

ABSTRACT

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OR SOMETHING ELSE?: AN L2 STUDENT'S
WRITING- FROM- SOURCES TASKS

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To date, L2 students' plagiarism has been attributed primarily to cultural differences or L2 proficiency. Bringing a novice, L2 writer's perspectives and struggles to the fore using a Bakhtinian framework, I adopt a broad approach that demonstrates that learning how to cite sources may be the result of a complex, contextualized interplay of cultural, linguistic, educational, disciplinary influences, and developing L2 writing competence. This exploratory case study reports on the textual borrowing practices of a novice, Korean student in a TESOL program at a U.S. university, including how and why she incorporated source texts into her writing by examining the products and processes of her retrospective and concurrent writing-from-sources tasks.

Data analyses entailed triangulating data from (1) semi-structured interviews on her academic literacy experiences, (2) textual analysis of an authentic, course-related research paper in terms of the amount and nature of textual borrowing by

source text type, (3) retrospective interviews on her research paper, (4) performance on Deckert's (1993) modified Plagiarism Identification Questionnaire, (5) textual analysis of an ensuing paraphrasing task, and (6) a post-questionnaire interview on previous instruction on plagiarism.

Findings revealed that her lax criteria of textual ownership of words came from centripetal and centrifugal forces, that is, authoritative and internally persuasive discourses from her previous and current contexts, including addressivity to her professor's words to use her own words. Patchwriting occurred at the intersections of a coping, procedural display, and learning strategies to appropriate disciplinary content and academic discourse. Different patterns of textual borrowing manifested by source text type, suggesting that, despite transgressive textual borrowing, her source texts also served as sources of input and models of how to write a research paper. At times, the textual boundaries between borrowing of content and imitation became hazy when the surrounding contexts in which her patchwriting occurred was examined.

I conclude by offering implications that address aspects of discursive, perspectival, and pedagogical tensions that have been relatively overlooked at the expense of ethical tension.

PLAGIARISM, TEXTUAL BORROWING, OR SOMETHING ELSE?: AN L2
STUDENT'S WRITING-FROM-SOURCES TASKS

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Dedicated to my parents
and parents-in-law

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

*Flower in a crannied wall,
I pluck you out of the crannies,
I hold you here, root and all, in my hand,
Little flower- but if I could understand
What you are, root and all, and all in all,
-- Tennyson*

*Flower in a crannied wall
When I look carefully
I see the nazuna blooming
By the hedge!
--Basho*

*I took it out
With all its roots,
...
And planted it again
In a quiet place;
Now it ever spreads
And blossoms forth
--Goethe*

The above poems describe three plausible reactions to a seemingly similar experience of stumbling across an exquisite flower. In *To have or to be*, Fromm (1976) compares these poems to demonstrate the differences between the “having” and “being” modes of existence. According to Fromm (1976), Tennyson’s response to the flower represents the “having” mode: He attempts to acquire knowledge of the

flower by “expropriating” it, and holding it in the palm of his hand for close examination. Basho’s response falls into the being mode, as he opts to appreciate the flower by keeping it intact in its original condition. Goethe, on the other hand, finds a way to reconcile the two modes by safely transplanting the flower in its entirety “with all its roots.”

While there are a myriad of ways to interpret the above poems, based on my interpretation, the tensions between the being and having modes in the above poems may parallel the tensions between “the effort to comprehend” and “the effort to incorporate” inherent in the intertextual nature of reading (Scholes, 1989, p. 9). While the above poems are ostensibly about interactions with a flower, the varied ways in which each poet interacted with the flower can serve as metaphors for the different ways of interacting with source texts and how students incorporate them through textual borrowing practices. Different cultures, contexts, and disciplinary fields vary somewhat in terms of what constitutes acceptable ways of comprehending and incorporating others’ words and ideas. In a similar vein, the reading of the above poets’ challenges in determining how to appropriate the flower serves the purpose of showing the challenges that second language (hereafter L2) student writers encounter in interacting with and incorporating the ideas and words of published authors into

the context of their own writing.

Let us imagine for a moment that Tennyson, Basho, and Goethe were L2 student writers engaged in textual borrowing practices in academic writing at the tertiary level. How do we determine when the line between appropriation and plagiarism has been crossed? While all three men were motivated by a similar need to appropriate an original source, each chose different routes. Who would be found suspect under the traditional notion of plagiarism? How would different cultural contexts or alternative views of plagiarism evoke different interpretations of acceptable ways of textual borrowing practices? The answer lies in part in how we define and frame plagiarism.

Putting someone else's ideas and language into one's own words, especially in a L2 language, is fraught with challenges and pitfalls, as there are varying degrees of plagiarism from apparent copying to more subtle forms. The difficulty stems in part from keeping the meaning intact, on the one hand, and finding the right balance for using one's own words and ideas alongside another's words and ideas, on the other hand, without distorting the original meaning or crossing the line into plagiarism.

Underlying the different ways of appropriating the words and ideas of others

is the ongoing tension between the traditional and alternative perspectives on the conceptualizations of plagiarism. Using a Bakhtinian (1981) framework, I explore the textual borrowing practices of a Korean graduate student's use of multiple source texts in performing writing-from-sources tasks. I attend to these practices from the following angles: the student's interpretations of the writing task, her epistemological stance toward knowledge and authority, the nature of the source texts and writing task, her textual borrowing practices and strategies, and how different ways of reading may potentially influence her interactions with source texts and locus of authority.

Nature of the Problem

From a Bakhtinian (1981) perspective, the use of language involves constant tension between two opposing forces, centripetal and centrifugal forces. The former seeks to unify, centralize, and stabilize language toward a unitary, standard, correct, monologic language, whereas the latter work to decentralize, disunify, diversify language toward heteroglossia, or a multiplicity of languages that include different ways of speaking and writing. While a complete resolution of the dialectical tension between these two forces cannot be achieved, Bakhtin (1986) argues, they nevertheless shape every act of our utterance. Such dialogic tensions also exist in the debate surrounding the issue of how plagiarism should be conceptualized and what

pedagogical practices should be implemented accordingly.

Influenced by different philosophical underpinnings, the traditional and alternative views of plagiarism coexist in “mixed states of pedagogy...[and]...theory” (Whitaker, 2001, p. 373), with the modernist and postmodernist notions of authorship and nature of writing as their respective undercurrents. Ekstrand (2002) refers to this juxtaposition in the debate around plagiarism as “[a]n old problem meet[ing] a new age” (p. 160). The ongoing tension between the traditional and alternative views of plagiarism stems primarily from their differing conceptualizations of what is involved in plagiarism. In that respect, Whitaker’s (1993) observation that “plagiarism means different things to different people” (p. 509) aptly captures the nature of this tension. While the traditional notion addresses plagiarism as a static, “fixed and absolute” construct with moral implications (Price, 2002, p. 89), alternative conceptions of plagiarism treat it as a dynamic, social construct that varies across different contexts. Furthermore, underlying these two opposing stances are a number of interrelated tensions surrounding textual borrowing practices that also have a bearing on how the construct of plagiarism is understood: moral, absolute concept versus social, cultural construct, the notions of authorship and words and ideas as intellectual property and collaboration, among others. These tensions are addressed in more detail in Chapter 2.

Here, I provide a brief overview to set the stage.

Ethical Tensions: The Moral, Fixed Concept Versus the Social, Cultural Construct

The traditional approach typically views plagiarism in absolute legal and ethical terms, associating it with the breach of a set of rules and ethics that dictate that proper attribution be given to the person whose intellectual property, namely, ideas and words from which one borrows. Textbooks often give black-and-white definitions that identify plagiarism as the borrowing of two or three consecutive words from the source text (Barks & Watts, 2001; Casanave, 2004). It is assumed that plagiarism, as a form of cheating, is easily identifiable and clear, as are the notions of what constitutes plagiarism and why it is wrong. Survey studies on students' perceptions of plagiarism, for instance, have often asked them to identify why plagiarism was unfair and wrong (Deckert, 1993; Hsu, 2003; Kroll, 1988), operating on the assumption that students would share the same assumptions and beliefs about plagiarism as the researchers.

The postmodernist camp, on the other hand, asserts that the concept of plagiarism, as an outgrowth of western ideology that values individual authorship and intellectual property (Pennycook, 1996; Scollon, 1994, 1995), serves as a "simplistic, totalizing" label "that obscures its social construction" (Howard, 2001, p. 376). Since plagiarism is framed as a complex, social, cultural, ideological construct (Ouellette,

2003; Pennycook, 1996; Scollon, 1994, 1995) that changes across historical, cultural, and disciplinary contexts, the so-called idiosyncratic textual borrowing practices of L2 writers are interpreted as reflections of the textual borrowing practices and relationships to text and learning that different cultures have (Pennycook, 1996). Given that the gray areas of plagiarism render it a difficult concept to pin down or define, Western academics and teachers are urged to “approach [plagiarism] with a large degree of self-reflexivity” (Pennycook, 1996, p. 280). To that end, alternative terms such as patchwriting (Howard, 1993, 1995, 2001, 2002; Pecorali, 2001, 2003), textual borrowing (Barks & Watts, 2001; Pennycook, 1996), transgressive and nontransgressive intertextuality (Chandrasoma, Thompson, & Pennycook, 2004) have been proposed. Chandrasoma et al. (2004) go so far as to suggest that it is “preferable” to replace the concept of plagiarism with alternative discourses (p. 171). For that reason, the use of alternative terms for plagiarism has often been misunderstood as a call to nullify or reject the very existence of plagiarism (Schroeder, 1996; Welch, 1996; Whitaker, 2001). I elaborate on each of these ideas in Chapter 2.

Discursive Tensions: Notions of Individual Authorship and Textual Ownership

The notion of whether individual can have exclusive textual ownership of words and ideas as intellectual property manifests itself as discursive tension between

the traditional and alternative views to plagiarism. The traditional perspective presupposes that writing is primarily a private and solitary, cognitive activity involving an autonomous, individual author (Ede & Lundsford, 1990; Howard, 2002). Hence, words and ideas, as products of an individual author's creativity and originality, become intellectual property that warrants exclusive textual ownership. Consequently, it becomes critical to give proper credit and acknowledgement to the original author from whom one borrows words and / ideas to avoid plagiarism. The traditional view also takes for granted that there are clear textual boundaries that demarcate ownership of words and ideas between one's own and another's, which accounts for why plagiarism is treated as a clear and identifiable problem. For that reason, the traditional view centers on the moral and legal aspects of plagiarism as a form of academic dishonesty, stealing, or borrowing without giving proper credit to the original author that warrants punishment or penalty for the apparent offense.

However, the notion of individual authorship becomes confounded with regard to the issue of collaboration, as it raises questions as to where the boundaries between one's own work and plagiarism lie. A case in point would be the use of collaborative practices such as peer reviews, group projects, and writing center tutorial sessions which co-exist with the more traditional forms of pedagogical

practices that assess writing largely as an individual endeavor involving the work of one author (Ede & Lundsford, 1990; Eodice, 2002; Howard, 1999). Therefore, it becomes necessary to delineate clearly the boundaries between legitimate forms of collaboration and unethical practices for institutional, pedagogical, and evaluative purposes within the traditional framework (LeClercq, 1999).

Alternative views of plagiarism, on the other hand, rest on the social constructivist notion that writing as a form of social practice is situated in contexts and that collaboration and borrowing lie at the heart of all writing and knowledge construction. This idea problematizes the concept of individual ownership of words and authorship (Pennycook, 1996; Scollon, 1994, 1995). Pointing out that all language use, more or less, stems from the borrowing or recirculating of others' language and ideas rather than from novel creation, Pennycook (1996) goes so far as to say that we are "authored by texts" rather than the other way around (p. 211), since we do not create in a vacuum, but are influenced by others. Along similar lines, Bakhtin (1981) postulates that language, being dialogic in nature, "lies on the borderline between oneself and the other [and that] the word in language is half someone else's" (p. 293). What is more, interpreted through a social constructivist lens, textual borrowing is seen as a type of collaboration (Lundford, 2001). Howard

(1999), for instance, refers to patchwriting or students' heavy reliance on the source text for language as a form of "co-construction of knowledge" and "collaboration with text" (p. 11). As can be seen, in recognition of these gray areas, the postmodernist camp conceptualizes plagiarism as a multi-dimensional and complex phenomenon.

Pedagogical Tensions: Questions about the Traditional Approach to Plagiarism

Although the traditional and alternative views of plagiarism have the shared goal of helping L2 writers experience success in academic writing in school and in their future careers, they differ in terms of what kinds of educational goals to pursue and what measures to take to help students. In some respects, the pedagogical tensions underlying these different approaches to plagiarism are reflective of the tensions in the field of L2 writing between those that subscribe to accommodationist pragmatism (Allison, 1994; Santos, 1992) and critical pedagogy (Benesch, 1993; McKay, 1993), respectively. The normative orientation of the traditional camp is in line with that of accommodationist pragmatism which asserts that it is in the best interest of students to conform to the rules and conventions of Western academia to achieve academic success, pass exams and produce acceptable academic writing (Allison, 1994; Santos, 1992, 2001). By contrast, the critical orientation of the

alternative camp is similar to that of critical pedagogy in L2 writing which claims that students need to be taught to be more conscious and critical of the Western practices into which they are being enculturated and that teachers also need to be self-reflective of why L2 student writers need to master Western academic discourse (McKay, 1993). Furthermore, it is suggested that Western academics stand to benefit from considering their unexamined assumptions and be enriched by what L2 student writers bring to the community.

While the traditional approach to plagiarism, as a centripetal force, makes it easier to offer prescriptive guidelines on how to teach with anti-plagiarism pedagogy and mete out punishments, its emphasis on the moral and legal implications has been limited in its effectiveness. For instance, institutional policy statements often resort to the use of threats or warnings against the seriousness of plagiarism. Yet, studies show that even when students know what plagiarism is and want to avoid it, it still does not prevent it from happening (Hale, 1987; Leki & Carson, 1997; Roig, 1997, 1999). One reason may be that the text-based, normative orientation in determining plagiarism takes a decontextualized approach, failing to address the complex interplay of factors that may give rise to inadvertent plagiarism.

Those subscribing to alternative views of plagiarism criticize the traditional

approach for missing pedagogical opportunities (Howard, 1995, 2001) by treating unintentional and intentional plagiarism alike with punitive measures (Troutman, 2003). Researchers such as Angelil-Carter (2000) call for a shift from framing plagiarism as a problem of academic dishonesty to an issue of academic literacy. Others add that we need to look for positive motivations underlying textual borrowing to help write better (Howard, 1995; Pennycook, 1996; Price, 2002; Troutman, 2003).

A Rationale for the Study

To date, the bulk of the literature on plagiarism, most of which deals with native English-speaking students, has been presented mainly from the teachers' or researchers' point of view, more specifically (a) from the teachers' and faculty's perceptions and attitudes of plagiarism (Jendrick, 1989; McCabe, 1993, Roig, 2001; Roy, 1999); (b) from anti-plagiarism pedagogy (Drum, 1986; Hsu, 2003; Johnson, 2004; Sabieh, 2002; Wilhoit, 1994; Whitaker, 1993); (c) from teachers' interpretations of why students cheat and/or commit plagiarism (Harris, 2001; Kolich, 1983; Malloch, 1976); and (d) from discussions of why L2 writers experience difficulty with the Western concept of plagiarism (Deckert, 1993; Matalene, 1985; Pennycook, 1996, Sowden, 2005; Thompson & Williams, 1995).

By contrast, representations of the L2 student writers' voices and struggles

have been notably absent from the literature on the traditional notion of plagiarism. The few survey studies that do examine students' perspectives of and attitudes toward plagiarism ask students to identify the reasons why plagiarism is inherently wrong (Ashworth, Bannister, & Thorne, 1997; Overbey & Guilding, 1999; Deckert, 1993, Hsu, 2003; B. M. Kroll, 1988). This work has been criticized by some as cultural imposition (Pennycook, 1996; Ouellette, 2003; Hsu, 2003). Given this imbalance of perspectival representation (i.e. overrepresentation of the teachers' and researcher's perspectives and underrepresentation of the L2 student writers' perspectives of why plagiarism may occur), I am interested in studying plagiarism through the eyes of L2 writers to more fully understand how they work with the tensions surrounding the practice.

Interestingly, the lack of L2 student writers' perspectives in the plagiarism literature parallels the situation in L2 writing studies in general — heavy reliance on observational data derived from students' performances and written texts in L2 writing based on the researchers' and teachers' interpretations of L2 writers (Silva, 1992). Similarly, drawing distinctions between public-transcript versus hidden-transcript studies underlying social action, Leki (2001) points out that L2 writing research to date has focused on the former, providing a wide range of topics related to

accounts of what methods or techniques have worked and how researchers achieved such results to the exclusion of examining learners' perspectives. The missing pieces in L2 writing research, Leki (2001) notes, are the latter, namely, in-depth studies that present the L2 writers' voices and accounts of what happens or does not happen. To offer instruction that meets students' needs more aptly or the complexities involved in plagiarism, Leki and Carson (1994) note it is important to listen to the learners' perspectives and struggles and especially the nature of their struggle.

Due to the dearth of the representation of students' perspectives, plagiarism is often depicted as mainly a student problem (Bloch, 2001). Any type of deviation from the standard way of citation practices, such as patchwriting or inappropriate textual borrowing practices, are attributed to some deficit in the students, ranging from a lack of ethics or knowledge of citation conventions to poor paraphrasing skills, and in the case of L2 student writers, limited L2 proficiency and/or cultural differences. Not only is heteroglossic deviation from the "monologic" language and standard seen as deficiency, but it is also considered to be unequivocally negative and antithetical to learning. Furthermore, the absence of L2 student writers' voices and perspectives often results in their being depicted as passive individuals who lack agency in their own learning processes.

By contrast, alternative views to plagiarism acknowledge the contribution that centrifugal forces and internally persuasive discourses can play in students' learning and language development. Some instances of unintentional plagiarism are seen as transitional scaffolds for learning, stemming from the motivation to learn and make sense of unfamiliar content and language (Currie, 1998; Howard, 1993, 1995, 2001; Pecorari, 2001, 2003). Thus, idiosyncratic discourse manifested as patchwriting or a blend of students' and textbook authors' language and ideas are interpreted as existing along a continuum from standard, monologic academic discourse to the non-standard, heteroglossia discourse arising from potentially transgressive textual borrowing (Howard, 1993, 1995, 1999, 2001; Hebb, 2002; Kutz, 1986). As a result, these different views bear closer analysis with regard to how L2 student writers work with text as they write.

The Nature of the Study

Previous research studies have often looked for a single factor that was responsible for the transgressive textual borrowing practices of L2 writers. Some of these single factors include developing L2 proficiency (Campbell, 1990; Connor & Kramer, 1995; Currie, 1998; Myers, 1998; Shi, 2004); a lack of understanding of academic conventions, referencing skills, or paraphrasing skills (Boughey, 2000; Hsu,

2003; Hyland, 2001; Campbell, 1990; Moore, 1997; Sherman, 1992; Shi, 2004); different cultural notions about what constitutes legitimate textual- borrowing practices (Bloch, 2001; Bloch & Chi, 1995; Buranen, 1999; Deckert, 1993; Evans & Youmanss, 2000; Fox, 1994; Holmes, 2004; Matalene, 1985; Moore, 1997; Myers, 1998; Pennycook, 1996; Sapp, 2002; Scollon, 1994, 1995; Sherman, 1992; Sowden, 2005; Thompson & Williams, 1995); and the process of writing development and gaining expertise in writing (Angelil-Carter, 2000; Currie, 1998; Pecorari, 2003; Howard, 1995).

The Research Problem

However, there is growing consensus that the issues surrounding plagiarism are a complex, multi-dimensional phenomenon, “with no simple cause-effect link” (Park, 2003, p. 479) that merits a “holistic [research] approach” (Whitaker, 1993, p. 242). To that end, an emerging body of work, that calls for the use of alternative ways of reframing the construct of plagiarism, has started to explicate the complexities and issues underlying textual borrowing in L2 writing (Angelil-Carter, 2000; Boughey, 2002; Currie, 1998; Hu, 1998; Ouellette, 2003; Pecorari, 2001, 2003; Pennycook, 1996; Starfield, 2002).

While more research that documents how textual borrowing works with L2

student writers is needed to understand the nature of writing-from-sources tasks better, I adopt a broad approach in examining the textual borrowing practices of a Korean graduate student by positing that learning how to cite sources may be the result of a complex interplay of cultural, linguistic, educational influences, as well as developing L2 writing competence. What distinguishes my present study is that it uses multiple data sources such as interviews, a plagiarism questionnaire, and textual analyses of written products, not only to triangulate data collected but also to tap into aspects of textual borrowing from different angles by looking at both the products and processes, cognitive and socio-cultural, involved in one's textual borrowing practices in performing writing-from-source tasks.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this exploratory case study was to gain deeper insight into the textual borrowing practices of a Korean, L2 graduate student, named Jen(pseudonym), including how and why she selected, organized, and incorporated reading text into her own writing by examining the processes and products involved in the production of writing-from-sources tasks. More specifically, I examined what influences her interpretations of the task; her epistemological stances; the nature of the writing-from-sources tasks; her textual borrowing practices and strategies; and how her ways

of reading that affect her interactions with source texts and locus of authority. I attempted to study these factors in the context of a L2 student writer's use of citing sources, along with the socio-cultural contexts that may have shaped her perspectives and strategies regarding her textual borrowing practices. I sought to reframe this L2 student writer's transgressive textual borrowing as "a processes of negotiation," as she navigated through the tensions between centripetal and centrifugal forces, legitimate use of others' words versus inappropriate appropriation and finding her own words.

Research Questions

The overarching question that guided this study was as follows: What factors contribute to a Korean L2 graduate student's conceptualizations of Western textual borrowing practices and to her actual patterns of textual borrowing that emerge in her writing-from-sources tasks. The following sub-questions framed the focus of the study:

1. What influence do this student's interpretations of the writing task have her textual borrowing practices?
2. What influence does the nature of the source texts have on her textual borrowing practices?

3. What and how does this student borrow from source texts and why?
4. How do the different ways of reading influence her textual borrowing practices, interactions with source texts, and locus of authority?

Definition of Terms

1. *Source text* refers to the reading text one uses as references in constructing one's written text. As is implied in the word "source," it indicates where "the source of the information for the text being written" initially came from (Leki & Carson, 1997, p. 40).

2. *Writing-from-source task*, often used interchangeably with reading-to-write, is defined as writing that involves reading multiple source texts for the purpose of incorporating information into one's own texts.

3. *Patchwriting*, coined by Howard (1993, 1995), refers to inappropriate textual borrowing of words from source texts: despite modifications made to the original sentence(s), it still bears close textual resemblance. More specifically, patchwriting involves "copying from a source text and then deleting some words, altering grammatical structure, or plugging in one-for-one synonym substitutes" (Howard, 1993, p.233).

4. *Paraphrase* is restating the ideas and language of the original passage without

copying or drawing too closely from the original words and sentence structure. Thus, paraphrases do not contain any variations of patchwriting or plagiarism.

5. *Textual Borrowing*, first used by Pennycook (1996) in his seminal article “Borrowing others’ words: Text, ownership, memory, and plagiarism,” is an alternative, descriptive term to plagiarism. It is a more neutral, less value-laden term to describe the act of appropriation of ideas or words. It acknowledges that borrowing is a common characteristic of language use and learning that may differ across contexts. Within the context of Western plagiarism, textual borrowing can be transgressive or nontransgressive depending on the manner in which the borrowed material has been integrated into one’s writing and whether appropriate attribution has been given.

6. *Task representation* refers to the way in which one interprets the writing task. One’s interpretations of the task are affected by what one brings to the task, such as previous writing experiences, epistemology of knowledge and authority, and conceptions of learning and writing.

7. *Internally persuasive discourse* refers to “retelling a text in one’s own words, with one’s own accents, gestures, modifications” (Holoquist, 1981, p. 424). Others’ discourse becomes one’s own *internally persuasive discourse* when the speaker

expropriates and assimilates it by “populat[ing] it with his own intention, his own accent... adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 293). Thus, less emphasis is placed on the form of appropriation, as internally persuasive discourse is double-voiced: the language is “half-ours and half-someone else’s” (p. 345).

Assumptions of the Study

One assumption of this study is that the intent to learn, to make sense of the content and reading, to attempt to produce internally persuasive discourse may potentially underlie L2 writers’ textual borrowing practices, as opposed to the commonly held presupposition that the intent to deceive, to cheat, and to cut corners motivate students to engage in transgressive textual borrowing practices. I make this assumption because being a L2 learner may make one more susceptible to borrow or rely on the language of others. My personal experience as a L2 learner and conversations with other L2 students have often indicated that there is a gap between one’s comprehension and production skills. That is, one’s productive skills may not match one’s understanding, rendering it difficult to produce and communicate one’s ideas without any scaffolding. Mastering a second language is a strenuous process that never ends. As the term interlanguage implies, while one’s proficiency increases

and moves closer to that of the native-speaker; the development of one's second language proficiency is ongoing, with some instances of inappropriate textual borrowing resulting in unintentional plagiarism.

Second, this study is predicated on a constructivist perspective. I am assuming that both reading and writing involve a dialogic meaning-construction process where each reader/writer creates one's individual meaning based on previous knowledge, language proficiency, and personal history (Roebuck, 1998). Reading and writing are conceived as involving the interplay of cognitive and socio-cultural factors that each individual brings to a writing task. Thus, reading and writing are not seen as a neutral, value-free effort that involves learning a set of decontextualized skills, but rather are constructive activities that "implicate every fiber of the [reader] writer's multifaceted being" (Ivanic, 1998, p. 181).

Limitations of the Study

I recognize that the struggles and challenges of the Korean, L2 graduate student in this study are not necessarily representative of nor generalizable to other L2 populations such as immigrants, other ethnic groups, or grade levels (e.g., Japanese, Chinese, high school or elementary students). The decision to study one participant was made so as to pursue depth over breadth given the exploratory nature

of this study.

Another precaution in interpreting the textual borrowing strategies of the L2 student in this study is informed by research that suggests that one's interpretations and perceptions, coupled with the nature of the writing task affect the extent to which one copies directly from the text or commit plagiarism. Given that writing is a situated activity that occurs in a socio-cultural context, Jen's research paper was an authentic, writing assignment that potentially captured the tensions and complexities involved in doing tasks in a real-world context, as opposed to administering contrived tasks that were decontextualized. However, the benefits of examining an authentic writing task also intersected with its weaknesses. In other words, her research paper, embedded within an evaluative context of taking a graduate course, the pressure arising from being graded may actually have induced more copying and precluded her from taking more risks by using more of her own words. Hence, the ethical tension may have been foregrounded by the nature of the graded assignment.

Given that variables such as the difficulty of the reading texts, the nature of the writing assignment, the student's perception of the importance or meaningfulness of the assignment all have a bearing on one's textual borrowing strategies to varying degrees, it may not be possible to make any kind of generalizations based on other

writing-from-sources tasks. Additionally, I cannot make any kind of generalizations from this case of one. Rather, the patterns of textual borrowing may be an amalgam of the interplay of the multiple variables, including a reflection of the rhetorical situation of the writing assignment and the social situatedness of the writing-from-source task itself.

Potential Significance of the Study

To develop effective L2 pedagogical practices that address the complexities involved in writing-from-sources tasks, more work is needed to help teachers gain deeper understanding of the nature of such tasks as well as insight into the nature of the L2 writer's struggles. Finding answers to pedagogical concerns, such as what types of instructional approaches are most desirable and how teachers can assist in the student's writing development, is contingent, to some extent, on how we conceptualize the "nature of [L2] composing and ... [the] development of [L2] writers" (Brannon, 1985, p. 25; Silva, 1990, 1993). Following Hull and Rose's (1989) and Greene's (1995) criticism that teachers and administrators are guilty of making inferences about the quality and quantity of students' learning based on a "limited knowledge of the complex cognitive and social processes that produced the writing" (Hull & Rose, 1989, p. 140), I adopt a holistic, multifaceted approach by examining

the process and product of writing as well as the cognitive, social, and cultural resources the L2 writer draws upon.

This study may contribute to the growing body of research that adopts alternative, centrifugal perspectives to the transgressive textual borrowing practices of non-mainstream students such as basic writers (Hull & Rose, 1989), mature students who return to college after 25 years of age (Ivanic, 1998), and L2 writers (Angelil-Carter, 2000; currie, 1998; Pecorari, 2003; Starfield, 2002). The insights derived may also be used to mainstream teachers who teach non-mainstream, students speaking English as a first language (L1) from diverse backgrounds. In fact, the challenges of L1 speakers in learning to write in various disciplinary areas and in acquiring “conventions and expectations of academic discourse” (Sutton, 2000, p. 446) have been compared to those of learning as a second language (Leki, 1992; Matsuda & Jablonski, 2000). Silva, Leki, and Carson (1997) point out that studies of L2 writers can contribute to the “develop[ment] of a more global and inclusive view of writing” in mainstream composition studies which has been based predominantly on empirical research on a homogeneous population—L1 colleges students in U.S. contexts—from the viewpoint of western rhetorical traditions (p. 402).

Non-ESL teachers or faculty in disciplinary areas may benefit from the

findings of this study since they will most likely have L2 student writers who are becoming an “increasingly significant presence” (Holmes, 2004, p. 294) at the tertiary level in English speaking countries. A common misconception held by faculty, according to Zamel (1995), is the “myth of transience” that considers students’ problems to be temporary and remediable through language courses, thereby treating language and content learning as separate issues” (p. 253). In some respects, the struggles and challenges of the Korean, L2 writer may help non-ESL faculty gain a deeper understanding of the role they can play in encouraging and supporting the writing development of L2 writers.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This chapter draws on a large body of literature on the traditional and alternative views to plagiarism and the textual borrowing practices of L1 and L2 student writers. More specifically, this chapter explores the dialectical tension between the traditional and alternative views to plagiarism using Bakhtin's theory of dialogism as its theoretical and organizational framework.

