding of the *discourse* as defined by Shiffrin, et al. (2001) comprises an underlying paradigm for discourse that is broad enough to support a variety of approaches, methods, and even definitions regarding discourse. New approaches to contextualized text analysis and the changing understanding of culture viewed as a complex interaction of small and large cultures lay the foundations for a new theory of *intercultural rhetoric.*

> Intercultural rhetoric assumes that (1) the study of writing is not limited to texts but needs to consider the surrounding social contexts and practices; (2) national cultures interact with disciplinary and other cultures in complex ways; and (3) intercultural discourse encounters – spoken and written – entail interaction among interlocutors and require negotiation and accommodation (Connor 2011:2).

The new field of *intercultural rhetoric* allows for reducing the confusion and complexity that cultural differences bring to the classroom by carrying out cross-cultural studies of the same concepts or themes and studies of interactions in which individuals coming from multicultural and linguistically diverse backgrounds negotiate *meanings* through speaking and writing. Intercultural rhetoric makes room for various cultural orientations by drawing on the resources individual writers bring to the educational setting and hence, helps to achieve meaningful educational purposes. The main purpose of this paper, which is in line with the opinions of such researchers as Connor, Atkinson or Holliday, is to defend an interpersonal and interactive approach to academic writing that makes culture a fundamental part of intercultural rhetoric, and considers negotiation and accommodation among interlocutors. Therefore, after briefly presenting traditional theories of culture, I will focus on major views that shape the framework of culture for intercultural rhetoric.

3.2. Theories of culture

The study of culture and written communication has been a diffuse enterprise in the past 30 years and particularly today, when we witness the evolution of contemporary societies into intercultural melting pots, it becomes a pressing need. Success in cross-cultural communication includes not only linguistic competence but cultural knowledge as well. Students are required to learn linguistic skills and just as importantly they must acquire the cultural standards for effective communication. The complexity of the phenomenon of culture and the variety of explanations, however, make complete coverage of the "facts" about culture not only a difficult undertaking, but one likely to be incoherent and blurry. Nevertheless, if the new field of intercultural rhetoric is to continue, it is necessary to patch together evidence from an often-bewildering array of cultures and techniques in order to illuminate any specific aspect of language-thought-reality relation (as, for example, the relation between L1 thinking patterns and writing in L2). This makes both the writers' job of exposition and the readers' job of interpretation a challenging experience.

Culture is one of the most disputatious subjects in today's academic world. Larson and Smalley view *culture* as a phenomenon directly affecting the manner in which people, within a given community, act and speak. They define it in the following way:

> [g]uides the behavior of people in a community and is incubated in family life. It governs our behavior in groups, makes us sensitive to matters of status, and helps us know what others expect of us and what will happen if we do not live up to their expectations. Culture helps us to know how far we can go as individuals and what our responsibility is to the group. Different cultures are the underlying structures which make Round community round and Square community square (Larson and Smalley 1972: 39).

Similarly, Rosinski's explanation of the term *culture* relates it to a group reality which involves human and linguistic behaviors as well as social consciousness characteristic for this group. He presents the following working definition:

> A group's culture is the set of unique characteristics that distinguishes its members from another group. This definition encompasses both *visible* (behaviors, language, artifacts) and *invisible* manifestations (norms, values, and basic assumptions or beliefs). This definition goes to the essence of culture: it is a *group* phenomenon as opposed to an *individual* reality (Rosinski 2010: 20).

The aforementioned authors present *culture* as mainly based on separate national entities which remain relatively homogeneous and static.

3.3. Theories of culture in intercultural rhetoric

Current views of culture emerge from postmodern perspectives and have evolved from critiques of the traditional understanding of this notion which emphasized

homogeneity over heterogeneity as a culture shaping force. These changing perspectives of culture have made contrastive rhetoric, and its approach to the role of culture in a writing process, the target of criticism. In the past contrastive rhetoric defined culture as "a set of patterns and rules shared by a particular community" (Connor 1996: 101). Zamel criticizes the tendency of contrastive rhetoric to present cultures as "discrete, discontinuous, and predictable" (Zamel 1997: 343), Spack disapproves of the practice of labeling students by their L1 backgrounds (Spack 1997), and Scollon argues that contrastive rhetoric is too focused on texts and neglects oral influences on literacy, and thus is unable to interpret correctly all the aspects of second- language writing (Scollon 1997). These criticisms activated broader inquiry of the concept of culture among the scholars of text and style. For example, Atkinson in his article, "Culture in TESOL" (Atkinson 1999), discusses two competing approaches to culture which he divides into a received view and alternative, nonstandard views. The traditional approach perceives ESL students as members of separate, identifiable, cultural communities while an alternative perspective, influenced by a postmodern view of culture, introduces words such as: *identity, hybridity, essentialism,* and *power* to the discussion of the meaning of culture. Mathews calls the traditional view of culture "the way of life of the people" (Mathews 2000: 2) and argues that it allows to group cultures according to their national backgrounds (e.g., American culture, Polish culture or Japanese culture). In light of current developments in cross-cultural research such monochronic approach to culture is susceptible to criticism. Tannen observes that, "some people object to any research documenting cross-cultural differences, which they see as buttressing stereotypes and hence exacerbating discrimination" (Tannen 1985: 212). But later on in her paper she argues that if cross-cultural differences are not addressed, it leads to miscommunication and "discrimination of another sort" (Tannen 1985: 212). Keesing also views culture as the product of Western thought which formed the concept to provide "a framework for our creation and evocation of radical diversity" (Keesing 1994: 301). He observes that such essentialist interpretation of culture has affected academic discourse and has reduced our view of cultures to their division into two major groups, Western and non-Western, thus forcing us to define our identities by the use of parameters that point at what we are not.

The British sociologist, John Tomlison, in his book *Globalization and Culture* (1999), proposes a definition of culture that is meaningful in a globalized world. He postulates an antireductionist approach to cross-cultural analysis that will make us sensitive to the points at which different cultural dimensions interconnect and interact. Tomlison poses the question that addresses the complexity of culture: "[s]ince the concept of culture is so 'encompassing' that it can easily be taken as the ultimate level of analysis – isn't everything in the end 'cultural?'" (Tomlison 1999: 17). He goes on to argue, however, that it gets us nowhere to think of culture in this way, as simply a description of a 'total way of life' as it leads us to "[t]he throwing of anything and everything into the conceptual stew that is the 'complex whole 'of human existence'" (Tomlison 1999: 17). Therefore, he calls for making the dimension of culture more specific and defines it in the following way:

In the first place culture can be understood as the order of life in which human beings construct meaning through practices of symbolic representation. If this sounds a rather dry generalization, it nevertheless allows us to make some useful distinctions. Very broadly, if we are talking about the economic we are concerned with practices by which humans produce, exchange and consume material goods; if we are discussing the political we mean practices by which power is concentrated, distributed and deployed in societies; and if we are talking culture, we mean the ways in which people make their lives, individually and collectively, meaningful by communicating with each other (Tomlison 1999: 18).

Postmodern culture theorists emphasize the *complexity* of culture. Hannerz in his book *Cultural complexity: Studies in the social organization of meaning* observes that the word *complex* is not intellectually attractive, but it has one major advantage – makes us think twice before "[a]ccepting any simple characterization of the cultures in question in the terms of some single existence" (Hannerz 1992: 6). He distinguishes three major cultural dimensions: metaphysical, aesthetic, and distributive that, although presented as separate categories, demonstrate significant correlations (Hannerz 1992). 'Metaphysical' refers to culture-specific modes of thought as entities and processes of mind (e.g., concepts, propositions, and values that people in particular socio-cultural settings develop). 'Aesthetic' includes the forms of externalization or any other ways in which meaning appeals to our senses (e.g., speech, gesture, dance or elements of nature such as desert, sea, wild plants and animals can carry culture). Hannerz, however, observes that because people tend to attach meaning to whatever they do, the complexity in the forms of externalization of meaning becomes greater. This means that the development of new technologies will continue to increase cultural complexity and "[t]hose media technologies, ranging from writing to television, which make the cultural flow less dependent on face-to-face interactions, and which – having communication as their primary function – allow flexible, elaborate statements of meaning" (Hannerz 1992: 9). 'Distributive' includes the social distribution of the cultural accumulation of meanings among populations and social relations. The least complex example of distribution would be total uniformity, when each individual involved with a culture would have the same ideas and articulate them in the same way. However, the phenomenon is more complex because not all the people with the same cultural background have the same ideas and express them by the same means.

The voice of Neil Postman, one of the most militant cultural critics, who warns against the destructive force of new technologies in our lives cannot be ignored in the discussion of the role of culture in intercultural rhetoric. Postman talks about a technology's intrusion into a culture of contemporary societies and asserts that: "[n]ew technologies change what we mean by 'knowing' and 'truth'; they alter those deeply embedded habits of thought which give to a culture its sense of what the world is like – a sense of what is the natural order of things, of what is reasonable, of what is necessary, of what is inevitable, of what is real" (Postman, 1993:12). His description of the ways new technologies shape societies by depriving cultures of

their uniqueness, intellect, religion, history, and even privacy and truth is both disturbing and thought-provoking.

Appadurai (1996) describes a general pattern of the dissolution of links between cultural experience and territorial location in the current era of global modernity. A far-reaching analysis of the influence of electronic media and mass migration on evolving transnational cultural interactions lies at the heart of the book. Appadurai comes up with new frameworks to explain the complexity of new relationships, in which people have to make choices between the global and the local and frequently transform the global within their local practices.

Although there has been a lot of doubt about the ability to arrive at consensus about what the term *culture* means, for the sake of a successful development of intercultural rhetoric the concept of culture must be framed. Considering all the complexities of culture, Ulla Connor proposed the following explanation of this phenomenon: "This is how culture works in the framework of intercultural rhetoric: It recognizes large cultures but values small cultures; it acknowledges individual variation; and it focuses on the give-and- take in intercultural interactions" (Connor 2011: 34).

3.4. Cultures in academic setting

As universities continue to become more culturally diverse, a detailed insight into a variety of cultures interacting in an educational setting becomes imperative. University classrooms have their own academic culture consisting of many overlapping cultural components. Atkinson (2004) advocates an *alternative view* of culture, as opposed to a *received* (traditional) one, in an academic classroom in the face of the changing nature of global communication. A model depicting different cultures that operate in an educational setting has been proposed by Holliday (1994, 1999) and is in line with a new approach to culture. Holliday analyzed the influences of *small* and *large cultures* as major forces shaping academic culture. Large cultures feature ethnic, national, or international traits and tend to be normative and prescriptive. Conversely, small cultures are non-essentialist and rely on dynamic processes that relate to cohesive behaviors within social groupings. Small cultures do not accept any type of stereotyping. "[I]n cultural research, small cultures are thus a heuristic means in the process of interpreting group behavior" (Holliday 1999: 240). Small cultures are engaged in a variety of activities, and academic discourse is one of the outcomes of a small culture enterprise (Holliday 1999: 251). Holliday asserts that, "[I]n many ways, the discourse community is a small culture" (Holliday 1999: 252).

Holliday's model describes some cultures, like national culture, professional-academic culture, youth culture, student culture and classroom culture that can be found in any educational setting. These cultures interact and overlap with one another, but the primary importance has always been assigned to national culture that determines such aspects of academic life as code of conduct and discourse style.

Therefore, today when academic classrooms tend to be more diverse in terms of ethnic, national, religious and socio-cultural backgrounds, it is critical to diminish the superiority of national norms and standards and draw on knowledge, and learning styles that individual students bring to the classroom. When it comes to academic discourse, both in speaking and writing, students draw on various cross-linguistic and cross-cultural influences. The U.S accepts the challenge that culturally diverse academic classrooms create and pioneers in culturally responsive teaching. A culturally responsive classroom, also referred to as an inclusive classroom, is a space where all the voices are sought out and welcome, participants feel free to challenge or support other people's perspectives on course topics, and it is safe for participants to feel uncomfortable and take necessary risks for real dialogue to occur.

3.5. The influences on intercultural rhetoric

The theory of contrastive rhetoric predominantly rests on the assumption that patterns of language and writing are culture specific and accepts the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis of linguistic relativity as a primary influence. The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis is premised on the insight that language is not a neutral medium that does not influence the way people perceive and experience the world, and hence views language, in the initial, firmer version, as a determiner of thought, and in the later, softer version, as a shaper of thought. Therefore, to the degree that language and writing are cultural phenomena, different cultures have different rhetorical tendencies. Moreover, ESL learners transfer L1 writing conventions to L2 writing causing interference. Contrastive rhetoric examines the interference that reveals itself in the writer's choice of rhetorical strategies and content, not with differences at the level of syntax and phonology.

Since the 1980s, contrastive rhetoricians have been devoting more attention to different ways of exploring connections between students' culture and discourse style. Connor should be given the credit for her research on cross-cultural influences that have affected contrastive rhetoric theory. The final outcome of her work (Connor 2011) manifests itself in a comprehensive outline of six major factors that altered the approach to textual analyses and consequently contributed to the inception of a new field of *intercultural rhetoric:*

1. Relations between American composition and European text linguistics

The co-related studies of American traditions of rhetoric/composition and European tradition of text analysis, reaching far beyond organizational patterns as a method of text analysis, are the primary focus of the field today.

2. Connections with Comparative Rhetoric

Intercultural rhetoric draws on comparative rhetoric studies which analyze languages and cultures as separate entities and investigate in-depth histories of their rhetorical traditions.

3. Reframing the definition of *rhetoric*

Contrastive rhetoric stems from the structural and content-based principles for writing laid down by Aristotle in *Poetics*, but reduces the term *rhetoric* to arrangement and organization, one of the three steps (the other two were invention and discovery) in Aristotle's treatise of rhetoric as an act of persuasion. Aristotle himself shifted emphasis on the rhetorical canons from style to invention and a new field of *intercultural rhetoric* draws from his original concept of rhetoric (invention, style, and arrangement) as well as the three types of rhetorical proof (*ethos, pathos* and *logos*). In Ancient times, in order to make an argument, one had to consider three elements: the means or sources of persuasion, the language, the arrangement of the different parts of the treatment. The means of persuasion are strategies for making three appeals: *ethos, pathos* and *logos*. "The first kind depends on the personal character of the speaker, the second on putting the audience into a certain frame of mind, the third on the proof, or apparent proof, provided by the words of the speech itself" (Aristotle 1984: 2155). This initial definition of rhetoric formulated by Aristotle is in line with the current developments in *intercultural rhetoric*. Kennedy emphasizes a new dimension of contemporary rhetoric in *Comparative Rhetoric: An Historical and Cross-Cultural Introduction* by defining it as "a form of mental and emotional energy" (Kennedy, 1998: 3) and later on continues", rhetoric is a natural phenomenon: the potential for it exists in all life forms that can give signals, it is practiced in limited forms by nonhuman animals" (Kennedy 1998: 4).

4. New approach to research methods for studying writing

Early contrastive rhetoric was primarily based on linguistic text analyses focusing on methods of analyzing cohesion, coherence, and the discourse superstructure of texts. However, the adequacy of exclusively text-based analyses was questioned and the process of extending the text analyses beyond the realm of textual features was initiated. Connor distinguishes the following periods in research methods for studying writing:

> Following the lead of L1 writing research and pedagogy, in which the 1970s were said to be the decade of the composing process and the 1980s the decade of social construction, empirical research on L2 writing in the 1990s became increasingly concerned with social and cultural processes in cross-cultural undergraduate writing groups and classes (Connor 2002: 497).

5. Intercultural communication viewed as the text-speech interplay

Intercultural communication is not limited only to the written discourse. Therefore, one of the main objectives of *intercultural rhetoric* is to examine the text-speech interface by the means of new methods for rhetorical analysis.

6. Dynamic developments in studies of culture

Since local diversity and global connectedness confront us on a daily basis, more than ever there is a pressing need to analyze languages in cultural context. "Culture, in all the complexities of that word, is seen as dynamic and not confined to a hegemonic national discourse. The complexity of large and small cultures

necessarily exists in the classroom just as it does in day-to-day life in a range of situations and social groupings (Holliday 1999).

Along with these aforementioned developments in intercultural rhetoric comes a need to investigate in-depth the impact of the variety of cultural influences on human identity and self-awareness today.

3.6. Multiculturalism

The increase of cultural diversity across the globe has resulted in the promotion of *multiculturalism* which holds that a multitude of ethnic cultures can coexist in the mainstream or host culture and retain their original ethnic cultural heritage (Tadmor and Tetlock 2006). Multiculturalism, on one hand, supports a multicultural coexistence, but, on the other, may lead to group distinctions and threaten social cohesion. Sidanius and Pratto (1999) propose the *ideological asymmetry hypothesis* which suggests that hierarchy-attenuating ideologies such as multiculturalism appeal more to low-status groups than to high-status groups, because the existing status hierarchy tends to be more beneficial for members of high- rather than low-status groups. Due to multiculturalism, low-status groups and minorities gain the opportunity to maintain their own culture as well as obtain a higher social status. Majority groups, however, may perceive a desire of ethnic minorities to maintain their own culture as a threat to mainstream cultural identity and their high social status. Thus, although all the people are ultimately multicultural beings those who draw strongest on cross-cultural influences in the construction of their identities are less powerful social groups.

3.6.1. Multicultural identities

Although we find ourselves living in a world of increasing cultural mobility, a mutual cultural exposure does not necessarily imply the acquisition of similar cultural identities, mutual benefits, acceptance, or harmony. Academic discussions about global versus local, or about the homogenization and fragmentation of cultures, are moving away from a black-and –white view and toward a more diverse perspective as Skalli observes, "[c]ultural experience is both unified beyond localities and fragmented within them" (Skalli 2006: 20). The construction of contemporary multicultural identities is not only affected by the presence of a global economy and mass cultural products, but also by local beliefs, values, and socio-cultural and linguistic norms. Therefore, at the same time as we recognize the far-reaching effects of technological, societal, and economic forces, we also need to recognize that all the messages we experience are interpreted through the meaning systems of culture (Lusting and Koester 2010).

3.6.2. Understanding our multicultural selves

As the products of interweaving multicultural and multilinguistic influences, our identities and cognitive capacities extend beyond the reach of any one culture. Our self awareness, affected by a variety of cultural influences, is continually altered and our identities are always *becoming*. From the perspective of cross-cultural communication, including intercultural rhetoric, *identity* of an individual is described as a blend of ethnic, national, international and linguistic components. The arising question is "How can somebody understand his/her own cultural identity, and those of other people, when it is obvious there can never be any definite description of a culture?" Hofstede (1980) coined the term *dimensions of culture* and Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars (2000) *cultural starting points* that are meant to offer one way of starting to decode cultural ways of making meaning. Pillay (2006) suggests six *cultural starting points* to assist us in understanding the complexity of culture and affect individual personality traits.

- High context – Low Context
- Individualism – Communitarianism
- Universalism – Particularism
- Specificity – Diffuseness
- Sequential Time – Synchronous Time
- Low Power Distance – High Power Distance
  (Pillay 2006: 32–33)

Starting points demonstrate a high level of inner correlations. For example, high-context communication (meaning is communicated through context) and polychronic time perspective (synchronous, recurrent, episodic time) often correspond with communitarian orientation which features cooperation and interdependence and values group harmony and cohesion. Just like low-context communication (meaning is explicitly conveyed in words) is intertwined with a monochronic time perspective (sequential, linear and rigid time) and appears in rather individualistic societies that encourage competition, individual achievement, and self-reliance. When we explore the continuum of specificity and diffuseness, we observe the discrepancy between the specific orientation (values efficiency, clear focus, outcome and solutions), typical for low-context cultures, and the diffuse orientation (pays attention to process, relationships, and takes holistic perspective) that high-context cultures operate on. Hofstede's (1984) idea of power distance refers to the differences in the distribution of power between communitarian, high-context cultures that rely on hierarchical civic structures where social status is ascribed, and individualistic, low-context cultures where status is earned by individual achievements and accomplishments.

Pillay asserts that the term *starting points* is the most accurate to describe different cultural perspectives as it allows to avoid a dichotomized, fixed-point interpretation of cultural traits. Particular cultural features may be applicable to all the members of one cultural group or only a certain combination may be relevant. Pillay's point is that "[t]here are no fixed answers to understanding the dynamics of

culture, but there are guiding lights to draw upon along the way" (Pillay 2006: 33). *Complexity* is a leading term in the discussions about culture, but *language,* including *academic discourse,* also plays a key role in intercultural communication because it addresses such issues as cross-cultural negotiation and accommodation. As Wierzbicka observes, "Languages differ from one another not just as linguistic systems but also as cultural universes, as vehicles of ethnic identities" (Wierzbicka 1985: 187). Each culture produces its own ethnic-specific roadmap that consists of particular norms (what you consider right/wrong, proper/improper), values (that are important to you, the way you manifest these values), basic assumptions and beliefs (what you regard as true/false). It draws on the political, social and economic history as well as its intellectual tradition to form meaningful background information which allows its members to interpret correctly allegories, figures of speech, symbols and behavioral patterns that are relevant for this culture. For example if one knows the story of Robinson Crusoe, one will comprehend better the idea of 'American Self-Made Man'. As for academic writing, Cooley and Lewkowicz (1997) in "Developing awareness of the rhetorical and linguistic conventions of writing a thesis in English: addressing the needs of EFL/ESL postgraduate students" argue that the most significant problems evolving from various cultural perspectives arise at the macro-level of discourse. In a parallel manner Duszak asserts that, "There are the deficiencies that relate to the overall communicative success of a piece of writing, that involve the clarity of the text, its global organization, and the consistency and balance of argument, as well as the expression of thoughts in English" (Duszak 1997: 5).

It is not possible to define somebody's identity without viewing him/her through the lenses of culture. Although there are no prescriptive patterns for understanding cultures, there are starting points that may serve as initial clues in the ongoing process of intercultural understanding. If we imagine our identities as a blend of various cultural influences, we may ponder about how to create *cultural patterns of understanding* in cross-cultural encounters. Depending on the context and relational dynamics, identity patterns may vary in components and their number as suggested by the author in figure 3.

High Context

High – Power Distance

Communitarian

Particular

Diffuse

Synchronous Time

High Context

Low Context

Communitarian

Individualistic

Universal

Sequential time

Low-Power Distance
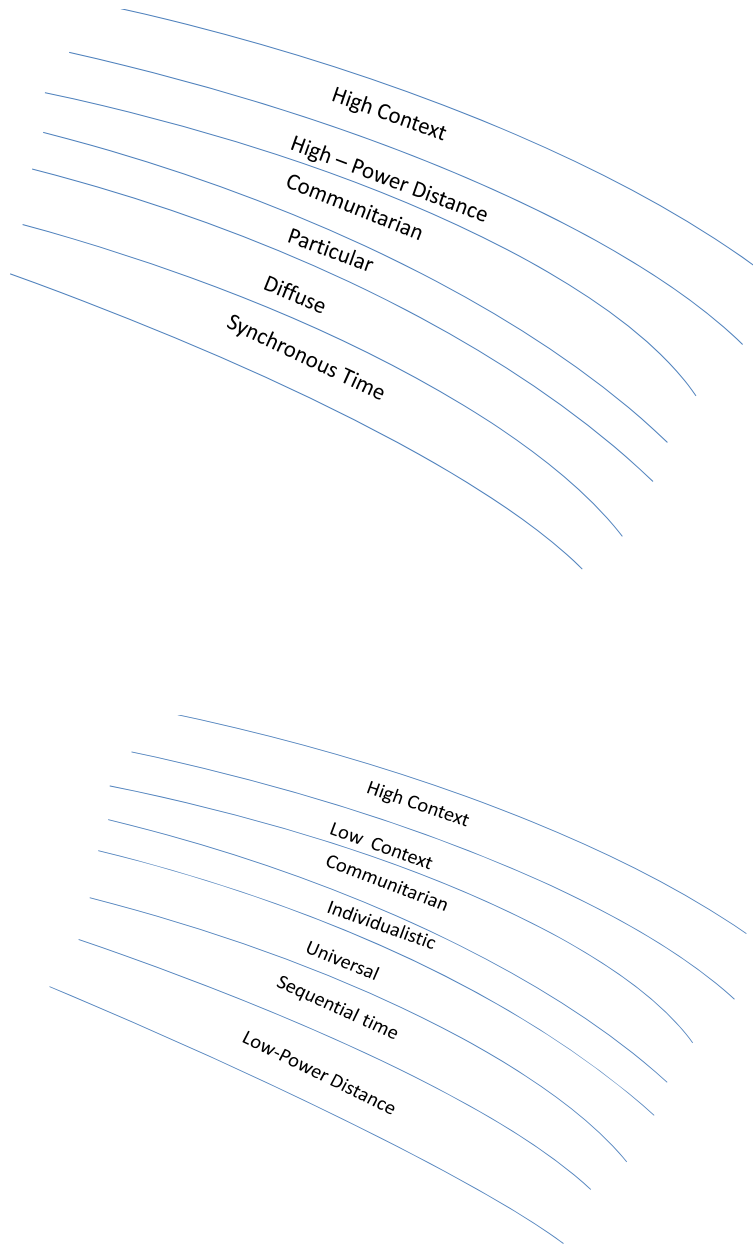
Figure 3. Sample identity patterns.

In the process of analyzing various identity patterns, we discover more insights into other cultures and most importantly, into their own culture. Therefore, competence in intercultural communication involves commitment to a process of growing self-awareness, curious observation, and respectful dialogue.

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3.7. Conclusions

The complexity of diverse cultural behaviors can be observed in everyday human interactions including academic classroom situations. Therefore, culture must be seen as a dynamic phenomenon not limited to a hegemonic national discourse. Undoubtedly, culture needs to be included in any model of intercultural rhetoric. However, intercultural rhetoric must eliminate radical distinctions between polychronic, high-context thinking and monochronic, low-context thinking, linear and non-linear writing, and remember that as we embody multiple cultures, derive meaning from many cultural influences in a variety of contexts, we are ourselves the links between cultures. Today the undisputed example of the quality thinking is the Anglo-American academic discourse convention based on linear, coordinated and symmetrical principles for speaking and writing. Other cultural orientations demonstrating alternative standards for academic communication styles are disadvantaged. Since discrepancies in oral and written communication are vast across cultures, intercultural rhetoric must make the process of negotiation of meaning and the adjustment to each other's styles a number one priority. In order to emphasize my point, I would like to quote Duszak's assertion, "[f]urther insight into academic communication styles is both pressing and worthwhile. Ignorance of, or misconceptions about, the communication styles of others can hinder understanding among academics and ultimately obstruct co-operation and advancement of scholarship" (Duszak 1997:3).

4. Research

An ethographic study of the role of identity in student writing in Polish and English:

> Writing is an act of identity in which people align themselves with socio-culturally shaped possibilities for self-hood, playing their part in reproducing or challenging dominant practices and discourses, and the values, beliefs and interests which they embody (Ivanič, 1997:32).

Throughout the centuries, the notion of identity has been presented in different interpretative perspectives "from early treatments of identity as a self-fashioning, agentive, internal project of the self, through more recent understandings of social and collective identity, to postmodern accounts which treat identity as fluid, fragmentary, contingent and, crucially, constituted in discourse" (Benwell and Stokoe 2012: 17).

In the literature of different academic disciplines there are many terms used interchangeably, or in the same context as the word identity, but their semantic distinctions have not been fully investigated yet. These are such terms as "'self', 'person', 'role', 'ethos', persona', 'position', 'positioning', 'subject position', 'subject', subjectivity', 'identity', and the plurals of many of these words" (Ivanič 1998: 10). The terms 'subject', 'subject position', and 'positioning' bring to mind the works of such social theorists as Althusser and Foucault who emphasize the critical role of discourses in determining people's identities. In this perspective, discourse participants are deprived of the opportunity to express their authorial self freely because of the socio-cultural and institutional constraints that make them conform to pre-established rhetorical conventions.

However, the plural forms of these nouns ('subject positions' or 'positionings') draw on the theories of Harré (1979), Bakhtin, Parker (1989) or Giddens (1991) who emphasize the variety of possibilities for discoursal Self and allow us to avoid the trap of single positioning. For Bakhtin, each subject is populated by multiple others, and is, in a sense, fragmented both internally and externally, but nevertheless is a unique, irreplaceable being. There is no identity as a product, but a continuous self-identification process which begins at birth and ends with death. Therefore, there is no singular identity because by its nature it is plural: pluralia tantum as it is called.

Each academic text is an act of identity in which the writer's self constitutes and is constituted. Writers bring their 'autobiographical self' to the act of writing about their interests, values, beliefs and the practices of the social groups with whom they identify themselves, as well as their personal experiences and personalities. By drawing on their autobiographical experience they constitute the discourse. But they also bring language. Undoubtedly, the choice of language for academic discourse is not a mere linguistic decision, but involves considerable socio-cultural consequences in the form of a writer's alignment with a rhetorical convention of a particular culture. Rhetorical preferences arise from historical and intellectual traditions and feature different approaches to issues such as: linear and digressive paths of thought

development, variation in form and content, as well as reader-writer interpretative responsibility. Discrepancies in underlying socio-cultural values also account for the elitist attitude to academic writing which is present, for instance, in the Polish writing tradition and the more egalitarian approach observed, for example, in the Anglo-American rhetorical convention.

4.1. Contemporary interpretative perspectives of identity

In the 21st century, defined as de-industrialized 'high', 'late' or 'post' modern, and characterized by fragmentation, relativism and dislocation of the Self (Laclau 1990), a discussion about the range of influences on the construction of an academic writer's identity becomes increasingly difficult. Referring to the relativism of our times, Bauman (2004: 32) uses the term 'liquid modernity' to describe a "world in which everything is elusive" and identities are "the most acute, the most deeply felt and the most troublesome incarnations of ambivalence". The multidimensional potential of the postmodern identity is illustrated by a number of anti-essentialist stances like, for example, queer theory (Judith Butler), and other concepts which emerged from postcolonial theory, such as diaspora (Stuart Hall), hybridity (Homi Bhaba) and language crossing (Rampton). Other theorists, like Giddens, reject the view that identity, in the late modern era, is simply fragmentary. Giddens, drawing on the rational theories of Locke and Descartes, expresses his belief that one's psychic coherence and 'wholeness' is facilitated by 'unifying features of modern institutions.' However, he does not view the unity of Self as essential but as constituted by 'coherent, yet continuously revised, biographical narratives'.