In line with the growing interest in plagiarism as a complex, multi-dimensional phenomenon, and as a way of talking about complex, overlapping features that affect what, when, how, and why student writers engage in textual borrowing practices, this chapter is organized around four separate but interrelated tensions that emerged from surveying the literature: ethical tension, pedagogical tension, perspectival tension, and discursive tension respectively. Although I attempted to artificially separate and address the most salient features for each tension, it should be noted that there will be some inevitable overlap between sections as that is the nature of how the discussion of this dialogic literature review works. The chapter concludes with a summary of the four tensions, as well as a call for a reconceptualization and contextualized view of plagiarism or textual borrowing that encompasses multiple perspectives and factors that have a bearing on the textual

borrowing practices of L2 student writers, which in turn point to the need for this study.

Theoretical Framework

Bakhtin's (1981) notion of the ongoing, dialectical tension between the centripetal and centrifugal forces of language and culture was adopted as the main theoretical framework guiding this study. The former seeks to unify, conform, and stabilize language whereas the latter aims to diversify, stratify, and destabilize language. From a Bakhtinian perspective, the tension between the centripetal and centrifugal forces is an inherent and ongoing part of language, culture, and society that contributes to and enriches our understandings, as opposed to negative, counteracting forces that need to be resolved once and for all. Given that the complexities of plagiarism exist against the backdrop of both centripetal and centrifugal forces at work within academia and the student writers' writing and academic lives, there is a need for a dialogical discussion of the traditional and alternative views to plagiarism at the theoretical and practice level, as a one-sided view will present only a partial understanding of the issue of plagiarism and its complexities.

While taxonomies or dichotomies are useful in delimiting boundaries among

categories which in turn help to clarify and get a sense of what the phenomenon under discussion is about, such dichotomies often lead to reductive, stereotypic depictions. More specifically, the reifications of the dichotomies tend toward treating the landscape at hand as fixed and stable, failing to account for the dynamic, fluid aspects that are in constant flux. Furthermore, it also tends to pit one against the other, perpetuating the differences, rather than to look at the intersections and mutual influences.

Indeed, a Bakhtinian (1981) perspective also speaks to our current need for reconceptualizations and pedagogical practices of plagiarism that encompass the centrifugal and centripetal forces at work, not choosing one over the other, but acknowledging that both forces are inevitably at work and need to be accounted for. While pedagogy and theory should “foreground the centrifugal forces of language — the [student] writer’s accent which may be nonstandard, foreign, or idiosyncratic, and the writer’s perspective which may be unconventional in form or style,” (Gillam, 1991, p. 21), it must also speak to the centripetal forces in academia that renders it necessary for students to perform in accordance with academic standards to earn a degree successfully. At the same time, it cannot be emphasized enough that neither Bakhtin’s theory of dialogism nor the depiction of the tensions between the traditional

and alternative perspectives to plagiarism is about perpetuating and reinforcing dichotomies. Rather, through a dialogical discussion, I seek to bridge the chasm between the traditional and alternative views, which has presumably been assumed, by showing their difference as being a matter of degrees on a continuum.

As with any theory, using a Bakhtinian framework poses a number of limitations. For one, it may be limited in its application to education by virtue of its not being a theory of learning or education, but fundamentally a literary theory of language, rhetoric, genre, and the novel. As such, unlike theories of learning and educational practices that derive from empirical data, application of a Bakhtinian framework to learning and educational contexts has been burgeoning only recently with growing interest in Bakhtin among educational researchers.

The strength of Bakhtinian (1981) terms (e.g., authoritative and internally persuasive discourses, ideological becoming, centripetal and centrifugal forces, heteroglossia) in its broad application serves simultaneously as a potential weakness. Due to its emphasis on how individual utterances are shaped by their dialogizing contexts, it does not provide any concrete guidelines or elucidation on how to operationalize authoritative or intertransgressive textual borrowing. Bauman (1992), for instance, posits that “Bakhtin’s writing engenders a certain amount of frustration

in the analysis of dialogic forms” in that it does not provide any specific guidelines on how to engage in a formal analysis of dialogic forms (p. 125). Matusov (2007) points out that Bakhtin’s “fuzzy,” “polysemic concepts” have often resulted in his concepts being misappropriated by educational researchers who apply Bakhtinian terms and theory in a superficial manner without a deep understanding.

Also, as Morson (2004) reminds us, given that Bakhtin’s theory grew out of his lived experience in a totalitarian climate of Soviet regime, his notion of authoritative discourse may have been overly authoritarian. As a result, Bakhtin (1981) posits that, “One must totally affirm it, or totally reject it” (p. 343). However, Matusov (2007) points out that in educational contexts and in our daily lives, “It is not necessary to challenge or test every statement or utterance if [they] are reasonable” (p. 233).

A Bakhtinian (1981) perspective foregrounds the struggles and tensions that internally persuasive discourses wage against authoritative discourses, which are depicted as oppressive forces to be overcome at the expense of overlooking the dynamic nature and goal of education. His theory may fail to take into full account the nature of centripetal or deeper participation (Prior, 1998) of disciplinary enculturation where novice students want to acquire the established ways of speaking

and constructing knowledge, as opposed to “freeing one’s own discourse from the authoritative word” (Bakhtin, 1981, p.425).

Relatedly, a Bakhtinian (1981) framework may provide a limited view of education where students are depicted as the only ones required to make all the changes. In fact, the authoritative discourses is portrayed as being impervious to change: “The authoritative word (... the word of ...teachers) does not know internal persuasiveness ... that is denied all privilege, [and] ...is frequently not even acknowledged in society” (p. 342). In this regard, a Bakhtinian (1981) framework tends to overlook the fact that the authoritative discourses of the teachers or institution may also undergo some changes as a result of their dialogic interaction and struggles with the internally persuasive discourses of their students.

All things considered, despite these limitations, I chose Bakhtin (1981) as my theoretical framework for a number of reasons. Bakhtin (1981) underscores the social and situated, contextualized nature of language, as well as its ideological nature. Furthermore, his theory on language appropriation highlighted alternative reasons and intentions behind textual appropriation of words from source texts. While plagiarism illegitimizes any type of copying with intentions as stealing or cheating due to the fixed textual boundaries between one’s own words and another’s, Bakhtin (1981)

highlights that appropriation is a fundamental part of language. Instead, he provides an alternative view of how one can come to own a language even when it has been “expropriated” from another’s words in another’s context. Thus, a Bakhtinian (1981) lens allows us to set aside our preoccupation with the form of textual appropriation, and take a more contextualized view of language appropriation and the struggles involved. Equally important, it served as the most powerful lens through which to examine the hidden complexities underlying a novice, L2 student writer’s textual borrowing practices, albeit the four tensions: ethical, pedagogical, perspectival, and discursive.

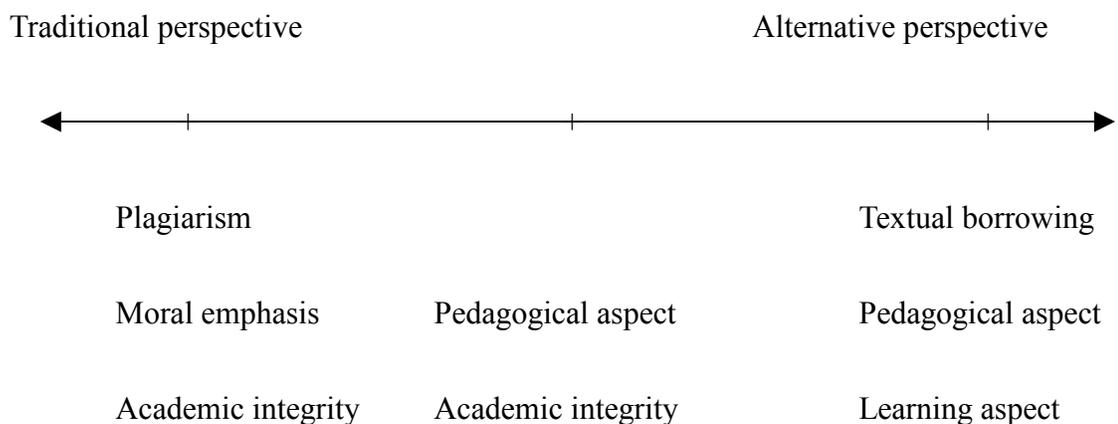
Ethical Tension

In discussions of plagiarism, the ethical tension between the traditional and alternative approaches to plagiarism begins with the question of how to define the nature of plagiarism and conceptualize it. To provide a broad overview of the different conceptualizations, the former operates on the assumption that there are clear boundaries that demarcate textual ownership between the words and ideas of oneself and others. Plagiarism, as a type of academic offense and textual transgression, is depicted as a clear-cut phenomenon which individual students are responsible for, be it due to a lack of ethics or lack of knowledge. In contrast, the

latter views plagiarism as a complex and “inherently indefinable concept” (Howard, 1995, p. 473) whose standards change in accordance with the social and cultural contexts in which it is situated. Accordingly, it is argued that plagiarism should be understood relative to the context in which it is situated rather than applying a uniform set of standards. Our conceptualizations of plagiarism determine, to some extent, what kinds of pedagogical and institutional responses are adopted toward student plagiarism.

Based on which aspects of plagiarism are highlighted, perspectives toward plagiarism and inappropriate textual borrowing practices can be placed on a continuum, spanning across moral and pedagogical dimensions (see Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1. Continuum of perspectives toward plagiarism



At one end of the spectrum, the traditional notion of plagiarism conceptualizes it

primarily as a moral issue and a violation of academic integrity. The middle ground approach to plagiarism, while still being traditional as plagiarism is still construed in terms of academic integrity, recognizes its pedagogical dimension. At the other end of the spectrum, the alternative approach conceptualizes plagiarism as inappropriate textual borrowing, focusing on the pedagogical and learning aspect.

Ethical Tension One: Conceptualizations of Plagiarism

The traditional approach conceptualizes plagiarism as an absolute, stable and fixed concept with moral and legal overtones (Price, 2002). Etymologically, the moral and legalistic overtones associated with plagiarism date back to the Latin word *plagiarius*, meaning “kidnapper” (“Oxford Online English Dictionary”). The Roman poet Martial was the first to use *plagiary*, meaning literary thief, in reprimanding Fidentinus “for stealing the servants of his imagination” by passing off Martial’s poems as his own (Kolic, 1983, p. 143).

The moralistic connotations persist to this day, as the authoritative discourse on plagiarism in textbooks and university policies has revolved around the monolithic concept of taking someone else’s words and ideas without giving proper acknowledgement (Buranen & Roy, 1999; Leight, 1999; Pecorari, 2001).

To illustrate, Pecorari (2001) conducted an international survey that analyzed

documents comprised of university policies and regulations, student handbooks, brochures on research and citation skills from 54 universities in the United States, England, and Australia and found that plagiarism was more or less consistently defined as the taking of material from another source without proper acknowledgement. By contrast, only 11 out of 74 documents mentioned unintentional plagiarism in their definitions with reservations. Similarly, in Leight's (1999) textbook analysis of 70 writing textbooks spanning the 1980s and the 1990s, the four central metaphors of plagiarism were those of stealing, ethical violation, borrowing without giving credit, and intellectual laziness, all of which carry negative connotations, attributing the plagiarist with some kind of personal deficit – ethical or intellectual.

Furthermore, the moralistic view of plagiarism tends to operate under the assumption that there is a universal understanding that plagiarism is wrong since it undermines academic values, such as showing respect for other people's textual ownership, being fair to the authors and other students, and assuming responsibility for one's own learning by doing independent and honest work (Deckert, 1993; Kroll, 1988). This may explain in part why institutional policies generally provide generic statements on plagiarism without providing concrete guidance on how to avoid

plagiarism (Brown & Howell, 2001; Pecorari, 2001). Survey or interview studies that purport to tap into students' perceptions of plagiarism have also treated it as a relatively absolute and fixed construct by asking students to explain why it is wrong or to rate the acceptability of various forms of plagiarism using a Likert-scale with descriptors ranging from definitely wrong to definitely acceptable (Deckert, 1993; Hsu, 2003; Kroll, 1988; Overbey & Guiling, 1999), by embedding the issue of plagiarism within the broad category of cheating (Ashworth & Bannister, 1997; Love & Simmons, 1998), or by testing a student's ability to identify various forms of plagiarism (Deckert, 1993; Hale, 1987; Hsu, 2003; Roig, 1997, 1999). In this view, deviation from correct citation practices warrants remediation and punishment becomes the norm for what is deemed to be an academic offense. Consequently, the traditional camp has placed emphasis on pedagogical and institutional approaches to prevent, detect, and penalize student plagiarism as an academic offense or cheating. Indeed, penalties for plagiarism run the gamut from receiving an F for the assignment or course, going through the judicial process, to being suspended or expelled from school, which Howard (1995) refers to as the academic death penalty.

In that regard, Price (2002) claims that underlying institutional policies that warn students against plagiarism is an attempt to "pin ... down" and "stabilize"

plagiarism for the dual purposes of adjudication and teaching (pp. 88-90). Likewise, Jameston (1993) concurs that the traditional approach to plagiarism has been dominated by an absolutist view that has discussions on avoiding plagiarism to moral admonitions on upholding academic honesty, warnings about and penalties for violation university policies on academic integrity. From the perspective of the traditional view that conceptualizes plagiarism as a form of ethical violation and textual transgression, plagiarism becomes a code of ethics for the student to abide by in the academic discourse community. The upshot is that plagiarism in turn becomes a student problem wherein the main responsibility to avoid plagiarism lies within the individual student.

Limitations of Framing Plagiarism as a Moral Issue

On the other hand, proponents of the alternative views and even some who associate plagiarism with academic integrity have problematized the monologic notion of framing plagiarism primarily as a moral problem. In fact, one of the criticisms against the hard-core traditional approach to plagiarism has been that framing plagiarism primarily in terms of textual transgression is likely to oversimplify the complexities surrounding textual borrowing at the expense of other learning problems, pedagogical or otherwise, that need to be addressed (Briggs, 2003;

Pennycook, 1996). As Kolich (1983) and Pennycook (1996) point out, conceptualizing plagiarism primarily from a moral standpoint can sidetrack us from examining the less obvious reasons and complexities behind students' apparent textual transgressions. In fact, subscribing to a moralistic view of plagiarism has a number of limitations.

Compromise of teacher effectiveness. For one, the moralistic view of plagiarism can compromise teachers' effectiveness in helping students deal with unintentional plagiarism. Instead of trying to find out the causes of the inappropriate textual borrowing, suspicion of plagiarism may evoke a wide array of negative, visceral emotional responses on the part of teachers (Kolich, 1983; McLeod, 1992; Wilhoit, 1994), from feelings of a breach of trust in the teacher-student relationship and/or a sense of betrayal (Chaney, 2004; Klein, 2004; Kolich, 1983), to moral indignation (Murphy, 1990). When teachers perceive student plagiarism to be a personal affront that stigmatizes them as being "incompetent" or "inexperienced", the suspicion of plagiarism can turn even the most caring and compassionate teachers into "single-minded guardians of honor and truth" (Kolich, 1983, p. 142) or interrogators who relentlessly drive the suspect into confession (Murphy, 1990).

On the opposite extreme, teachers may be reluctant to address suspected

cases of student plagiarism directly through open dialogue with the students in question. Consider, for example, the indirect approaches adopted by the two ESL teachers in Hyland's (2001) study who deliberately avoided using the word plagiarism when stumbling across stretches of plagiarized texts in their L2 students' writing. Instead, these teachers alluded to plagiarism through indirect written feedback such as "Where did you get this information", "Are these your words", or "Have you used quotations?" in an effort to save face for both parties. As Hyland's (2001) study aptly illustrates, when plagiarism is framed as a moral issue or ethical violation, it may be perceived as a sensitive and uncomfortable topic for teachers to broach for fear that they might be interpreted as making accusations of academic misconduct. She adds that relying on indirect measures may not only leave the students clueless and uninformed about acceptable textual borrowing practices but convey to them that plagiarism of any kind is a taboo and shameful topic. As can be seen, the moralistic view of plagiarism can deprive teachers and students alike of pedagogical opportunities to find out the underlying reasons behind their transgressive textual borrowing and provide appropriate help.

Promoting a climate of suspicion and distrust. The moralistic view may also bring about a climate of suspicion and distrust between the teacher and students. In

fact, teachers are often put in awkward situations where they become torn between their commitment to helping students improve and their allegiance to the institution as disciplinarians to “define the fakery of the piece” (Murphy, 1990, p. 902) when students suddenly outdo themselves by producing texts with certain phrases or expressions that stand out. Especially in the case of L2 student writers, the teacher’s suspicion of plagiarism may be further exacerbated when combined with a deficit view of the student. According to Pennycook (1996), “Once the specter of ownership has been raised, teachers start to look for grammatical errors as a sign of good writing and to become suspicious when such errors are crucially absent” (p. 267). While such suspicion may be warranted in some cases, there may be instances in which the teacher’s suspicion stems from an underestimation of a student’s ability. Murphy (1990) shares a shocking account of discovering, to his dismay, that what he suspected to be “fragments” lifted from an article on anorexia in a popular magazine actually turned out to be “threads of memory” from the student’s own journal entries included in her end-of-the-semester portfolio (p. 902). Wondering what led this student to disown her own paper and personal experience when interrogated about the legitimacy of her paper, Murphy laments that he “did not mean for it to come to this” (p. 903).

The climate of suspicion may have a negative influence on the students as well. Spigelman (2002), for instance, cautions that the current climate in which various anti-plagiarism polices at the institutional and classroom level, university code of conducts, and plagiarism detection software are employed may foster an atmosphere of suspicion that promotes a fear of plagiarism among students. More specifically, she elaborates that such an atmosphere may have a negative impact on students' understanding of the role of citation, on their opportunities to learn through peer review groups and writing center tutoring sessions (lest the lines of individual textual ownership are crossed), and on their risk-taking behavior, so as to avoid being accused of plagiarism. In some cases, the fear of plagiarism may mislead the students into thinking that avoiding plagiarism is primarily a matter of avoiding punishment (Ashworth & Bannister, 1997; Angelil-Carter, 2000; Patterson et al. 2003)

In recognition of the negative consequences of taking a moral approach to plagiarism, a growing number of researchers have pointed to the importance of dealing with the pedagogical aspects of plagiarism that often get overshadowed when emphasis is placed disproportionately on the academic offense or ethical violation, both within the traditional camp (Drum, 1986; Kolich, 1983; Lipson & Reindl, 2003; Wilhoit, 1994; Whitaker, 1993; White, 1999), as well as the alternative camp

(Angelil-Carter, 2000; Chamdrasoma, Thompson, & Pennycook, 2004; Currie, 1998; Pecorari, 2001, 2003; Pennycook, 1994, 1996; Starfield, 2002).

Plagiarism as Pedagogical and Academic Integrity Issues

The former camp adopts a middle-ground approach between the traditional and alternative approaches, since plagiarism is conceptualized as a complex phenomenon that is at once a pedagogical offense as much as it is a legalistic and moralistic one (Drum, 1986). Compared to the hard-core traditionalists, this camp takes a more holistic and pedagogical approach to plagiarism. For one, proponents recognize that providing students with guidelines on how to document sources is insufficient in preventing inadvertent plagiarism, since plagiarism goes beyond mere adherence to rules of academic writing conventions (Drum, 1986; Kolich, 1983; Lipson & Reindl, 2003; McLeod, 1992; Park, 2003, 2004; Whilhoit, 1994; Whitaker, 1993). Instead, they maintain that our attention be redirected to the pedagogical aspects involved in “the more complicated act of passing [off the ideas and words of others] as one’s own” and less on the moralistic aspect involved in the textual transgression itself, that is, “the act of taking [the] ideas [and words of another]” (Drum, 1986, p. 241).

In fact, this middle-ground camp attributes students’ inappropriate textual

borrowing practices to problems with writing or documentation arising from difficulties with properly and appropriately integrating source texts into their own writing and, accordingly, aims to address plagiarism as a form of misappropriation of source use. Drum (1986) and Whitaker (1993), for instance, suggest that students need to be taught diverse ways to weave source texts into their own texts, with emphasis on making stylistic changes to the original text in their own words without distorting the meaning or content. Others indicate that students' confusion and difficulty in appropriately using the language and ideas of the source texts stems from a failure to master disciplinary skills of employing other source texts as supporting arguments, as opposed to a substitute for their own thinking, and to develop and position their own arguments along those of the source texts (Lopson & Reindl, 2003; Whitaker, 1993; White, 1999). It is suggested that students' voiceless and source misuse may be a reflection of their novice status, of their conceptualizations of research papers as "a crazyquilt of quotations" (Whitaker, 1993, p. 509), or of educational practices in which learning is portrayed as an accumulation of facts (White, 1999).

Compared to the hard-core traditionalists, this middle-ground camp adopts broader conceptualizations of plagiarism that touch on deeper pedagogical issues

underlying students' inappropriate textual borrowing practices. Nevertheless, explanations on why plagiarism is wrong are variations of the breach-of-academic-integrity argument as it relates to students' responsibility to the academic discourse community at large. In other words, to varying degrees, students' difficulty with understanding how to draw clear distinctions between the language and ideas of the source text and oneself without textual transgression is depicted as a matter of being able to incorporate source texts responsibly with academic integrity (Drum, 1986; Lipson & Reinkl, 2003; Whitaker, 1993; White, 1999). Students' misuse of source texts, Lipson and Reinkl (2003) assert, ultimately violates "a scholar's responsibility to a set of relationships or connections between the scholar's own ideas and the ideas of others" (p. 9). In a similar vein, White (1999) indicates that failure to write using source texts responsibly "offends the most basic principle of learning" since the plagiarists fail to function as independent thinkers with integrity who know how to "claim legitimate ownership over the ideas they, inevitably, largely receive[d] from others" (p. 208). Drum (1986) proposes that penalties be given, along with opportunities for students to redo their work so students have opportunities to relearn appropriate proper ways to "deal with research material[s] with integrity" (p. 243).

Alternative views: Plagiarism as a Pedagogical Issue

The alternative view to plagiarism, predicated on the premise that it is a complex and complicated phenomenon, recognizes the need to depart from the preoccupation with plagiarism as an ethical violation or breach of academic integrity to deeper pedagogical issues. As Briggs (2003) puts it, the alternative view operates on the assumption that plagiarism is “far more complex—behaviorally, ethically, conceptually, and even linguistically—than has been previously granted” (p. 19). In contrast to the somewhat text-based, decontextualized approach adopted by the traditional approach in determining whether a text has been plagiarized or not, the alternative view is interested in examining the processes and influences involved in students’ textual borrowing practices situated in context.

Furthermore, contrary to the traditional notion of textual transgression as being negative and antithetical to learning, those who subscribe to the alternative view shed light on the position aspects of students’ inappropriate textual borrowing practices, on their struggles to make sense of difficult source texts, and to acquire academic literacy including appropriate academic discourse. Hence, with respect to prevention of plagiarism, the alternative views call for a move away from “post facto punishment to proactive teaching” (Pecorari, 2003, p. 317).

The alternative view speaks to the need to consider other plausible

explanations for students' unintentional plagiarism that do not stem from an intention to deceive or cheat. This leads us to the issue of unintentional plagiarism, an area that is at the heart of the ethical tension between the traditional and alternative views to plagiarism. On the other end of the spectrum, proponents of alternative views to plagiarism conceptualize plagiarism as a dynamic, fluid, social construct that shifts across social, educational, disciplinary, historical, and cultural contexts.

The alternative approach calls for a broad, contextualized view of plagiarism in recognition of the fact that textual borrowing practices are embedded in a wide array of social, textual, and academic practices. It is argued that plagiarism should be examined in conjunction with the host of factors surrounding the textual borrowing practice such as the context in which the writing is taking place, the nature of the reading text, students' interpretation of the task, writing strategies, authorial selves, and genre, to name a few. Since plagiarism is conceptualized as a multi-layered and multidimensional phenomenon, studies that fall under this tradition are interested in uncovering the complexities and issues underlying students' textual borrowing practices. As such, textual borrowing or plagiarism are framed primarily as issues of academic literacy or writing development (Angelil-Carter, 2000; Chandrasoma, Thompson, & Pennycook, 2004; Coffin et al., 2003; Currie, 1998; Yamada, 2003).

Ethical Tension Two: Unintentional Plagiarism

The issue of unintentional plagiarism is another area in which ethical tension inevitably exists. It presents a gray area in that it is not always clear when plagiarism should be dealt with as a punishable offense and when it should be overlooked or dealt with as a pedagogical problem (Paterson et al., 2003, p. 153). This is because the boundaries between plagiarism and inappropriate borrowing become muddled depending on whether the intention to deceive is taken into consideration or not. Hence, it raises a web of questions. On what basis should the nature of unintentional plagiarism be defined? How should the definition of unintentional plagiarism be operationalized? What role, if any, should students' motives underlying their apparent plagiarism play in determining our responses toward unintentional plagiarism? In operationalizing a definition of plagiarism, what effects will the inclusion or exclusion of students' motives have on our institutional or pedagogical responses toward unintentional plagiarism? How do we determine appropriate ways of dealing with unintentional plagiarism? What kind of approaches to unintentional plagiarism will be effective in preventing future outbreaks of plagiarism in the long run? Paterson et al.'s (2003) statement aptly delineates the difficulty associated with defining and addressing cases of unintentional plagiarism: "Is plagiarism a crime, a

misdemeanor or simply one of those things you need to learn from” (p. 153)?

On one hand, from the traditional perspective, making allowances for inadvertent plagiarism is tantamount to the lowering of academic standards or to denying the existence of plagiarism altogether (Schroeder, 1996; Welch, 1996; Whitaker, 2001). From a legal perspective, it is argued that unequal treatment of plagiarism can lead to accusations and lawsuits from students regarding inequitable treatment. Thus, they argue for widely publicizing clear and transparent institutional policies on plagiarism, along with tougher penalties to deter plagiarism. On the other hand, other traditionalists and proponents of alternative views posit, to varying degrees, that taking a punitive approach to unintentional plagiarism may be counterproductive as well as unfair to students. Instead, they call for pedagogical responses to unintentional plagiarism as a preventive measure against future occurrences arising from pedagogical problems.

One of the complications of unintentional plagiarism stems from the fact that plagiarism is an umbrella term that covers a spectrum of various textual borrowing practices. Some involve blatant, serious cheating such as submitting someone else’s paper, purchasing term papers from online websites, or extensive copying without proper attribution. Others occur on a smaller scale such as lifting a few phrases or a

sentence or two, using incorrect citation methods, or involve more subtle cases such as making insufficient changes to the original text with or without citing the author. As a broad concept, plagiarism spans “the copying of words and thoughts in a variety of forms” (Stearns, 1999, p. 9). As a consequence, tension between punishment and pedagogy arises concerning how to address and prevent unintentional plagiarism.

Traditional View of Plagiarism and the Intention to Deceive

From the moral perspective adopted in the traditional approach, the intention to deceive is either assumed in the negative connotations associated with plagiarism or is considered to be irrelevant due to the focus on textual transgression. In this view, the intention to deceive is considered to be inherent to the definition of plagiarism as an academic offense and violation, as evidenced in Pecorari’s (2001) comprehensive international survey, which involves analyses of documents on plagiarism from 54 universities in English-speaking countries. She reports that the majority of the documents alluded to or hinted at the presence of the intention to deceive using phrases such as “deliberate copying”, “taking credit”, “stealing”, and “representing/passing off as one’s own” (p. 236). By contrast, only 11 out of 74 documents acknowledged the possibility of unintentional plagiarism arising from carelessness or a lack of familiarity with citation conventions. Along similar lines,

other metaphors used to depict plagiarism imply that the intention to deceive is present: “sin of unoriginality” (Kolich, 1983, p. 146), “worm of reason” (Kolich, 1983, p. 143), “the cheating disorder” (Murphy, 1990, p. 989), “academic deception” (Park, 2004, p. 292), “the unoriginal...yet common sin” (Colon, 2001, p. 8) and “academic crime” (Lipson & Reindl, 2003; Rosamond, 2002), to name a few.

In recent years, the assumption that plagiarism is generally motivated by the deliberate act to cheat or to cut corners is manifested in studies that point out that students are likely to succumb to the temptation to plagiarize when the right opportunities present themselves or pressure from within and external circumstances weigh heavily on them (Pemberton, 1992; Park, 2003). Indeed, the advent of the Internet has raised serious concerns that it may make plagiaristic practices more rampant than ever through the vast amounts of available textual resources and the ease with which information from the web can be cut-and-pasted, or through illicit purchasing of term papers from paper mills, online services that sell completed papers or offer writing services (Bloch, 2001; DeVoss, 2002; Gruber, 1998; Harris, R., 2001; Hyland, 2001; Park, 2003; Pemberton, 2002).

Aside from the fact that the intention to deceive is implied in the prototypical definition of plagiarism, the traditional notion often does not take into account the

writer's intentions (Howard, 1999; Wells, 1993). Webb (1990) claims that "Plagiarism is an offense that admits of no degree" (as cited in Buranen & Roy, 1999, p. xvii). From an absolutist and moral perspective, the extent of copying does not matter in determining plagiarism since "Copying a small amount of material from an unattributed source is no less plagiarism than is the copying of a large amount" (Stearns, 1999, p. 9). In a similar vein, as has been noted by several researchers, the writers' intentions are not taken into consideration in determining plagiarism from the traditional notion of plagiarism as moral violation (Howard, 2000; McLeod, 1992; Pecorari, 2001, 2004; Wells, 1993). To the contrary, perceived as an academic offense, students are advised that pleading ignorance of the rules of plagiarism or citation neither exonerates them nor mitigates the severity of the offense, placing the burden of responsibility on the students to avoid plagiarism (Wells, 1993).