In the discussion of discoursal identity it is critical to mention two other theories: social identity theory (Tajfel) and social categorization theory (John Turner) that center on the ways in which people identify themselves in relation to social groups, categories, or stereotypes. However, academic writers often do not define themselves in terms of the areas of similarity shared with other group members. Connolly, focusing on the nature of political identity, argues that identity only establishes itself in relation to difference: that is in order to start the discussion of identity it is necessary for there to be other identities, other affiliations which are being rejected. Similarity, differences and boundaries between an individual writer and social groups play a critical role in the act of authorial identity construction. As Ivanič notes, the problem of identification with one particular academic community is reflected in the process of writing an academic essay when students on the one hand have a sense of belonging to their academic community, but on the other hand identify themselves strongly with other groups from whom their academic community may be differentiating itself.

There is a range of different ways of theorizing identity, each producing a different definition and way of approaching it. As Hyland (2012: 1) points out, "[f]or some observers identity is what unifies our experience and brings continuity to our

lives; while for others it is something fragile and fragmented, vulnerable to the dislocations of globalization and post-industrial capitalism".

4.2. Academic text as the act of identity co-construction

There is, however, a general consensus on the idea that each individual is equipped with several identities which means that identity involves identification. In identifying myself as a woman, for example, I am identifying myself with a broader category of 'women', or at least some aspects of that category. I also identify myself as a native speaker of Polish, a mother, a teacher and a jazz lover. I have to manage all of my identities because they impact on each other rather than simply existing separate from each other, so the way I enact my identity as a teacher is influenced by my other identities. The exploration of the intertwined relations between identities is the key to understanding how authorial identity is constructed and expressed in academic text. Current post-structuralist theories reject the durable and unitary notion of identity because as Hyland puts it, "[i]dentifying ourselves and others involves meaning- and meaning involves interaction. Agreeing, arguing, comparing, negotiating and cooperating are part and parcel of identity construction, so identities must be seen as social identities" (Hyland 2012: 3).

In the same vein, Dobrzyńska discusses the construction of meaning in academic text. She does not talk specifically about identity work, but asserts that "[t]ext becomes an integrated whole of signs due to the assumptions of the sender (writer) and the interpretative hypothesis of the receiver (reader)" (my translation). Both the reader and the writer transfer parts of a text into a global meaning via internalized rhetorical conventions of their discourse communities, their life experiences and personalities, which ultimately determine the construction of discoursal self, the impression a writer conveys of themselves and the reader's interpretation of the author's voice. An academic text is not only a structurally integrated whole, which at different levels of organization allows a variety of alternative solutions (e.g. different linguistic and stylistic choices), but it is predominantly an act of identity co-construction in which "[p]eople align themselves with socio-culturally shaped possibilities for selfhood, playing their part in reproducing or challenging dominant practices and discourses, and the values, beliefs and interests which they embody" (Ivanič 1998: 32).

There are several interconnected aspects of this argument which I would like to summarize here.
1. Negotiating a 'discoursal self' is a central part of the writing process: there is no such thing as a 'transparent author'
2. Each academic text is an individual utterance which reflects stylistic and linguistic choices made by its author within socio-culturally available subject positions

3. In each act of writing a writer reproduces or challenges rhetorical conventions characteristic of their discourse community and the intellectual tradition he/she belongs to
4. The degree of a writer's conformity to the specific rhetorical standards of a particular discourse community is culture-specific (e.g. new developments in merging stylistic features of Hausa language with English)
5. 'Autobiographical self', writers' sense of themselves, is multidimensional and therefore, consists of many selves which do not have equal social status
6. The 'autobiographical self' influences the 'discoursal self'
7. The authorial self is not a stable entity since all aspects of a writer's identity are multiple, intertwined and subject to change as the author develops and the context changes. "Authorial development" pertains to expanding life experience and knowledge by the author and "context change" refers to different socio-cultural or instructional circumstances in which he/she writes (e.g. when authors write across disciplines).
8. The reader-writer relationship plays a critical role in shaping 'discoursal self' because it reflects different audience expectations with regard to the degree of responsibility a writer has to take for clear and well-organized statements. The 'reader-friendly' attitude is demonstrated through such aspects of discourse organization as, for example, linearity in form and content development, explicitness and metatextual cuing as well a distribution of salience. It is each author's decision to either accommodate to or resist the pressure to meet reader expectations.

On the basis of an analysis of the factors that constitute a writer's self-representation in academic text, it may be concluded that authorial identity is a dynamic concept which is not socially determined but can be negotiated, questioned and changed.

4.3. Description of the study

Since the means of organizing and communicating ideas across languages and cultures vary significantly and English is the lingua franca of research and scholarship, many non-English writers are confronted with the following question:

- Which elements of the authorial 'self' should a non-native English author adopt and which elements should they abandon in order to make themselves understood by the English writing community?

My study aims to examine and qualitatively test several assumptions regarding both the influence of academic writers' identity on their writing in Polish and in English and the rhetorical differences between Polish and Anglo-American academic writing styles.

4.4. Group characteristics

This study is being conducted at two universities in Warsaw and at one university in Łódź, Poland. The subjects participating in the study are Polish students in the fourth year of their full-time English Philology[1] studies (the first year of master's studies) and Polish students in the first year of their full-time Polish Philology studies at the master's level. The sample size consists of 16 student participants and is divided into two groups: a research group and a control group.

In experimental psychology the term 'research group' refers to the group in an experiment which is exposed to the independent variable being tested and the changes are observed and recorded.

The term 'control group' refers to the group separated from the rest of the experiment where the independent variable being tested cannot influence the results. Although the subjects of the research group in my study have not been exposed to any independent variable, for the purposes of this study I have tailored these definitions to fit the context of my research. These terms have been adopted to describe two groups of subjects in my investigation. The first group consists of student participants whose authorial identity has been researched and whom I have called 'research group subjects', and the other group are student participants with whom the research group subjects are contrasted and whom I have labeled as 'control group subjects.'

- Research group

The table 1 shows the biographical information on the eight students of English Philology studies.

Subject	Aleksandra	Emilia	Karolina	Marta M.	Marta O.	Patryk	Sylwia	Tomasz
Age	23	23	24	24	23	23	23	23
Gender	F	F	F	F	F	M	F	M

Table 1. *The biographical information on the eight students of English Philology studies.*

- Control group

The table 2 shows the biographical information on the eight students of Polish Philology studies.

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[1] English Philology³ is a common university department in Poland which combines the study of practical language learning, linguistics, literature and culture of English-speaking countries.

Subject	Aleksandra	Alicja	Dominika	Kacper	Jowita	Paulina	Sylwia	Weronika
Age	21	23	21	21	21	21	21	21
Gender	F	F	F	M	F	F	F	F

Table 2. *The biographical information on the eight students of Polish Philology studies*

To test the validity of the research assumptions, writing samples and interviews with the students have been selected for the corpus. A detailed investigation of students' accounts of their autobiographical histories, discussions about their experiences with academic writing, and analyses of their writing samples have been collected to show the influence of students' identities on their writing in Polish and English.

The following research question will be the main subject of inquiry of this research project:

- Does a dual authorial 'self' exist? If it does, how is it developed and expressed in students' academic writing in English and in Polish?

4.5. Research methodology and data analysis

Ethnography is an interpretative, contextualized and qualitative approach to investigating human behavior in naturally occurring settings and is respectful to participants' views. "Originating in anthropology and sociology, it sets out to give a participant, or insider, oriented description of individuals' practices by gathering naturally occurring data under normal conditions from numerous sources, typically over a period of time" (Ramanathan and Atkison 1999). While placing language in a central part of the setting, ethnographic studies take a wider approach and also consider the physical and socio-cultural contexts in which language is used. Through qualitative methods based on close observation and detailed analysis of data collected in natural settings, we get a holistic, unbiased account of the phenomenon under investigation.

My study cannot be considered fully-fledged ethnographic research mainly because of the writing task assigned specifically for this research project. However, it does draw strongly on the research methods from ethnographic inquiry used by Geertz and Ivanič in the studies upon which this research is modeled. The 'thick description' proposed by Geertz that views culture as a semiotic concept has been used to describe students' written work. Believing, with Geertz (1973: 5) that, "[m]an is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun", I take culture to be those webs, not an exercise in experimental science in search of a law but an interpretative one in search of meaning. Then four aspects of 'self' as outlined by Ivanič (1998) in Writing and Identity have been used here to provide a framework for investigating the role of identity in students' writing in Polish and English.

Ivanič relates 'autobiographical self' to the writers' social and discoursal history and observes that "[t]he term 'autobiographical self' emphasizes the fact that this aspect of identity is associated with a writer's sense of their roots, of where they are

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coming from, and that this identity they bring with them to writing is itself socially constructed and constantly changing as a consequence of their developing life-history: it is not some fixed, essential 'real self'(…) [it is] also their way of representing these experiences to themselves which constitutes their current way of being"(Ivanič 1998: 24). Another aspect of 'self' identified by Ivanič is called 'discoursal' because it is the persona the writer adopts when writing, "[t]he impression- often multiple, sometimes contradictory- which they consciously or unconsciously conveys of themselves in a particular text (…) it is constructed through the discourse characteristics of a text, which relate to values, beliefs and power relations in the social context in which they were written" (Ivanič 1998: 25). The third aspect of authorial identity- 'self as author'- provides a different perspective on writer identity from the other two. According to Ivanič it shows how "[w]riters see themselves to a greater or lesser extent as authors, and present themselves to a greater or lesser extent as authors" (Ivanič 1998: 26). The 'self as author' reflects a writer's position, opinions and beliefs, and ultimately their willingness to claim authority as the source of the content of the text and/or their reliance on external authorities to support those claims. "Some attribute all the ideas in their writing to other authorities, effacing themselves completely; others take up a strong authorial stance. Some do this by presenting the content of their writing as objective truth, some do it by taking responsibility for their authorship" (Ivanič 1998: 26). The fourth aspect of writer identity- 'possibilities for selfhood in a socio-cultural and institutional context - differs significantly from the other three because it is concerned with the socio-cultural and instructional constraints in which the act of writing takes place. It relates to the "[p]rototypical possibilities for selfhood which are available to writers in the social context of writing: 'social' identities in the sense that they do not just belong to particular individuals" (Ivanič 1998: 26). Ivanič's term 'possibilities for selfhood' is the equivalent of the expressions: 'subject positions' or 'positionings' used by scholars drawing on the work of social theorists such as Althusser and Foucault. As Ivanič (1998) notes, the plural forms of these nouns allow for social identity to be perceived as a multi-faceted phenomenon, "In my view several types of socially available resources for the construction of identity operate simultaneously: it is not just a question of occupying one subject position or another, but rather of being multiply positioned by drawing on possibilities for self-hood on several dimensions" (Ivanič 1998: 27, 28). Needless to say, authorial self is not a stable entity and all the four aspects of writer identity are multiple, intertwined and subject to change as the author develops and context changes.

It is my conviction that ethnographic methods based on 'watching and asking' (Hyland 2009: 36) are best suited to investigate the dynamic view of authorial identity which is understood as a socially defined and negotiated concept. For instance, ethnographic research allows for in-depth insights into the choices writers have to make that reveal the tensions between the dominant ideologies of a given discourse community, the power relations institutionally inscribed in them and writers' own interpretations of their personal and socio-cultural experiences. The important aspect of ethnographic approach to the creation of authorial identity is what Hyland calls performance since "[w]e perform identity work by constructing ourselves as credible members of a particular social group, so that identity is something we do, not something we have" (Hyland 2009: 70).

Brewer defines ethnography as "[t]he study of people in naturally occurring settings or 'fields' by methods of data collection which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting, if not also the activities, in order to collect data in a systematic manner but without meaning being imposed on them externally" (2000: 6) and outlines the four salient features of this research methodology: "[i]t focuses on people's ordinary activities in naturally occurring settings, it uses unstructured and flexible methods of data collection, the researcher is actively involved with the people under study, and it explores the meanings which the activity has for the people themselves and the wider community" (2000: 20).

Feature	Ways in which this study meets the feature
Focus on people in a natural setting	writing assignment written as part of the course
Unstructured and flexible methods of data collection	interviews are only semi-structured, with room for individual expression
Researcher is actively involved with people under observation	I have existing professional relationships with students in the study
Explores meanings the activity has for the people and the university community	examines the role of writers' identities in their writing

Table 3: Brewer's four major features of ethnographic research.

Since "[e]thnographic research should have a characteristic 'funnel' structure, being progressively focused over its course" (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 160), at this stage it is difficult to predict how the interviews will be analyzed, except that the focus will be on the influence of each of the four aspects of self (autobiographical self, discoursal self, self as author and possible self-hoods in institutional context) on the students' experiences of writing. Students' responses will be coded as themes emerge in the interviews and during the analysis of the writing samples.

The sample size is large enough to allow for conclusions to be drawn about the relationship between students' personal backgrounds, socio-cultural experiences and their writing in Polish and English. My findings will also make it possible to provide recommendations for further research.

Following Woods' typology of ethnographic attributes - trust, curiosity, and naturalness (Woods, 1986 as cited in Cohen et al. 2007: 350) the table below illustrates the application of each attribute in relation to the student participants.

	Trust	Curiosity	Naturalness
With research group students	The relationship goes beyond the research project because I have a good rapport with the students as a result of teacher-student interaction.	I have a genuine curiosity about students' experiences and individual expression in academic writing both in Polish and in English.	I will follow Lillis' example and ask open-ended questions to move away from my role as talker to that of listener (2001: 9). I will not interrupt (except for clarification) and will attempt to keep any bias out of the conversation. I will also attempt to make the interview feel like a casual conversation.

Table 4: Approaches which confirm ethnographic attributes

4.6. Three-dimensional analysis of discourse

This study draws on a three dimensional framework for studying discourse first developed by Fairclough and applied in critical discourse analysis (CDA). Critical discourse analysts, who view language as a form of social practice in which language and power are intertwined, point to three levels of discourse context: Macro, Meso and Micro. At the macro level, the analysis of context investigates the relationship between the text and broader social processes; for example, what social issues of particular importance are revealed in the text. At the meso level, analysis center on the context of production and reception of the text and address the following questions: (1) where was the text written? , (2) who wrote it? , (3) what interpretative approach might this person want to promote? , (4) who is the recipient of this text? etc. Finally, at the micro level of discourse contextual analysis focuses on what is actually being said in the text, and what linguistic features and devices are being employed to communicate a particular idea.

Since the responses to the questions posed at the meso level of analysis were known, the study concentrated on two other aspects of CDA, i.e. the macro and the micro levels.