Alternative Approaches to Plagiarism and the Intention to Deceive

There is general consensus among some traditionalists and proponents of the alternative approaches of the need to differentiate between intentional and unintentional plagiarism. Overall, both camps agree that blatant, intentional plagiarism such as purchasing or submitting someone else's paper warrants disciplinary action and penalties, whereas unintentional plagiarism merits retraining

or education. Traditionalists such as Drum (1986) and Park (2004), for instance, stress that unintentional plagiarism should receive differentiated punishments compared to intentional plagiarism. According to Park (2004), institutional frameworks should differentiate between major and minor first offenses by providing instruction for minor first offenses, but enforce tougher penalties for ensuing offenses based on a ladder of penalties, since second offenses may imply that the behavior was intentional.

Indeed, there is growing recognition in both camps that taking a punitive approach such as enforcing tougher penalties for plagiarism may be ineffective in alleviating student plagiarism (Deckert, 1993; Pecorari, 2001; Pennycook, 1994). Hard-core traditionalists such as Pemberton (1992) argue that when students reach a threshold of desperation in which they perceive that the advantages of plagiarism outweigh the risks involved in getting caught, they resort to plagiarism. However, other argues that stricter penalties fail to address the pedagogical reasons behind inadvertent plagiarism that does not stem from an intention to deceive.

There is increasing awareness of the importance of differentiating between intentional and unintentional plagiarism and addressing unintentional plagiarism differently, even among those who conceptualize plagiarism primarily in terms of a breach of academic integrity. Thus, it is argued that even though unintentional

plagiarism may still constitute a violation of academic integrity, students should be given opportunities to learn how to engage with the source correctly (Drum, 1986; McLeod, 1992). As with Drum (1986) who views unintentional plagiarism as a disruption or breakdown in the pedagogical process, McLeod (1992) proposes that institutional policies should provide students with opportunities to “rewrite their patchwork paper,” so as to ensure that “appropriate learning” has taken place (p. 13).

Ethical Treatment of Unintentional Plagiarism

The issue of determining appropriate responses to and/or penalties for unintentional plagiarism raises a different set of ethical issues other than the view on plagiarism as unethical behavior. For one, several researchers have pointed out that the penalties for or treatment of plagiarism should be commensurate with the nature and severity of the offense. For that matter, the traditional and alternative approaches alike are in broad agreement that intentional plagiarism such as submitting someone else’s paper unequivocally constitutes cheating and warrants punishment. As McLeod (1992) puts it, program administrators and teachers are justified in dealing with it punitively as “disciplinarians and as guardians of program integrity” (p. 9).

However, with respect to how to best address unintentional plagiarism so as to prevent future occurrences, there is tension between taking punitive and

pedagogical approaches. Howard (2000), for instance, poses the question of whether intentional and unintentional plagiarism warrants equal punishment given that ignorance is not considered to be an appropriate defense, or whether lesser punishments should be meted out for, what she calls, patchwriting. She problematizes the use of the monologic label plagiarism on the grounds that unintentional plagiarism is a misnomer that is “unintentionally unethical,” (p. 80) since disparate textual borrowing practices with no ethical basis are subsumed under academic dishonesty in tandem with blatant cheating. To that end, she goes so far as to suggest that the ethics of plagiarism represents those of the teacher’s and not the student’s.

In fact, one of the college of education graduate students in Love and Simmons’ (1999) interview study makes a similar observation concerning why it may be unfair to penalize students for unintentional plagiarism: plagiarism should not be conflated with cheating. With cheating, students are cognizant of their offense, whereas with plagiarizing, students may not be aware that they are actually committing an offense. Likewise, Pecorari (2001) expresses concern that within the current “disciplinary” approach, “student[s] may be punished for the ‘crime’ of not understanding” (p. 244).

Granted, penalties should be meted out in proportion to the seriousness of the

offense, in terms of equitable treatment regarding penalties for different forms of plagiarism. However, in reality, institutional policies generally do not have a clear system for treating unintentional plagiarism differently from intentional plagiarism. Pecorari's (2001) recent international survey, which was mentioned earlier, found that only 6 out of 54 institutions in English-speaking countries took a constructive approach to plagiarism such as providing adequate training and instruction so as to prevent future occurrences.

Gray Areas and Challenges of Unintentional Plagiarism

It should be noted that making distinctions between unintentional and intentional plagiarism presents its own set of challenges. Although some claim that having a conversation with students can reveal whether their plagiarism was intentional or not (McLeod, 1992; Wells, 1993), drawing distinctions between unintentional and intentional plagiarism is not always clear-cut.

In part this is because determining whether the intention to deceive was present or not is difficult to prove and is speculative at best (McLeod, 1992; Park, 2003, 2004; Patterson, Taylor, and Usick, 2003; Pecorari, 2003; Overbey & Guiling, 1999). Patterson et al.'s (2003) interview study of faculty and students at a school of nursing, for instance, found that the faculty members' judgment of unintentional

plagiarism was “circumstantial and subjective” since their perceptions of students’ intentions were inferred based on “the blatant nature of the offense” and consideration of “mitigating factors” (p. 156). Likewise, in Pecorari’s (2003) study of inappropriate textual borrowing practices in the thesis or dissertation drafts of international graduate students, she conjectures that their patchwriting was unintentional. According to her, student interviews revealed not only that these students were diligent, highly enthused, knowledgeable and motivated about their dissertation topics and papers, but that they also “made no apparent effort to conceal their source use strategies” (p. 334), which departs from the typical profile of plagiarists. She adds that their patchwriting probably occurred in the course of dealing with the multiple demands of writing-from-sources.

Due to the gray area associated with determining the motive behind plagiarism or inappropriate textual borrowing, Patterson et al. (2003) caution that students can take advantage of the faculty’s benevolent attitude toward unintentional plagiarism by pretending to be confused about how to avoid plagiarism, or to be under extenuating circumstances that inevitably led them to do so. They add that when faculty opt not to report instances of potentially unintentional plagiarism and/or provide them with additional instruction of citations on the grounds that it does not

merit punishment, this may ironically result in rewarding students who feign unintentional plagiarism.

Pedagogical Tension

One of the ongoing controversies in L2 writing has been between what Casanave (2004) refers to as accommodationist pragmatism and critical pedagogy about the nature of L2 writing pedagogy and its sociopolitical implications. Proponents of accommodationist pragmatism tend to place emphasis on mastery of skills and knowledge. Hence, helping L2 students meet Western academic standards and norms is portrayed in neutral terms as being necessary to gain entry into academic discourse communities and successfully complete writing assignments (Horowitz, 1998; Spack, 1988; Santos, 1992, 2001). By contrast, proponents of critical pedagogy oriented practices assert that writing practices, by virtue of being socially and culturally situated, be taught as “the inclinations of one discourse community which students may wish to enter [and that] other ways of using text sanctioned by other communities also need to be acknowledged” (Begorary, 1996, p. 61). In many respects, the pedagogical tension between the normative and critical pedagogy oriented practices on plagiarism underlying traditional and alternative approaches not only parallels but is situated within the broader context of the

continual pull between the accommodationist pragmatism and critical pedagogy in L2 writing.

Relatedly, embedded in the pedagogical tension between the normative and critical pedagogy oriented practices are intersections of ideology, culture, and power as they relate to how and what to teach L2 student writers who bring a different set of cultural, linguistic, and educational resources to Western academic contexts. In noting the ideological nature of writing, Campbell and Ellsworth (1997) postulate that “Writing becomes a primary site where certain kinds of intelligence, knowledge, and ways of being get sanctioned, while others are excluded, eliminated, and shamed” (p. 83). As is often the case, the socio-cultural practices of Anglophone culture including Western notions of plagiarism, along with its tacit ideologies, become the norm other cultures should conform to and are measured against for differences and deviations.

Against this backdrop, in discussions of plagiarism, the issue of “Who does the changing, how much, and why?” in adopting appropriate institutional and pedagogical approaches toward inappropriate textual borrowing practices of L2 student writers becomes critical. It also raises a number of sub-questions. Whose standards and values are being promoted in instruction on plagiarism? How and why are the norms and standards of certain cultures promoted over those of others? On

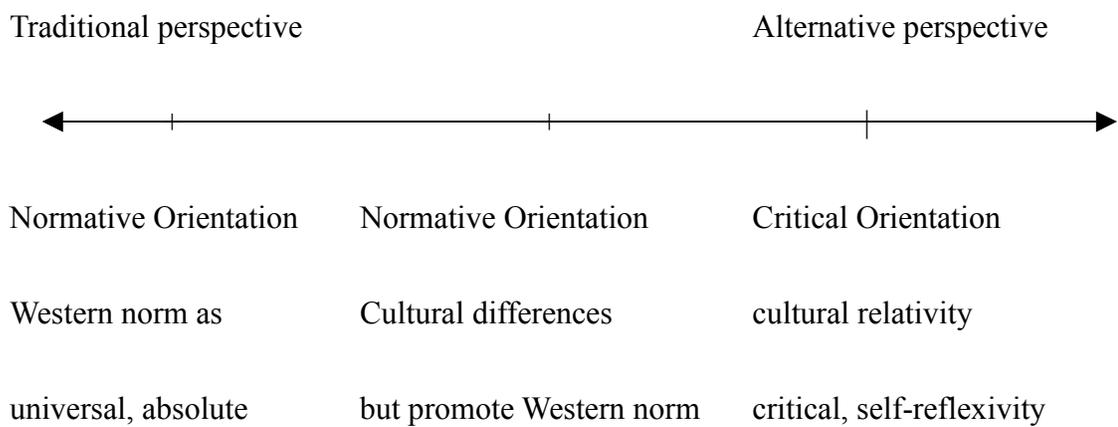
what basis do we determine which textual borrowing practices are appropriated or inappropriate?

Another overlapping but different layer of pedagogical tension lies in different perspectives concerning the extent to which cultural differences exert influence on L2 student writers' inappropriate textual borrowing practices. Just as framing plagiarism as cheating or ethical violation run the risk of reducing its complexities, so does subsuming L2 student writers' inappropriate textual borrowing practices under the umbrella term of cultural differences, which can equally overshadow the complexities underlying their apparent plagiarism. In that regard, teasing out the extent to which cultural factors account for L2 student writers' plagiarism becomes crucial.

Pedagogical Tension One: Normative and Critical Oriented Practices

According to Hafernik, Messerschmitt, and Vandrick (2002), perspectives toward L2 student writers' plagiarism adopted by scholars and practitioners in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) generally fall along a continuum of three stages (see Figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2. Continuum of Perspectives Toward L2 Student Writers' Plagiarism



The further one moves along the continuum, they argue, the more evolved the perspective becomes. Hafernik et al.'s (2002) taxonomy and continuum provides a general framework for outlining the extent to which traditional and alternative approaches to plagiarism display normative and critical orientations toward L2 student writers' inappropriate textual borrowing practices with respect to cultural differences. The first two stages represent variations of normative orientations, whereas the third represents the critical orientation.

Western Notion of Plagiarism as Universal, Normative Practice

Those in the first stage assume the centripetal, absolute stance taken by the authoritative discourse on plagiarism: plagiarism of any kind is unethical and unacceptable, warranting punishment. Thus, based on the traditional notion of

plagiarism, various kinds of inappropriate textual borrowing practices constitute a violation of academic norms or a failure to meet academic standards. It also operates on the tacit assumption that these Western standards are universal, as evidenced by the fact that University Honor Codes require students to uphold academic integrity in their work, including refraining from plagiarism. Approaches to plagiarism in this tradition resonate, to some extent, with Bakhtin's (1981) remark that the authoritative discourse is the word of the fathers, religions, and teachers that demand unconditional allegiance. To illustrate, the Western instructors' conceptualizations of plagiarism, which they pass on to their own students, have initially been shaped by the authoritative discourses from their previous schooling as students (Hafernik et al., 2002). In light of the fact that failure to follow the established norms results in students' being denied access or membership to the discourse community, Canagarajah (2002) posits that within the normative orientation, "The discourses of academic communities are not open to negotiation or criticism" (p. 32).

Within staunch normative practices, L2 student writers' conformity to Western academic standards of acceptable textual borrowing practices are seen as being neutral, involving a one-way socialization and enculturation process. However, some have problematized the notion of neutrality in normative practices by pointing

out although the promotion of efficient assimilation into U.S. academic cultures may be less radical and challenging than critical pedagogy, it nevertheless adopts a tacit ideology that is “more ...assimilative and conservative [to the status quo] in ideology” (McKay, 1993; Severino, 1993, p. 182). According to Berlin (1988), once an ideology receives social recognition and currency as common practice, it ostensibly becomes “necessary, normal, and inevitable—in the nature of things” (p. 736). Likewise, Howard (2001) concurs that plagiarism “masquerades as a natural, moral category,” obscuring its social construction (p. 376).

Recognition of Plagiarism as a Western Cultural Construct

In contrast, those in the second and third stage of Hafernik et al.’s (2002) continuum recognize to varying degrees that the western conceptualizations of plagiarism and individual textual ownership are not universal but may differ across cultural contexts. In fact, there is general consensus that notions of individual textual ownership, words and ideas as intellectual property, and originality are characteristic of modern, Western cultural values underpinning the premium placed on writing with one’s own words and giving proper credit and that other cultures operate under different sets of cultural and ideological assumptions regarding text, learning, and authority (Curri, 1998; Deckert, 1993; Fox, 1994; McLeod 1992; Park, 2003;

Pennycook, 1994, 1996; Price, 2002; Starfield, 2002). As such, much of the L2 student writers' inappropriate textual borrowing practices are considered to be unintentional in nature, potentially arising from cultural mismatches and expectations between the Western teachers and their L2 student writers.

Yet, despite awareness of cross-cultural differences in what constitutes acceptable textual borrowing practices and of the challenges posed by adapting to Western norms, those in the second stage still adopt a normative orientation toward the western notion of plagiarism as the academic standard to which L2 students must conform. Whether the western notion of plagiarism is conceptualized as a stable, fixed construct (Decker, 1993, 1994), or as a complex construct due to its social construction (Lipson & Rindl, 2003; Park, 2003; Price, 2002), proponents of this camp tend to view L2 student writers as being particularly susceptible to plagiaristic behavior (Deckert, 1993; Lipson & Reindl, 2003; Park, 2003, 2004) that may be inappropriate in Western academic contexts. As a consequence, despite recognition of different cultural values and assumptions underlying textual borrowing practices, from a remedial standpoint, it is the L2 student writers who are expected to do the changing. As Price (2002) puts it, "It seems reasonable to ask that [L2 writers] who plan to write for a U.S. academic audience to learn the conventions associated with

[academic writing in Western contexts] ...but it is also reasonable to ask [Western] teachers to recognize that learning and applying these conventions is time-consuming [for L2 writer]" (p. 95). At the same time, it should be noted that compared to those in the first stage, those in the second stage asks teachers to be cognizant of how cultural differences can pose difficulties from L2 student writers in adapting to Western norms.

Nonetheless, both the first and second stages subscribe to the difference-as-deficit view (Hafernik, Messerschmitt, & Vandrick, 2002), since the textual borrowing practices of other cultures and L2 student writers' inappropriate textual borrowing are seen primarily from the Western norm. Barks and Watts (2001) aptly describe the current situation characterized by the dominance of the normative view of plagiarism over the critical orientation: "When different perspectives about a concept exist, there is an inclination to see one's own view as the norm and other views as nonstandard" (p. 247).

Take for example, the value-laden terms used to classify different educational approaches, which, to some extent, gives primacy to the ideology of individualism that values individual textual ownership of words and ideas. Educational approaches such as memorization, rote learning, and repetition, typically associated with Chinese or Asian cultural and educational systems, are classified as surface learning (Biggs,

1996) or as having a conserving attitude to learning (Ballard & Clancy, 1991). By contrast, educational approaches such as problem-solving and critical thinking that require making some degree of transformation to the original source texts are deemed to be representative of Western education, and categorized as deep learning (Biggs, 1996) or as having an extending attitude toward learning (Ballard & Clancy, 1991). As Pennycook (1994) sees it, “Educational approaches deviating from Western standards are [often] deemed as deficient and backward” (p. 281). Such monolithic accounts and labels fail to recognize the dynamic nature of learning in that “all students tend to display both approaches at different time and for different tasks” (Holmes, 2004, p. 295).

Furthermore, making such sweeping generalizations that copying does not result in any learning may potentially lead to denying or depriving L2 students of facilitative learning strategies. According to Spigelman (1999), the negative value-laden connotations associated with plagiarism and copying go beyond misrepresenting another’s words and ideas as one’s own, but to “the pejorative sense of ‘copy’, which implies that the person is an imitator who is “clearly incapable of original thought” (p. 233). However, as the following account of a L2 undergraduate in Homes’ (2004) study demonstrates, contrary to the popular notion that copying

does not result in learning, relying on the words of the reading texts by “copy[ing] some from there and some from there” enhanced her understanding of the content and promoted learning in the process of doing her assignments (p. 302). Her example illustrates the importance of reexamining some of our unexamined assumptions about what constitutes best learning practices when dealing with non-traditional students such as L2 student writers.

Critical Orientation Toward Plagiarism

The tendency to evaluate other cultural practices, using one’s own cultural lens as the main frame of reference often occurs when the tacit ideological assumptions and values, and unequal power relationships underlying one’s own cultural practices either go unexamined or are uncritically applied. It is against this backdrop that those in the third stage, proponents of critical-oriented practices, underscore the importance of critical cultural self-reflexivity, that is, scrutinizing and reflecting critically on how the unexamined cultural assumptions and beliefs underlying dominant pedagogical practices affect our perceptions of other cultural practices and L2 student writers. Given that writing is “a highly cultural activity” with ideological undertones (Atkinson, 2003, p. 54), it is argued that all cultural viewpoints or textual borrowing practices should be treated as equally valid (Barane,

1999; Hafernik et al., 2002; Matalene, 1985; Pennycook, 1996; Sapp, 2002; Scollon, 1995; Sowden, 2005). As Hafernik et al. (2002) put it, we need to “question, at least somewhat, the absolute correctness of [the Western] stance” (Hafernik, Messerschmitt, & Vandrick, 2002, p. 44).

As such, unlike those in the second stage, this camp maintains that we move beyond mere acknowledgement of cultural differences to recognize the ethnocentrism underlying the “cultural syllabus” (Sherman, 1992, p. 197) which treats Western writing practices and notions of plagiarism as the academic norm (Buranen, 1999; Dryden, 1999; Fox, 1994; Hafernik, Messerschmitt, & Vandrick, 2002; Hayes & Introna, 2005; Homes, 2004; Matalene, 1985; Pecorari, 2003; Pennycook, 1994, 1996; Sapp, 2002; Scollon, 1995; Sherman, 1992; Sowden, 2005). In fact, the unilateral and uncritical application of a Western notion of plagiarism and its accompanying ideologies to other cultural practices has been criticized on the ground that it constitutes ideological arrogance (Fox, 1994; Pennycook, 1996; Scollon, 1994) and cultural imposition (Pennycook, 1994). It essentially denies the legitimacy of other non-standard practices outside Western contexts.

Instead of looking at the textual production of L2 student writers primarily through the cultural lens of Western ideology, proponents of critical-oriented practices

urge teachers to develop a situated understanding and deeper appreciation of the complexities underlying L2 student writers' textual borrowing practices, such as how different cultural values, epistemological assumptions and beliefs about learning and good writing may underlie these L2 students' apparent plagiarism. Shen's (1990) personal account of transitioning from writing in Chinese to English, for instance, clearly illustrates that learning to write in English is inextricably linked to taking on the values of Anglo-American society and developing a new cultural identity, such as emphasis on self, individuality, and individual voice, all of which are shunned in the political climate and literacy traditions of Chinese society and culture. In learning to write in English, Shen (1989) notes the dilemma, irony, and contradiction inherent in the dictum to "write what you think and be yourselves", which necessitated that he suppress his Chinese self:

To be truly myself, which I knew was the key to my success in learning English composition, meant not be my Chinese self... [to] write in English... I had to put aside an ideology of collectivism and adopt the values of individualism. (p. 461)

As a counter example, given the emphasis placed on modesty and reverence for authority in China, Shen (1990) admits to committing "reverse plagiarism" or in

Western terms, forgery that involves the deliberate act of falsely attributing some of his personal ideas to “experts” when “suitable quotation from a literary or political giant” was not available to support his own arguments (p. 460). According to Leki (1992), in collectivist cultures, originality in the Western sense, which often translates into expressing one’s unique views may even be perceived as being immodest or presumptuous. Thus, his so-called reverse plagiarism may be reflective of the cultural values wherein the words and ideas of textual authority are privileged over those of an individual’s attesting to the fact that in certain instances different ideological assumptions may be responsible for inappropriate textual borrowing rather than cognitive deficit.

Most importantly, being conscious of the relativity underlying Western rhetoric can help us depart from a deficit view of cultural differences, fostering a deeper appreciation and respect within Anglophone academic discourse communities for “logics different from our own” without viewing them as illogical (Matalene, 1985, p. 806). That plagiarism is a contested concept is illustrated in Matalene’s (1985) account of the plagiarism-imitation controversy in her EFL writing class in China. What is judged to be stealing or plagiarism in the Western context may be legitimated as imitation and encouraged as a rhetorical means by which novice

writers learn to write in other contexts such as China. Thus, it follows that the fine line between imitation and plagiarism is drawn differently from one context to another, as writing is a socio-cultural phenomenon. Framing cultural differences as explanations for L2 student writers' inappropriate textual borrowing practices due to their different socio-cultural backgrounds, as opposed to a deficit, also has the added benefit of helping broaden the perspectives of L1 writing pedagogy to become more inclusive of linguistically and culturally diverse populations (Silva et al., 1997).

In terms of translating this critical orientation into pedagogical practices within the classroom, this camp advocates approaching the Western notion of plagiarism explicitly as a social contract that reflects the cultural values and norms of its respective discourse community. As Hafernik et al. (2002) put it, this entails “mak[ing] allowances for and adaptations to teaching situations where these cultural differences surface” (p. 45). To that end, consciousness-raising activities and class discussions that encourage L2 student writers to make cross-cultural comparisons between the textual borrowing practices in their home countries and Anglophone discourse communities (Barks & Watts, 2001; Evans & Youmans, 2003; Hyland, 2001; Swales & Feak, 1995, 2005), or to extrapolate discipline-specific textual borrowing practices by cross-comparisons of research articles in their respective

fields are recommended (Barks & Watts, 2001; Swales & Feak, 2005). As Barks and Watts (2001) remind us, the purpose of such activities is to heighten students' awareness to the complexities and gray areas underlying textual borrowing practices, as opposed to presenting simplified explanations. In a similar vein, Evans and Youmans (2003) stress that, given the social construction of knowledge, conceptualizations of plagiarism and its corollaries will continue to develop through interactive discussions on plagiarism among teachers and students.

With respect to the issue of who does the changing, what sets the proponents of critical-oriented practices apart from the normative practices is that, despite the power dynamics at play, both L2 student writers and teachers are expected to change by critically examining their cultural practices in relation to each other's, so as to arrive at a deeper and more complex understanding of textual borrowing practices:

The authoritative discourse of the expert gradually becomes the internally persuasive discourse of the student, just as the former itself slightly changes in light of the new experiences introduced by the student. (Canagarajah, 2002, p. 35)

Doing so enables a move toward what Sapp (2002) refers to as an international and intercultural understanding of plagiarism in which mutual understanding and

negotiation are fostered.

Pedagogical Tension Two: Extent of Cultural Influence on L2 Student Writers'

Plagiarism

As has been discussed, there are different perspectives concerning the extent to which Western notions of plagiarism should be taught as normative practices to L2 student writers in Anglophone academic contexts. What follows explores perspectives concerning the extent to which cultural differences have a bearing on L2 student writers' inappropriate textual borrowing practices.

What constitutes acceptable textual borrowing practices, rather than being absolute or fixed, is relative in that it is reflective of the underlying cultural values and ideologies of its milieu and discourse community. Even within Western society, the notion of academic plagiarism is not necessarily universal across other contexts. A prime example would be textual borrowing practices in corporate settings that privilege corporate authorship and ownership over individual authorship, textual ownership, and originality. Consequently, writing in the workplace legitimates and encourages massive copying or unattributed borrowing, which by academic standards would constitute plagiarism (Begorary, 1996; Ede & Lunsford, 1990; Jameston, 1993; LeClercq, 1999). As can be seen, the construct of plagiarism and the parameters of

plagiarism primarily in terms of mastery of appropriate paraphrasing skills and of proper knowledge of academic attribution practices, that is acultural matter. As such, it is taken for granted that plagiarism more or less constitutes academic dishonesty or cheating, since it results in violation of academic integrity and of the clear textual boundaries between plagiarism and legitimate textual borrowing. As a result, textual borrowing practices predicated on Western notions of individualism, such as individual textual ownership of words and ideas as intellectual property, originality, and the importance of writing with one's own words, are taught as norms and values of academic discourse communities.

According to Ramanathan and Atkinson (1999), the tendency to erase or minimize cultural influences often takes the form of universalism—that “everyone is fundamentally like [us]” ...while we may have different preferences and make different choices, we must all basically think of ourselves in relation to society in more or less the same way, i.e., individualistically” (p. 65). In this sense, the traditional view operates on the tacit assumption that L1 and L2 writers are basically similar irrespective of the differences in linguistic, cultural, and educational backgrounds that L2 student writers bring. Given that the authoritative discourse on plagiarism has been based on homogenous, monolingual English-speaking L1

populations in U.S. contexts, depiction of plagiarism as a stable and universal construct can be seen an outgrowth of the “pervasiveness of a tacit, unidirectional, monolingual language policy [and pedagogy]” (Horner & Trimbur, 2002, p. 597).

Plagiarism as a Culture-Specific Phenomenon

On another level, in accounting for L2 student writers’ different conceptualizations of plagiarism and inappropriate textual borrowing practices, some focus on cultural differences (Fox, 1994; Deckert, 1993; Matalene, 1985; McLeod, 1992; Park, 2003, 2004; Sowden, 2005). In fact, some maintain that cultural differences are presumably responsible for L2 student writers’ negative reputation for being “persistent plagiarizers” (Deckert, 1993; McLeod, 1992) or being “at high-risk” (Park, 2003) of plagiarizing by Western academic standards. Discussions of cross-cultural differences in plagiarism generally begin with the premise that the modern notion of plagiarism is a cultural construct predicated on Western cultural values such as individualism, in particular, individual authorship, textual ownership and originality. Thus, explanations of why L2 student writers’ may engage in transgressive textual borrowing practices revolve around cultural differences in what constitutes acceptable textual borrowing practices.

For one, it has been suggested that students from cultural traditions and

educational practices that value memorization, copying, or deference to authority may engage in copying or inappropriate textual borrowing without proper attribution due to their previous schooling and cultural backgrounds (Buranen, 1999; Deckert, 1993; Dryden, 1999; McLeod, 1992; Park, 2003; Price, 2002; Ramanathan & Atkinson, 1999; Pennycook, 1996; Scollon, 1991). More specifically, some claim that Chinese students' extensive copying without attribution or writing down memorized texts may be a direct influence of Chinese rhetorical practices based on Confucian traditions that encourage reproduction of a canon of texts especially in civil exams (Bloch & Chi, 1995; Matalene, 1985; Pennycook, 1996; Sowden, 2005). Deckert (1993) makes a similar point that Chinese EFL students' heavy overuse of source texts may result from "an innocent and ingrained habit of giving back information exactly as they find it" (p. 133).

Differences in cultural assumptions and values between individualistic and collectivist/interdependent cultures have also received attention as a potential source of L2 student writers' plagiarism. Some researchers postulate that the notion that someone can claim individual textual ownership over words and ideas as private, intellectual property may pose difficulty for L2 students from collectivist cultures where words and ideas are considered common property (Leki, 1992; McLeod, 1992;

Sowden, 2005).

It has also been suggested that even the notion of originality may have different implications in other cultural contexts. While individualistic cultures value originality as it is seen as an extension of one's individuality or self-expression (Burane, 1999; Ramanathan & Atkinson, 1999), collectivist cultures value social harmony and convergence to the perspectives of authorities (Deckert, 1993; Matalene, 1985) over originality.

Similarly, Fox (1994) makes the observation that producing *original* work in the Western sense necessitates that an individual creates something new or unique, whereas in non-Western contexts, original implies "ancient" or "timeless" in the sense that "there was an origin to it" (p. 46). Cultural differences in attitudes toward originality is also evidenced in the different connotations associated with the word *patch*. In Western contexts in which a premium is placed on originality, the use of expressions such as "patchwork paper" (McLeod, 1992, p. 13), "crazyquilt of quotations" (Whitaker, 1993, p. 509), and "patchwriting" (Howard, 1993, 1995, 1999) carry negative value-laden undertones that suggest the writing is fragmented, inauthentic, defective, or a sham. By contrast, used in a different cultural context, such as the Japanese educational system that values imitation over originality, Dryden

(1999) notes that “beautiful patchwork” (p. 80) that renders the boundaries between the source texts and the students’ written texts indistinct are encouraged, as long as the sources are credited in the bibliography.

Different notions of textual ownership also intersect with cultural assumptions on learning, copying, and authority. In cultural contexts where the primary goal of education is to demonstrate mastery of information and internalizing the views of authorities and experts, the main purpose of writing is not so much on individual self-expression as it is on transmitting knowledge or “passing on what one has received” (Buranen, 1999; Decker, 1993; Dryden, 1999; Ramanathan & Atkinson, 1999; Pennycook, 1996; Scollon, 1991, p. 7). Likewise, Fox (1994) contrasts the attitude of a L2 student writer who was “not as convinced ...that his own words are more important than those of the author” (p. 123) against that of the Western view that confers value to an individual being able to rewrite in their own words.

A monologic view of cultural influence on L2 student writers’ plagiarism. On a positive side, recognition of cultural differences on the part of the teachers fosters cultural sensitivity that L2 student writers bring a different set of cultural, linguistic, and educational backgrounds to the classroom, along with the realization that Western rhetoric and practices are not universal. Nonetheless, highlighting cultural differences

between Western and non-Western practices as the primary reason for their plagiaristic behavior can be problematic for several reasons, irrespective of whether one adopts a normative or critical orientation toward L2 student writers' inappropriate textual borrowing practice.

Bloch (2001), for instance, warns that overemphasis on cultural differences can reinforce dichotomies between Western and non-Western cultures, not to mention cultural stereotyping. Since culture and cultural differences are depicted as fixed, monolithic, or static (Hafernik et al. 2002, p. 5), such cultural stereotypes often go in tandem with cultural conditioning that assumes a deterministic and limiting view of what L2 students can or cannot do. For instance, some researchers posit that L2 student writers, from cultural traditions and educational practices where plagiarism is the norm, are more likely to experience difficulty in understanding Western notions of plagiarism, and also unintentionally engage in inappropriate textual borrowing practices. (Evans & Youmans, 2003; Fox, 1994; Sapp, 2002; Sowden, 2005). The next example illustrates more explicit forms of negative cultural stereotyping and cultural conditioning arising from a deficit view of L2 student writers. Fox (1994) provides an account of a faculty member who claimed that L2 students were incapable of engaging in critical thinking or voicing their own opinions due to the educational

systems in their home countries that foster rote learning, imitation, and deference to authority, resulting in students' limited capacity for self-expression and critical thinking.

Implicit in the aforementioned cultural generalizations are reductionist and deterministic views that presuppose that cultural conditioning, for the most part, determine what L2 student writers' are capable or incapable of achieving. In this view, L2 student writers' cultural and educational backgrounds become cultural hurdles to overcome, since their cultural capital is seen as a liability that negatively interferes with their learning of Western academic conventions. Liu (2005) cautions that "Cultural stereotyping ...is as detrimental to and as common in our profession as the practice of neglecting or negating cultural differences" (p. 235).

A heteroglossic view of cultural influence on L2 student writers' plagiarism.

As shown earlier, a monologic view of culture tends to reinforce dichotomies by delineating culture as monolithic, fixed, and static, whereby "impenetrable cultural borders" are set up, as opposed to "fluid meeting boundaries" (Erickson, 1997, p. 47).

A heteroglossic approach to culture, on the other hand, recognizes the variability of cultures wherein cultural change and cultural continuity coexist (Erickson, 1997).

Hence, the dynamic and fluid nature of culture is also recognized. In noting cultural

variability within cultures, researchers such as Bloch and Chi (1995) and Scollon (1995) maintain that cultural “differences ...should be seen as ranging along a continuum of perspectives” (Bloch, 2001, p. 213). In some respects, conceptualizing cultural differences as different points on a continuum of responses to plagiarism, rather than positioning one against the other gives rise to the question of determining “how much of ethics is universal and how much is specific to one’s culture or society” (Hafernik et al., 2002, p. 3).

Based on findings from student questionnaires or interviews, informal and formal alike, several researchers report that, despite cultural variations, L2 student writers in ESL and EFL contexts generally share the Western view that plagiarism and cheating is wrong (Bloch, 2001; Buranen, 1999; Dryden, 1999; Evans & Youmans, 2003; Hayes & Introna, 2005; Sapps, 2002). Likewise, Liu (2005) points out that as in the West, contemporary Chinese education teaches that plagiarism and copying are immoral practices. He provides evidence from his previous schooling in China as well as from a survey of several Chinese composition books from the 1980s and 1990s, which clearly indicate that copying without attribution is unacceptable. He also refutes the common belief that copying is encouraged in Chinese rhetorical traditions, noting that finer distinctions should be made between “memorizing ...to

help one learn better” versus “copying others’ work” and passing it off as one’s own (p. 237). The above findings are worth nothing because they demystify cultural stereotypes that plagiarism is condoned in non-Western culture, warning against making sweeping generalizations or assumptions about students based on their cultural backgrounds. Given the recency of the above studies, it is possible that these societies are undergoing change due to Western influence, including the notions of copyright and plagiarism (Bloch, 2001).

At the same time, it should be noted that there are cultural similarities and differences between Western and non-Western contexts regarding plagiarism and textual borrowing practices, attesting to the fact that ethics and culture intersect to some extent (Hafernik et al., 2002). While there is a general sense across cultures that plagiarism and cheating are wrong, their responses to plagiarism may display cultural idiosyncrasies. Dryden (1999) observes that responses to plagiarism at her Japanese university differ from those of the West. While these Japanese professors and students indicated that plagiarism was wrong, student plagiarism did not warrant severe punishment as it was not framed as a moral issue. Since plagiarism is not considered to be at odds with the educational goals and values of Japanese education, she argues, professors either overlooked student plagiarism or had students redo their

assignments without any penalty. Likewise, Hayes and Introna (2005) found that while most cultural groups (i.e., British, Chinese, Greek) unanimously replied that a limited amount of copying without referencing was tolerable, Southeast Asian students showed the highest tolerance level for copying without attribution. According to Buranen (1999), citation practices may differ across cultures in terms of what constitutes appropriate forms of giving credit (e.g., implicit or explicit), although there is widespread recognition of the importance of integrating other source texts into one's own.

Plagiarism as a Multi-layered Construct

While the above explanations shed some light on the crucial yet often overlooked effects that cultural factors have on L2 students' inadvertent plagiarism, emphasis on cultural differences alone can reduce the complexities underlying textual borrowing practices. In fact, the effects of cultural differences are especially confounded by L2 student writers' familiarity with and experience in academic writing in their L1 (Bloch, 2001; Hayes & Introna, 2005; Liu, 2005). As Liu (2005) reminds us, we need to be wary of giving too much credence to L2 student writers' statements that copying extensively from source texts to complete assignments is acceptable practice in Asian cultures, considering that these students were found

plagiarizing and needed to provide an explanation to their Western teachers. Accordingly, in recognition of the complexities underlying textual borrowing practices, others take a middle ground approach by noting that while cultural influences are at play, other factors such as L2 linguistic proficiency, the nature of L2 learning and writing development, their familiarity and experience with the writing or the genre, the nature of the task, the characteristics of the source text, and other contextual influences among others should be taken into account (Angelil-Carter, 2000; Barks & Watts, 2001; Bloch, 2001; Connor & Kramer, 1995; Currie, 1998; Liu, 2005; Pecorari, 2003; Pennycook, 1996; Starfield, 2002). Those who conceptualize plagiarism as a multi-layered construct recognize that cultural generalizations cannot account for individual differences or the influence of other contextual influences. In that regard, the stance taken by this camp is reflective of alternative approaches to plagiarism that takes a more holistic and context-sensitive approach to plagiarism. A case in point would be Pennycook's (1996) description of the web of complexities surrounding the issues of textual borrowing practices of L2 students in the context of Hong Kong's university system that highlights the importance of examining the interplay of a host of factors:

Plagiarism needs to be understood relative to the context of the concept (i.e.,

Western academic concepts of authorship, knowledge, and ownership), the context of the students (their cultural and educational backgrounds), the context of the institution (the demands of English-medium institutions in a colonial context), the context of specific tasks required (assumptions about background knowledge and language ability), and the context of the actual use and ‘misuse’ of text (the merits and demerits of the actual case of textual use). (p. 278)

Centripetal and Centrifugal Tensions: The Effects of Culture on L2 Students’ Plagiarism

Concerning the extent to which cultural differences affect L2 student writers’ plagiarism, the tension between those who posit that cultural differences play a critical role versus those who argue that cultural influences are mediated by interaction with a host of other factors parallels the centripetal and centrifugal tensions underlying the traditional and alternative views to plagiarism. Those who treat culture as the key determinant in L2 student writers’ development of appropriate textual borrowing strategies are adopting a relatively narrowly-focused, monologic explanation, as with the traditional view to plagiarism. By contrast, those who see culture as one of many factors that shape L2 writers’ textual borrowing practices are

taking a broader, heteroglossic, contextualized approach that considers other centrifugal forces, as with the alternative approach to plagiarism. Just as framing plagiarism as primarily a moral, academic-honesty issue obscures the complexities of textual borrowing, so does conceptualizing L2 students' plagiarism into a predominantly cross-cultural issue. Assuming such a centripetal, monologic view runs the risk of replacing the ethical lens with a cultural lens to account for inappropriate textual borrowing practices of L2 students.

Perspectival Tension

To date, the traditional approach to plagiarism has primarily been from the perspective of the centripetal forces of academia and its gatekeepers – the institution, program administrators, the faculty and instructors, as evidenced in the coverage of topics on plagiarism as an ethical violation, academic dishonesty, cheating, as well as on institutional policies and pedagogical practices on plagiarism detection, prevention, and punishment. Moreover, the traditional approach has adopted a somewhat, narrow, decontextualized, text-based focus, echoing what North (1984) refers to as remedial agencies that focus on the “correction of textual problems” (p. 440). Similarly, Britton et al. (1975) caution that pedagogical practices that focus on the written product and on “how people should write” (p. 4) rather than on how they actually write are likely

to be prescriptive, with the processes being inferred from the product. What is more, evaluating students' texts primarily in terms of the surface textual features and adherence to academic conventions can overshadow the complexities underlying students' textual borrowing practices.

On the other hand, incorporating students' perspectives into discussions of plagiarism may provide us with a more heteroglossic, alternative approach to plagiarism as a complex and contextualized phenomenon. The truth of the matter is, however, despite the portrayal of plagiarism as an individual student problem, students' perspectives have been peripheral to discussions on plagiarism, used predominantly as supporting evidence as to why students cheat or plagiarize and what individual and situational factors make certain students more susceptible to plagiarism. Notably absent from the centripetal perspective of plagiarism are the student writers' struggles, experiences, choices, and the processes involved in how they navigate through the textual universe. To that end, the alternative approach adopts a more student-entered and process-oriented view, which echoes North's (1984) argument that writing instruction should start from where the students are, rather than from where the teachers and the institution think they ought to be.

Accordingly, the alternative approach tends to be more descriptive in that it

aims to uncover the hidden complexities guiding student writers' inappropriate textual borrowing practices. Without a deeper understanding and insight into the processes and choices involved in the textual productions on the part of the L2 student writers, it will be difficult to move away from the rather prescriptive, simplistic notions of why plagiarism occurs. What is needed are alternative ways of framing students' inappropriate textual borrowing practices without necessarily seeing them as deficient. It is against this backdrop that the need to look at textual borrowing practices from the students' perspectives arises.

Perspectival Tension One: Centripetal and Centrifugal Perspectives on Plagiarism

With respect to the perspectival tension between the traditional and alternative approaches to plagiarism, Figure 2.4 briefly outlines their characteristics in terms of whose perspectives are considered, the extent to which plagiarism is contextualized, and the views of students.

deficit in ethics, knowledge of writing conventions, or paraphrasing skills. Accordingly, the following instructional strategies are generally prescribed to deter student plagiarism: teaching note taking skills (R. A. Harris, 2001; Wilhoit, 1994), teaching how to integrate sources effectively along with proper documentation skills (Hsu, 2003; Whitaker, 1993; Wilhoit, 1994; Yamada, 2003), requiring students to submit multiple drafts and/or providing teacher feedback throughout the whole process (Drum, 1986; McLeod, 1992; Overbey & Guiling, 1999; Pemberton, 1992; Wilhoit, 1994) among others.

A Centripetal, More Contextualized, Holistic View of Plagiarism as a Joint Problem

However, even among those who still associate plagiarism with academic integrity, some underscore that plagiarism, by virtue of being a pedagogical problem, implicates teachers and the instructional context. Drum (1986), for instance, challenges the assumption that student plagiarism “has nothing to do with the teacher,” noting that it was the teacher who had devised the assignment that has brought about a breakdown in the pedagogical process (p. 242). It follows that since teachers bear some responsibility, they need to work toward taking pedagogical approaches, rather than issue threats or warnings to deter plagiarism. To that end, proponents in this camp ask teachers to examine the nature of the class assignments,

instructional methods, and assessment practices that may contribute to plagiarism.

Plagiarism-proof assignments. For one, it has been suggested that “plagiarism-proof” (Johnson, 2004) assignments be used to make it difficult to plagiarize. These range from designing challenging assignments that intrinsically motivate and engage students (Harris, 2001; Johnson, 2004; Jordan, 2001, Sabieh, 2002) or are meaningful to students (Howard, 2001; Pemberton, 1992), giving a series of smaller assignments that culminate into a major research paper (Pemberton, 1992; Sterngold, 2004); assigning course-specific topics so as to decrease the likelihood of students copying material from the Internet (Pemberton, 1992; Sterngold, 2004), assigning seminal and/or major articles in the field that the instructor is well-versed in (Eodice, 2002), and having students submit photocopies of their source materials (McLeod, 1992; Overbey & Guiling, 1999; Pemberton, 1992; Wilhoit, 1994). The above suggestions not only provide students with more guidance, but also reflect teachers’ awareness that they are also implicated in students’ plagiarism,

Influences of teaching and assessment practices on plagiarism. It is argued that student plagiarism may be one of the unintended consequences of teaching and assessment practices that emphasize information delivery (Jordan, 2003; White, 1999), giving only a few exams or one major paper as the assessment tool for the whole

semester (R. A. Harris, 2001; Jordan, 2003), as opposed to giving a series of smaller assignments that make the assessment high stakes, and giving canned topics which increases the chances that students may turn to paper mills to purchase papers, among others (R. A. Harris, 2001; Jordan, 2003; Simmons, 1999). As can be seen, this view takes a somewhat broader view in addressing student plagiarism by examining how the instructional context can contribute to student plagiarism.

Implementation of university honor codes. Others look beyond the classroom to the institutional context. Those who propose implementing university honor codes and plagiarism policies, argue that the best long-term defense against academic dishonesty and plagiarism is to develop an environment that fosters academic honesty and integrity (Burke, 1997; Kibler, 1993; McCabe, 1993; McCabe & Trevino, 1993). Thus, promotion of academic integrity is considered to be a joint, cooperative effort within the academic community that involves faculty, students, and administrators alike. On the part of administrators and faculty, it is argued that providing clear guidelines on what constitutes plagiarism, along with enforcing consistent policies on plagiarism is necessary. Students, on the other hand, are asked to participate in the design and signing of honor pledges which declare that they have completed their assignments on their own to the best of his/her their knowledge, which can be seen as

an attempt on the part of the insiders and experts of academia to instill novice students with core academic values. While positive relationships between honor codes and lower levels of cheating have been reported, McCabe and Trevino (1993) argue out that the effectiveness of honor codes in decreasing academic dishonesty is mediated by a host of variables, such as students' perceptions of peers' academic dishonesty, understanding of academic integrity policies, the risk of being caught, and severity of penalties (p. 532).

As shown above, the traditional approach tends to conceptualize plagiarism as a monolithic, fixed, and stable concept. Thus, centripetal approaches subscribe to somewhat behavioristic or prescriptive solutions that assume that sound pedagogy can offset plagiarism (Drum, 1986; Harris, 2001; Lipson & Reindl, 2003; McLeod, 1992; Pemberton, 1992; Whitaker, 1993; White, 1999; Wilhoit, 1994). However, the argument that instructional strategies are sufficient in resolving students' inadvertent, inappropriate textual borrowing practices fails to consider that instruction is but one of the many factors that affect students' writing and their development (Silva, Leki, & Carson, 1997).

Centripetal Perspectives on Plagiarism and Static, Passive View of Students

Implicit in prescriptive approaches to plagiarism are somewhat static, passive

views of students and vice versa. It is somewhat behavioristic and simplistic to assume that student plagiarism can be avoided with the right interventions, such as enforcing tougher penalties, warnings, instruction, or instilling academic values. In doing so, we end up reducing the complexities or not-so-apparent factors contributing to their inappropriate textual borrowing practices.

The static view of L2 student writers manifests in a number of ways. For one, L2 student writers from non-Anglophone linguistic and cultural backgrounds are often lumped into a homogeneous group. However, scholars in the field of L2 writing stress that there is considerable variation among international students, immigrants, and 1.5 generation writers (Silva & Harris, 1993; Silva, 1997) and that instructional approaches should take these distinctions into account.

Moreover, distinctions should also be made between undergraduate and graduate students. To date, the bulk of the studies have been predominantly on undergraduates. One possible explanation for the lack of coverage on graduate students is that plagiarism is considered to be an undergraduate problem for those who have not yet fully mastered the academic writing conventions of the academic discourse community, are unmotivated, lack the skills to complete assignments on their own, or have not learned the value of upholding academic integrity and are

willing to take short-cuts. If the above explanation holds true, the concentration of studies on undergraduate students can be seen as an extension of the deficit perspective. Conversely, the lack of coverage on graduate students' perceptions and understandings of plagiarism can be interpreted as stemming from an implicit assumption that by the time a student enters graduate school to pursue higher education, they have already mastered conventional attribution practices and are therefore capable of avoiding inadvertent plagiarism. However, from the perspective of alternative views to plagiarism, acquiring appropriate textual borrowing practices and knowing how to write in one's own words entails a continual process of enculturation. Thus, it makes sense to view undergraduates and graduates as being on a continuum of enculturation ranging from copying to hybrid discourse to what is deemed appropriate levels of textual appropriation.

The static view of L2 student writers is also evidenced by the fact that their plagiarism or inappropriate textual borrowing is attributed primarily to cultural difference arising from different notions of authorship, textual ownership, and educational practices that promote memorization and copying. It subscribes to a deterministic view of the influence of the L2 writer's cultural, linguistic, and educational backgrounds on their inappropriate textual borrowing practices by seeing

them as the most powerful influence on their textual borrowing behavior. As Matsuda (1997) reminds us, we need to look beyond L2 student writers' cultural, linguistic, or educational backgrounds to the "complex decision-making process" involved in "the negotiation and construction of meaning that take place in the process of writing" on the part of the students (p. 53). As such, a dynamic model of L2 writing needs to recognize the existence of individual differences along with variability among L2 student writers and the contexts of writing to name a few (Matsuda, 1997).

What often gets overshadowed in the traditional approach is a dynamic view of the student writers who exercise agency. That is, as opposed to a one-way transmission model in which students change in response to a certain treatment or instructional approach, their textual borrowing practices are influenced, not only by the institutional or pedagogical interventions employed, but also by what the student writers, as active participants, bring to the writing-from-sources task at hand. Relatedly, absent from most of the traditional views of plagiarism is the recognition of the dynamic and developmental nature of learning to write with sources that changes from context-to-context. Rather than focusing on inappropriate textual borrowing practices as an end product in itself, it can be examined as both a product as well as by-product of the processes involved in performing writing-from-source

tasks.

A Centrifugal, Contextualized View of Plagiarism from the Students' Perspectives

Conversely, taking a more descriptive, contextualized approach to textual borrowing paints a more dynamic, active view of students and vice versa. By looking at the complexities surrounding L2 student writers' textual borrowing practices, that is the written product along with the interplay of a host of factors surrounding the writing-from-source task—teacher, student, source texts, writing tasks, and the social learning context—it recognizes that not only what the L2 student writers bring to writing task, but also how they interact with the other factors shape their textual borrowing practices.

There is growing awareness of the complexities underlying writing –from-source tasks, that is, the tasks are much more complicated than have been previously acknowledged (Barks & Watts, 1999; Lunsford, 2001; Richardson, 2004; Wells, 1993). Lunsford (2001), for instance, points out that the veneer of “simple” academic tasks often belie “a complex web of reading writing connections” (p. 335) wherein the reading component of writing-from-source tasks are usually taken for granted. Spivey (1992) postulates that having to select, organize, and connect content from source texts while composing a new text is what makes writing-from-source

tasks cognitively complex and demanding. Wells (1993) outlines a more detailed task analysis to illustrate the numerous difficulties students encounter in performing writing-from-source tasks: mastering appropriate documentation skills, reading scholarly texts, writing one's own scholarly text, establishing appropriate voice, and questions of authorship and academic style, among others. She goes on to explain that even the mechanics of using quoted material effectively are replete with complications such as "where to incorporate a quote in text, how much of a passage to use, ...how to work a quote into text fluidly and coherently" (p. 63). The complexities underlying textual borrowing practices are further confounded with the social dimensions of writing, in tandem with the cognitive aspects (Barks & Watts, 1999).

In light of the complexities underlying performing writing-from-source tasks, Pecorari (2003) maintains that inappropriate textual borrowing practices or patchwriting may occur inadvertently in the process of attending to a multitude of concerns, that is, "avoiding textual plagiarism had to vie for their attention with other objectives" (p. 342). Along similar lines, research on cryptomnesia (that is, source forgetting or source amnesia in which a person mistakenly attributes the creation or generation of ideas or words to oneself, when in actuality, he/she had encountered it

earlier as someone else's but had forgotten the incident) provides empirical evidence on unconscious plagiarism of other's words, ideas, and grammatical structures of sentences due to difficulties in monitoring sources when one is engaged in problem-solving tasks (Brown & Murphy, 1989; Marsh & Bower, 1993; Eng, 1995). Furthermore, the fact that studies on cryptomnesia have been on native English-speaking L1 undergraduates provides indirect evidence that inadvertent plagiarism goes beyond L2 student writers' second language proficiency or cultural differences, extending to task difficulty. Indeed, higher instances of plagiarism were found for the more difficult tasks than the easier ones (Brown & Murphy, 1989). Given that there is a limited amount of attentional resources available in the working memory when a writer is simultaneously juggling multiple task demands in writing, the constant fear of committing plagiarism may indeed "be a confusing and unnecessarily restrictive concept to many ESL writers" (Hafernik et al., 2002, p. 44) which may increase the burden on the working memory or lead to cognitive overload (Kantz, 1990).

With the recognition of the complexities surrounding textual borrowing in writing-from-source tasks, proponents of alternative approaches call for a departure from a deficit perspective of students' inappropriate textual borrowing practices. Instead, it is argued that we need to recognize that students' so-called errors may be

guided by their own set of internal, coherent, and personal logic based on their interpretations and understandings of academic discourse (Hull & Rose, 1989; Lipson & Reindl, 2003).

Students' task representation, namely, how students conceptualize and interpret the writing task, is an often overlooked but critical variable that affects how they approach writing-from-sources tasks. Granted, student writers may not necessarily have the same task representations as their teachers or even with each other, examination of student writers' task representation is an area that may offer us some insight into their perspectives in carrying out writing-from-sources tasks. In that regard, it can be said that students are exercising agency by taking a contextualized approach to each writing task based on their own interpretations of the assignment and writing context.

Plagiarism as student resistance and task representation. Traditionally, it has been suggested that student writers often resort to plagiarism in completing assignments for course work that is of little personal significance or does not relate to their disciplinary majors (Pemberton, 1992; Simmons, 1999; White, 1999). From the student writers' perspective, their use of inappropriate textual borrowing practices as a form of resistance against assignments perceived as pointless busywork (Bloch,

2001; Currie, 1998; Leki, 2003; Pennycook, 1996) can be seen as an extension of the student writers' task representation. Not seeing any intrinsic and pedagogical value in the assignment, the students' primary goal is on completion and passing the course.

A case in point would be Yang, the Chinese undergraduate nursing major in Leki's (2003) study, who upon noting the wide discrepancy between the actual writing in her nursing curriculum and that done in real nursing practice, resorted to copying technical information from nursing and medical texts directly into the Nursing Care Plan (NCP) notion assignments. Her task representation of the NCP assignment was shaped by the following, as opposed to what the assignment initially called for: (1) Yang felt there was undue emphasis placed on the importance of writing in the nursing curriculum; and (2) her NCP assignments were very time-consuming and detailed, whereas the real NCPs by nurses contained much less detail and were written up in a matter of minutes. The upshot is that Yang decided to approach her NCP assignments as the nurses do, with the primary goal being able to complete the task in an efficient manner, which in some ways approximates writing in real nursing contexts. As can be seen, while engaging in copying may seem like a means to cut corners, the underlying reasons guiding students' decisions are complex and have a logic of their own.

In the case of Bloch's (2001) Chinese students, they admitted to employing copying-and-pasting strategies for writing political criticism in mainland China. Their rationale was that it not only helped to simplify a boring task, but also to produce politically acceptable texts, protecting them from the negative repercussions of political deviation. Given that the sociopolitical climate and the writing context did not call for original thought but for conformity to political opinions, Bloch (2001) conjectures that their choice of a textual borrowing strategy and task representation may have been prompted by its appropriateness for the sociopolitical and rhetorical context surrounding the writing task. At the same time, in light of the fact that often academic writing tends to fall under the guise of meaningless and boring work for many students, Bloch (2001) expresses concern that plagiarism can be used as a potential writing strategy for dealing with writing contexts that are deemed unimportant.

Discrepancy between teachers' and students' task representations. Some researchers explain that the discrepancy between the perspectives and task representation of teachers and student writers many account for why students' written text differs from standard academic writing and conventions (Greene, 1995; Kantz, 1990; Nelson, 1992; Sutton, 2000). For instance, while teachers generally expect

novice student writers to approach research papers as apprentice academics or professionals-in-training (Barathomae, 1985; Sutton, 2000) by adopting critical and analytical stances, students often treat them as an information-gathering exercise (Sutton, 2000) or “a crazyquilt of quotations” (Whitaker, 1993). Underlying the above differences in task representation of writing are different conceptions of writing, learning, and constructions of knowledge.

Bereiter and Scardamalia’s (1987) distinction between the knowledge-telling and knowledge-transforming modes of writing extends to different conceptions and processes of learning. The former, characteristic of the writing of children and novice writers, involves simply reproducing content or what the writer knows. Thus, under the knowledge-telling mode, learning is associated with the accumulation of facts and knowledge via “reproducing and memorizing ready-made information” (Tynjala, Mason, & Lonka, 2001, p. 12). The latter, on the other hand, entails transforming content via integration and synthesis of content and generation of new ideas. Accordingly, in the knowledge-transformation mode, learning is linked with “a constructive and creative process where[by] a learner constructs meaning and transforms ideas,” which potentially results in substantial changes to one’s knowledge (Tynjala, Mason, & Lonka, 2001, p. 12). It should be noted that the knowledge-telling

and transforming modes of writing intersect with the students' epistemology of the nature and construction of knowledge, which affects how students interact with source texts as well as their textual borrowing strategies. This idea will be dealt with in detail in the Discursive tension section, as it relates to reading and writing.

Discrepancy between teachers' and students' understanding of the role of referencing. Traditionally, insufficient or incomplete knowledge of rules of citation have been depicted as one of the underlying reasons behind students' inadvertent plagiarism. However, instructional practices that rigidly focus on the use of correct referencing skills, coupled with the fear of committing plagiarism can negatively affect students' understanding of the role of referencing, which in turn may influence their textual borrowing strategies as well (Angelil-Carter, 2000; Ouellette, 2004; Spigelman, 1999). A prime example would be the instructional context of a South African university where referencing skills were taught as a set of rules and regulations for students to follow without providing a rationale for students in a way that made sense to them. What is more, some of the faculty felt that teaching referencing skills to freshmen was a purely mechanical exercise or "intellectual gymnastics or academic gymnastics" devoid of value (Angelil-Carter, 2000, p. 70).

As a consequence, Angelil-Carter (2000) argues, the L2 novice student

writers came to perceive referencing to be a mechanism by which instructors monitored and policed student plagiarism by making it possible for instructors to trace the source of their words and ideas. Relatedly, their understanding of the role of referencing revolved around displaying their knowledge to instructors, showing that they had completed the readings as well as showcasing the scope and breadth of their reading, all of which were in line with the knowledge-telling mode of learning (Angelil-Carter, 2000). Similarly, Ouellette (2003) reports that there was discrepancy between the teacher's and ESL student writers' view of plagiarism: while the former took a "broader, macro" approach to "plagiarism that positions the individual writer's voice with respect to a particular academic and professional discourse community that adheres to a set of rules," the latter took a more "micro" approach viewing plagiarism as a set of rules to follow to earn good grades (p. 206). Students' use of over-referencing, despite it being a form of source misuse, was also reported as a strategy on the part of the novice student writers to avoid plagiarism by adhering meticulously to the rules of citation (Angelil-Carter, 2000; Lipson & Reindl, 2003; Oullette, 2003; Starfield, 2002).

On a deeper level, students' knowledge-telling approach to the documentation practices and fear of plagiarism may prevent them from taking more

risks involved in adopting a knowledge-transforming approach to writing and citation practices. Angelil-Carter (200), for instance, reports that students showed a range of avoidance strategies in their strict adherence to rules of citation, from leaving out their prior knowledge if it could not be references, to taking out their independent ideas if they felt they might be suspected of plagiarizing someone else's ideas. The upshot was that students' fear of plagiarism served as a deterrent in incorporating ideas which were difficult to cite and document, resulting in written texts that merely reproduced the source texts. Angelil-Carter (2000) sums up the irony brought on by the "inappropriate monitoring of plagiarism [which] actually encourages what it purports to condemn: the parroting of sources ...and discourages what it purports to protect: 'originality' of ideas" (p. 122).