The macro-level analysis of the text corpus revealed the following recurring phenomena that were investigated and coded:

- differences in number and status of social actors
- differences in the levels of readability of Polish and English writing measured by the Gunning Fog index
- differences in the manner of communicating content (the use of thematic digressions or more linear thematic progression)

The analysis at the micro level allowed me to draw important inferences from the lexical and grammatical choices made by each study subject. These linguistic choices were not randomly used, but purposefully applied to present a certain idea in a particular manner. The following linguistic devices were studied here and coded:

- nominalizations
- impersonal forms
- passive forms
- modal verbs of external constraint
- negations

The micro-level stylistic choices are usually made by the authors subconsciously and therefore make it possible to notice the most authentic realization of writer identity.

5. Research methods and tools for data collection and analysis

Chapter 5 is the core of this dissertation since it employs the theoretical perspective introduced in the first two chapters. The central part of this chapter focuses on the analysis of the student participants' experience with academic writing and the issues of identity which arise in their essays evidenced through the discoursal choices they made when writing in English and Polish. The aim of this part of the study is to seek confirmation for the hypothesis that academic writing is not a neutral, unproblematic skill which can be easily acquired but rather that each academic text is a complex act of identity co-construction in which writer's *self* both constitutes the discourse and is constituted in it. Specifically, through the analysis of data concerning four aspects of the authorial 'self' the following research question will be answered:

- Does the dual authorial 'self' exist? If it does, how is it developed and expressed in student academic writing in English and in Polish?

First the 'thick description' proposed by Geertz has been used here to describe students' written work in order to find out what kind of themes will emerge during the analysis of the writing samples. Students' responses to my questionnaire-based questions have also been examined for indicators of reoccurring themes. Later the subjects' responses were typified and categorized according to the recurring themes. My questions were subject to modification and alteration as the study progressed. Then the data gathered was coded according to the reoccurring themes, and four aspects of the authorial 'self' as outlined by Ivanič were applied to provide a framework for investigating the role of identity in the Polish students' writing in Polish and English.

5.1. The analysis of the writing task

According to Clifford Geertz the role of the ethnographer is to observe, record, and analyze a culture and more specifically, to interpret signs to gain their meaning within the culture itself. The interpretation of a sign is based on the "thick description" of a specific sign in order to notice all the possible meanings. Geertz clarifies this point with the example of a "wink of any eye". When a man winks, is he merely "rapidly contracting his right eyelid" or is he „practicing a burlesque of a friend faking a wink to deceive an innocent into thinking conspiracy is in motion?" Geertz believes that 'thick description' should be the major tool used in ethnographic research because it makes it possible to spot all the details of the phenomenon under investigation. He asserts, "The point for now is only that ethnography is thick description. What the ethnographer is in fact faced with (…) is a multiplicity of complex conceptual structures, many of them superimposed upon or knotted into one another, which are at once strange, irregular, and inexplicit, and which he must contrive somehow first to grasp then to render (1973: 9, 10). I believe

that the application of 'thick description' to the analysis of the written task performed by subject participants of my study will allow for deeper understanding and logical categorization of the emerging themes.

5.1.1. Essay production situation

Assigning the writing task in the form of a common prompt seems to be a logical consequence of my choice of the ethnographic methodology for data analysis. Since a common prompt is a descriptive instruction of a writing task (not a specific topic that might suggest particular answers), it allows for spontaneous expression of students' thoughts. The student, working alone, reads the prompt and then responds in writing. The writing task must be completed in the classroom and in the allotted amount of time (90 minutes). Prompt-response writing differs from other forms of academic writing mainly in two aspects: it is not interactive and is not completed over time because it is done solely by the student in one sitting and serves as a test. Later the students' texts have been examined for indicators of 'self' as author and discoursal 'self.'

- The writing task for the research group students is included in appendix (1)
- The writing task for the control group students is included in appendix (2)
- 'Thick descriptions' of the writing task written by the research group students in English followed by my annotations and comments are included in appendix (3)
- 'Thick descriptions' of the writing task written by the research group students in Polish followed by my annotations and comments are included in appendix (4)
- 'Thick descriptions' of the writing task written by the control group students in Polish followed by my annotations and comments are included in appendix (5)

5.2. The analysis of the interview

While standard semi-structured interviews are sometimes criticized for not producing reliable data because their structure has a determining effect on subjects' responses (who may judge their stories as irrelevant), the majority of narrative research records examine narratives obtained in interviews. Benwell and Stokoe (2012: 141) subdivide interviewing into two types: (1) the standard social science research interview, which is not designed to elicit narrative-type answers yet generates storied answers, and (2) narrative interviews. They claim that narrative interviews follow the new tradition of 'biographical methods' (Chamberlyne, et al. 2000). The goal of such interviews (also called 'life history' or 'biographic') is to obtain narrative accounts of a subject's life for the corpus. One of the commonly

used methods is McAdam's (1993) approach in which participants are asked to think about their lives as a series of chapters in a book and label each chapter with a title and an outline. Then they provide narrative accounts of their life histories pertaining to (1) stories about key events in their life (including, e.g., peak, low and turning point events); (2) narratives about significant people; (3) stories about future plans; (4) records of stress, problems, conflicts, unresolved issues and possible solutions, and (5) narratives about personal ideology (religious and/or political views). Finally, (6) subjects are asked to consider their defining or central life theme.

Another type of narrative interviewing is Wengraf's Biographic Narrative Interpretative Method (BNIM: see Wengraf 2005) which emphasizes passivity on the part of the interviewer unlike the 'active interview' (see Holstein and Gubrium 1995) which allows for the participation of the interviewer in the construction of accounts created in interviews. The researcher becomes involved later, through their "retelling of the story as a weaver of tales, a collage-maker or a narrator of the narrations" (Jones 2003: 61).

BNIM aims to produce accounts unobstructed by the norms of social interaction. The latest adaptation of BNIM is Hollway and Jefferson's (2000) Free Association Narrative Interview (FANI) which combines features of narrative theory with the psychoanalytic principle of free association.

There are also researchers (Bülow 2004, Hsieh 2004) who believe in obtaining narrative data through the stories as they occur in everyday and institutional interaction and reject the idea of applying interview questions. This approach has been influenced by the Observer's Paradox proposed by William Labov, the father of variationist sociolinguistics, and describes the major methodological problems with the analysis of linguistic data obtained in the interviews. It refers to the difficulty of extracting natural speech from informants because as soon as people realize that they are being recorded they speak less naturally and in a less vernacular manner. Thus, this is what linguists want to do is to observe the way in which people speak when they are not being observed and their major challenge is, as Labov put it, „How to observe the unobserved."

The diversity in the interviewing methods raises the question of the scientific value of interview data versus data occurring naturally in everyday situations.

5.2.1. Interview production situation

Along with a few close- ended questions that could be answered by 'yes' or 'no', I employed a semi-narrative method of interviewing in my study because I asked many open-ended questions (that required more elaborate answers than simple one-word responses).

I tape-recorded a conversation with each subject as soon as possible after they had written their essays. We discussed certain events from their lives that may have influenced their academic writing ('autobiographical self'). Focusing on the essay itself, we attempted to identify the voices in their texts: audiences and purpose for

writing, lexical and grammatical choices, the distribution and development of concepts and entities ('discoursal self') as well as the sources of their ideas and explicit quotation ('self as author'). The students also answered questions related to the institutional context in which they write ('possibilities for self-hood').

My main goal was to find examples of what Fairclough and Ivanič called 'interdiscursivity.' 'Interdiscursivity' is Fairclough's term for "intertextual relations to conventions" and, according to Ivanič, it is a central concept for a theory of language and identity. It explains how writers make particular discoursal choices by drawing interdiscursively on the discourse types which are available to them. Ivanič (1997: 48, 49) observes, "This repertoire of possibilities for self-hood is the connection between a person's past and their future".

There is a methodologically sound reason why I did not start the interviews with specific questions which would suggest particular answers because the goal of this study has been to observe what kind of themes will emerge in the course of the conversations.

- The interview outline for the research group students is included in appendix (6)
- The interview outline for the research group students is included in appendix (7)

5.3. Interview data coding

5.3.1. Interview data coding for research group students

I. Autobiographical self

The data I have collected on the basis of the interviews for the analysis of the first aspect of the authorial identity, 'autobiographical self,' did not reveal any important categories or themes in students' autobiographical histories which would be relevant for my study.

The commonalities I found among the research group students pertained to the biographical information (their age: 23–24; gender: 6 female and 2 male students)

- their travel experiences (all the subjects but one have been abroad and used English to communicate; none ever lived abroad for an extended period of time)
- their educational plans (all wanted to study at the university)
- social support (they were all encouraged by their environment to study at the university)
- their parents' education (vocational or high school graduates)
- self-evaluation of their writing skills in English and Polish (they all evaluated their level of writing as the same in both languages or as higher in English, but one student who assessed his writing skills as lower in English)
- particular events and/or people that influenced their writing style and attitude towards academic writing (they pointed to writing teachers, their experiences with writing in high school and at the university)

- the usefulness of the university studies in their life (they all found the studies useful in their future life)

The commonalities I found among the control group students pertained to:

- the biographical information (their age: 21 and 23; gender: 7 female and 1 male students)
- their travel experiences (all the subjects but one have been abroad and used English to communicate; one lived abroad for the extended period of time in her early childhood)
- their educational plans (all wanted to study at the university)
- social support (they were all encouraged by their environment to study at the university)
- their parents' education (vocational or high school graduates)
- self-evaluation of their writing skills in Polish (they all evaluated their level of writing as good, very good or excellent)
- particular events and/or people that influenced their writing style and attitude towards academic writing (they pointed to writing teachers, their experiences with writing in high school and at the university)
- the usefulness of the university studies in their life (they all found the studies useful in their future life)

The questions pertaining to the students' 'autobiographical self' did not produce any significant variability among the subjects of the study and, therefore, the answers bear little importance for my study.

II.   Discoursal self

The questions about the purpose and the audience in the act of writing allowed me to elicit the following answers (presented in table 5) from the research group students:

- the majority of the research group students (six out of eight) believe that the major purpose for academic writing is to inform a reader
- the majority of students (five out of eight) write for two audiences: teachers and classmates

Subject's first name	Aleksandra	Emilia	Karolina	Marta M.	Marta O.	Patryk	Sylwia	Tomasz
Why are you writing?	to persuade	to inform	to inform	to inform to persuade	to persuade	to inform	to inform	to inform
Who is your audience?	teachers	teachers, classmates	teachers	teachers, classmates	teachers, classmates, friends	Teachers classmates	teachers	teachers, classmates

Table 5. Purpose and audience.

The answers elicited by the questions on the organization of their written work both in the Polish and in the English texts have revealed significant information on

the influence of the Anglo-American writing instruction on Polish student writing in Polish and in English (as presented in tables 6 and 7).

The analysis of the text corpus written in Polish and English by the research group students proceeded under the following assumption: when an author writes, thinking cannot be observed directly. However, after the text is analyzed and coded, if the notion is valid that writing is thinking, the thinking process may be inferred by the rhetorical pattern used. Linearity, which is a style marker of Anglo-American academic texts, assumes that the thesis must be stated clearly and explicitly, that there is one idea in a paragraph which it is defined by one topic sentence in that paragraph and does not allow for 'branching' progressions in how ideas are developed.

Unlike the text corpus of the control group students, essays written by research group students feature the following characteristics:

- explicit thesis statement spelled out in the introductory paragraph
- unity of paragraphs (one single idea developed in each paragraph)
- relatively low level of both formal and thematic digressiveness

Explicit thesis statement	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Thesis statement presented at the beginning of the text	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Unity of paragraphs (one single idea developed in each paragraph)	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Formal digressions (quotations)	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	2
Thematic digressions (appositions and clarifications)	2	1	2	0	1	2	5	0

Table 6. Organization of the written work in the Polish text.

Subject's first name	Aleksandra	Emilia	Karolina	Marta M.	Marta O.	Patryk	Sylwia	Tomasz
Explicit thesis statement	yes	no thesis statement	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Thesis statement presented at the beginning of the text	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Unity of paragraphs (one single idea developed in each paragraph)	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Formal digressions (quotations)	1	2	1	1	2	0	1	2
Thematic digressions (appositions and clarifications)	1	2	2	0	1	2	3	0

Table 7. Organization of the written work in the English text.

III.   Self as author

The questions designed to obtain data on the sources students draw on to generate ideas for their writing did not produce answers important for the study. However, the questions aiming at establishing data on how student writers present themselves and others as authoritative have produced answers which are significant for the study in two ways (as illustrated in table 8).

- citing an authority is used to increase one's credibility as an author (the reason for quoting for 7 out of 8 students)
- citing an authority is used to give one's audience guidance for further inquiry of the topic (the reason for quoting for 5 out of 8 students)

Furthermore, the answers have been supported by the evidence from the text corpus which showed that the number of formal digressions (quotations) employed by research group students in their writing task ranged from 0 to 3 in a relatively short text.

These data demonstrate that the research group students, in contrast to the control group students, see themselves to a lesser extent as authors and to a greater extent consider the reader in the act of writing.

Subject's first name	Aleksandra	Emilia	Karolina	Marta M.	Marta O.	Patryk	Sylwia	Tomasz
Sources used to generate ideas for writing	discussions with friends, the Internet	the Internet, books	books, the Internet, opinions of other people	newspaper articles, the Internet	instructors' opinions, the Internet, books	background knowledge, the Internet, e-books	the Internet, articles	the Internet, books, newspapers, his own imagination
Citing an authority to increase one's credibility as an author	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Citing an authority to give one's audience guidance for further inquiry of the topic	yes	no	no	rather no	yes	yes	yes	yes

Table 8. *Sources used to generate ideas for writing and reasons for quoting.*

IV. Possibilities for self-hoods in socio-cultural and institutional context

The data presented in table 9 demonstrate clearly that the fourth dimension of the authorial identity of the research group students, concerned with prototypical possibilities for self-hood which are available to writers in the social context of writing, is shaped by Anglo-American writing convention.

The question about the purpose of asking students to write assignments at the university did not elicit the responses that would make any significant contribution to the study. Both the research and the control group students provided the same main objective for asking students to write assignments at the university: to improve their writing skills at the university level along with other reasons such as, for

example, to check students' knowledge, to teach them how to generate ideas about a given topic or to help students to learn how to express their opinions in writing.

However, the questions about the preferred way of writing assignments at the university and students' willingness to challenge the preferred way of writing allowed me to elicit the following answers significant for the study:

- the research group students define academic writing style as structured, formal writing characterized by brevity of expression, featuring clear paragraphing, precise and concise language with logical connections between ideas
- the research group students are not willing to challenge the preferred way of writing

These answers considerably differ from the answers of the control group students to the same questions.

Subject's first name	Aleksandra	Emilia	Karolina	Marta M.	Marta O.	Patryk	Sylwia	Tomasz
The purpose of asking students to write assignments at the university	to help students develop their writing skills, to check students' knowledge,	to learn how to write logical and concise papers	to get the ideas about a given topic and to improve the language and writing skills	to test if students are able to produce an academic essay	to help students to learn how to express their opinions, to broaden their horizons	to practice the writing skill and to learn how to express ideas in English	to prepare students for their future professions, where they will still write professional papers	to practice writing diligent papers
The preferred way of writing at the university	clear and logical writing, clear division of work into paragraphs	precise and concise language, up to the topic, using a lot of academic vocabulary	brevity of style, coherence, linking words, fixed structure and organization	formal style, following the scheme	clear and logical writing	writing to the point, making short, clear sentences and a few digressions that would enrich the essay	no freedom to express personal ideas and expectations to restate somebody else's opinion	coherent and cohesive writing
Is student's willing to challenge the preferred way of writing	rather no	rather no	rather no	no	no	no	no	no

Table 9. *The purpose of asking students to write assignments and the preferred way of writing at the university.*

5.3.2. Interview data coding for control group students

I.   Discoursal self

The questions about the purpose and the audience in the act of writing allowed me to elicit the following answers (presented in table 10) from the control group students:

- half of the control group students believe that the major purpose for academic writing is to inform a reader, and the other half believe that it is to persuade a reader (two students within the control group believe that academic writing serves both purposes)
- the majority of the control group students write for one audience: teachers (five students) and only three students write for two audiences: teachers and classmates.

Subject's first name	Aleksandra	Alicja	Dominika	Jowita	Kacper	Paulina	Sylwia	Weronika
Why are you writing?	to inform to persuade	to inform	to persuade	to inform to persuade	to inform	to persuade	to persuade	to inform
Who is your audience?	teachers	teachers, classmates, father	teachers	teachers, classmates	teachers, classmates	teachers	teachers	teachers

Table 10. Purpose and audience.

The answers elicited by the questions about the organization of the written work of the control group students have revealed important information on the influence of the lack of unified norms and standards that should govern the composition of a Polish academic text on Polish student academic writing (as presented in table 11).

The lack of formal structure in the writing samples written by the control group students is manifested by the following characteristics:

- the absence of clear thesis statement
- arbitrary paragraphing that allows for the development of more than one idea in a paragraph
- relatively high level of thematic digressiveness (ranging from 0-5)

Subject's first name	Aleksandra	Alicja	Dominika	Jowita	Kacper	Paulina	Sylwia	Weronika
Explicit thesis statement	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
Thesis statement presented at the beginning of the text	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
Unity of paragraphs (one single idea developed in each paragraph)	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	yes
Formal digressions (quotations)	1	1	3	1	0	1	0	1
Thematic digressions (appositions and clarifications)	1	0	0	3	4	3	3	5

Table 11. Organization of the written work in a Polish text.

The questions about the sources students draw on to generate ideas for their writing did not produce an important variable among the control group subjects either. However, the questions aiming at establishing data on the extent to what students present themselves and others as authoritative have produced answers which bear significance for the study (as illustrated in table 12). The responses of the control group students differed from the responses of the research group students in how far they claim authority as the source of the content of the text and were as follows:

- citing an authority is used to increase one's credibility as an author (the reason for quoting for 5 out of 8 students)
- citing an authority is used to give one's audience guidance for further inquiry of the topic (the reason for quoting for 2 out of 8 students)

What is more, the answers have been supported by the evidence from the text corpus which showed that the number of formal digressions (quotations) employed by the control group students in their writing task was never higher than one except for one student. These findings demonstrate that the control group students claim their authority over a significant part of the test and do not focus on the reader's expectations to the extent research students do.

Subject's first name	Aleksandra	Alicja	Dominika	Jowita	Kacper	Paulina	Sylwia	Weronika
Sources used to generate ideas for writing	study guides, the Internet interviews and articles	newspaper articles, books, music, conversations with other people, pictures, interviews, movies, theatrical performances	books, study guides, the Internet	books, scientific articles, the Internet	instructors' opinions, the Internet, academic textbooks	newspaper articles,	author's own experiences, books, the Internet, articles	books, the Internet, scientific articles
Citing an authority to increase one's credibility as an author	yes	no	yes	yes	no	yes	no	yes
Citing an authority to give one's audience guidance for further inquiry of the topic	no	no	rather no	no	yes	no	no	yes

Table 12. *Sources used to generate ideas for writing and reasons to use quotations.*

III.   Possibilities for self-hoods in socio-cultural and institutional context
The questions aiming at establishing data for the control group students on the preferred way of writing assignments at the university and students' willingness to challenge the preferred way of writing allowed me to elicit the following answers (illustrated in table 13) significant for the study:

- the control group students define academic writing style as a scientific style that draws on many resources, is rather reproductive than creative and features unspecified structure, and academic vocabulary. It is also highly individualistic and tailored to meet the expectations of each individual teacher.
- the control group students are willing to challenge the preferred way of writing

These responses considerably differ from the answers of the control group students to the same questions. The major disparity between these two approaches to academic writing pertains to the purpose and the method of communicating content. The control group students, in contrast to the research group students, value the depth (indicated by thematic digressions) of their works more than a clearly structured form and are willing to experiment with different ways of expressing their thoughts in writing. This attitude can be explained by the fact that they can hardly recall having been taught about the formal aspects of Polish composition. Conversely, the research group students demonstrate a preference for a coherent and structured organization of a text in order to ensure that its meaning is fully understood by the reader.

Subject's first name	Aleksandra	Alicja	Dominika	Jowita	Kacper	Paulina	Sylwia	Weronika
The purpose of writing assignments at the university	to acquire writing skills at the university level	to test students' knowledge and their writing skills, to teach writing skills at the university level	to test students' knowledge and to improve their writing skills	to develop students' writing skills at the university level	to acquire rhetorical skills (to learn how to provide convincing evidence for one's thesis), to acquire stylistic fluency and master punctuation and grammar	to practice writing skills and independent thinking	to acquire writing skills, logical thinking and creative approach to solving problems	to work on organization of academic papers, to broaden the knowledge, to practice writing skills
The preferred way of writing at the university	scientific style that features academic vocabulary and unspecified structure	writing style that features academic vocabulary and demonstrates student's knowledge of the subject	highly individualistic style	writing style that features logical connections between ideas, answers the topic question and is interesting	writing style drawing on many resources including opinions of external authorities, rather reproductive than creative	academic vocabulary, convincing supporting evidence, writing style tailored to meet the expectations of each individual teacher	scientific style that features academic vocabulary	writing style that features academic vocabulary and draws on opinions of external authorities rather than on individual opinions of student writers
Is student's willing to challenge the preferred way of writing	yes	yes	yes	rather yes, but does not see the reason to do it	yes	yes, to certain extent	yes	yes

Table 13. The purpose and the preferred way of writing assignments at the university.

6. Different perspectives of authorial presence in academic writing

While in writing fiction the writer has full freedom to choose the 'voice' they want their audience to hear and freedom to disguise their identity, in academic writing they find themselves in a rather restricted position. On one hand they have to provide convincing evidence for their claims and make readers believe that they are credible as authors. On the other hand they have to obey conventionalized values and beliefs of academic communication and institutionally sanctioned rules for organizational structure of the written work. Discourse theorists, for instance Althuser (1971) and Habermas (1987), point to the idea "[t]hat institutions wield enormous power, crushing individuals' speaking rights and imposing unnatural bureaucracy upon events" (Benwell and Stokoe 2012: 88).

The situation becomes more complex and challenging when students write in a second language and do not have an awareness of how to navigate the cultural divide. This is often the case of Polish students who study English Philology and are required to write in English as a part of their curriculum. The question which stimulates my research interest the strongest and which I attempt to answer in Chapter 5, entitled 'Conclusions to the Study,' pertains to the choices Polish student-writers make to construct their *authorial identity* when writing in English and Polish.

Like other second language writers in English, they are expected to align themselves both with the language behavior of the native speakers and the conventions of their academic discourse community. There are many examples in literature which demonstrate how extremely difficult it is for a non-native speaker to make a successful transition into an English-speaking academic community, because it involves not only the acquisition of foreign linguistic skills, but even a considerable personality change. Pillay (2006) describes two metaphorical writing samples which serve as an example of how individualist and communitarian cultural orientations affect the conceptions of self and identity in writing. The authors of the above pieces ruminated on the concepts of self-awareness and identity. The first metaphor shows the thoughts of the American about himself and his position in American society. The latter depicts Pillay's identity and self-awareness which arise from South African society. The American's description of himself as a tree growing tall on fertile land represents the way American society defines itself in terms of personal achievement and self-reliance. His identity formed by a culture promoting achievement, growth and personal fulfillment is emphasized by the pronoun 'I' in his writing. Pillay's rainbow blanket metaphor reveals her South African perspective where the sense of identity and self-awareness are shaped by the interpersonal relations and feature communitarian cultural orientation. In her piece of writing, 'I' is always subordinated to 'we'- be it the country, the community, the family or some other collective body.

In the country rankings on the individualism-collectivism dimension (adopted from Geert Hofstede 1991)[2] Poland scores 70 points and the U.S. 200 points. This result locates Poles somewhere in the middle on the continuum of individualism-communitarianism and explains why they frequently exhibit a 'communitarian thinking' in terms of expressing their personal opinions. For Poles, talking about oneself is considered boasting, and being boastful is considered a negative characteristic. This is well illustrated in academic writing when, as a narrative voice, they frequently employ a 'we' or 'every other group member' perspective, instead of an 'I' perspective. Furthermore, this comparatively unequal distribution of the 'I' vs. 'we' or 'every other group member' perspectives in Polish academic writing can be explained by Vassileva's (2000) observation that small and homogeneous cultures seem to be more coherent, so that 'collective thinking' tends to dominate over 'individual thinking' in their effort to preserve cultural identity and independence.

The theory and research on authorial self-representation in academic writing demonstrates that "the writer identity emerging from the text is partly the responsibility of the writer, partly the responsibility of the reader, and partly the responsibility of the socio-cultural context which supports the discourses they are drawing on" (Ivanič 1992: 5).

6.1. Authorial self-representation

The research on authorial self-realization in academic writing was pioneered by such linguists as Ivanič (1998), Lea and Street (1998), Vassileva (2000) and Lillis (2001, 2003). However, the first and the most comprehensive study so far that specifically has addressed the issue of authorial self-portrayal in an academic text was conducted by Cherry (1988), and I believe it is worthwhile to present here a more insightful description of his work. Cherry's major research objective was to relate classical rhetorical models to modern academic communication. Cherry (1988: 252) asserted that, "[s]elf-representation in writing is a subtle and complex multidimensional phenomenon that skilled writers control and manipulate to their rhetorical advantage. Decisions about self-portrayal are not independent, but vary according to the way in which writers characterize their audience and other facets of the rhetorical situation". Therefore, it is not audience as such that determines the writer's decision of self-representation, but their subjective opinion of the audience's expectations.

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[2] Geert Hofstede – a sociologist recognized internationally for having developed the first empirical model of "dimensions" of national culture, thus establishing a new paradigm for taking account of cultural elements in international economics, communication and cooperation.

Cherry (1988) explained the authorial self-realization in academic writing by restoring to the classical Aristotelian tripartite model of persuasive appeals: *pathos, logos* and *ethos*. He predominantly focused on *ethos* in order to explore the meaning of two terms frequently used in rhetorical theory for self-representation: *ethos* and *persona*. These terms often function interchangeably and refer to the impressions writers convey of themselves in writing. The first one originates in ancient Greek rhetoric tradition, the other one was created by contemporary literary criticism. Cherry points out that Aristotle's term *ethos* is used by rhetorical theorists to express "[f]ocus on credibility, on the speaker's securing the trust and respect of an audience by representing him- or herself in the speech as knowledgeable, intelligent, competent, and concerned for the welfare of the audience" (Cherry 1988: 256). It demonstrates that Cherry associates *ethos* with personal characteristics that a reader may ascribe to a writer on the basis of how they portrayed themselves in the text. Apparently, the academic writers' goal is always to present themselves in the best light to their audience, as possessing what is considered 'good' qualities in a particular socio-cultural and institutional context. The fact that *ethos* is always associated with a value judgment, is the main feature that distinguishes it from *persona*. Cherry provides the following distinction between these two terms: *"[e]thos* refers to a set of characteristics that, if attributed to a writer on the basis of textual evidence, will enhance the writer's credibility. *Persona*, on the other hand, (…) provides a way of describing the roles authors create for themselves in written discourse given their representation of audience, subject matter , and other elements of context" (Cherry 1988: 268, 269). Thus, in Cherry's view *persona* means the social roles which a writer draws on in the process of writing such as a student or a member of a particular discourse community, e.g., English Philology student. It is common that a writer adopts several different *personae* within one piece of writing which feature values determined by the context of culture.

These two different dimensions can be described as happening along a continuum with "audience addressed" represented by *ethos* (the writer's 'real' self) at one end and "audience invoked" represented by *persona* (the writer's 'fictional' self) at the other. To illustrate these different modes of authorial self-portrayal Cherry proposes the following graphic representation:

Audience Addressed	Audience Invoked
Writer's 'Real' Self	Writer's 'Fictional' Self
(*ethos*)	(*persona*)

Figure 4. *Continuum of writer and audience representation in written discourse (Cherry 1988: 265).*

This graphic representation shows that Cherry associates *ethos* with the writer's 'real' self that remains stable in discourse whereas *persona* is open to contestation and change. However, I would contest this view. I do not believe that the stable entity of 'real' self exists since all aspects of the writer's identity are multiple,

intertwined and subject to change as the author develops his life experience and knowledge and as the context changes.

What is more, in my opinion in the case of academic writing the movement on the scale of authorial self- representation will be closer to the *persona* end because the academic writer's identity is a complex of interweaving positionings.

Despite some drawbacks of Cherry's description of the relationship between *ethos* and *persona,* his work has made an important contribution to discourse studies of authorial identity because it points to each academic writer's dilemma: how to situate oneself between two ends of the scale of self-representation both in a way best suited to the particular socio-cultural and institutional context and to keep one's own set of values and beliefs.

Today Hyland is one of the most active scholars in the emerging field of discourse studies of identity, with particular reference to academic contexts. Hyland (2012) uses findings from corpus research to explore how authors convey aspects of their identities within the constraints placed upon them by their disciplines' rhetorical conventions. He promotes corpus methods as important tools in identity research, demonstrating the effectiveness of keyword and collocation analysis in highlighting both the norms of a particular genre and an author's idiosyncratic choices.

6.2. Two aspects of the writer's identity evidenced in a written text

Although 'the autobiographical self', which is unique to each individual, can be the closest representation of what writers mean by their authorial identity, it cannot be traced with any concrete linguistic exponent in their writing. 'The autobiographical self' is deeply implicated in two other concepts of a writer's identity for which there is evidence in the text: 'discoursal self' and 'self as author.' These two aspects of a writer's identity are multiple, intertwined and subject to change as the author develops and the context changes. "Authorial development" pertains to expanding life experience and knowledge by the author and "context change" refers to different socio-cultural or instructional circumstances in which he/she writes (e.g., when authors write across disciplines). 'Self as author' is in a greater or lesser extent a product of a writer's autobiographical self since certain life events from the writer's life history may have generated the ideas for their writing and may have built the sense of their self-confidence to write with authority and establish an authorial presence. 'Self as author,' in turn, influences 'discoursal self' which is evidenced by particular stylistic choices the writer makes to express their authoritativeness.