Variations in task representation across individuals. Furthermore, it should be noted that there are individual differences in student writers' task representations, which in turn lead to individual variation in the written product or process, or their textual borrowing strategies. Raimes (1985), for instance, found that despite the challenges posed by their low L2 proficiency, L2 student writers who approached the writing assignment in their ESL class as a "social activity," involving negotiation with a reader, took more risks in generating new language and ideas than those whose task

representations were limited to that of a “language exercise” or linguistic problem-solving task. Sternglass and Pugh (1986) argue that variability among the L1 graduate participants’ task representations of a course-related summary task resulted in different levels of cognitive processing. That is, summaries without any personal interpretations and responses were carried out as a knowledge-telling task, resulting in higher instances of source dependence on language, in comparison with those with personal interpretations.

Factors Affecting Student Writers’ Task Representations

Individual differences in student writers’ task representations are influenced in part by what they bring to the task as well as what resources they draw from. According to Nelson (1992), student writers generally draw from a wide repertoire of resources in their task representations, from context-specific, situational variables to individual and personal variables. Situational resources typically come from the interactions with their classmates in the context of the course they are currently taking, from evaluative criteria and feedback from instructors both in and outside the classroom, to collaboration with classmates who “helped each other to negotiate and define their task” (p. 122). Individual resources run the gamut from “past experiences with the subject matter being covered in the course, past experiences with similar

kinds of school writing tasks” to the individual students’ own personal repertoire of strategies for completing certain kinds of assignments (p. 122).

Negotiation and interaction with individual and contextual influences. As shown above, there are a host of factors bearing on the individual student writer that can influence their task representations, alluding to the fact that task representation goes beyond the mere writing prompt, requiring negotiation on the part of the student. Indeed, successful task representation is also fraught with complexities in that it requires negotiation among various individual and contextual factors surrounding the writing task, as writing has both cognitive and social dimensions. Based on her study of how native English-speakers in a college freshmen writing class interpreted and completed their writing assignments, Nelson (1992) found that there were individual variations in what and how they drew from these various sources. The successful student writers drew from a wider array of resources and were more flexible in modifying their task representation in response to incoming task requirements. By contrast, those who failed to meet the writing requirements drew heavily from their past experiences with research papers and individual resources, “rely[ing] only on a limited number of situational resources” without ongoing evaluation of and redefinition of their initial task representations (p.123). In some respects, the wide

range of available resources students bring to and draw from in defining the task at hand may attest to the complexities associated with students' task representations as well as to the existence of individual differences in how they interpret and carry out the task.

Interplay of a host of individual background factors. How students approach and interpret writing-from-sourced tasks may be determined in part by what each individual brings and draws from her personal background. Flower et al. (1990), for example, maintained that students' representation of tasks are "rooted in the students' [personal] histories, the context of schooling, and cultural assumptions about writing they brought to college" (p. vi). In Connor and Kramer's (1995) comparison study of L1 and L2 MBA students' writing-from-sources analysis report of a long business case, each individual student's task representation was influenced and compounded by a combination of personal background factors such as differences in cultural, educational, professional backgrounds as well as L2 proficiency. In one instance, the extent of professional training, work experience, and knowledge of the field seemed to override their cultural backgrounds in terms of accurate task representation, as evidenced in the close resemblance between the successful L1's and L2's task representations and written analysis reports.

Previous educational experience and epistemology of knowledge. Students' understanding of the nature of academic literacy and interpretations of writing are influenced to some extent by their epistemology of knowledge or conceptions of learning which have been shaped by their previous educational experiences (Boughey, 2000; Penrose & Geisler, 1994; White, 1999). According to Boughey (2000), the novice, South-African L2 undergraduate students in his study produced written texts that merged the voices of the authorities from source texts and the class lectures into a unified, "single-voiced" truth, as their epistemology of knowledge was based on a reproductive conception of learning, and their epistemology of the nature of knowledge was based on a reproductive conception of learning that equated knowledge and learning with the acquisition of commodity. He conjectures that these L2 student writers were unable to produce a multi-voiced text that involved "negotiation of voices" (p. 283) characteristic of academic writing due to inexperience with a constructive conception of learning that requires the application and transformation of knowledge. In that regard, he suggests that their difficulty with writing-from-source tasks was not so much about L2 proficiency as it was about relearning academic rules of knowledge construction. Indeed, White (1999) warns that high school and undergraduate teaching practices which revolve around learning

as “an accumulation of facts” (p. 210) are likely to facilitate inadvertent plagiarism among L1 college students, as “they have not learned that sources should support, not substitute for, their own ideas” (p. 207).

Inflexible application of caveat from previous educational practices. Hull and Rose’s (1989) case study of Tanya, a native English-speaking basic writer also illustrates that novice student writers’ non-standard textual borrowing practices may be rooted in rules of academic conventions learned from previous instructional practices. More specifically, in performing a writing-from-source summary task, Tanya selected content based on personal relevance and importance to herself as a nursing major, as opposed to what the source text outlined as important. Her approach clearly departs from the task requirement of standard summary writing, which requires what Scholes (1989) refers to as centripetal reading—extracting meaning inherent in the original text. Instead, her approach resembles, what Scholes (1989) calls centrifugal reading, another aspect of dialogic reading wherein the reader serves as the locus of meaning construction.

Hull and Rose (1989) remind us that Tanya’s practice resembles the expert reading-to-write strategies teachers usually encourage students to use: “interact with the text, relate it to your own experiences, derive your own meaning from it” (p. 60).

In some respects, Tanya's unconventional approach to summary writing can be seen in light of "the evolution of an individual's consciousness," which is characterized by "a separation between internally persuasive discourse and authoritarian enforced discourse, along with a rejection of those congeries of discourses that do not matter to us, that do not touch us" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 345). In a sense, by including only the content that was internally persuasive for her, Tanya could have been emulating the academic caveat to assume textual ownership of one's writing.

Discursive Tension

Traditionally, reading and writing have been taught as separate cognitive skills in English for Academic Purposes (EAP) programs for L2 student writers (Barks & Watts, 2001; Casanave, 2004), resulting in what Leki and Carson (1993) refer to as an "impoverished EAP" since much of academic writing requires some kind of interaction with reading. The ability to integrate a wide array of source texts into one's own writing is an integral part of academic writing (Campbell, 1990). In that regard, academic writing has been depicted as involving interaction with others' texts (Spack, 1988) on multiple levels, from interactions with the content and the authors of the source texts, to the disciplinary community one belongs to (Casanave, 2004).

The process of interacting with and incorporating source texts into one's writing is replete with challenges, one of which is finding appropriate ways to incorporate the voices of others into one's text. In this sense, plagiarism can be interpreted more or less as "a failure to work with sources effectively" (Chaney, 2004, p. 32) in a manner that is deemed acceptable by academic standards. Similarly, Bloch (2001) defines plagiarism as the breach of the set of rules that determines how previously published material should be integrated into a new text. How do we determine who has crossed the line into plagiarism en route to putting something into one's own words? How should plagiarism be conceptualized? While the prototypical definition of plagiarism is to present some one else's ideas or words as one's own without giving proper acknowledgement/credit to the source, the issue of how to conceptualize plagiarism is fraught with complexities and gray areas. Where do we draw the line between intertextuality and plagiarism (Chandrasoma et al., 2004; Hyland, 2001; Ivanic, 1998), collaboration and plagiarism (Howard, 1995, 1999; Lunsford & Ede, 1990; Wilhoit, 1994)? How are the lines between plagiarism, imitation, and acquisition of academic discourse drawn (Angelil-Carter, 2000; Ivanic, 1998)? Figure 2.5 outlines how plagiarism has been conceptualized in relation to reading and writing.

been depicted as a writing problem arising from unfamiliarity with correct documentation or academic conventions, paraphrasing skills, or how to appropriately integrate source texts into their writing (Deckert, 1993; Drum, 1986; Kroll, 1988; McLeod, 1992; Park, 2003). As such, current writing instructional practices or writing textbooks often focus on teaching textual borrowing strategies such as paraphrase, summarization, and quotation (Barks & Watts, 2001), or spelling out how many copied word-strings constitute plagiarism: two-word strings (Landau, Druen, & Arcuri, 2002; Shi, 2004), three or more consecutive words strings (Braine & May, 1996), to four or five word-strings (Dollahite & Haun, 2006; Roig, 1999, 2001). Others, while stressing the importance of rewriting in one's own words, do not provide clear guidelines on how to avoid plagiarism, as either a shared understanding of what constitutes plagiarism is presumed or it is considered to be a matter of ethical violation. Notable absent is the negotiation aspect of finding the appropriate balance between the words and ideas of source texts and oneself. Given that writing-from-sources tasks involve the intersection of reading and writing, an area that deserves more attention is the effect that reading has on L2 student writers' textual borrowing practices and ways of writing.

Researchers from both the traditional and alternative approach alike

subscribe to the notion of inappropriate textual borrowing practices arising from the interrelationship between reading and writing (Kantz, 1990; Howard, 1995, 1999; Lipson & Reindl, 2003; Roig, 1999, 2001; Wells, 1993).

Centripetal and Centrifugal Tension in Reading

As Lundsford (2001) observes, the reading component of writing-from-sources tasks often goes unnoticed and is taken for granted despite the “complex web of reading-writing connections” (p. 335). Reading, Scholes (1989) argues, is not merely a passive, restrictive interaction with the source text that involves comprehending or extracting the original meaning inherent in the source text, but also entails a constructive process whereby the reader interacts with the source texts, actively incorporating them into their personal repertoire and creating new meaning. He refers to the former as centripetal reading as it “conceives of a text in terms of an original intention located at the center of that text,” and the latter as centrifugal reading as it “sees the life of a text as occurring along its circumference, which is constantly expanding, encompassing new possibilities of meaning” (p. 8). As such, Scholes (1989) characterizes reading as a dialectical process that necessitates both “the effort to comprehend and the effort to incorporate” (p. 9).

While Scholes (1989) does not explicitly address the interrelationship

between reading and writing, the different approaches to reading as it relates to writing parallel Bakhtin's (1981) notions of authoritative and internally persuasive discourse. For instance, centripetal forms of reading would be more appropriate for knowledge-telling tasks such as summarizing or paraphrasing that are likely to elicit authoritative discourse, as the emphasis is on transmission of information. In contrast, the centrifugal dimension of reading wherein the reader, as opposed to the text, becomes "the new center around which a new text is always being written" (Scholes, 1989, p. 10) resonates with the knowledge-transforming writing tasks. To transport Bakhtin's (1981) notion of internally persuasive discourse into the context of centrifugal reading, "Prior to the moment of appropriation...[the source text] exists in other people's contexts, serving other people's intentions: it is from there that one must take the [source text] and make it one's own" (p. 265).

Reading Comprehension and Textual Borrowing Practices

Despite the tension between centripetal and centrifugal forms of reading, in performing academic writing-from-sources tasks, centripetal reading generally serves as the basis and building block for centrifugal reading. Difficulty with comprehending the source text may be brought about by a number of factors: the nature of the reading approach, the difficulty of the source text, unfamiliarity with the topic or insufficient

background knowledge, all of which pose challenges in engaging in centripetal forms of reading.

Nature of source texts. One's textual borrowing practices, rather than being uniform, are contextually-contingent in that they vary across tasks in accordance with the difficulty of the source texts, unfamiliarity with the topic, with the nature of the source text increasing the likelihood of potential plagiarism.

Researchers such as Howard (1995, 1999) and Roig (1999, 2001) who have worked with L1 undergraduates suggest that difficulties associated with processing complex, unfamiliar texts are partly responsible for inappropriate textual borrowing practices. Howard (1995, 1999), for instance, indicates that the dependence on source texts for language in patchwriting may be a by-product of inexperienced student writers struggling to make sense of unfamiliar content or language. Patchwriting is discussed in detail in another section of the discursive tension.

According to Chambliss and Calfee (1998), one's familiarity with the topic and vocabulary of source texts affects perceptions of text difficulty or comprehensibility. Accordingly, a lack of background knowledge of the topic may also add to the difficulty of the understanding and paraphrasing of source texts (Roig, 1999, 2001; Swales & Feak, 2005). A prime example would be producing appropriate

paraphrasing of technical texts. While Swales and Feak (2005) point out that technical vocabulary or terminology in a specific discipline need not be paraphrased, the lack of background knowledge or topic familiarity pose a challenge in that the student writer may experience difficulty, not only in comprehension, but also in discerning between non-technical language that needs to be paraphrased and jargon which can be used as is.

In a series of empirical studies, Roig (1999, 2001) found that, for both L1 undergraduates and college professors, paraphrases of a difficult and complex paragraph on psychology contained more traces of plagiarized texts, defined as 5 or more consecutive words taken from the original text with no or minor modifications, than the easier paragraph that was more familiar and comprehensible. What is more, paraphrases of a more difficult paragraph by psychology professors contained similar degrees of plagiarized texts as those of their colleagues from different disciplines, suggesting that text readability or the technical nature of the source text was indeed a significant influence on the writers' textual borrowing practices (Roig, 2001).

In sum, he concludes that when dealing with unfamiliar, complex, and technical text taxes one's cognitive resources, one is likely to employ a more lax set of paraphrasing criteria, such as making minimal or superficial modifications to the

original text to make up for their lack of comprehension. However, given that his task involved paraphrasing a two-sentence paragraph, in the absence of other contextual information to aid comprehension, Roig (1999) notes that the professors and students “may have been forced to stay as close to the original language to avoid conveying inaccurate information” (p. 319). Thus, the question arises concerning on what basis we can determine what constitutes inappropriate textual borrowing in various contexts and for various kinds of source texts. Is applying uniform, absolute criteria for textual transgression fair and viable? If not, who determines in what manner what kinds of textual borrowing are legitimate considering that there are individual variations even among the same disciplinary fields?

Textual strategies for dealing with difficulties with reading. Several researchers note that difficulty with understanding or comprehension of the source texts can lead to inappropriate textual borrowing such as patchwriting, copying, or excessive use of direct quotations (Adamson, 1993; Currie, 1998; Howard, 1995, 1999; Krishnan & Kathpalia, 2002; Wilson, 1999). In fact, difficulty with comprehending the source texts may predispose student writers to engage in coping strategies that facilitate centripetal reading. According to Kirkland and Saunders (1991), given the interactive and recursive interrelationship between reading and

writing, students who rely heavily on a bottom-up text-processing approach may become more susceptible to plagiarism. That is, when the focus is primarily on decoding at the sentence level, students may lack a comprehensive understanding of the overall gist and purpose of the source text, which in turn may increase their dependence on the source text for language to make up for the gaps in their understanding. Moore (1997) makes a similar point that it may be difficult for student writers to engage critically with source texts in the absence of comprehension. Given that centripetal approaches to reading involve “try[ing] to reduce the text to [the] pure core of unmixed intentionality” (Scholes, 1989, p. 8), sticking close to the language of the original source texts may serve as a means of avoiding distortion of meaning.

The use of direct quotations is a common strategy employed among L1 and L2 student writers alike to avoid inaccurate paraphrasing or distortion of meaning (Angelil-Carter, 2000; Campbell, 1990; Roig, 1999, 2001; Shi, 2004; Starfield, 2002; Sternglass & Pugh, 1986). Sternglass and Pugh (1986), for instance, found that direct quotations served as a coping strategy that L1 graduate students in their study resorted to when they had trouble grasping what the author was saying. Krishnan and Kathpalia (2002) also make a similar observation in noting that the L2 engineering college students’ indiscriminate use of direct quotations characterized by the inclusion

of superfluous and unimportant information may be symptomatic of a lack of comprehension of the source texts.

Discursive Tension: Centripetal and Centrifugal Forms of Reading on One's Writing

A number of researchers point out that one's reading approach, which intersects with one's epistemology of knowledge, affects one's writing, including difficulty in writing and, in particular, developing one's own stance. Centripetal forms of reading speak to the cognitive aspect of reading and writing: it is based on an information procession model of learning in which the locus of authority is said to lie in the source text. Centrifugal forms of reading, on the other hand, have a social constructionist basis in that emphasis is placed on the dialogic or social nature of the meaning-making or knowledge-construction process, with the student writer re-allocating the locus of authority to herself.

A number of researchers have observed that for student writers to be able to construct a rhetorical argument of their own, they need to shift to a centrifugal approach, by reading source texts as constructed arguments and claims that can be refuted, as opposed to a centripetal approach by reading authoritative texts that convey facts and truth, (Kantz, 1990; Halsæk, 1992; Moore, 1997; Scholes, 1989). Engaging in such centrifugal forms of reading may enable student writers to interact

with source texts as internally persuasive discourse: “another’s discourse ... no longer [serve] as information, direction, rules, models” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 342). Kantz (1990), for instance, asserts that the issue of plagiarism, arising from not having anything original to say about a topic, can be resolved by engaging in rhetorical reading and writing, that is, looking for rhetorical problems embedded within source texts on which to build and craft their own arguments. As the above suggests, different approaches to reading also intersect with one’s epistemology of knowledge and relatedly the writer’s stance.

Furthermore, some maintain that student writers’ difficulty with constructing their own arguments, or developing their own stance, may be associated with what reading approach they adopt (Halasek, 1998; Hubbuch, 1990; Kantz, 1990; Moore, 1997). Halasek (1998), in particular, provides a firsthand account of her difficulty in writing dialogically about Bakhtin in her dissertation, which was brought about by a lack of dialogic reading, rather than a lack of comprehension of his work. Her breakthrough came when she was able to transition from a monological focus on the text to a focus on herself as a reader and finally to her position as a compositionist. Thus, only when her focus shifted from comprehension to interpretation was she able to engage in dialogic interaction with the source texts, situating the source texts into

her own personal contexts as a feminist and compositionist.

Another type of writing difficulty that stems from an intersection of reading and developing one's own stance is *intellectual vertigo*. Hubbuch (1990) defines it as a "temporary imbalance" in which student writers are caught between the centripetal and centrifugal pulls throughout the writing process (p. 4). More specifically, this situation occurs when the student writers, inundated with a myriad of possibilities and complexities surrounding the topic, experience "mental dizziness" (p. 1), metaphorically speaking, when trying to find an entry point into the argument for analysis. In other words, the centripetal forces of writing dictate that student writers select and limit their arguments to the point being made, while simultaneously trying to leave room for emerging insights and alternative perspectives as viable options. To quote Bakhtin (1981), the student writers' struggles entail "enter[ing] into an intense interaction, a struggle with other internally persuasive discourses" (p. 346).

Enculturation: Influence of Novice Position on Interaction with Texts

The ways in which student writers interact with source texts including their textual borrowing practices may also be influenced in part by their status as novice student writers, as well as by how they position themselves alongside the content or the authors of the source texts in relation to the discourse community (Angelil-Carter,

2000; Hubbuch, 1990; Hull & Rose, 1989; Penrose & Geisler, 1994; Rose, 1989; Starfield, 2002; Wilson, 1999). Researchers suggest that the reading and writing behaviors of novice student writers differ from expert writers in that the former treat source texts as authoritative discourse that needs to be transmitted and assimilated.

Indeed, several researchers argue that novice student writers are likely to align themselves with the positions in the source texts (Hubbuch, 1990; Penrose & Geisler, 1994; Wilson, 1999), which may stem in part from their lack of authority. Take for instance, Halasek (1998), who recounts that her monologic approach to Bakhtin's work was overridden by "[her] sense of [her]self as a reader and novice theorist and Bakhtin as a writer, 'master' theorist and authority" (p. 52). She maintains that her uncritical and accommodating approach to reading Bakhtin's work is not unlike those of novice student writers who "unquestioningly" defer to and accept the ideas of the "innate authority" of teachers and textbooks (p. 52). Along similar lines, Hubbuch (1990) cautions that aligning oneself with the stance of the expert on the grounds that "the experts are always right" runs the risk of plagiarism (p. 9). As can be seen, student writers' awareness of their lack disciplinary knowledge may explain in part why they tend to align themselves to the stance of the expert source texts' authors.

While insufficient domain knowledge may discourage student writers from challenging the source texts, researchers such as Penrose and Geisler (1994) and Wilson (1997) report that the different roles student writers assumed in relation to their discourse communities may also influence the ways in which they interact with source texts, such as how they position themselves in relation to the source texts and their textual borrowing practices. Penrose and Geisler (1994), for example, observe that there were overt differences in the reading and writing processes and behaviors between the novice and the expert writers. While Janet, the novice writer, did not assign any role for herself by engaging in an information-transfer model of writing, Roger, the expert positioned himself as an active participant by constructing his own arguments out of the source texts. Similarly, in Wilson's (1999) study of the effects that L2 college students' not-taking during reading had on their academic written assignment, she found that their textual borrowing practices reflected in part the role they assumed in relation to the discourse community. Although striking a balance between the voices of the source texts and their own posed a challenge to all the participants, Wilson (1999) points out that verbatim note-taking in which students merely parroted the source texts reflects the outsider role adopted ; those who engaged dialogically with the texts were able to position themselves as participants in

the discourse community to varying degrees of success by transforming the ideas and constructing meaning.

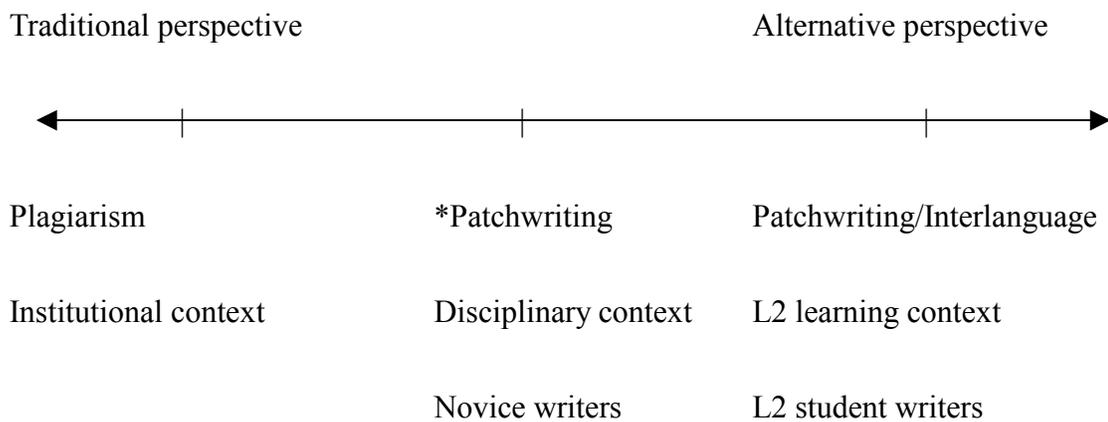
Student writers' different modes of appropriation of source texts may also serve as an index of their individual modes of participation in their disciplinary enculturation. A case in point would be Prior's (1998) case study of Mai and Teresa, two L2 MA students in education. Mai engaged in a limited mode of participation, while Teresa demonstrated a deeper and richer mode of participation in knowledge-making practices and disciplinary enculturation, which, Prior (1998) claims, led to qualitative and quantitative differences in their textual appropriation. That is, Mai used fewer references and engaged in heavy word-for-word copying of sources texts, with significantly less paraphrases and synthesis of source texts. In contrast, in addition to using a wider array of references, Teresa's appropriation of language was executed more discriminately. Despite some chunks of texts taken from the sources, she made more substantial changes to the original source text, synthesizing ideas and language from various sources using more complex and sophisticated patchwriting than Mai. Prior (1998) concludes that Mai's limited participation in disciplinary practices went hand in hand with her ventriloquation of others' voices, whereas Teresa's close alignment with disciplinary practices of knowledge construction and

writing exerted a positive influence on her modes of textual appropriation.

Discursive Tension in Different Contextualized Views of Plagiarism

What constitutes inappropriate textual borrowing practices or plagiarism, rather than being absolute, can be interpreted somewhat differently depending on how it is framed contextually: institutional context, disciplinary context, or L2 learning context. These understandings can be understood as a contextualized view of plagiarism. It can be depicted graphically as in Figure 2.6.

Figure 2.6. Continuum of perspectives regarding a contextualized view of plagiarism



* *Note:* This view does not initially deal with L2 proficiency as it is based on L1 population.

Those who associate plagiarism with academic integrity have situated plagiarism

within the classroom, institutional context, or academic discourse community at large and have recognized that definitions and policies on plagiarism may differ somewhat across institutions and disciplinary fields respectively (Lipson & Reindl, 2003; Park, 2003, 2004; Wilhoit, 1994; White, 1999). Accordingly, avoiding plagiarism has been delineated as adhering to a set of institutional rules, guidelines, and policies (McLeod, 1992; Myers, 1998; Park, 2003, 2004; Sutherland-Smith, 2003; Yamada, 2003), university honor codes (McCaleb & Trevor, 1989), or scholarly responsibility to use source texts with integrity and disciplinary-appropriate ways as members of their respective academic discourse communities (Drum, 1986; Lipson & Reindl, 2003; White, 1999).

Yet, as has been illustrated in earlier sections, plagiarism is a complex and multi-layered phenomenon that warrants a context-specific approach that encompasses the interplay of various variables surrounding the writing-from-sources task. As such, the traditional approach which represents the centripetal perspectives of Western academic conventions and discourse communities with a homogenous, monolingual English-speaking population in mind can be problematic in accounting for the inappropriate textual borrowing practices of novice or L2 student writers. As Pennycook (1994) aptly put it, the traditional approach to plagiarism “lacks an

understanding of the complexities of the contexts of plagiarism” (p. 280). Without examining plagiarism within the context of learning to engage in disciplinary writing or learning a second language, unintentional plagiarism is likely to be interpreted as arising from “students’ confusion over the standards of academic discourse and proper citation” (Wilhoit, 1995, p. 161). Or, it can be interpreted as a matter of teaching students how to avoid and identify plagiarism, as in learning a set of unified rules that applies across the academic discourse community.

Proponents of the alternative views to plagiarism, on the other hand, recognize the importance of a contextualized approach to plagiarism. Especially from a Bakhtinian (1981) perspective, due to the dialogizing influence of the context on the speech, when the context changes, it also changes the nature of the utterance: “When studying the various forms for transmitting another’s speech, [we cannot] treat any of these forms in isolation from the means for its contextualized (dialogizing) framing – the one is indissolubly linked with the other” (p. 340). In this sense, the alternative view to plagiarism speaks to the need for a situated understanding of plagiarism that takes into consideration the context in which the writing occurs as well as other context-specific features both within and outside of the individual writer. Bakhtin (1981) further argues that “other’s discourse, when introduced into a speech context,

enters the speech that frames it not in a mechanical bond but in a chemical union (on the semantic and emotionally expressive level)” (p. 340).

In discussions of inadvertent plagiarism or inappropriate textual borrowing practices, the call for a contextualized approach to plagiarism advanced by proponents of the alternative views stem in part from an awareness of the differential power relations between the authoritative and internally persuasive discourse. As a form of authoritative discourse, the traditional notion of plagiarism has moral connotations, has been infused with authority by virtue of being the word from tradition and teachers, and does not acknowledge the internally persuasive discourse of alternative views (Bakhtin, 1981). As a consequence, the heterogeneity inherent in internally persuasive discourse is “denied all privilege, backed up by no authority at all, and is frequently not even acknowledged in society (not by public opinion, not by scholarly norms, nor by criticism)” (p. 342).

Discursive Tension of Novice Student Writers

Implicit in the caveat to write in one’s words in the traditional notion of plagiarism is the assumption that the student writers have the language to do so, but that they neglect, fail, or refuse to use it. Absent from this view is the recognition that there may be a deep chasm between the academic discourse and the discourse of

novice and L2 student writers who may bring non-standard, heterogeneous, eccentric discursive resources from the standpoint of standard academic discourse. Thus, the overarching discursive tension that novice student writers face in disciplinary enculturation can be described as conforming to the expectations of academic discourse and using one's own words without crossing the lines into plagiarism.

Balancing academic discourse with one's own words. Given the novice and outsider status of student writers in relation to the academy, and due to their unfamiliarity with the discourse and knowledge-construction process of academic discourse communities, appropriation of academic discourse is listed as a natural and inevitable part of their socialization and enculturation process into their respective academic discourse communities (Angelil-Carter, 2000; Bartholomae, 1985; Howard, 1995, 1999; Hull & Rose, 1989; Ivanic, 1998; Minnock, 1990). Bartholomae (1985) aptly captures the discursive tension of novice writers as “find[ing] a compromise between idiosyncrasy, a personal history on the one hand, and the requirements of convention, the history of a discipline, on the other” (p. 135).

One of the main challenges of novice students entering the university, according to Bartholomae (1985), is learning to appropriate academic discourse by “assembling and mimicking its language” as if they were insiders or members in their

own disciplinary field. Others concur that imitating and copying words and phrases from source texts serve as a strategy for acquiring academic discourses (Angelil-Carter, 2000; Howard, 1995, 1999; Hull & Rose, 1989; Ivanic, 1998). In this view, learning to join the academic conversation necessitates that one parrots the voices of academy. Howard (1999), for instance, sees patchwriting as a form of imitation that allows inexperienced student writers to “expand one’s lexical, stylistic, and conceptual repertoires” en route to becoming an authoritative writer (p. xviii).

What is more, it should be noted that imitation or appropriation of discourse goes beyond merely parroting academic language, to acquiring tacit values and rules of knowledge-making that is legitimated in academic discourse communities. As Bartholomae (1985) puts it, the effects of learning to speak the language of the university is far reaching in that it empowers student writers “to try on the peculiar ways of knowing, selecting, evaluating, reporting, concluding, and arguing that define the discourse of our community” (p. 134). To that end, researchers such as Hull and Rose (1989) call for “a free-wheeling pedagogy of imitation, one that allows [novice student writers] to try on the language of essays” (Hull & Rose, 1989, p. 151) without being restricted by the fear of committing plagiarism.

Balancing learning content by using one’s own words. In addition to learning

how to use academic discourse, novice student writers are also faced with learning new disciplinary knowledge, which leads to the second discursive tension of novice student writers: learning a fixed canon of content knowledge on the one hand, and reproducing that knowledge in their own words (Pennycook, 1994, p. 512). Earlier, it was noted that L2 student writers expressed their difficulty in rewriting what the source text authors had said so eloquently and clearly into their own words. Richardson's (2004) study of L1 college freshmen's disciplinary writing in an introductory course to Economics also makes a similar point that:

The content, concepts and terminology which students are expected to learn often seem to them so aptly expressed by textbook authors that they have no words of their own in which to register them when they are required to demonstrate their understanding in writing. (p. 517)

Consequently, some of the student writers in Richardson's (2004) study resorted to patchwriting from the words, phrases, and sentences from other introductory textbooks so as to avoid copying too closely from the words of their course textbook. Richardson (2004) concludes that discerning the line separating words and concepts that constitute common property, which require citations, and those that need to be credited is much more complicated and fuzzy than expert academics can fathom.

Discursive Tension of L2 Student Writers

For the most part, L2 student writers are doubly challenged in that they must grapple simultaneously with learning to write academic genres and with their developing second language proficiency (M. Harris & Silva, 1993). Similarly, Barks & Watts (2001) argue that L2 student writers are disadvantaged by “[a] lack of familiarity with the expectations for academic writing” as well as “limitations in their [L2] linguistic proficiency” (p. 250). Thus, in addition to the challenges that novice student writers face, L2 student writers are faced with the challenges of writing in a second language.

Copying as developmental: L2 proficiency and writing. Contrary to the common belief that cultural differences for the most part are responsible for the inappropriate copying of L2 student writers, there may be developmental aspects to copying in terms of writing development and L2 proficiency, and enculturation. There is growing awareness that partial copying cannot be accounted for by cultural differences alone.

The developmental aspects of learning to use academic language, including writing that develops over time is also evidenced in Cummins’ (1981) model of L2 proficiency which distinguishes between Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills

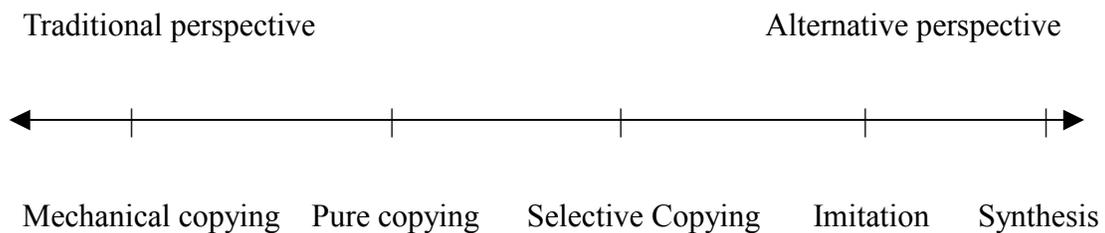
(BICS) and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP). BICS refers to L2 proficiency necessary to be functional in daily communicative tasks that are concrete, context-embedded, and cognitively undemanding. CALP, on the other hand, denotes L2 proficiency necessary to use academic language and perform academic tasks that are abstract, context-reduced and cognitively more demanding. As Ovando and Collier (1998) point out BICS and CALP, rather than being “separate and unrelated aspects of [L2] proficiency,” (p. 93) represent different points along a continuum from social to academic language development which may take anywhere from a minimum of four to ten years to attain grade-level norms in academic L2 (p. 94).

In fact, studies on the summaries produced by native English-speaking students suggest that high degrees of verbatim or near-verbatim copying are characteristic of the writing of novice-writers (Britton et al., 1978; Brown & Day, 1983). Brown and Day’s (1983) cross-sectional study of native English-speaking children, adolescent, and college students report that while children’s verbatim or near-verbatim copying do get carried over into adolescent and undergraduate writing, their degrees of copying gradually decreased in quantity over time at later developmental stages, showing higher usage of the students’ own words instead.

Based on how native English-speaking, secondary children from age 11 to 18

use source texts in their writing, Britton and his associates (1978) propose a “degrees of copying” (p. 46) scale to differentiate the various functions that copying from source texts may play in terms of their writing development (see Figure 2.7).

Figure 2.7. Britton et al.’s (1978) degrees of copying scale



At one end of the developmental scale is mechanical copying which refers to perfunctory copying of the text without any a clear understanding of what is being copied and why. Another kind is pure copying which entails copying verbatim from the book since it is considered to be the least demanding as well as the most convenient. Further along in the developmental stage, copying becomes more deliberate and selective, ranging from copying things that a student likes or agrees with, that catches his or her attention or interest, and that he or she thinks might be useful at a later time. Britton et al. (1978) go on to state that even after copying has decreased, students may use copying in an apprenticeship-like manner to emulate the writing of an author of choice. Being able to synthesize is given as the culminating

point of students' writing development. As can be seen, there may be qualitative differences in students' motivations for copying from source texts.

L2 student writers' gap between academic discourse and their L2 proficiency.

One of the discursive tensions that L2 student writers face in academic writing is between meeting the performance standards set by the academic community and what in actuality they are able to achieve within the confines of their developing L2 linguistic and cultural resources. It is against this backdrop that the potential role of copying as a coping, compensation, and learning strategy for novice L2 student writers is considered. Furthermore, it should be noted that when copying is viewed in absolute terms or examined in context as in the traditional view, it may be framed as unequivocally bad and negative. On the other hand, taking into consideration the contexts in which the copying of L2 student writers occur may enable us to see how copying may have alternative and potentially positive aspects despite it ultimately being an inappropriate textual borrowing strategy in academic contexts. A prime example would be Currie's (1998) study. In exploring the complexities involved in the *apparent* plagiarism of Diana, an undergraduate L2 student writer, she approached it as a multi-layered phenomenon that was situated "in the context of her course, the demands of her task, her developing English language skills, and her general learning

processes” (p. 1).

While the value of writing in one’s own words is highly encouraged and valorized in Western academia, in reality, however, as has been documented in a number of case studies, L2 student writers often get penalized with lower grades or risk failing a course on the grounds that their writing is incomprehensible due to too many errors and awkward expressions (Adamson, 1993; Currie, 1998; Leki, 2003; Wilson, 1999). In such cases, not only does their written product not reflect the large amount of time and effort invested in the assignment, some even receive warnings that they may fail the course. When faced with such high stakes situations, Diana in Currie’s (1998) study and Yang in Leki’s (2003) study, resorted to copying chunks so as to pass the course and “stay out of trouble” (Currie, 1998, p. 7). Similarly, according to Wilson’s (1999) study on how the notes L2 student writers took while reading source texts were reflected in their writing assignment, it was found that the L2 student writer who used her own words without relying on the source texts for language received the lowest grade; whereas the one who copied extensively was rewarded with high grades.

At the same time, researchers such as Adamson (1993) and Currie (1998) caution that instructional and assessment practices may inadvertently reinforce L2

student writers' use of copying. Adamson's (1993) finding that when tests were based on what is written on the boards or in the textbook, students often resorted to mechanically copying or memorizing class notes and textbooks without fully understanding them. The extenuating circumstances L2 student writers find themselves in, where writing with their own words may bring about dire consequences such as failing a course, becomes the context in which copying may be used as a survival strategy on the part of L2 student writers.

In contrast to the mainstream notion of patchwriting or inappropriate copying of phrases and sentences as a dishonest, cheating strategy, some L2 and basic writing researchers suspect that plagiarism may be employed as part of a coping strategy (Adamson, 1993; Hull & Rose, 1989; Hyland, 2001; Wilson, 1999) or survival strategy (Currie, 1998) that enables students to complete tasks that may be beyond their current ability. In other words, patchwriting or copying can be viewed as a compensation strategy that novice and L2 student writers often call upon when they are caught in the deep chasm between meeting the performance standards set by the academic community and what in actuality they are able to achieve within the confines of their developing L2 linguistic and cultural resources.

Likewise, Barks and Watts (2001) posit that inappropriate copying and

textual borrowing practices may be an effort on the part of the L2 student writers to “cope with the [cognitive, linguistic, and sociolinguistic demands and] complexity required to work with source texts” (p. 249). To that end, it has been suggested that copying is a coping strategy that L2 student writers may employ confronted with a task that is beyond their L2 proficiency productive ability (Adamson, 1993; Currie, 1998; Hyland, 2001; Wilson, 1999).

In fact, copying may serve as a compensation strategy that helps L2 student writers complete academic assignments even without high L2 proficiency or a complete understanding of the reading (Adamson, 1993; Currie, 1998; Pennycook, 1993). In Currie’s (1998) case study of Diana, due to a host of interrelated problems associated with successfully completing her writing assignments, that is producing comprehensible written text, difficulty with keeping up with heavy reading for her course, and difficulty in understanding the dense classroom reading texts, Diana ended up resorting to relying on extensive patchwriting or copying. In fact, she went from copying only a few phrases for her first two assignments to engaging in extensive copying for other ensuing assignments. Interestingly, while the extent of copying generally decreases as one’s writing proficiency develops further, Diana’s regression into copying attests to the importance of taking a contextually-contingent

approach to L2 student writers' inappropriate textual borrowing practices.

Adamson (1993) distinguishes between mechanical copying that occurs when comprehension of the reading material is absent and meaningful copying that takes place even when a good understanding of the material is present. The question arises as to why it is necessary to make finer distinctions between the different layers of copying. Take the following examples of mechanical copying in the context of a writing-from-source text writing assignment with question-answer type formats. Students with limited L2 proficiency commonly resorted to the key word strategy which took different forms: (1) identifying key words in the questions and copying words or sentences in the readings that contained the same set of key words; (2) identifying which sentences in the textbooks would be the affirmative counterpart of the questions, and reproducing the whole sentence; and (3) copying passages from encyclopedia articles and other source texts that included the key words in the questions. As can be seen, the above examples of mechanical copying are very similar to Britton et al.'s (1978) notion of mechanical copying in that both are used in dealing with reading material students do not understand. In some respects, it comes as no surprise that copying based on superficial, textual similarities, such as having the same key words, often results in sentences that are irrelevant or grammatically

awkward.

Meaningful use of copying was evidenced in L2 student writers' use of "semicopying" strategies, whereby only comprehended materials, be they sentences or phrases, were copied sometimes incorrectly. Adamson (1993) conjectures that given the erroneous changes made to the original source text and the selective nature of their copying, the copied material was most likely "processed through the students' interlanguage system"(p. 93), suggesting that students did not engage in mechanical copying, but meaningful copying which facilitated learning of the material. In some respects, the function of meaningful use of copying is similar to Britton et al.'s (1978) pure copying and selective copying on their developmental scale (see Figure 2.7). That is, while it still constitutes inappropriate copying, it may serve as a way for students to deal with the cognitive overload associated with juggling the multiple demands of writing-from-source tasks, in particular, of comprehending, identifying important content, and producing the content in their own words (Kantz, 1990).

Along similar lines, Pennycook's (1993) distinctions between bad and good plagiarism parallel Adamson's distinctions in that both of their classifications examine inappropriate textual borrowing in light of the situatedness of the context, rather than in absolute terms. More specifically, Pennycook's (1993) notion of good

plagiarism, deriving from “good reading but poor writing skills” that results in “overuse of appropriate material” (p. 234), echoes Adamson’s (1993) notion of copying with a good grasp of the text; whereas poor plagiarism, arising from “poor reading and writing skills” that give rise to “overuse of inappropriate material,” echoes Adamson’s (1993) notion of copying without any understanding of the text. As can be seen, copying can be used to promote learning when a good grasp of the copied material is present. At the same time, researchers such as Adamson (1993) and Currie (1998) caution that instructional and assessment practices may inadvertently reinforce L2 student writers’ use of copying. Adamson’s (1993) finding that, when tests were based on what is written on the board or in the textbook students often resorted to mechanically copying or memorizing class notes and textbooks without fully understanding them, attests to the use of copying as a survival strategy. Furthermore, the fact that copying can be used in purely mechanical as well as in meaningful ways, illustrates that copying is not monolithic but contextual and complex.

Summary

I began with the ethical tension between traditional and alternative approaches to plagiarism or inappropriate textual borrowing practices. Not only does

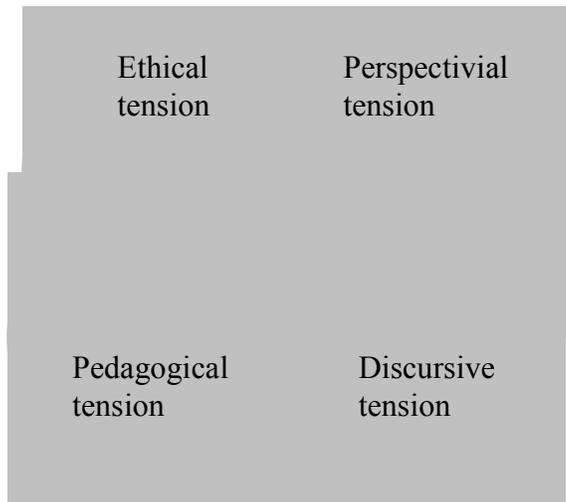
the ethical tension constitute the most general, conspicuous, and widely recognized dimension of the four tensions, it raises the issue of the pedagogical aspects of unintentional plagiarism. Continuing to build on the notion of unintentional plagiarism from a cultural and ideological standpoint, what followed was a discussion of pedagogical tension surrounding the issues of what constitutes appropriate text borrowing given that L2 student writers may bring different cultural and educational practices that may be at odds with the Western notion of plagiarism. That is, plagiarism, being a Western construct based on the notion of individual textual ownership, the pedagogical tensions addressed the gray area associated with determining the extent to which ethics is universal, culture-specific, or both.

The third section dealt with the perspectival tension, which also touches on unintentional plagiarism. More specifically, it addressed the discrepancy between the gatekeeper's and student writers' task representations of writing-from-source tasks and appropriate textual borrowing practices and how student writers' inappropriate textual borrowing practices may be informed by their own logic and understandings of academic discourse and tasks. The last section was a discussion of the discursive tension, which in some respects builds on the notion of the perspectival tension in the preceding section: It addresses how the textual borrowing practices, including the

interrelationship between reading and writing, may be different for a novice or L2 student writers than an expert in the discipline or academic discourse community. This, in turn, calls for a contextualized view of plagiarism that takes into account the perspectives of novice and L2 student writers that may not be motivated by the intention to cheat. As can be seen, the issues of inadvertent plagiarism arise from the centrifugal forces within the context surrounding the writing task, and student writers emerge from discussions of the four tensions.

Each dialogic tension between centripetal and centrifugal forces underlying traditional and alternative views to plagiarism problematizes different aspects of the monologic, traditional notion of plagiarism. To put another way, discussions of the tensions call for the importance of reconceptualizations of plagiarism which shifts from a focus primarily on textual transgression to consideration of the contextual nature of inappropriate textual borrowing practices situated within broader contexts. At the same time, given the interconnectedness and overlapping feature of the four tensions, they also formed a link in a chain of communication, to cite Bakhtin (1981). In light of the tensions surrounding textual borrowing practices of L2 student writers, Figure 2.8 represents a visual representation of the interanimating nature of the four tensions and how they intersect.

Figure 2.8. Visual representation of the four tensions



The center shaded area represents the context in which the study occurs, which is similar to what Bakhtin (1981) refers to as heteroglossia, the locus where centripetal and centrifugal forces intersect and collide. Furthermore, the shaded area of this study, which accounts for variation within and across individuals resonate with the nature of heteroglossia, which is characterized by the multiplicity and diversity of individual and social voices. In the following methodology chapter, I address the ways in which I examine the multiple influences that shape L2 student writers' textual borrowing practices.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Chapter 3 lays out the methodological approaches of this study. First, I begin by explaining why a case study method was adopted. Then, participant selection criteria and a description of my participant and her graduate program are presented. Next, researcher stance, along with how my own background and experiences, have led me to choose this research topic are explained. Finally, the chapter describes the data sources used, followed by procedures involved in data collection and analysis.

This exploratory case study aims to take a broad, contextualized approach to examining what factors contribute to the conceptualizations and patterns of use in textual borrowing practices of a Korean, novice student writer's writing-from-source tasks. More specifically, I look at four potential sources that may exert influence on how the writing-from-sources tasks are carried out: (1) the participant's task interpretations (i.e., knowledge-transforming versus knowledge-telling modes of writing); (2) the nature of the source texts (e.g., research article by academics, sample student research paper); (3) her conceptualizations of western textual borrowing practices and textual borrowing strategies; and (4) how different ways of reading influence their interactions with source texts and locus of authority.

The Present Case Study

Attending to these complexities requires a research methodology that will provide detailed, in-depth information, rather than broad generalizations. As with Nelson (1992), I adopt a case study design to “speculate about [and describe] what kinds of variables” (p. 122) may potentially influence how one L2 writer approaches writing-from-sources tasks, as well as to address the “how and why questions” (p. 91) concerning the potential transgressive textual borrowing practices. In a similar vein, LeCompte and Schensul (1999) posit that case studies are appropriate for exploring “a population, process, problem, context, or phenomenon whose parameters and outcome are unclear, unknown, or unexplored” (p. 83). For that reason, case studies have been used to investigate the complexities underlying the textual borrowing practices of L2 writers (Angelil-Carter, 2000; Currie, 1998; Pecorari, 2003; Starfield, 2002).

In contrast to the traditional, text-based literature on plagiarism that is devoid of the processes involved in the production of what may ostensibly be deemed transgressive textual borrowing or plagiarism, case studies allow us to “describe [the complexities behind] what really is happening ...[and]... provide a way to document those events that impede or enhance the success of participants’ efforts” (LeCompte

& Schensul, 1999, p. 83). Like Troutman (2003), I am interested in exploring the underlying tensions concerning what students are expected to do and what they actually do. To that end, I examine the processes and products associated with the production of writing-from-sources tasks, using research methods ranging from textual analyses and questionnaires to verbal reports such as interview data.

A sample of one was chosen to delve deeper into the complexities and the range of approaches a L2 writer takes in carrying out writing-from-sources tasks. Deciding on the number of participants to study involves a tradeoff between generalization and depth (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). In fact, increasing the number of participants may result in “dilut[ing] the overall analysis,” as this often comes at the expense of depth of coverage of individual cases, defeating the purpose of a case study design (Creswell, 1998). Thus, using a case study design, I aimed for thick description and saturation of data derived from triangulation of multiple data sources to construct a more complex picture of the nature of and interactions underlying writing-from-sources tasks.

Participant Description

The participant was selected from among Korean L2 students in the U.S. The selection was guided by the following criteria. The participant had to be a Korean,

international student who had come to the U.S. as an adult to pursue her graduate degree, as opposed to an immigrant student who had been educated primarily in the U.S. Logistically, since I am also Korean, conducting the interviews in Korean enabled my participant to express herself more freely without being limited by her English proficiency. Relatedly, most of the plagiarism studies have tended to overgeneralize findings from Chinese-speaking students to Asians from other cultural backgrounds. To address this gap of underrepresentation of Asians, this study explores the textual borrowing practices of a Korean student. The decision to focus on Koreans was also in line with the growing recognition in L2 writing that L2 students are not a homogeneous group but rather that individual variation exists even among those from the same cultural background (Harris & Silva, 1993; Silva, 1990).

Second, possible participant would have had some experience with academic writing in his/her disciplinary areas in the U.S. context and, presumably, been enculturated into his/her academic disciplinary areas to varying degrees, as opposed to having been in ESL classes that often write decontextualized, generic essays devoid of academic discourse-community practice. It seemed reasonable to assume that such a graduate student candidate would have a working knowledge of Western textual borrowing practices and writing-from-sources tasks, since academic writing in

one's disciplinary areas will involve a range of interaction with source texts.

Third, as my focus was on studying patchwriting rather than deliberate plagiarism, participant selection was guided by literature that stated that students who were intrinsically motivated and engaged in their topics or assignments, as well as assignments done through a process approach would guard against potential plagiarism. Jen seemed to satisfy the third criteria. Her research topic of direct complaints in interlanguage pragmatics was personally relevant and meaningful to her as L2 speaker living in the U.S. She also wanted to pursue a challenging topic that was underrepresented in the literature. Undertaking this topic, she argued, would help her learn how to complain effectively in English via collection of written data on native English speakers' complaints. Given that her research paper went through a process approach, which required submitting a series of small assignments on different sections of the research paper, followed by teacher feedback, the odds of intentional plagiarism seemed less likely.

I went through several venues to recruit my participant, including sending out an invitation email, which described the study as examining how students incorporated reading texts into their own writing. No explicit reference to plagiarism was made, since my main interest was in exploring their textual borrowing practices,

as opposed to their textual transgression per se. However, I was unsuccessful in recruiting any possible participants. One possibility was their perception of the time commitment involved. Another might be the vulnerability involved in showing their authentic, writing assignment, as well as copies of source texts used. It is possible that the procedure of comparing their writing against the original source text was invasive, putting them at risk of being under scrutiny, especially if they were to engage in plagiarism. On the positive side, being open about the procedure might have screened participants who engaged in deliberate plagiarism.

Eventually, I was able to recruit two possible participants with similar TOEFL scores, 247 and 250 respectively, through referral by colleagues. Tae Ho was a Korean, doctoral student who was finishing his second semester in the field of education. Jen was a master's student in her last semester. Data from both participants were collected over a period of three months. While both provided authentic writing assignments, the writing tasks were not comparable: Tae Ho's draft was part of a handbook chapter on literacy he was coauthoring with his advisor, whereas Jen's version was a class research paper. Nonetheless, building on the stark differences between the participants in the extent of disciplinary enculturation, which affected their textual borrowing practices, I initially, planned to do a multiple-case study using

them as “contrasting cases” (Yin, 2006).

Tae Ho, having identified himself as a researcher and member of the academic disciplinary culture, displayed close alignment with disciplinary citation practices. Thus, relatively little gap or cognitive and social dissonance existed between the authoritative discourse of academia and his internally persuasive discourse on notions of plagiarism of words and abiding by citation practices. As he had acquired disciplinary ways of knowledge construction and interactions with source texts, his textual borrowing practices were not conducive to examining the conflict between centripetal and centrifugal tensions that potentially lead to transgressive textual borrowing practices.

In marked contrast, not only did she distance herself from the academic discourse community, Jen evidenced less disciplinary enculturation. As such, a wide gulf existed between the authoritative discourse of academia that was in “a distanced zone” (Bakhtin, 1981) and her internally persuasive discourse, whereby patchwriting enabled her to bridge the gap. Accordingly, Jen’s case of textual borrowing was more tension-filled. On one hand, she accommodated the authoritative discourse on paraphrasing in one’s own words partially and showing understanding. On the other hand, centrifugal forces, stemming from pedagogical, perspectival, discursive

tensions intersected with ethical tensions, shaped her transgressive textual borrowing practices. As a result, her writing was replete with various kinds of patchwriting.

Stake's (1995) criteria for selection of cases informed my decision to delve deeper into Jen's case: While selecting a "typical" cases that may be representative of other cases is desirable, "an unusual case helps illustrate matters we overlook in typical cases" (p. 4). To that end, he recommends choosing cases that are most conducive to obtaining understandings of the phenomenon one is seeking to study. Despite her transgressive textual borrowing which often stemmed from knowingly "paraphrasing to her advantage" by applying lax criteria for ownership of words, her case provided a richer case of examining the hidden complexities, the four tensions, and struggles of an inexperienced, novice L2 student writer due to the richness of various kinds of patchwriting. To some extent, the complexities obscured the nature of her transgressive textual borrowing, rendering it difficult to determine whether it was intentional, unintentional, or both.

Also, Jen had been one of the participants in an earlier study on writing metaphors, so we had already built a strong rapport, which seemed crucial for examining potential plagiarism. For this reason, I anticipated that she might be more open and honest about her motivations for copying, whereas in other studies where

the researcher is left to speculate whether the transgression was intentional or not.

Jen is a single, 33-year-old Korean woman who came to the U.S. three years ago. Prior to coming to the U.S., she worked as an English teacher in a university-run English program for preschoolers and young children in Korea for 5 years. As her bachelors was in German education, she wanted to study TESOL to advance her teaching career as well as gain systematic training on teaching English effectively. Upon arrival, she matriculated in an English as a Second Language (ESL) program offered by a large U.S. institution to prepare herself for future graduate work. Based on placement test results, she was placed in an advanced ESL class. While taking ESL classes for a year, she also applied to several TESOL programs as a masters student and received admission into her current graduate program in her last semester of ESL classes.

At the time of the study, she was a master's student enrolled in a Teaching English to Speakers of Other Language (TESOL) program at a northeastern U.S. institution. It should be noted that her graduate program only offered bachelor's and master's degree in TESOL. The mission statement of her TESOL program was described as follows on the school website: "[The program is] distinctive in its focus on actual experiential learning: students plan lessons, observe classes, and design

tests for English language classes.” Her Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) score, a standardized test required by U.S. universities to gauge international students’ listening, reading, and grammar skills, was 250 out of 300. Her TOEFL score met the minimal requirements of her graduate program, which used 250 as the cut-off score. Her Test of Written English (TWE) score was 5 out of 6. She was in her last semester of her graduate program and was in the process of applying for practical training. She wanted to find a teaching job in the U.S. after graduation.

Researcher Stance

In qualitative inquiry, the researcher becomes an instrument (Creswell, 1998) in the sense that he or she inextricably becomes part of the landscape of what is studied (Grumet, 1991). Within the context of my study, sharing the same linguistic and cultural background as my participant offered both advantages and disadvantages in data collection and interpretation. One benefit is that the participant had the option of speaking Korean during the interviews in which case she could express herself more fluently and accurately without having to worry about finding the right English expressions. Also, the concurrent verbal report in the paraphrasing task can be conducted in Korean, in which case, I conjecture, the participant could be able to devote more of her cognitive resources to solving the task at hand rather than to

translating her thoughts into English and monitoring their English.

Yet, my insider status potentially posed its own set of challenges. For one, there is the issues of “filtering of knowledge through membership” (Collins, 1991, as cited in Fontana & Fray, 2000, p. 659), which can occur when factors such as ethnicity, socioeconomic status, gender, and/or age permeate and shape the whole interviewing process and product in subtle ways (Seidman, 1991, as cited in Fontana & Fray, p. 2000, 660). Interview data, in this sense, are deemed as products of contextually “negotiated texts” (Fontana & Frey, 2000, p. 646): the interviewer is no longer a neutral entity, but an “active participant in [the] interactions with respondents” (p. 663). Thus, in light of the possible effects the individual, socio-cultural factors and personal biases that I bring to this study might have on my perspective, interpretation, and approach, caution was taken so as not to let researcher bias that stems from being an insider of the culture intrude upon data analysis. One strategy I employed to deal with this bias was through triangulation of multiple data sources. Furthermore, member checks were used during the interview to ensure I had not misconstrued my participant’s words. These checks entailed having the participant appraise the accuracy and credibility of my interpretations and conclusions (Creswell, 1998).

A brief discussion is in order regarding my influence on the choice of research topic, research questions and methodology undertaken in this study and accounts of the influences that have shaped my personal views, beliefs, and position toward L2 writing in general and my understanding of the nature of textual borrowing. To borrow Merriam's (1998) words, I can "clarify [my] researcher bias" by commenting on my past experiences, beliefs, biases, prejudices, and orientations which have had some bearing on my perspective, "interpretation[s], and approach to [this] study " (as cited in Creswell, 1998, p. 202). Lincoln and Guba (2002), on the other hand, refer to this as researcher reflexivity, "the process of reflecting critically on the self as researcher" (p. 183).

Researchers such as Ivanic (1998) and Murray (1991) posit that all writing is autobiographical in that it is at once an amalgam and an artifact of one's autobiographical life experiences, as it reflects the writer's "thinking style and voice" (Murray, 1991), p. 207), "way[s] of looking at the world ... and of using language to communicate one's view[s] (p. 208). Their assertions are also applicable in the case of conducting research. Accordingly, the autobiographical life experiences and identity I bring to this research, such as being a female, Korean, non-native speaker who has experienced being in the shoes of both a L2 learner and teacher, with MA and M.Ed

in TESOL, and a Ph.D. candidate in TESOL, have all influenced my researcher beliefs and perspectives.

Initially, I entered the TESOL program in search of the one best practice for teaching English. I learned about such methods as the Silent Way, the Total Physical Response, Community Language Learning, Communicative Language Teaching, and the Audio-lingual Method, among others. After much study, the conclusion that I gleaned from my course work and TESOL literature was that there was no such thing as “the” best approach to L2 learning that would be a panacea for all learners in all situations. After taking a course in Urban Education and learning about the unintended consequences of assessment, I became interested in how a deficit view of learning might negatively affect how we view and teach our students. In *One Best System*, Tyack (1974) delineates how the quest for implementing the best practice has underlied most of the educational reforms in and out of the classrooms and in the educational system. He poignantly illustrates why trying to resolve educational issues by finding the “one best practice” through a one-size-fits-all approach is a myth. In L2 writing, Silva (1990) refers to it as the “unproductive approach cycle.” It stems from a desire to seek out monolithic and simple solutions to complex questions as the “merry-go-round approach (p. 18). It was an eye-opening lesson for me that, despite

the teachers and administrators' ideals and zeal, taking a monolithic approach to addressing complex educational issues in the name of "best practice" can be ineffective.

My personal experiences in learning academic writing have attested to the fact that learning to think in and to speak "academes" involves learning to appropriate academic discourse and discipline-specific ways of knowing, which in its early stages comes from memorization, imitation, and later evolving into internalization. Thus, my previous and current experiences with academic writing as a non-native English speaker have shaped my perspective of viewing textual borrowing as an inevitable part of language use, learning, and enculturation. In some sense, improving my English feels like an uphill battle in that there is always more vocabulary, idioms, nuance, cultural knowledge, and grammar to master, assuming that I retained everything that I had learned in the past. Even now, I still struggle with finding the right words that sound academic and professional.