'Discoursal self' is constructed through the discourse characteristics of a text, which relate to lexical and grammatical choices writers make, to the distribution of concepts and entities in the text and to the power relations in the social context in which academic authors write. 'Self as author' pertains to the writer's 'voice' in the sense of the writer's position, opinions and beliefs. This aspect of authorial self is critical when discussing academic writing because writers differ significantly in how

they establish authorial presence in their writing: some quote other authorities to increase their credibility as authors, effacing themselves entirely; others resume a strong authorial stance. Some writers choose to present the content of their writing as objective truth, others take authorial responsibility for the claims they make.

Both 'self as author' and 'discoursal self' are socially co-constructed in that they are determined by and determine the more abstract 'possibilities for self-hood' available to a writer in the institutional and socio-cultural context in which they write.

6.3. Linguistic means of authorial presence realization

There exist several linguistic possibilities for direct or indirect indication of authorial presence and/or absence. Vassileva (2000: 47, 48) in her study (2000) of authorial presence in English, German, French, Russian and Bulgarian discourse proposes the following classification:

- means of direct indication of authorial presence (the first person singular and plural pronouns)
- means of indirect indication of authorial presence and/or discourse depersonalization (passive constructions, impersonal or/and reflective constructions, 'hedges' and the so-called 'generic forms', e.g., 'one' in English)

In my study I have observed several perspectives that help solidify or dilute authorial presence in an academic text. Two aspects of the writer's identity reflected in the text corpus -'discoursal self' and 'self as author,' have been realized by the means of different linguistic exponents and, ultimately, have established diversified discourse characteristics which I discuss in-depth in chapter 5.

6.3.1. Dilution of focus/depersonalization

Student writers frequently position themselves (or are positioned), maybe by rhetorical convention or their own choice, to step aside and assign the narrative voice to actions. In the Anglo-American tradition of academic writing this tendency is in line with the main objectives of expository writing: to secure objectivity and to present information in a sequenced order. Although the other kind of academic writing, argumentative writing, allows students to take their stand on an issue, they are still required to apply particular structural patterns (a block pattern or a point-by point pattern) to organize their writing and to employ the 'I' pronoun with caution. Griffith in her instructional book on academic writing meant for American college students offers the following advice: "Two suggestions, that pertain to the use of 'I' in your essays. First, use 'I' helpfully and sparingly. Second, find your teacher's preference about the use of 'I' and write accordingly" (Griffith 2006: 234). In the same vein, another authority in the field, Hacker, asserts, "Whatever the discipline,

the goal of academic writing is to argue a thesis and support it with appropriate evidence" (Hacker 2007: 57) which requires a standardized type of writing to accommodate to the dominant values, practices and discourses of the institution and forcing the writer to hide their personal voices. Personal accounts, of mature students[3] in particular, testify to the way they feel alienated and devalued within the institution of higher education. One of the mature students interviewed by Karach described how her and other students' life experiences, their multicultural backgrounds, which constitute their identity, consciousness and influence them in how they relate to the surrounding world, are devalued in their college writing, "[w]e find our knowledge continues to be devalued in higher education, and excluded from the shallow definition of what constitutes worthy knowledge" (Karach 1992: 309).

Although there is a major disparity between Polish and Anglo-American approaches to academic writing which pertains to the purpose and the method of communicating content, the tendency to hide the authorial voice of 'I-writer' is common in both traditions. Polish writers dilute the focus mainly by the means of thematic digressions which Duszak (1997) calls elaborations. In the Polish academic tradition digressions from the main track of reasoning are not only justified but even encouraged as "products of an inquiring mind" (Duszak 1997: 323), which reveals the main purpose of Polish academic texts: demonstration of the author's knowledge. This attitude counters the objectives of an Anglo-American academic writer, who wants to establish a successful communication with the reader and views digressions as signs of "an unfocused and rambling style" (Duszak 1997: 323). The Anglo-American student writer is expected to dilute the focus for the sake of securing objectivity in the presentation of knowledge, to discuss, reinforce or challenge concepts or arguments in an unbiased manner. Therefore, nominalizations, passive and impersonal forms are frequently applied by academic writers to depersonalize the text.

The abundant use of nominalizations, passive/impersonal constructions and thematic digressions is one of the obvious features of academic discourse as they are believed to function "[a]s a rhetorical device for the maximization of objectivity, both in the sense of minimizing the subjective, personal-human factor, and of attaching more weight to the external one: the concrete-the established factual features of the objects under study" (Lachowicz 1981: 107).

In contrast to the scientific writer, the student writer is not expected to write for the experts on their subject but for a general audience who includes their writing instructor. Nevertheless, the student writer is still positioned to remain hidden behind facts, well known truths or voices of external authorities and is expected to keep their personality as inconspicuous as possible.

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[3] Mature student – is a person who begins their studies at university or college a number of years after leaving school, so that they are older and more experienced than most of the people they are studying with.

6.3.2. Functions of perspective change

While culture-specific rhetorical conventions organize an academic text into a structurally integrated whole, at different levels of textual organization a variety of alternative solutions are made available to writers. This view of language use is in line with Halliday's framework for the analysis of "language in social-semiotic perspective" (Halliday 1978, 1994; Halliday and Hasan 1989). In *Functional Grammar* (1994) Halliday explains how lexico- syntactic forms can be described in terms of their function in conveying meaning. The difference between form and content becomes even more evident when analyzing language choices beyond clause level. Academic writers' decisions pertaining to what to include and not include in their texts, what creates grounds for a valid claim are influenced both by discourse conventions and by their individual choices. Ivanič asserts, "Every discoursal decision positions the writer doubly: as a thinker of such things and as a user of such words and structures" (Ivanič 1998: 39). Therefore, since language is integrally intertwined with meaning when applying Halliday's framework as an analytical tool, it is not possible to analyze the content separately from the linguistic forms used to express it. Furthermore, merging two words, 'social' and 'semiotic,' to create the term 'social-semiotic,' sets up another key principle for the investigation of the relationship between language and identity, which says that meaning depends on social context. According to Halliday (1989), meaning depends on social context in two ways: "the context of situation" and "the context of culture". By "the context of situation" (and the linguistic choices that follow from it) Halliday means how the actual, immediate situation determines the meaning; specifically, how the meaning is used by particular interlocutors engaged in particular activities, "[w]ords… get their meaning from activities in which they are embedded, which again are social activities with social agencies and goals" (Halliday and Hassan 1989: 5). „ By "the context of culture" (and the linguistic choices that follow from it) Halliday means how the meaning depends on the way in which socio-cultural constraints influence language use, but he does not elaborate on this issue like, for example, Fairclough, does. Within this broad conceptualization of language as a social semiotic, Halliday assigns three macro-functions to language: 'ideational meaning' (refers to the ideas, content, subject-matter, story conveyed by language), 'interpersonal meaning' (refers to the effect of the speaker/writer on the hearer/listener) and 'textual meaning' (refers to how all the meanings combine to generate the overall meaning). Halliday places the concept of 'identity' in the interpersonal function of language, but does not investigate in depth its role in the process of writing or speaking. Fairclough (1992a), in turn, claims that 'text' reflects two types of content: 'social reality,'and 'social relations and social identities.' 'Social reality' is the equivalent of Halliday's 'ideational meaning' and 'social relations and social identities' correspond to what Halliday means by 'interpersonal meaning.' In his account of a social view of language, Fairclough (1992a) does not explore what Halliday calls the 'textual function of language.' A more in-depth description of 'social identity' which is of high relevance for the understanding of the role it plays in academic

writing, has been proposed by Ivanič (1998: 40) and features the following characteristics:

- it consists of a person's set of values and beliefs about reality, and these affect the ideational meaning which they convey through language
- it consists of a person's sense of their relative status in relation to others with whom they are communicating and this affects the interpersonal meaning which they convey through language
- it consists of a person's orientation to language use, and this will affect the way they construct their message

Out of these three views of language, which consider language as consisting of text, interaction and context, Halliday's concept is the most 'static' because he deals with context in terms of contextual characteristics that help to predict a particular register. Halliday's concept of predictable register is in line with other normative versions of genre theory represented, for example, by Swales (1990) and Martin (1989). Fairclough (1988, 1992c), adversely, asserts that it is important not to take a typological approach to language variety, "[t]he matching of language to context is characterized by interdeterminacy, heterogeneity and struggle" (1992c: 42). Such destabilizing perspective of language use has been inspired by the Bahtinian motif of hybridity and can be found in poststructuralist and sociolinguistic theory which I have briefly discussed in Chapter 2.

On one hand, it is important to consider the multi-faceted character of language use in academic writing to avoid the prescriptivism which emerges from such a view. Yet, if we take too radical stance on this view, it will not be possible to investigate the influence of rhetorical conventions on academic authors' writing at all. Thus, I take a middle position claiming that certain text characteristics are not discourse-specific in any fixed way but are shaped by particular values, beliefs and practices of a social group to which the academic writer belongs and hence is positioned to share. However, these systems of values, practices and beliefs are not permanently established, but are open to contestation and change.

It is only natural that matters of high importance to the writing culture of my research group students, positioned to subscribe to Saxonic intellectual tradition, may not be relevant to the writing culture of my control group students, positioned to observe the Teutonic tradition. The major disparity between these two approaches pertains to the purpose and the method of communicating content. Teutonic writers value the depth, the richness and the creativity of their works more than a clearly structured form which is evidenced in the text by their individual stylistic choices (which I labeled in my study as serving 'identity management function'). Conversely, Saxonic writers demonstrate a preference for a coherent and structured organization of a text in order to ensure that its meaning is fully understood. Therefore, they tend to make linguistic choices to meet culturally and institutionally established standards for text organization (which I called in my study as serving 'rhetorical function').

However, the approach to the authorial identity I am presenting here indicates that discourse characteristics are not determined by the principles of the intellectual

style writers represent. Academic writers draw on them in the same manner they draw on values, beliefs and practices of their academic communities, but their academic texts are also shaped by their personal experiences and personality features which are unique to each author.

6.3.3. The sequence of change in perspective

While academic writing consists of a number of text types, genres and rhetorical conventions, what unifies it, expository and argumentative writing in particular, is the unique narrative each academic text features. These narratives reflect the discursive co-construction of authorial identity. Georgakopoulou (2002) and Benwell and Stokoe (2012) observed", Through storytelling, narrators can produce 'edited' descriptions and evaluations of themselves and others, making identity aspects more salient at certain points in the story than others" (Benwell and Stokoe 2012: 137). Positioning theorists (Bamberg (2004); Davies and Harré (1990), Harré and van Langenhove (1991); Harré and Moghaddam (2003) examine the co-construction of identity between storytellers/writers and their audiences through the process of positioning. According to the theory of positioning, academic writers can adopt, resist or take 'subject positions' that are made available to them in 'master narratives' or 'discourses'. Furthermore, each individual is equipped with several identities, which means that identity also involves *identification*. For example, in identifying themselves as writers, my research group students, are identifying themselves with a broader group of 'students,' but they also identify themselves as native speakers of Polish, authoritative or non- authoritative authors, second language writers and as many other categories. These identities do not exist separately but they add to each other so the way they perform their identity of second-language-student writers is influenced by their other identities and subject positions they decide to take in discourse. Therefore, in academic writing students' identity claims differ including 'I-writer', 'I-student-writer', 'we-student-writers' perspectives or remain hidden behind other identities, e.g., of 'every writer.' Their stories are of identity transformation and change which is evidenced by the presence of perspective changes in order to voice different aspects of their own identity or identity of other characters. The sequence of changing perspectives varies depending on the aspect of the writer's identity, which Bourdieu (1977) calls 'habitus' (a person's disposition to behave in particular way), Goffman (1969) calls 'the writer-as-performer' (the person who arranges the process of producing the text) and Ivanič calls 'autobiographical self' ("the 'self' which produces a self-portrait, rather than the 'self' which is portrayed" (1998: 24)). As a result, in academic narratives the authorial identity 'travels' through different stages according to the writer's individual preferences, e.g., it moves from general (expressed by pronouns 'we' or 'they') to specific identities (expressed by pronouns 'I' or's/he') or the narrative voice of 'I writer' is hidden behind other perspectives.

Summing up, the sequence of perspective change depends on the writers' self that sets about the process of writing within the institutionally available positions for self-hood.

6.3.4. Power relations in academic writing

The reader' perspective is critical in the construction of meaning in the text as Griffith observes, "Whatever readers bring to the text, the text has no life of its own without the reader" (1998: 139). It means that the text is incomplete until it is read and each reader brings something to the text that completes it. Reader-response critics hold different opinions about what that "something" is. Psychoanalytic critics, such as Lacan or Holland, claim that it is the unconscious; post-structuralists say that it is the "language" that constructs the conscious mind; Marxist critics assert that it is the economic ideology of the dominant culture; sociolinguists believe that it is the way the reader's perception of the world is determined by their language and socio-cultural environment. However, whatever perspective the reader takes to interpret the meaning of the text, their voice exerts pressure on the writer and affects the way the writer presents themselves in their writing.

Academic writers, in particular, cannot portray themselves to readers in a direct, undisguised manner. The reader-oriented view of academic writing emphasizes the impact of social context in the process of authorial self-realization in the text and the relations of power that exist in it. The role of power as a force which mediates academic discourse and writers coming from different socio-cultural backgrounds has been investigated by researchers working in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). This approach views "language as a form of social practice" (Fairclough 1989: 20) and explores how social relations, identity, knowledge and power are constructed in writing and speech in communities, schools and universities. "Discourse is thus a mediator of social life: simultaneously both constructing social and political reality and conditioned by it. A central aspect of this view is that the interests, values, and power relations in any institutional and sociohistorical context are found in the way that people use language" (Hyland 2009: 38, 39).

In academic writing, like in any other type of writing, a power relation is established between writers (students) and their audience. Who belongs to this audience? Kelley Griffith observes, "Two groups who do *not* belong are (1) experts on your subject and (2) people incapable of grasping your reasoning (children, for example)" (Griffith 2006: 203). The student writer is positioned to meet their writing instructor's criteria for a well-crafted essay which features a clear thesis statement, logical and coherent organization, fluent and coherent prose, convincing supporting arguments, thorough development of the topic. Furthermore, as Kelley Griffith points out, writing instructors also consider the other audience when they evaluate students' writing- which she calls "[a] 'general' audience, one that is larger than the professor, one that includes the professor. (…) It consists of persons who are your equals, who form a community of which you are a part, to whom you can talk with

equal authority. They share your interests and eagerly await your comments" (Griffith 2006: 203). Considering a general audience makes the student writer include the reasoning and arguments addressed both to their writing instructor and to a general audience. Writing academic essays for a general audience prepares students for the kind of writing they are most likely to do when they leave the university-writing for groups of people, not just one individual.