Especially, after learning about patchwriting (Howard, 1993, 1995, 1999, 2001) and about the varied forms that plagiarism can take in the process of writing this dissertation, I have to keep rechecking my writing to see if it contains any overt traces of patchwriting. But then, as Howard (2001) reminds us, patchwriting is "a

means whereby we all write, with greater and lesser degrees of success” (p. 859). A barrage of questions related to patchwriting and using one’s own words in writing have emerged from my own struggle to make sense of writing with my own words. What does it mean to write in one’s own words? Where do “one’s own words” originate from? How does the process develop? Through osmosis? Through imitation and appropriation? Or, perhaps a combination of both? How do “words” transition from the state of belonging to someone else, to becoming one’s own? Perhaps, as Dryden (1999) observes, the looking glass through which we view textual borrowing affects our views and attitudes.

Data Sources

The study was initially designed as a think-aloud study involving writing-from-sources tasks using two sets of reading materials based on different levels of text difficulty. However, a pilot test of two Korean, graduate students revealed that the think-aloud protocol procedure interfered with their reading and writing processes. Both participants merely read and translated the texts into Korean for both easy and difficult texts. They added that verbalizing out loud their thinking process interfered with their concentration. It was unclear whether the participants were limited by their metacognitive abilities to carry out the think-aloud task or whether the think-aloud

was adding to the task constraints of writing-from-sources tasks by requiring an additional level of processing.

Authentic Writing Assignment

Due to the difficulty associated with administering the think-aloud, the writing-from-sources task was replaced with an authentic writing assignment that the participant was working on or had worked on as part of course work or in collaboration with another person. In Jen's case, she was working on the second draft of her course research paper based on her professor's feedback at the time of the study. A month or so had already lapsed since she had completed her first draft.

Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were employed on three different occasions. Qualitative interviews, according to Kvale (1996), serve as windows into the "interviews" of the participants, that is, their inner experiences and perspectives concerning the phenomenon under investigation, which might not have been accessible through other means. As such, the primary reason for conducting interviews was to capture Jen's perspectives and voices and to complement other data sources. Simultaneously, from a Bakhtinian (1981) perspective, the interviews were also intended to explore what centripetal and centrifugal forces shaped her transgressive textual borrowing

practices.

The first interview was conducted to elicit demographic information and academic literacy experiences in the U.S. and in Korea (see Appendix A). The second, retrospective interview was intended to tap into her conceptions of learning and writing, task representations, reading and paraphrasing processes as they related to interaction with source texts, as well as the perception, struggles, and choices involved in performing an authentic, writing-from-sources tasks (see Appendix B). The third and last interview was designed to find out if and to what extent she had received prior instruction on plagiarism in Korea and in the U.S. and to uncover if possible her conceptualizations of plagiarism (see Appendix C).

Questionnaire and Paraphrasing Activity

From a Bakhtinian (1981) perspective, the plagiarism identification survey and ensuing paraphrasing task were intended to identify to what extent, if any, a gap existed between Jen's authoritative and internally persuasive discourses: knowledge of correct forms of paraphrasing and her actual performance. From an ethical perspective, the argument could be made that the wider the discrepancy, the more likely her patchwriting stemmed from dishonesty. However, from a discursive tension viewpoint, the inconsistency may speak to the gulf between her declarative

knowledge and procedural knowledge, with the latter being hindered due to L2 proficiency, lack of content knowledge, paraphrasing approach, or ways of knowledge construction.

To tap into Jen's awareness of the various forms of plagiarism—in particular, what Howard (1993) coins as patchwriting—I administered an adapted version of Deckert's (1993) plagiarism identification survey, which has been renamed *Writers' Perceptions of Source Use in Academic Writing* (see Appendix D) from the initial title *Identifying Plagiarism*. His initial questionnaire, which consists of an excerpt from a newspaper article entitled "Gloom over tropic forests" and six rewritten versions, has been designed to gauge ESL students' ability to "assess the presence and degree of plagiarism" (p. 134). It also has a reliability reassurance of 0.94 based on a statistical measure that approximates the KR-20 measure of reliability (p. 136).

Upon field testing the questionnaire on other Korean graduate students, however, the questionnaire items were reported to be somewhat difficult due to the content density of the original passage, comprising factual information and statistics. Thus, only four out of six samples were chosen and modified from the initial questionnaire: Samples A, C and D contain various degrees of plagiarized texts in that the modifications still closely resemble the original source material, while Sample B

does not have any plagiarized text. Sample A contains instances of direct copying without quotation marks, whereas Samples C and D contain patchwriting, such as plugging in word-for-word synonyms and addition/deletion of words, respectively.

While Part 1 and Part 2 of the questionnaire taps into the participant's ability to identify various forms of plagiarism, Part 3, which has been adapted from Hsu (2003), is intended to tap into her notion of paraphrasing and ability to paraphrase. That is, sections Part 1 and Part 2 require survey takers to identify the extent of plagiarized texts in the rewritten versions and to indicate which writing sample contains the greatest amount of plagiarism respectively.

Part 3 requires paraphrasing a 570-word excerpt paragraph from Deckert's (1993) questionnaire to the best of her ability so that it does not contain any instances of plagiarism. The decision to include a paraphrasing section was to see if there may be any mismatch between what she identified as instances of patchwriting and what she actually produced as a legitimate paraphrase. To find a less invasive way of tapping into Jen's thinking process, the think-aloud component was replaced by having Jen report on what she was doing to the extent that it did not interfere with her paraphrasing process. *The Data Collection Matrix* in Table 3.1 outlines how data sources and analysis relate to the research sub-questions of this study.

Table 3.1. Data Collection Matrix of Research Questions, Data sources, and Topic

Research Sub-Question	Data Collection Instruments	Focus of the Study
What influence does the student's interpretation of the writing task have on her textual borrowing ?	Retrospective interviews Analysis of written products Paraphrasing activity	Pedagogical, perspectival tensions Task interpretations and conceptions of writing Interaction with source text
What and how does a Korean graduate student borrow from texts and why? To what extent does she engage in textual borrowing of words and ideas?	Retrospective interviews Analyses of Jen's written products Post-questionnaire interview Academic literacy interview Deckert's (1993) modified questionnaire	Ethical, Pedagogical, Perspectival, Discursive Tensions Processes and strategies of textual borrowing Patterns of use in patchwriting strategies
How do the different ways of reading influence the student's textual borrowing practices interactions with source texts?	Analyses of written products Interviews, Retrospective interview Paraphrasing activity	Pedagogical, discursive tensions Epistemology of knowledge and authority Cultural and educational influences on epistemology

Procedures for Data Collection

At the outset, I met with Jen to provide an overview of the study and explain what participation would entail. After she signed the Informed Consent Form, a semi-structured interview was conducted to elicit information on demographics, her previous and current educational experiences and training in terms of how reading and writing were taught in Korea and in the U.S., and the nature of writing assignments in her current graduate program among others.

The next series of semi-structured interviews were conducted on separate occasions over time, after I compared Jen's research paper against the original source texts, so as to determine the nature and extent of direct textual borrowing of language. After completing data collection of the retrospective interviews on how she incorporated source texts into her research paper, an adapted version of Deckert's (1993) questionnaire that explicitly required her to find plagiarized parts in the writing samples was administered. Following the questionnaire, a follow-up semi-structured interview on a batch of questions related to Jen's understandings of plagiarism was conducted. Qualitative interviews, according to Kvale (1996), serve as windows into the inter-views of the participants, that is, their inner experiences and perspective concerning the phenomenon under investigation, which might not have

been accessible through other means. Jen’s answers were triangulated with the results of the questionnaire on *Writers’ Perceptions of Source Use in Academic Writing*.

Table 3.2 outlines the sequence of data collection procedures that was undertaken in this study.

Table 3.2. Overview of Data Collection Procedures

Procedure 1	Procedure 2	Procedure3	Procedure 4
Initial Interview on biographical information and academic literacy experience	Academic writing-from-sources task (research paper) -Retrospective interviews	Deckert’s (1993) Questionnaire on plagiarism identification and paraphrasing task	Post-task interview on the participant’s understandings of and previous instruction on plagiarism

Data Analysis

In qualitative inquiry, data collection, analysis, and interpretation do not occur in rigid, distinct stages but rather as “intermingled processes” (Creswell, 1998, p. 20). This means that data analysis can begin as early as the first data collection, as the focus in on finding emergent themes or patterns (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Throughout the research process, I repeatedly read through transcripts of interviews recursively to look inductively

for emerging categories and themes. The following themes emerged from the data based on my analysis:

(1) Gap between the authoritative discourse and her internally persuasive discourse regarding paraphrasing and notion of in one's own words

(2) Gap between standards or expectations (e.g., use formal, academic register, write a research paper and literature review in her own words) and her actual performance (e.g., vernacular, informal, everyday English, does not have academic, linguistic resources to draw from)

(3) Addressivity to professor's feedback to use her own words: Paraphrase as a way of demonstrating understanding to her professor. Her internally persuasive notion of paraphrasing contributed to lax criteria for textual ownership of words and source dependence on language and ideas:

(a) interaction with the source texts- knowledge transmission mode, convey content accurately without distortion to meaning, preoccupation with details in individual sentences, bottom-up reading of individual sentences

- (b) academic language as authoritative discourse that is difficult-
make it easy to understand by replacing it with easy-to-
comprehend language, paraphrase as leveling down, change only
what is difficult to understand
- (c) citation practices as difficult, time-consuming, a hassle
- (d) paraphrasing as a rewording activity
- (e) as long as the author is acknowledged, partial copying is
acceptable as subjectivity is inherent in paraphrasing
- (f) difficulty with paraphrasing - due to finding appropriate
vocabulary, inability to make sufficient levels of change to the
original sentence, paraphrasing at the individual sentence level

Textual Analysis of Writing-from-sources Tasks

To get a better understanding of Jen's textual borrowing practices, textual analysis of her retrospective and concurrent writing-from-sources tasks was performed using the constant comparative method, which involved making comparisons across a number of variables. According to Charmez (2000), the constant comparative method can be used throughout the research process for making (1) comparisons across different individuals, (2) comparisons within the same

individual spanning different points in time, (3) comparisons among incidents, (4) comparisons between data and extant categories, and (5) comparisons across categories (p. 717). The coding was used to determine the amount and degree of textual borrowing in her research paper and paraphrasing task, as well as to identify the strategies, or choices involved in comprehending, selecting, connecting, and organizing information from source texts into her writing.

Jen's actual textual borrowing practices as evidenced in her writing were triangulated with her self-reports of textual borrowing from the retrospective interviews, results from Deckert's (1993) plagiarism identification questionnaire, and the post-questionnaire interview on her conceptualizations of and previous instruction on plagiarism.

Analyses of Interview Data

In addition to triangulating interview data with other data sources, I analyzed the interview transcriptions to investigate and infer what contextual influences or resources student writers potentially draw from or bring to the task at hand (e.g., their previous educational experiences or linguistic and cultural backgrounds, what authoritative or internally persuasive discourse). Furthermore, I was interested in exploring which aspects of the four tensions and how they play out in their respective

textual borrowing practices. For example, would their interview data allude to discursive tension arising from their status as novice and L2 student writers? Or, would pedagogical tension arising from different cultural notions of what constitutes appropriate textual borrowing manifest itself in the interview data?

Additionally, I examined Jen's retrospective and post-task interviews for possible residue of her epistemological attitudes toward knowledge and authority. To illustrate, her epistemological stances could be inferred from her statements regarding how she positioned or aligned herself in relation to the content and the authors of the source texts, or whether she approached the content as indisputable fact or as constructed arguments that is open to debate.

Coding of Textual Borrowing

From a Bakhtinian (1986) perspective, examining the amount of direct textual borrowing of words per sentence was intended to determine the extent to which Jen's patchwriting was "filled with others' words, varying degrees of otherness or varying degrees of '[her]-own-ness'" (p.89). Patchwriting strategies Jen employed to make changes to the original sentences were identified to explore how she "assimilate[d], rework[ed], and re-accentuate[d]" the words of the source texts" (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 89).

Textual borrowing, as defined in this study, refers to the ways in which the words and ideas from source texts have been incorporated into Jen's writing. To classify how source texts were incorporated, Jen's written products were compared against the original source texts to identify the types and amount of textual borrowing used. Researchers such as Abai et al. (2006) and Wilson (1999) posit that when source texts are treated as authoritative discourse (Bakhtin, 1981), students tend to copy and patchwrite heavily from the language and ideas of the source texts. It follows that the higher the proportion of copied words per sentence, the more likely it stemmed from Jen's monologic relationship to the source text as authoritative discourse. To that end, source dependence was operationalized by dividing the number of copied words in each sentence with the total number of words per sentence, to determine the extent to which words came from the source.

The coding scheme in this study has been adapted from Campbell's (1990) and Shi's (2004) textual borrowing taxonomies that broadly classify textual borrowing strategies into three categories: (1) exact copies, (2) near copies, and (3) paraphrase. Campbell's (1990) *near copies* encompass patchwriting at the vocabulary level (a) adding or deleting some words, (b) using synonyms, and at the syntactic level (c) changing or rearranging the grammatical structure. Shi (2004), on the other

hand, uses different terminology to make finer distinctions to reflect levels of change: slightly modified to refer to add and delete, and synonym substitution, and syntactically reformulated to denote change in syntax.

However, in this study, drawing primarily from Howard's (1999) notion of patchwriting, textual borrowing was coded as one of five types: (1) exact copy, (2) add and delete, (3) replacement of words, (4) changes in syntax, and (5) paraphrase.

Table 3.3 outlines the coding schemes used to classify textual borrowing categories.

Table 3.3. Coding Taxonomy for Textual Borrowing Strategies

Main Categories	Description	Examples from Jen's Paper
Exact Copy	Verbatim copying of source text without quotation marks	<u>Utterance of length as expressed in number of words</u>
Add/Delete	Modify by adding/deleting words	<u>Three independent variables</u> such as <u>social status</u> and <u>social distance</u> between speakers... were considered.
Replacing Words	Word level changes at the individual sentence by replacing words	It is difficult to <u>distinguish</u> between <u>positive transfer</u> and <u>universal pragmatic knowledge</u> ...
Changes in Syntax	Syntactic or grammatical changes to the original sentence structure	They needed to <u>talk directly to a professor</u> about their <u>paper</u>
Paraphrase	No overt traces of direct textual borrowing	Negative transfer can be considered as the cause of <u>miscommunication</u> .

Unlike other studies where substitution or replacement of words was limited to plugging-in synonyms, the replacement of words category in this study was used more broadly to encompass substitution beyond the synonym level. For example, Jen sometimes replicated the original sentence structure by replacing the original wording with pronouns and vice versa, along with other nouns that were not necessarily synonymous in meaning. Despite superficial differences, the common denominator was replacing the original with an alternative. To reflect their source dependence on syntactic sentence structure, I coded both cases as replacement.

The vague descriptors of each category in this study are indicative of the difficulties associated with classifying patchwriting. Campbell (1990), for instance, cautions that the categories are not mutually exclusive, but rather differ in terms of the extent to which they have been integrated without visible traces. On the opposite extreme, Keck (2006) provides systematic classification of mutually exclusive textual borrowing strategies using computer programming, which I found to be too mechanistic for my purposes. From a Bakhtinian (1986) view, tenuous textual boundaries exist between one's own words and another's words due to the inherent nature of language appropriation, which he refers to as "greatly weakened utterance boundaries that are completely permeable to the author's expression" (p. 93).

CHAPTER 4: PERCEPTIONS OF SOURCE MISUSE AND PARAPHRASING ACTIVITY AND JEN'S RESEARCH PAPER

In this chapter, analyses of Jen's patchwriting practices are presented, which lay a foundation for the next chapter that examines the various dialogizing contexts that have shaped her current textual borrowing practices. This chapter is broadly organized around analyses of two different samples of Jen's writing: (1) Jen's performance on Deckert's (1993) modified version of Writers' Perception of Source Misuse in Academic Writing Questionnaire and ensuing paraphrasing activity, and (2) her class research paper. The two samples were not comparable. As such, the two parts will not necessarily be in parallel form as they yielded different data sets.

More specifically, for the first task, I begin by examining how she identifies various forms of patchwriting in the Writers' Perception of Source Misuse Questionnaire. Next, I look at reading processes and her actual paraphrasing of the excerpt paragraph from the questionnaire. Then, I address her difficulties in the paraphrasing task, followed by analysis of what led to her patchwriting.

For her second task, I begin by providing background information on Jen's research paper, followed by a brief explanation on Tammy's paper, which Jen imitated as a model research paper. Then, retrospective accounts of how she approached

reading and paraphrasing, followed by her difficulties in patchwriting are presented. Next, I examine how different purposes for textual appropriation led to her distinctions between borrowing of content versus language and format. After that, analyses of how borrowing of content from book articles was incorporated into Jen's paper will ensue, followed by analyses of how textual borrowing of language and format from a sample student research paper manifested in Jen's research paper. Finally, analyses on the overall distributional patterns explicating the nature and extent of textual borrowing by source text type will be presented.

The Case of Source Misuse Questionnaire

In evaluating the extent of plagiarism in the four rewritten passages of Shabecoff's (1990) one-paragraph article in Deckert's (1993) modified version of Writers' Perceptions of Source Misuse in Academic Writing (See Appendix B), Jen was able to single out most of the sentences that contained patchwriting. For each sample paragraph, she juxtaposed the source text against the rewritten version and engaged in a line by line comparison of each sentence. Her explanations revealed that she considered various forms of patchwriting with minor, superficial changes, such as substitution of synonyms or synonymous expressions, copying embedded sentences, and superficial changes to the sentence structure as plagiarism. Her judgment of

plagiarism was contingent on her perception of whether sufficient changes had been made to the original in terms of sentence structure and vocabulary and, accordingly, whether or not she detected close textual similarities.

Of the four sample paragraphs, Sample A followed by Sample C were the easiest for Jen to discern as 89.9% and 75.8% of the words were borrowed directly from the source text respectively. Jen listed Sample A as having the most amount of plagiarism. Comments such as “It’s been copied verbatim,” and “It’s written exactly the same,” were made in recognition of heavy copying. Referring to the long stretches of consecutively copied words, she noted that despite changes to the subject or structural changes to the main sentence, the embedded clauses, which contained “important content” were “copied exactly.” Jen stated that Sample C contained “some” plagiarism due to insufficient changes at the word level and replicated sentence structures. Her observation was that while “the sentence structures were copied,” some of the words were “changed slightly” by replacing them with synonyms. Hence, she was able to recognize instances of synonym substitution and that they constituted insufficient changes.

But as the percentage of directly borrowed words in the samples decreased, she either took longer to detect patchwriting or was not able to discern that textual

borrowing had taken place. For instance, Jen deemed Sample B to be free of plagiarism. Her rationale was that the “sentence structures were all different” and only key words such as “tropical forests,” “World Research Institute,” and “the rate of loss” essential to the discussion of tropical forests had been borrowed, echoing her earlier argument that borrowing was a natural part of language use. The truth of the matter was, however, Sample B, which had the least amount of direct textual borrowing — 45.4% of the words in common with the source text — employed the patchwriting strategy of changes in syntax.

Take, for example, the sample sentence “Tropical forests, which are an important factor in climatic patterns, are being rapidly...” that copied the basic sentence structure of the original sentence “Tropical forests, which play a vital role in regulating the global climate, are disappearing much more rapidly...” and recycled words from the original, resulting in close textual similarities. Jen deemed such changes in syntax to be sufficient, suggesting that changes in syntax, having been perceived as adequate levels of change, may actually be used as a paraphrasing strategy on her part.

When it came to Sample D, which had 49.4% of the words borrowed directly from the source text and employed the patchwriting strategies of adding and deleting

words, she was able to identify the places where the original wording had been changed. Interestingly, however, she constantly referred to superficial changes made through addition and deletion of words as insufficient “changes”. She went on to suggest that her conceptualization of plagiarism and relatedly paraphrasing revolved around making sufficient changes. In fact, she depicted Sample D as being somewhere in the middle between Sample C and Sample B, the former which she described earlier as using synonym substitution and the latter being appropriate paraphrasing.

Unwittingly, in describing the nature and extent of changes made in Sample D, she alluded to the fact that patchwriting strategies can be seen as being on a continuum based on the extent of changes made, with heavy copying at one end of the continuum indicating insufficient change, followed by synonym substitution, then, add/delete, and change of syntax at the other extreme representing sufficient change. In sum, her overall accuracy in detecting the various forms of plagiarized text may stem from her familiarity with the patchwriting strategies since they are part of her own repertoire of paraphrasing strategies.

Of particular interest was the stark contrast between Jen’s attitude toward blatant copying and more subtle forms of patchwriting. While Jen identified Sample A

as containing the highest amount of plagiarism due to heavy copying and described it as being “completely plagiarized,” she made no negative, evaluative comments about the patchwriter’s underlying motives. Yet, in describing plagiarism in Samples C and D, which occurred to a lesser degree, she used judgment-laden words such as “very sneaky,” and “sly,” terms resonating with the moralistic overtones adopted by the traditional view on plagiarism. Why would she judge patchwriting through synonym substitution and adding and deleting words harshly than heavy copying when she herself had employed the very same strategies in writing her research paper?

The answer may be found in the nature of textual borrowing involved. Heavy textual borrowing of consecutive word strings was transparent and easy to identify since it had been copied exactly from the text. In contrast, synonym substitution comprised a more subtle form of textual borrowing in that unless the reader paid attention to the individual words, it was much more difficult to spot. Jen stated: “They copied the sentence structure but changed the words slightly.” She considered synonym substitution which replicated the original sentence structure to be “sneaky” in the sense that it misled the reader into thinking that the sentence had been paraphrased in one’s own words, when in reality, it contained only patches of one’s own words. To that end, she interpreted the motives underlying synonym substitution

to be one of deception: “This person was very cunning because (s)he pretended as if (s) he didn’t [copy].”

Her sensitivity to the substitution strategy by the hypothetical students was quite possibly a projection of her own paraphrasing strategy of word substitution. Yet, she never spoke harshly about her own patchwriting in her own research paper. The question arose as to what accounted for her double standards in judging the motives underlying patchwriting in the sample paragraphs versus her own version. One possibility is that her negative view of plagiarism may derive from her internalization of and alignment with the authoritative discourse and ethical view of plagiarism imparted to her in her ESL class.

Another plausible explanation is that she projected her own motivations for engaging in patchwriting onto the hypothetical writers in that she often engaged in patchwriting as a coping strategy to avoid copying verbatim. In both cases, while she evaluated the patchwritten sample in an objective manner and ascribed negative motivations, basing her decision on what she knew was correct paraphrasing, she was more lenient and subjective in judging her own patchwriting. She took into consideration the circumstances that resulted in her patchwriting, such as difficulties in finding appropriate words to replace the original, along with the fact that close

textual similarity was unintentional on her part.

The Case of the Paraphrasing Activity

The next task involved producing her own paraphrase based on Shabecoff's (1990) paragraph. The directions read: "Paraphrase the original passage in your own words." Following the directions literally, Jen interpreted the task primarily as a de-contextualized paraphrasing activity.

Approaches to Reading

Without asking any questions about the context in which the paraphrase would be used, she delved immediately into reading. She silently went over the source text two times, explaining that her reading comprehension usually involved reading the sentences and comprehending their meaning simultaneously. In her third reading, in response to my request to verbalize out loud whatever was going on in her mind while reading, she alternated between reading aloud each sentence and immediately translating it into Korean.

She took a bottom-up approach to reading that involved decoding sentence by sentence, relying exclusively on the source text for construction of meaning, as opposed to bringing in her own knowledge or interpretations in making sense of the text. In this respect, her interaction with the text was monologic in the sense that

comprehension on her part entailed a one-way transmission process where she extracted meaning that resided in the sentences of the source text.

Approaches to Paraphrasing

Her paraphrasing methods mirrored her reading approach in terms of the text-bound, decontextualized, line-by-line approach adopted. Each of her paraphrases was produced after she silently perused each sentence in the source text. Sentence after sentence, she rehearsed out loud how her paraphrases would begin, writing down whatever she wanted to finalize and continuing on in the same manner until she completed her paraphrases.

Her dependence on the source text was evidenced by the fact that she produced paraphrases that bore one-on-one sentence correspondence to the original paragraph. Jen's draft was comprised of four sentences, which corresponded to the number of sentences in the source text. Furthermore, her paraphrases followed the same sequential order due to her line-by-line approach to paraphrasing. Below is her paraphrased version of Shabecoff's (1990) paragraph:

An international research group has reported that tropical forests, which have a great effect on the global climate, have been *ruined* much more quickly than before. According to the World Research Institute's 1990 report, every year

people have removed 40~50 million acres of tropical forest *because* of economic development. This study shows that the rate of loss in 1987 was *nearly 50% higher* than in 1980 *all over the world*. It was *announced* that 1.9 billion acres of tropical forest have been *left*.

Underlines represent overlapping words and italics denote words replaced with synonymous expressions. The relatively dense concentration of underlined and italicized words alluded to the close textual similarities or her textual dependence for words and sentence structure. Approximately fifty-seven percent of the words derived from direct textual borrowing from the source text. When words replaced with synonyms were included in the tally, source dependence increased to 80.5%.

On the other hand, the high percentage of borrowed words may also be reflective of direct textual borrowing of nouns such as “tropical forests,” “an International Research Group,” “the Word Research Institute” or units such as “1.9 billion acres of tropical forests.” In this regard, the nature of textual borrowing was related to topic-related words and spoke to the technical nature of Shabecoff’s (1990) text. However, as will be shown, the high percentage of borrowed words was indicative of her patchwriting strategies that resulted in superficial changes to the original sentences and her textual dependence for wording and sentence structure.

In the first example, note that synonym substitution accounted for the majority of her changes:

Example 4.1.

Shabecoff, 1990	Jen's draft
<p><u>Tropical forests, which play a vital role in regulating the global climate,</u> are <i>disappearing much more</i> rapidly <u>than</u> previously estimated, <i>according to an</i> <u>international research group.</u></p>	<p><u>An international research group</u> has <i>reported</i> that <u>tropical forests, which have a great effect on the global climate,</u> have been <i>ruined much more quickly than</i> <i>before.</i></p>

By opening her sentence with “An international research group has *reported,*” it seemed that she had changed the sentence structure. However, upon closer examination, her subject and verb were synonymous expressions of “*according to an international research group*” which came at the end of the sentence in the original, but have been relocated in her version.

Furthermore, plugging-in synonyms has resulted in replication of the sentence structure. In fact, 50% of the words were identical to the original sentence,

and textual dependence jumped to 80.8%. when synonym substitution was included. Despite the superficial changes made to verb tense (i.e, are → have been) and moving “an international research group” to the beginning of the sentence as its subject, the original sentence structure has been preserved for the most part.

Initially, she set off to a good start in using a different sentence structure from the original by opening her paraphrase with “This study shows that...”:

Example 4.2.

<p>Shabecoff, 1990</p> <p>According to the <u>study</u>, the rate of loss in most countries <u>was</u> <i>nearly 50% more</i> in 1987 <u>than in 1980</u>.</p>	<p>Jen</p> <p>This <u>study</u> shows that <u>the rate of loss</u> in 1987 <u>was</u> <i>almost 50% higher than</i> in <u>1980</u> <i>all over the world</i>.</p>
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However, upon closer examination, it was revealed that the rest of the changes involved plugging her own words into the basic sentence structure of the original, replacing *nearly* with *almost*, *more* with *higher*, and *in most countries* and *all over the world*.

While she was able to make some superficial changes at the word level

without copying by deploying synonym substitution, the end result was that the sentence structure of the embedded sentence was replicated, despite other attempts to make changes such as rearranging the order of “in 1987” and changing the tense from past to present. In fact, 52.4% of the words were identical to the original, and textual dependence of words increased to 80.8% when synonym substitution was included.

Another patchwriting strategy that Jen employed was to change passive voice into active-voice sentences, a strategy that was used earlier in her research paper:

Example 4.3.

<p>Shabecoff, 1990</p> <p><i>Each <u>year</u> recently, <u>40 million</u> to <u>50 million acres</u> (16million to 20 million hectares) <u>of tropical forests have been lost</u> as trees are cut for timber and land is cleared for agriculture and <u>development</u>, <u>the World Research Institute</u> said in its <u>1990 report</u>.</i></p>	<p>Jen</p> <p>According to <u>the World Research Institute's 1990 report</u>, <i>every year</i> people <u>have</u> removed <u>40~50 million acres of tropical forest</u> <i>because</i> of economic <u>development</u>.</p>
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The passive voice (i.e., “40 million to 50 million acres... of tropical forests have been

lost...”) in the original was changed into active voice (i.e., “people have removed 40~50 million acres of tropical forest...”) by moving the subject to the object position in her paraphrase.

Compared to other patchwritten sentences, the above not only departed from replicating the original sentence structure, but was also the only instance in which she actually attempted to move away from faithful reproduction of details. Instead, she rephrased it in a way that summarized what she considered to be the main point into her own words, abridging “...*as* trees are cut for timber and land is cleared for agriculture and development” into “*because* of economic *development*.” Pulling “the World Research Institute” to the beginning of her sentence also constituted a calculated move on her part to make changes to the original.

However, her sentence still displayed textual dependence at the word and sentence structure level since changing passive into active involved changes in syntax which could be traced back to the source. Furthermore, moving and changing “the World Research Institute *said* in its 1990 report” into “*according to* the World Research Institute’s 1990 report” was similar in nature to synonym substitution. She also used synonym substitution by changing “*each* year” into “*every* year” which occupied the same location in the respective sentences, right before the main sentence.

On the other hand, while 69.6% of the words were directly borrowed, the high percentage may have been induced by the use of long word strings such as “50 million acres of tropical forest” and “the World Research Institute” and thus were not an accurate measure of the extent of direct textual borrowing.