Undoubtedly, power relations in academic writing reflect the influence of the wider socio- cultural context on the individual writer because the writer assumes that their readers' values and beliefs echo the dominant values and beliefs of the social context in which student writes. Ivanič (1997) drawing on Fairclough (1989: 24) points out, "What writers assume about these readers who are in a position of power over them affects, but does not determine, the way in which they present themselves in their writing. This is the mechanism through which the dominant ideologies and associated discourses in the academic community position them" (Ivanič 1997: 242).

From the perspective of what the writer assumes about the reader's expectations, the discoursal construction of identity raises the question of accommodation and resistance. According to Chase (1988: 14-15), when the writer is positioned by institutionally established prototypical possibilities for self-hood, they may respond to the conventions in three different ways: to accommodate them, oppose them or resist them. Since the power relation between student-writers and their teacher-readers is set up by the assessment process what student writers really try to do is to accommodate to or resist what they assume to be the expectations of individual teacher-assessor. If they do not know who will evaluate their work, they consider the dominant values and expectations and either comply with them or resist them.

Although in the broadest sense, identity refers to 'the ways that people display who they are to each other' (Benwell and Stokoe 2006:6), in the academic context writers do not create a representation of themselves from an infinite possibilities but make choices from culturally and institutionally available resources. Therefore, power relations play a critical role in the way academic authors portray themselves to their readers because, as Bloemmaert (2005) observes, our identities are only successful to the extent they are recognized by others.

6.3.5. The Gunning's fog index readability formula

The Gunning Fog Index Readability Formula, or simply called FOG Index, was designed by American textbook publisher, Robert Gunning, who observed that most high school graduates were unable to read mainly because of the writing problem. Gunning found that newspapers and business documents were full of unnecessary complexity which he called 'fog.' This observation prompted him to found the first consulting firm specializing in helping writers and editors write for an extended audience. In 1952, Gunning published a book, *The Technique of Clear Writing*, and designed the following easy-to-use Fog Index:

The Gunning's Fog Index (or FOG) Readability Formula[4]
Step 1: Take a sample passage of at least 100-words and count the number of exact words and sentences.
Step 2: Divide the total number of words in the sample by the number of sentences to arrive at the Average Sentence Length (ASL).
Step 3: Count the number of words of three or more syllables that are NOT (i) proper nouns, (ii) combinations of easy words or hyphenated words, or (iii) two-syllable verbs made into three with -es and -ed endings.
Step 4: Divide this number by the number or words in the sample passage. For example, 25 long words divided by 100 words gives you 25 Percent Hard Words (PHW).
Step 5: Add the ASL from Step 2 and the PHW from Step 4.
Step 6: Multiply the result by 0.4.
The mathematical formula is:
Grade Level = 0.4 (ASL + PHW)
where,
ASL = Average Sentence Length (i.e., number of words divided by the number of sentences)
PHW = Percentage of Hard Words

The ideal score for readability with the Fog index is 7 or 8. Anything above 12 is too hard for most people to read. For instance, The Bible, Shakespeare and Mark Twain have Fog Indexes of around 6. The leading magazines, like Time, Newsweek, and the Wall Street Journal average around 11

Though applied widely in education to measure readability, the Gunning Fog Index has some flaws. For example, like other reading level algorithms, it does not count that not all multi-syllabic words are difficult and rewards short sentences made up of short words.

Although the Gunning Fog Index is a rough guide of the readability level, it can give a useful indication as to whether a student writer has pitched their content at the right level for their academic audience. What is more, the application of this formula in the comparative analysis of identity construction in academic writing, such as my study, has yielded the findings that contributed significantly to resolving my research question.

6.3.6. Social actors in the context of the perspective change

The notions of social actors and context are central in critical discourse analysis (CDA) and can be used to analyze authorial identity in discourse. The concept of social actors used in my study has been inspired by the work of Kress and van

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[4] The Gunning's Fog Index (FOG) Readability Formula (after:
http://www.readabilityformulas.com/gunning-fog-readability-formula.php).

Leeuwen's (1996) which offers a very useful framework for metalinguistic understandings of social actor representation. Their functional "grammar of visual design" draws on Halliday's (1994) work in systemic functional linguistics and it acknowledges that all texts have social, cultural, and contextual aspects that must be considered, along with consideration of the intended audience and purpose.

Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) model features such parameters as exclusion, role allocation, descriptivization and distillation which are briefly outlined below.

- 'Exclusion' refers to instances when social actors and their activities are not included in a particular text.
- 'Role allocation' refers to the actual roles assigned to the social actors in the representations, and draws particularly on Halliday's transitivity work in order to categorize what type of role is given to whom.
- 'Descriptivization' is the term van Leeuwen uses to describe instances where the actions or reactions of a social actor are represented as relatively permanent qualities or characteristics of that actor.
- 'Distillation' is similar to descriptivization in that it too refers to instances where qualities are emphasized, but particularly, it refers to the shared, generalized quality that is common to a number of activities or actions.

The above parameters could have been applied to the analysis of the social actors depicted in the writing samples written by the research and control group students in my study, but to meet to the research objective of my work these criteria have been modified.

The research questions motivating my study of social actors in discourse are as follows:

- What relevant identities do authors communicate in particular texts?
- Why are identities conceptualized and communicated in the way they are inconcrete texts?

The following two parameters of social actor representation in discourse have been examined in my study as the textual instantiations of models of the self and others:

- the number of social actors in discourse
- the frequency of a change in perspective

Their use demonstrates the key role of social actors in any analysis of identity in discourse.

6.3.5   Digressiveness

In contrast to Anglo-American writing culture, Polish academic writing features digressive argumentation strategies which put heavy demands on the reader's processing abilities. Duszak (1997: 328) divides digressions in Polish academic texts into two major groups: digressions proper and elaborations. In what follows, she describes "digressions proper" as "discourse segments which are low in thematic

relevance to what is in focus" that may "range from single phrases to entire paragraphs". She calls elaborations "thematic inserts that delude the focus". To her, they are additional meanings that appear in a text as explications, amplifications restatements, reformulations, clarifications to what has already been previously said or implied. Both digressions proper and elaborations contribute to a higher level of redundancy in a text.

Studies by Duszak (1997) and Golebiowski (1998, 2006) concentrate on digressiveness which has been classified as a predominant style marker of Polish academic writing. While it is present in English texts, it has met with less tolerance in the Anglo-American writing culture. In the Polish academic tradition digressions from the main track of reasoning are not only justified but even encouraged as "products of an inquiring mind" (Duszak 1997: 323), which reveals the main purpose of Polish academic texts: demonstration of author's knowledge. This attitude counters the objectives of an Anglo-American writer, who wants to establish a successful communication with the reader and views digressions as signs of "an unfocused and rambling style" (Duszak 1997: 323). Duszak'a and Golebiowski studies demonstrate that Polish academic discourse features "branching" progressions in the development of ideas whereas Anglo-American rhetorical tradition values clarity in the organization of thoughts and shows sensitivity to the reader's needs.

While thematic digressions (thematic inserts) are the common linguistic vehicle that academic writers employ to portray themselves as knowledgeable and broad-minded individuals, formal digressions (quotations) are used to support one's claims with reliable evidence, to increase one's credibility as an author.

I am convinced that the in-depth analysis of textual digressiveness can shed some light on the process of identity construction in the academic text.

7. Conclusions to the study

This study was designed to demonstrate that authorial identity in an academic text can be studied in a verifiable and non-speculative way on the basis of "social-semiotic perspective of language use" (Halliday 1978, 1994; Halliday and Hasan 1989). Halliday's and Fairclough's methods for the analysis of texts made it possible to view the language as an analytical tool in "social-semiotic perspective" which means that all linguistic choices can be explained by their function in conveying meaning and that meaning is dependent both on social context and individual choice. Further, following Grucza's (2012) distinction of anthropocentric linguistics and anthropocentric culturology from paradigmatic linguistics and culturology (e.g., from the disciplines whose objects deal with the construction of linguistic paradigms, models or patterns) allowed me to investigate the corpora as the product of specific people who are the bearers of two cultures: 'idioculture' and 'policulture'. The concept of 'idioculture' defines culture at the individual's level by focusing on an individual as the locus of cultural creation, with particular reference to his/her own language use (termed an 'idiolect' by Grucza). While the concept of 'policulture' respecifies culture at the group level as properties shared by two or more people along with the language they use (termed a 'polilect' by Grucza), it also identifies properties through which objects become the bearers of their own 'idioculture'. Therefore, in each community, including academic community, the properties of human identity are constructed by three central factors: cultural (acquiring certain values, beliefs and norms shaped by traditions, cultural heritage, language, religion, and thinking patterns), social (the sense of belonging to a specific social group that a person identifies with because of similarities in age, gender, work, religion, ideology or discipline), and personal (possessing unique qualities that make a person different from other members of his/her group) which are inseparably correlated and determine the way objects organize their thoughts and communicate them in their speaking and writing.

7.1. The integrated analysis of texts and interviews

My study draws on two major sources, text and interview corpora, to explore how academic authors construct aspects of their identities within the constraints placed upon them by institutionally established rhetorical conventions. Corpus methods have been selected for the study as important tools in identity research, demonstrating the effectiveness of the analysis of linguistic means of authorial presence realization in illuminating both the rhetorical norms of a particular writing culture and the writer's idiosyncratic choices. The collected data included written texts and transcripts of the interviews. The challenge for the analyst was not to interpret the data separately, but how to integrate them. The additional challenge

was to look at the whole text instead of focusing on more local types of analysis as Swales (1981, 1984) and Golebiowski (1998) did by investigating only the introductions to scientific articles. However, I am convinced that in order to perform higher quality research and obtain more credible results I had to spread my research area as wide as possible. This allowed me to consider a greater variety of issues pertaining to authorial self-realization in academic writing.

7.2. Research findings

Although my study uses an interpretative, contextualized and qualitative approach to data analysis, I have also included a small sample of quantitative observations. I believe that combining qualitative and quantitative methods is the best way to produce a more credible quality of research findings. The combination of research methods has helped to present a more comprehensive picture of the phenomenon under investigation. Quantitative observations have provided a more in-depth insight into the setting of the problem of identity construction by generating ideas and/or hypotheses for future quantitative research. Figure 6 illustrates how quantitative methods are combined with qualitative research.

	Qualitative Research
Objective	To gain an understanding of underlying reasons and motivations
	To uncover prevalent trends in thought and generate ideas and/or hypotheses for future **quantitative research** (a small sample of quantitative data will help to meet this goal)
Sample	A small number of cases
Data collection	Semi-structured techniques e.g. a writing task and individual depth interviews
Data analysis	Non-statistical
Outcome	Exploratory and investigative. Findings develop an initial understanding and sound base for further investigation

Figure 5. Features of qualitative research.

The comparative analysis of the essays written by the research group students in Polish and English did not reveal any data significant for the study and therefore, will not be reported here. However, the comparative analysis has pointed to some important differences between two groups under investigation in the following areas:
- the organization of the written work
- the extent to which student writers present themselves as authors

- the extent to which student writers consider the reader in the act of writing
- the way they view the preferred way of writing at the university
- students' willingness to challenge the preferred way of writing

The aforementioned differences (discussed in-depth in chapter 3) can be explained by the positioning of student writers in rhetorical conventions of their academic discourse communities.

Nevertheless, the major discrepancies have been observed not between the groups but within the groups and refer to discourse characteristics which indicate 'discoursal self' and 'self as author' and are described in detail in the subchapter 5.3. These findings confirm the hypothesis that discourse characteristics are not fixed in any specific way, but rather are influenced by interests, values, beliefs and practices of particular social groups with whom a writer identifies and also by a writer's personal experiences and their unique personality features.

7.3. Authorial presence realization in the text corpus

Due to the application of qualitative and quantitative methods, I have observed that from the language-as-a-system point of view there exist several perspectives that help solidify or dilute authorial presence in an academic text. Two aspects of the writer's identity -'discoursal self' and 'self as author', which mark authorial presence in an academic text, can be presented as different perspectives and can be realized by means of different linguistic exponents and hence produce varied discourse characteristics.

The discourse characteristics which function as **the indicators of the student's discoursal self** relate to the writer's tendency:
- to dilute the focus
- to follow institutionally and culturally bound rhetorical conventions and/or to make individual stylistic choices
- to hide the narrative voice of 'I writer'
- to signal 'power relations'
- to produce a text of high/low readability

The discourse characteristics which function as **the indicators of the student's 'self as author'** show the writer's potential:
- to reflect, to discuss a problem from different points of view
- to establish/or fail to establish a strong authorial presence in the text

7.3.1. Indicators of the student's 'discoursal self'

- DILUTION OF FOCUS/DEPERSONALIZATION

It seems that every author, regardless of the writing convention he/she subscribes to, is confronted with the serious decision whether to diminish or to enforce the strength

of his/her presence in the text. The data obtained from the analysis of the text corpus and the answers elicited by the interview questions on digressiveness have revealed both the correlations and the differences between the research and control groups in the application of linguistic means employed to dilute the focus. Both groups of subjects used the following linguistic means to depersonalize the text: nominalizations, passive and impersonal forms, and thematic digressions. However, the participants of these two groups differed in the number of linguistic means they applied to depersonalize the text. In the texts written both in English and in Polish by the research group of students the sequence of the most frequently used linguistic means was as follows: passive forms, impersonal forms, nominalizations and the least frequently used thematic digressions. What is more, the total number of all the linguistic means used to dilute the focus was much lower in the texts written by the research group of students in both languages than in the texts written by the control group students in Polish. In the writing samples of the control group the following sequence of the most frequently employed linguistic means has been observed: impersonal forms, thematic digressions, nominalizations and the least frequently used passive forms.

It would be very convenient as an analytic procedure to rely on the global counts of linguistic features, but in order to obtain more credible results pertaining to the dilution of focus in the academic text I concentrated on local types of analysis of each individual text. This allowed me to notice differences in the choice of linguistic means within each group of subjects.

First of all, the in-group discrepancies in the use of thematic digressions have been observed in both groups. Three out of eight students from the research group used two or three thematic digressions in their writing and three out of eight students from the control group applied one or none. These findings support the results of Salski's (2007) analysis of *Autobiography* papers written in English and in Polish by trainee teachers of English and/or Elementary Education in Poland and in the USA and remain in opposition to Contrastive Rhetoric claims that the extended digressiveness in the texts of nonnative academic writers result from transfer of the conventions of their native writing culture.

Further, the number of nominalizations, passive and impersonal constructions employed to dilute the focus revealed significant differences within two groups under investigation. In the control group of students the number of nominalizations in student essays ranged from 0 to 5; the number of passive forms ranged from 1 to 5 and the number of impersonal forms ranged from 7 to 16. The data elicited from the text corpus of the research group of subjects demonstrated similar discrepancies in the application of nominalizations, passive and impersonal constructions within this group of subjects. The number of nominalizations ranged from 0 to 5; the number of passive forms ranged from 2 to 5 and the number of impersonal forms ranged from 1-5.

Although the student writer is not expected to write for the experts on their subject but for a general audience who includes their writing instructor and sometimes classmates, they are still positioned to remain hidden behind facts. Therefore, the application of nominalizations, passive and impersonal constructions

allows academic authors to diminish the subjective, personal element in the text and to attach more value to factual features of the subject being discussed and ultimately to maximize the objectivity of an academic text.

- FUNCTIONS OF CHANGE IN PERSPECTIVE

Although institutionally established rhetorical conventions provide fixed scaffolding for the structure of the written work, various stylistic choices at different levels of textual organization are available to academic writers. During the analysis of the linguistic exponents used by the subjects of my study to signal a change in perspective, I observed differences in the functions served by these exponents when applied to changes in perspective. Therefore, I propose that there are two common functions signaled by both lexical and grammatical operators to mark a change in perspective in student writing: the rhetorical function and the identity management function. 'Rhetorical function' of the perspective change is the consequence of the writer's adjustment to the rhetorical principles for the linear, reader-sensitive organization of an academic essay. 'Identity management function,' in turn, demonstrates the writer's idiosyncratic stylistic choices.

According to the data elicited by the questionnaire, none of the participants of the study can recall being taught any specific principles of organizing Polish composition assignments. Therefore, the essays of the control group of students, who have never received proper composition instruction at the university level, do not have a clearly stated thesis statement, feature arbitrary paragraphing with frequently more than one idea developed in a paragraph and the main idea is not always defined by one topic sentence in that paragraph. In addition, their academic essays feature frequent thematic digressions and transition words are often missing (as illustrated in table 11; chapter 3). The research group of students, however, was positioned to subscribe to Anglo-American writing culture, once they started their Academic Writing courses at the university. The influence of this writing convention is evidenced in the organization of their written work both in English and in Polish. Their essays, written both in Polish and English, exhibit most of the characteristics of a five-paragraph academic essay typical for Anglo-American writing convention (as presented in tables 6 and 7; chapter 3) which feature a linear organizational pattern and holds the writer responsible for providing the structure and the meaning of the text. The key to good organization is to clearly state the thesis statement in the introduction, to outline the main points of the paper in topic sentences and support them by convincing evidence, and to restate the exposition in the concluding paragraph.

A logical conclusion follows that possibilities for self- hood, in terms of the stylistic and structural choices made by academic authors, are both shaped by individual acts of writing and constrained by institutionally established rhetorical conventions.

- THE SEQUENCE OF CHANGE IN PERSPECTIVE

The sequence of a change in perspective employed by the participants of the study in response to the writing task provides an account of how the authorial identity is constructed and performed in the academic text. Since each academic writer is equipped with several identities, he/she has to manage all of them and decide how to enact them in a particular text. This is evidenced in the narratives of my study subjects in which the authorial identity 'travels' through different stages according to each writer's individual choice (e.g., it moves from general - expressed by pronouns 'we' or 'they' to specific identities - expressed by pronouns 'I' or's/he', or the narrative voice of 'I writer' is hidden behind other perspectives).

The basic interpretation of Scheherazade's metaphor assumes a direct comparison of the situation of 'I- student- writer' to Scheherazade's plight. However, during the analysis of the writing samples I found that the participants of my study were rather reluctant to compare explicitly their situation of student-writers to the legendary storyteller.

The text corpus of the research group of students revealed the following recurring patterns of changes in perspective:

- every -student- writer → Scheherazade (in four essays)
- Scheherazade → specific writer/ professional writer→ I-writer (in one essay)
- Scheherazade → I-(student)–writer (in two essays)
- no repeating pattern of perspective change (in one essay)

The text corpus of the control group of students revealed the following recurring patterns of changes in perspective:

- a specific writer → readers (in one essay)
- a specific writer → I-writer (in one essay)
- I-writer → every-student-writer (in two essays)
- I-writer → some writers/every-writer (in one essay)
- Scheherazade →every student-writer (in one essay)
- no repeating pattern of perspective change (in two essays)

The results of the analysis of the sequence of perspective change show that the research group students identify themselves stronger with the image of a writer as Scheherazade. Like the legendary storyteller they write with the judgmental audience in mind and are aware that the objective of their work is to produce well-argued and well-structured essays to satisfy their readers. Whether in Polish or in English, they see writing as a difficult to master skill that is meant to arouse reader's interest and which requires adjustment to institutionally established rhetorical conventions. Conversely, the control group students identify themselves with a larger group of writers who value creativity and individual thought in both stating and arguing their thesis in a paper and, except for one student, do not draw a parallel in their essays between their situation as student-writers and Scheherazade's plight.

- POWER RELATIONS

The dynamic view of identity I am presenting in this dissertation stresses the tensions which occur when student-writers are expected to align themselves with rhetorical conventions of the institution in which they write and to meet the expectations of individual teachers.

The answers elicited by the interview questions revealed that although some subjects from both groups admit that there is more than one audience to read their work, they actually write with one audience in mind – their teachers. This type of audience sets up power relations between readers and writers because it involves the assessment process in which readers (teachers) are in a position of power over writers (students). What an academic writer assumes about their readers' (teachers') expectations affects the way they present themselves in their writing.

My analysis of the text and interview corpora for the audiences addressed in an academic text and the power relations that exist between readers and writers yield the following observations:

- the research group students list more frequently (five out of eight) two audiences (teachers and classmates) they write for than the control group students (three out of eight)
- both groups of students use modal verbs of external constraint to signal power relations
- both groups of students expressed power relations through the following perspectives: listeners → storytellers; Scheherazade→ the king; readers and other recipients of literary products → writers; teachers → student-writers
- one control group subject admitted to write for the third kind of audience: herself with the purpose to satisfy her intellectual needs and desires

These data show clearly that power relations are a central part of academic writing for both groups of students under investigation since they refer to fixed, pre-discursive roles assigned to readers (teachers) and writers (students). Further, power relations contribute to the creation of 'institutional identities' of student-writers which can be identified linguistically.

- READABILITY LEVEL

Readability tests are designed to indicate comprehension difficulty when reading a passage of contemporary academic English. To verify the hypothesis set for the study, Gunning Fog index formula was applied to measure the readability level of the essays written both in English and Polish by the research group of subjects and in Polish by the control group of subjects.

The Polish equivalent of the American Gunning Fog Index, called the FOG-PL, was adopted to meet the characteristics of Polish language by Logios Research Group from Pracownia Prostej Polszczyzny (Department of Simple Polish) in the Department of Polish Philology at the University of Wrocław and was employed in my study.

The application of this formula in the comparative analysis of identity construction in academic writing, such as my study, has yielded the findings that contributed significantly to resolving my research question (as shown in tables 14 and 15).

Subject's first name	Score for English text	Score for Polish text
Aleksandra	9.30	10.05
Emilia	13.80	13.58
Karolina	12.50	11.52
Marta M.	13.00	13.75
Marta O.	12.50	11.89
Patryk	12.90	12.20
Sylwia	15.20	14.44
Tomasz	11.80	8.93

Table 14. *FOG and FOG-PL formulas applied to measure the readability of essays written in English and in Polish by the research group of students.*

Subject's first name	Score
Aleksandra	12.41
Alicja	7.84
Dominika	8.82
Jowita	10.03
Kacper	13.25
Paulina	11.27
Sylwia	11.62
Weronika	13.19

Table 15. *FOG-PL formula applied to measure the readability of essays written in Polish by the control group of students.*

The analysis of the text corpus and the data presented above suggest that there exist differences in readability levels of the writing samples written by the research group of students in Polish and in English. Although the Polish versions of the texts were almost the literal translations of the essays written in English, they were rated lower by the FOG-PL formula in Polish than their equivalents in English rated by the FOG-ENG (five out of eight essays scored higher in English than in Polish). Further, the essay written in English by one of the research group subjects had the highest level of readability (13.80) among all the writing samples under investigation while the essay written in Polish by one of the control group subjects had the lowest level of readability (7.84).

To sum up, the results of the application of the Gunning Fog Index to measure the readability level of the text corpus revealed the discrepancies in evaluation standards of academic texts which touch upon some cross-cultural differences in communication strategies and expectations. A well-crafted essay, according to Anglo-American standards, features such qualities as a linear and logical organization with a clear statement of thesis, and thorough development of the topic

in fluent and uncomplicated prose. Therefore, the underlying message of the Gunning Fog Index formula is that short sentences written in plain language achieve a higher score than long sentences written in complicated language. These standards counter the preferences of a Polish writer who values a subordinated constructions, thematic digressions and flowery and wordy diction.

7.3.2. Indicators of the student's 'self as author'

- NUMBER OF DISCOURSE ACTORS AND A FREQUENCY OF CHANGE IN PERSPECTIVE

Since the role of social actors is central in the analysis of identity in academic writing, I posed the following research questions to investigate the role of social actors depicted in the writing samples of the study subjects:

- What relevant identities do authors communicate in particular texts?
- Why are identities conceptualized and communicated in the way they are in concrete texts?

The following two parameters of social actor representation in discourse have been examined in my study as the textual instantiations of models of the self and others:

- the number of social actors in discourse
- the frequency of a change in perspective

The research assumption was that by the introduction of many actors and frequent changes in perspective the study subjects reveal their potential to reflect, to analyze a problem from different angles. The identities communicated by actors in the subjects' essays varied in type and number but a big picture perspective of their textual realization allowed for the following classification: specific writers (Nathaniel Hawthorne, John Barth), audiences (king, readers, teachers) and storytellers/writers (Scheherazade, every writer, every student-writer, we- student-writers, I-student-writer). The identities represented by the social actors reveal power relations (determined by the assessment process) between readers and writers which mediate the impact of the wider socio-cultural and institutional context on each individual writer.

The analysis of the text corpus for the parameters of social actor representation revealed the following data for the research group of subjects:

- there was no difference in the a number of discourse actors and in a frequency of perspective change in the essays written in Polish and in English
- a number of discourse actors ranged from 6 to 10
- the frequency of the perspective change ranged from 6 to 18

The analysis of the text corpus for the parameters of social actor representation revealed the following data for the control group of subjects:

- a number of discourse actors ranged from 3 to 12
- the frequency of the perspective change ranged from 3 to 11

The diversified data presented above supports the claim that writing is an act of identity which reveals the author's natural habit or characteristic to develop a wide-spread or more concise interpretative approach. Therefore, the ability to reflect, to look at ideas from several points of view, is an individual predisposition of each writer, not a skill to be mastered from observation and practice.

- FORMAL DIGRESSIONS

Authoritativeness in academic writing concerns the writer's voice in the sense of how they establish authority for the content of their writing. The analysis of the text corpus revealed that formal digressions (quotations) are a frequent vehicle used to increase one's credibility as an author by attributing some of the most important claims to other authorities. I did not notice any substantial differences between the way the research group of subjects and the control group of subjects incorporated citations in their writing. Further, the number of formal digressions employed by the research group of students ranged from 0 to 2 and the number of formal digressions employed by the control group of students ranged from 0 to 3.

These data demonstrate that formal digressions were not employed frequently enough to efface writers completely from the text and enable them to establish an authorial presence in their writing.

7.4. Response to the research question

Academic authors are often taught, as Hyland (2002: 351) argues, "[t]o leave their personalities at the door" when they write and align themselves with the rhetorical and linguistic standards of their institutions. This study suggests that this is not as simple as this.

In chapter 2, I posed the following central research question for this study:
Does the dual authorial 'self' exist? If it does, how is it developed and expressed in students' academic writing in English and in Polish?

On the basis of analysis of the factors that constitute writer's self-representation in the academic text, it may be concluded that *authorial identity* is a dynamic concept which cannot be determined entirely by any socio-cultural or institutional factors, but is unique for each writer and can be negotiated, questioned and changed. Whether in their mother tongue or a foreign language, academic writers' stylistic and linguistic choices reveal the tensions between the rhetorical convention of a given discourse community and the writer's idiosyncratic choices, the power relations institutionally inscribed in them and authors' own interpretations of their personal and sociocultural experiences. My approach to the creation of authorial identity is what Hyland calls *performance* since "[w]e perform *identity work* by constructing ourselves as credible members of a particular social group, so that identity is something we *do,* not something we *have*" (Hyland 2009: 70).

This study sought to understand how the authorial identity of the research group of students is affected by writing in "the space in-between" two languages and two

cultures and specifically how subjects' acquisition of cultural and linguistic knowledge of the second language is reflected in their writing in both languages. I found that dual authorial 'self' is constructed by a new perspective acquired due to the knowledge of two languages and two cultures. In case of authorial identity this new perspective means that identity is seen through bifocal glasses. Therefore, the exploration of such identity becomes a more complex work, since a native socio-cultural framework is replaced with two frameworks. These frameworks might complement or oppose each other, and this would diversify authorial identity even further.

7.5. Implications for future research

The qualitative nature of this study means that it focuses on an overall view of factors involved in the co-construction of authorial identity in student writing in Polish and English. The holistic approach allowed me to integrate the analysis of individual variables with the analysis of the text structures influenced by writing conventions characteristic for two respective rhetorical traditions. However, my research project has been only an issue-raising study, revealing the complexity of the factors involved in the discoursal construction of writer identity in academic texts written in the subjects' mother tongue and a foreign language.

It is therefore clear that there are many avenues for future research within the new field of discourse studies of identity, with particular reference to the context of academic writing. An important line of further study can be inspired by the following questions which emerged from this study:

- What aspects of the 'discoursal self', which academic writers construct for themselves in a particular text, are owned or disowned by them? In other words, to what extent is authorial self-realization influenced by writers' 'autobiographical self' and to what extent is it a product of a subject position writers occupy in a particular socio-cultural and institutional context?
- Why do academic writers decide to solidify or dilute authorial presence in an academic text and what linguistic exponents do they use to achieve their purpose?
- What is the role of power as a force which mediates academic discourse?
- What are the factors that determine the strength of authorial stance in an academic text?
- How do academic writers establish authority for the content of their writing?

Moreover, other methodological approaches than those employed here should be also utilized to further investigate the issues addressed in this study. The exploratory nature of this research project has necessitated an interpretative, contextualized and qualitative approach to data analysis. Now since the qualitative data have uncovered some recurring trends in identity construction, it would be of interest to find out how they come out in a quantitative analysis.

Also, it is difficult to make categorical statements about the nature of academic writer identity because of a rather small research sample. Therefore, a research based on a larger text corpus would be a worthwhile next step in confirming or contesting the results of this study.

7.6. Practical implications

Practical implications of this study emphasize a need to promote awareness that writer identity is a crucial dimension in the act of academic writing. The results indicate that discourse characteristics, which reflect a writer's identity, are not fixed in any specific way, but rather are influenced by interests, values, beliefs and practices of particular social groups and academic communities with whom a writer identifies and also by a writer's personal experiences and their unique personality features. These findings can be applied in pedagogy of foreign language writing to reduce the prescriptive bias in the evaluation of writing.

In conclusion I believe that the present findings might contribute to the enrichment of academic writing theory since they emphasize the role of each individual writer in relation to other elements in a social view of writing.

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