Her last sentence employed a similar patchwriting strategy, but in reverse order. It was another variation of changes in syntax that changed active into passive voice sentence:

Example 4.4.

<p>Shabecoff, 1990</p> <p>The <i>report</i> said <u>1.9 billion acres of tropical forests</u> <i>remained</i>.</p>	<p>Jen</p> <p>It was <i>announced</i> that <u>1.9 billion acres of tropical forests</u> have been <i>left</i></p>
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Consequently, it resulted in changes to the beginning of her sentence and its subject, but for the most part, the sentence structure of the embedded sentence in the original was kept intact. Also, 46.2% of her words came from the text, while textual dependence increased to 61.6% when synonym substitution was considered. Thus, due to insufficient changes, her paraphrase stayed close to the original.

Let's revisit the issue of why Jen paraphrased Shabecoff's (1990) paragraph line by line without asking for any additional information on the context in which it would be used. Given her decontextualized and mechanical approach, her purpose for paraphrasing seemed to be in conveying the content faithfully, which was analogous to knowledge-telling. Thus, her line-by-line paraphrasing approach may have precluded the need to craft her paraphrase for a specific context, as in the knowledge-transforming mode of writing.

While paraphrasing with the source text at hand enabled her to avoid wholesale copying, it often led to inadvertent copying of the basic sentence structure through synonym substitution. On the surface, Jen employed a wide range of patchwriting strategies, such as rearranging order, changing tenses, synonym substitution, and changing syntax, all of which resulted in quantitative and superficial changes. Consequently, her paraphrases bordered on patchwriting, in particular, synonym replacement and keeping the syntax of the original source text intact. In this respect, patchwriting may actually be a paraphrasing strategy on her part. What was internally persuasive to her was that so long as her attempted paraphrases were different from the original, it constituted a paraphrase.

At the same time, it should be noted that the boundaries or lines between

patchwriting and paraphrasing were not always clear-cut. Due to the technical nature of the text that gave figures and statistical information, it was not always easy to paraphrase without borrowing from the text. In this respect, taking a contextualized approach that considers how the nature of the text induces close copying makes it all the more difficult to determine the parameters of appropriate paraphrasing in some cases.

Difficulty with Vocabulary

Jen's difficulty with vocabulary occurred within the context of trying to come up with alternative words that could replace the original wording, while looking at the source text. More specifically, her search for the right words occurred against the backdrop of her line-by-line approach to paraphrasing that entailed translating the original sentence into her own words to the extent that she was able to. For example, throughout the whole paraphrasing process, she made a number of references to finding appropriate vocabulary to replace the original with:

“What should I *change* climate with?”

“It's so difficult to *change* this into another expression.”

“It's very hard to change this into the right expression.”

“I don't know what would make a good *substitute* for this word.”

“I can’t seem to think of what to *replace* ‘rate of loss’ with.” [emphasis added].

Note that her perceptions of difficulty in paraphrasing are associated with finding appropriate, interchangeable words. Thus, her tendency to produce paraphrases that plugged in words and expressions to make it synonymous to the original can be explained in part by her approach to paraphrasing as a rewording activity.

Ethical Tension in Patchwriting

It seemed that ethical tensions arose between wanting to intentionally copy due to difficulty with finding replaceable words and concern for committing plagiarism by inadvertently copying verbatim. On the one hand, frustrated at her constant attempt to find apt expressions to replace the original, at one point, she stated: “I wish I could just copy this [expression] as it is. I don’t know any words to replace this with. I can’t think of an expression to replace ‘rate of loss’ with.” On the other hand, when she found out that she had to paraphrase Shabecoff’s (1990) paragraph, she expressed concerns about copying words unintentionally in the process of paraphrasing. “I have to paraphrase all that in my own words? It’s driving me crazy. What if I end up copying all of it?” she sighed.

Despite her approach to find synonymous words, her strategy of synonym substitution was not altogether mechanical. At times, she also took into consideration

whether the alternative would be appropriate for the sentential context. A case in point would be when she stopped in the middle of her paraphrase to conjure up all the possible words she could think of that could replace climate:

What should I change “climate” with? ...Climate is a bit different from nature. ... Does global nature sound strange? The weather sounds a bit off... Ecological system? Hhmm, nature and ecological system. They fit [with climate], but these words are not on the same level as climate. ”

A question that arose at this point was why she wanted to change the word climate. It was revealed that there was no particular reason except for a nagging sense that, to avoid plagiarism, she should try to make as many changes as possible. “Should I keep climate or not? If I use it, for some reason, it feels more like plagiarism,” Jen remarked.

Given that her association of the word plagiarism, along with comments on what words to “replace” or “change” the original words with, occurred in the context of paraphrasing, it seemed that the tension to make sufficient changes to the original underlied her textual borrowing practices. Also at play may be a carryover effect from completing the questionnaire on identifying the amount of plagiarism in sample paragraphs, prior to producing her own paraphrase of Shabecoff’s (1990). Thus, it is

possible that the questionnaire may have reinforced her notion that she should make as many changes as possible to the original so as to avoid plagiarism.

Understanding What Led to Patchwriting

Jen's bottom-up approach to paraphrasing was not altogether from an incomplete knowledge about paraphrasing. Rather, it stemmed partly from its heteroglossic nature (Bakhtin, 1981): It operated in the midst of opposing tensions and discrepancy between what she knew about paraphrasing, that was aligned to the authoritative discourse, and what she could actually produce, her internally persuasive discourse on paraphrasing.

In the post-interview after the paraphrasing activity, she elucidated on a number of problems with her paraphrasing approach and offered solutions on how it could be rectified. At the same time, she counterbalanced her solutions with obstacles that thwarted her efforts to implement her knowledge into practice. She was aware that taking a decontextualized, line-by-line, knowledge-telling approach was problematic; In the course of putting all her efforts into "blindly changing the words" and "paraphrasing one sentence at a time," her individual paraphrases functioned as isolated sentences. They were scattered and incoherent in the sense that the process was reflected in the product: The whole "paragraph did not flow naturally" as each

sentence was paraphrased “separately from [one another].” In contrast, she noted that the sentences in the original paragraph were intricately connected in that they transitioned naturally and smoothly from one sentence to another.

Alternatively she suggested a different approach that required producing paraphrases that imparted her understanding of the content, as opposed to merely changing words. “Well, if I were to write only after I have read and comprehended it [deeply], then, my paraphrases would be different,” she remarked. Her description was in line with the knowledge-transforming approach where textual dependence on the source text for vocabulary and sentence structure could be significantly decreased, as the main focus would be on presenting her rendition of the content on her terms. To that end, she recommended paraphrasing by setting aside the source text, an approach commonly prescribed in the authoritative discourse on paraphrasing as an anecdote to patchwriting.

On the other hand, she expressed ambivalence about paraphrasing without the source text, which may speak to the counter tensions between centripetal and centrifugal forces (Bakhtin, 1981) at work. While neither the content nor the paragraph was difficult in and of themselves, she argued, her task interpretation of paraphrasing without the text was that it required memorizing statistical information

and the order in which the ideas were developed. Noting that “memorizing numbers and the flow of content [were] difficult tasks,” she concluded: “I can’t possibly write with this [passage] covered up.”

Underlying her rationale on why it was difficult to paraphrase without the source text may be a knowledge-telling approach to paraphrasing. Regurgitating information was of utmost importance, with less consideration of why it needed to be presented and for what purpose. In Bakhtinian (1981) terms, the source texts served as authoritative discourse that “demands our unconditional allegiance” (p.343). For instance, in spite of her knowledge that presenting only the main points or a summary was a viable means of paraphrasing, she found herself paraphrasing one sentence after another mechanically.

The hurdle, in this case, was her personal preference of paraphrasing that wanted to “include all the content.” “That’s my style,” she exclaimed. She went on to explain that paraphrasing individual sentences seemed warranted since none of the content would be excluded. But then, looking back at her paraphrases Jen commented: “Now that it’s all done, I wonder. Maybe it wasn’t all that necessary.” Her ambivalence may be indicative of the underlying tensions between the knowledge-telling and knowledge-transforming approaches, which led her to

conclude: “I don’t know.”

One possible explanation for her proclivity to include all the content in her paraphrases could be due to an outgrowth of her previous educational experiences in Korea where emphasis was placed on knowledge transmission. It may be that the knowledge-telling approach to writing and paraphrasing were deeply ingrained in her mind and continued to exert influence on her textual borrowing practices. Another possible explanation may be her task interpretation of the paraphrasing task. Since the directions indicated that she paraphrase the whole paragraph, she interpreted it as a paraphrasing activity and knowledge-telling task that required her to report the content accurately and faithfully.

The Case of Jen’s Research Paper

Jen’s class research paper was part of the course requirements for an *Introduction to Second Language Acquisition* (SLA) class. For her final paper, she had to choose one of the theories from their textbook Gass and Selinker’s (2001) *Second Language Acquisition* or course readings, and conduct research that connected theory with practice. It should be noted that this was her first time writing a research paper, let alone conducting research.

Background on Jen's Research Paper

Her research paper was developed over time, as it went through a series of short assignments. In fact, her professor had implemented a process approach by breaking down the research paper into three stages: (1) research topic and research questions, (2) bibliography, and (3) outline of methods used including sample of research instrument. For these weekly and at times bi-weekly assignments, she had to submit a one- or two- page summary for each of the stages, which she received feedback on. She stated that the process approach prevented her from doing everything last minute.

She produced a total of two drafts. Her professor provided written feedback on her first draft, which she then proceeded to incorporate into her final draft. At the time of the study, she was working on revising her first draft to submit the final draft. In terms of the total amount of time it took to write her actual draft, Jen estimated that it took approximately two weeks to finish.

One reason I chose Jen as my participant was that she fit the profile of a highly motivated student who was genuinely interested in her research topic. The literature notes that having students go through a process approach and working with those who are genuinely engaged in their topic can decrease the likelihood of

plagiarizing.

Initially, her professor's comments during class that interlanguage pragmatics would make a good research topic prompted her to consider it as a viable topic, but her decision also stemmed from strong, personal interest and firsthand experience as a L2 speaker living in the U.S. Despite the importance of being able to make direct complaints, she noticed that there was relatively little opportunity for non-native English speakers to learn how to make direct complaints due to limited exposure to such situations and its "face-threatening" nature. She recounted an actual experience from her part-time job where dissatisfaction mounted since her boss was usually late with paying the employees promptly on payday. One of her native-speaker coworkers offered to talk to the boss on behalf of other employees privately in his office. After that incident, Jen became convinced about the importance of being able to complain in English appropriately.

Jen was motivated to learn about what the field of pragmatics said about complaints of non-native and native English speakers, as well as to learn through her own survey study, differences between complaints made by NES and Korean English speakers. Had she had more time, she argued, she would have covered a wider range of situations: "I wanted to deal with more various situations if I had more time.

Personally, I found the results very interesting,” Jen stated. She also wanted to take on a challenging topic: “It was a challenging area that I didn’t know much about. Pragmatics is a difficult area for NNES.” At the same time, she added that her incentive to do a research paper on complaints stemmed less from a desire to do research, but more from a desire to improve her English. Her last statement implied the level of her disciplinary enculturation, as will be shown later, will affect her textual borrowing practices.

Background on Tammy’s Paper

As the SLA course was an introductory class for masters level students with little research experience, most of whom were writing a research paper for the first time, her professor distributed sample student papers. Each student was given a student paper from earlier semesters that addressed the same or similar research topic, to help students get a better idea of how to write the research paper.

Jen received Tammy’s paper since they shared the same research topic, although Tammy’s research paper looked at refusals as well as complaints. Nonetheless, Jen stated that Tammy’s paper was helpful since both researched on cross-cultural comparisons of native and non-native English speakers’ complaint behavior collected via written Discourse Completion Tasks. As will be shown later,

this commonality in topic and research instrument translated into Tammy's paper serving as a template for Jen's paper. Unbeknownst to Jen, Tammy's paper also appeared in the program's working papers website and had received an award for outstanding student research paper. Tammy appeared to be a native speaker of English based on her brief biography on the website.

Jen's paper consisted of 7416 words, whereas Tammy's paper was 6068 words in length excluding references. As for source use, Jen had 6 references, all of which were research articles in books. In contrast, Tammy had 19 references, which ran the gamut from research articles in books to journal articles and ERIC documents. Tammy's Appendices included an Informed Consent Form whereas Jen's did not, suggesting that Tammy may have followed research protocol in addition to conducting her project.

Approaches to Paraphrasing

When asked what she focused on while reading articles in the context of writing her research paper, Jen replied that after topic selection, she first searched for relevant source texts by screening for articles with titles that included key words related to complaints.

Knowledge-telling and Reading

Her initial reading was goal-directed as she read with the following questions in mind, “What sources can I put into my paper? What [content] will be useful?” In the process of looking for pertinent information, she underlined or put stars on “everything [content] that could potentially go into [her] paper.”

She also paid attention to the underscored sentences marked by previous students who had read the book article. Although she could not recall whether the underlined content by others were included in her paper, she stated that “they were useful to her” nonetheless in the sense that she “took careful note of them.” The benefit of underlining sentences, Jen noted, was that they served as signals that they might be “important content” or that she might reread them again.

Note that her reading comprised primarily of paying attention to individual sentences so as to garner information that could potentially be included as content. That her reading revolved around finding content may explain in part why Jen’s patchwritten sentences displayed a knowledge-telling mode to paraphrasing.

Moreover, at the individual sentence level, her reading centered on extracting the main points of the sentence which resonated with centripetal reading that aims at identifying the “original intention” residing in the core of the text (Scholes, 1989, p.

7). Reading to paraphrase entailed looking for “the main point the author was trying to convey,” by “tak[ing] out extraneous modifiers and looking for what the [author] set out to express.” Note that her description was along the lines of Scholes’ (1989) notion of centripetal reading, which he depicted as “try[ing] to reduce the text to this pure core of unmixed intentionality” (p. 7).

Knowledge-telling and Paraphrasing

Jen’s tendency to engage in a knowledge-telling mode of reading carried over into her paraphrasing approach. Her emphasis on borrowing of content and ideas, in turn, may be reflective of the nature of her textual borrowing from book articles:

Soo: When you paraphrase, do you include most of what the author says or choose only the important parts?

Jen: I don’t take out information. Since my task is to make the information I’ve understood comprehensible to others, I believe I should convey all of that information in my own words.

While the extent to which information from sources were incorporated varied from sentence to sentence, her statement on “convey[ing] all of that information” suggested that she adopted a knowledge-telling approach to paraphrasing that faithfully reproduced the content.

In recognition of the fact that her sentences tended to resemble the original sentence in wording and sentence structure, as she paraphrased with the source text at her side, Jen suggested an alternative approach. “I have to be able to reconceptualize [the sentence], but that is so hard,” Jen argued. To avoid close copying of sentence structure and wording, she stressed the importance of taking down the main points without looking at the original source text and then “creat[ing] a new sentence structure.”

Her reference to “reconceptualize” the original sentence alluded to a knowledge-transforming approach to paraphrasing that reconfigured the original sentence without borrowing too closely. She demonstrated awareness that to produce paraphrases that do not copy closely, she needed to take a more proactive approach to understanding by reinterpreting it. However, she noted that it was “too hard,” suggesting that patchwriting may stem from a difficulty with making sufficient changes to the original.

Paraphrasing as Reorganizing

On a few occasions, Jen was able to “reconceptualize” and produce paraphrases that bore little to less textual similarity with the source text. Using the English expression “well-organized,” Jen explicated on this approach as follows: “I

think paraphrasing should make [information] well-organized, so it's easy to understand." She further articulated: "In my view, one function of paraphrasing is to organize, such as in "one, two, three" or "one and the other."

Her above approach resembled a knowledge-transforming approach to writing in that both entailed making changes to the original sentence structure and going beyond merely reproducing content. Her notion of paraphrasing as organizing information manifested as a tendency to write sentences foreshadowing how many points would be addressed (e.g., "They introduced four basic semantic components....", and "...the results were analyzed based on five standards"), followed by indented bulleted points for each item that resembled those used in Power point presentations.

One emerging theme was that foreshadowing sentences immediately preceding the bulleted points generally involved making more structural changes to the original sentence, such as changes in syntax or paraphrasing. In a few cases, her paraphrasing-as-organizing approach resulted in foreshadowing sentences with less one-to-one direct textual correspondence in language with the original and more reformulation of syntax or sentence structure. The below example, for instance, shows Jen's paraphrasing-as-organizing approach that led to producing her own

paraphrase:

Example 4.5.

<p>Maeshiba et al.,1996, p. 156</p> <p>Non-structural <u>factors</u> interacting with <u>pragmatic transfer</u> include <u>learner-external factors</u> such as <u>learning context and length of residence in the target community</u>, and <u>learner-internal factors</u> such as <u>attitude toward the native and target community</u> and <u>second language proficiency</u>.</p>	<p>Jen, p. 3</p> <p>In addition, the authors mentioned that several <u>factors</u> have an effect on the quality and degree of <u>pragmatic transfer</u>:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <u>Learner-external factors</u>, such as <u>learning context and length of residence in the target community</u>.• <u>Learner-internal factors</u>, such as <u>attitude toward the native and target community</u> and <u>L2 proficiency</u>.
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Aside from “factors” and “pragmatic transfer,” no other common words could be found between her rewritten version and the original, as she has elaborated on the original using her own interpretation and words. Interestingly, while she was able to make substantial changes to the original in terms of wording and sentence structure,

she copied verbatim technical content into the bulleted points.

This in turn may suggest that in the former, she engaged in a more knowledge-transforming approach by reorganizing the main points around her own ideas, whereas in the latter, she engaged in a knowledge-telling approach that reproduced content. In light of these different approaches to the same sentence from the source text, the coexistence of paraphrasing and verbatim copying may imply that the nature of her paraphrasing approach and text characteristics may also exert influence on what, how, and why she copies verbatim versus makes substantial changes.

The below example also illustrates how her paraphrasing-as-organizing approach brought about more substantial changes. Her notion that paraphrasing entails organizing and presenting points is evidenced in the added phrase “for two reasons.”

Example 4.6.

<p>Maeshiba et al. ,1996, p. 155-156</p> <p>Because of its potential for <u>miscommunication</u>, <i>focus</i> <u>has been</u> given to <u>negative transfer...</u></p> <p>In most instances, however, <u>it is difficult to disentangle positive transfer</u> from learners having recourse to <u>universal pragmatic knowledge</u> and <u>inferencing strategies</u> (Blum-Kulka, 1991).</p>	<p>Jen, p. 3</p> <p>According to the authors, <u>negative transfer</u> has been received more <i>attention</i> than positive transfer for two reasons:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Negative transfer can be considered as the cause of <u>miscommunication</u> as in the above. • <u>It is difficult to distinguish between positive transfer and universal pragmatic knowledge or inferential strategies.</u>
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Note that the two sentences from Maeshiba et al.’s (1996) article are not adjacent, but belong to different parts of the same paragraph on separate pages. While there are no explicit markers that tie the two sentences together, Jen has managed to establish a relationship between the two by borrowing “positive transfer” from the second sentence and subsuming it under reasons why “negative transfer has been [sic]

received more attention than positive transfer.”

Although traces of textual borrowing is somewhat transparent (i.e., “...negative transfer has been [sic] received more attention...”), the phrases “than positive transfer” and “for two reasons” are based on her own inference and thinking. The latter phrase “than positive transfer for two reasons” suggests that she has gone beyond merely regurgitating content to drawing her own inference that negative transfer is being compared to positive transfer.

At the same time, the second bulleted sentence demonstrates a one-on-one correspondence to the original sentence, deriving primarily from synonym substitution and deletion. Again, the close textual similarity between the second bulleted point and the original may be reflective of her knowledge-telling paraphrasing approach that faithfully reproduced content. In contrast, in taking a paraphrasing-as-organizing approach, she made more substantial changes to the original as the task required her to engage in more active reconstruction of the original.

As can be seen, compared to her knowledge-telling approach, reading and paraphrasing in this context went beyond superficial decoding of meaning to active understanding. Jen referred to this earlier as reading that brought about drastic

changes to the original sentence structure and words but one that was difficult to implement.

Difficulty with Patchwriting

Her retrospective accounts of her difficulty with paraphrasing during a paraphrasing exercise in her ESL class provided some insight into how difficulty with paraphrasing could have contributed to patchwriting.

L2 proficiency

Her difficulty with patchwriting was attributed in part to her L2 proficiency, which limited the range and nature of changes she could make to the original:

It was so so hard. My English fell short [of the task]. I couldn't change the sentence structure drastically, so I ended up using the same sentence structure [as the original] and similar words, but I also had trouble with word choice.

Note that her English proficiency was attributed as her main source of difficulty with making changes at the word and sentence structural level. Accordingly, when she was unable to change the syntax, she resorted to reproducing the sentence structure while making superficial changes at the word level.

Her description of her paraphrasing approach overlapped with the properties of patchwriting: word level changes that replicate the original sentence structure

correspond to the patchwriting strategies of replacing with synonyms and adding and deleting words. As such, patchwriting may be used as a coping strategy for dealing with difficulties in paraphrasing. Granted the in-class paraphrasing exercise in ESL was not part of the evaluation, unlike her paraphrases in her research paper which were part of summative evaluation. In this regard, her previous explanation also spoke to the unintentional aspects of patchwriting that can transpire within the context of one's difficulty with paraphrasing.

Her struggles to paraphrase in her own words as an ESL student continued throughout graduate school. Her challenges in paraphrasing as a graduate student suggested that Jen continued to approach paraphrasing as a rewording activity. She perceived vocabulary to be her primary challenge in paraphrasing on grounds that vocabulary learning in Korea had revolved around teaching its meaning but not its actual usage.

She summed up her dilemma as follows, "I know words with similar meaning, but I don't know if it can be changed in this [paraphrasing] situation. I don't know if the nuance is the same." Jen's difficulty with finding appropriate words to replace the original stemmed in part from her concern that the wrong word choice might lead to distortion in meaning. "When the words are changed, the meaning can

change, too, because I'm not a native speaker," she stated.

Again, she considered her lack of linguistic resources as a L2 student as the source of her difficulty with paraphrasing. While Jen was correct in pinpointing the problem inherent in vocabulary instruction that taught meaning but not how to use the words in context, ironically, her underlying paraphrasing approach mirrored the decontextualized nature of her previous vocabulary instruction.

Academic Repertoire

Making changes to the sentence structure was listed as her second and tougher challenge, providing further insight into why she engaged in patchwriting. Her observation was that her paraphrasing approach exacerbated her tendency to "follow the sentence structure of the original." She posited: "As long as I am looking at the original while paraphrasing, I end up following [its sentence structure]."

Alternatively, she was able to suggest two other ways of avoiding copying closely, both of which she countered by presenting obstacles that prevented her from following through on her knowledge. One was to "extract the main points" without looking at the original and "insert them into a [new] generic sentence structure, such as 'There are,' or 'It can be said.'" However, the problem, in her view, was that she had insufficient knowledge of various sentence structures. "But it's difficult to change

structures like this” Jen noted. She conjectured that if she had read extensively, she probably would have had a wider repertoire of linguistic resources to draw from, suggesting that lack of academic repertoire may have contributed to her patchwriting.

Another alternative to making substantial changes to the original in terms of wording and sentence structure, Jen noted, was in “be[ing] able to reconceptualize the sentence.” Her reference to “reconceptualize” alluded to a knowledge-transforming approach to paraphrasing that reconfigured the original sentence without borrowing too closely. She demonstrated awareness that to produce paraphrases without close copying, she needed to take a more proactive approach to understanding by reinterpreting it.

However, she articulated why it was difficult to implement: “Because at times, I am busy comprehending. I have a sense of what it means. I have a felt sense of what it means, but it is too difficult to change the words.” Based on her description, it seemed that paraphrasing, which required making substantial changes to the original, occurred concurrently, competing with other task demands, such as comprehending the source. The emphasis Jen placed on “busy comprehending” may also be reflective of her knowledge-telling approach that focuses on presenting content based on comprehension of individual sentences.

Cryptomnesia and Patchwriting

Up until this point, the majority of Jen's patchwriting arose from unacknowledged source attribution of words. Ironically, however, Jen's patchwriting due to cryptomnesia – that is missing source attribution of ideas – resulted in writing that relied on close textual dependence of words to source texts. This in turn suggested that paraphrasing without the source task at hand contributed to her deeper processing of the content, as evidenced by the lack of copied words in her paraphrases.

There were two cases of cryptomnesia due to unattributed sources. She recounted how cryptomnesia occurred in the course of reading. As the primary purpose of her initial reading was to “form a general idea,” she didn't “know which ones [she] would end up citing.” As putting citations came later, she was unable to recall the original source. “I can't go on just looking for it when I have no idea where I read it from,” Jen lamented. Marsh and Brown's (1989) research on cryptomnesia or source-forgetting lend credence to Jen's argument: when one's mind is occupied with a complicated or difficult task such as generating ideas or creative work, it is difficult to monitor and keep track of one's sources and also the memory of the source is short-lived compared to the memory of the idea.

The next example aptly illustrates how cryptomnesia resulted in patchwriting-free paraphrasing:

Example 4.7.

Murphy and Neu 1996, p. 202	Jen, p. 4
A <u>complaint</u> is initiated when the speaker perceives he has been treated <u>unfairly</u> by the instructor.	Direct <u>complaints</u> - to get a fair result which a complainer wants through pointing out a hearer's <u>unfairness</u> .

Interestingly, her paraphrase based on cryptomnesia hardly contained any traces of direct textual borrowing or patchwriting, as the source was unavailable. Consequently, rather than merely repeat content from Murphy and Neu (1996), she embedded their idea within her own interpretations by including content not in the source text.

In accounting for her cryptomnesia, Jen openly and voluntarily acknowledged that it was based on what she read earlier though she could not remember the source text:

I probably got the concept on fairness from somewhere....Though I was unable to quote it after reading it, the memory of it remains. That's why I paraphrased it. I think the words were written on my own after having

thought about it.

Her reference to “memory of it remains” suggested that the reason her paraphrase did not contain patchwriting of Murphy and Neu’s (1996) sentence was because it had been “reconceptualized,” to borrow Jen’s earlier expression, based on her understanding. This in turn provided indirect evidence for Jen’s earlier argument that looking at the source text while writing contributed to close copying and patchwriting.

In the following example, Jen explained that while the quotation marks were used primarily for emphasis, she vaguely remembered having read it from one of the source texts. “How knowledge develops? Hm, I think I read this somewhere. Probably. ‘Pragmatic knowledge develops.’ It’s probably not taken verbatim, but written based on my memory of it.”

Example 4.8.

Gass & Selinker, 2001, p. 248 Bardovi-Harlig (1999b) correctly pointed out that one cannot consider <u>the development of pragmatic knowledge</u> without a concomitant consideration of grammatical knowledge.	Jen, p. 17 Further studies should focus more on “ <u>the development of pragmatic knowledge.</u> ” which is related to “how can pragmatic knowledge be taught and learned effectively?”
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Despite the presence of overlapping word-strings, there is little textual dependence on the source text for language or ideas. She has built on Bardovi-Harlig's (1999b) ideas by presenting them alongside her own, showing some departure from a faithful knowledge-telling mode of paraphrasing.

In contrast, Jen noted that close copying in the sentence, "Over the last decade, there has been a wide range of empirical studies on speech act behavior"(Cohen, 1996), which had 100% of the words taken from the text, was due to oversight. Jen explained the circumstances, stating that she had the source text at her side while attempting to paraphrase it and was in a hurry to get her paper done. The contrast between the two incidents provide indirect evidence that looking at the source text while paraphrasing can lead to close copying whether it is intentional, unintentional, or perhaps both.

Patchwriting and Ethical Tension

Jen referred to the ethical tension associated with paraphrasing as "a person's psychology." In the beginning, she made several attempts to paraphrase in her own words as much as possible. "I don't set out to immediately copy from the start," Jen argued. Note that copy in this context meant direct quotes as well as partial copying without quotation marks. After determining whether a sentence could potentially be

paraphrased in her own words, she endeavored to come up with an appropriate paraphrase by rehearsing “possible paraphrases in [her] head a few times.” When her attempts proved to futile, she then resorted to direct textual borrowing.

She expressed her frustrations and difficulty with paraphrasing as follows: “Sometimes, I just want to copy it exactly. It’s such a hassle.” In this respect, ethical tension arising from the temptation to copy was constantly at play when paraphrasing, especially with the original text by her side or when she experienced difficulty with making changes to the words and sentence structures. “Sometimes, I want to copy everything. [Because] the act of changing words itself is difficult and time-consuming.”

Interestingly, Jen noted that the urge to copy occurred irrespective of the sentence difficulty, which was in line with her internally persuasive discourse on paraphrasing as leveling down into easy-to-comprehend language. It is likely that her approach to paraphrasing as a rewording and leveling down activity exacerbated her difficulty with paraphrasing. As Jen noted earlier, paraphrasing easy sentences posed a considerable challenge on her part since it required her to find alternative sentences that were equally as easy to comprehend as the original.

Pointing out that she “shouldn’t copy everything,” Jen suggested that as an

alternative, she opted to control the frequency by alternating between copying (i.e., direct quotations and partial copying) and paraphrasing. This in turn may account for the variability in her patchwriting between those that are close to near copies and those that involve more change such as changes in syntax or paraphrasing. Recall also that her motivation underlying omission of quotation marks occurred in response to her anticipation of her professor's remark not to abuse quotation marks but to write in her own words. Taken together, it can be said that insufficient changes made to the original, by applying a low threshold for paraphrasing, may be a form of coping strategy in dealing with the difficulties or frustrations with paraphrasing.

Different Purposes for Textual Borrowing Based on Source Type

When asked how textual borrowing contributed to her writing, Jen drew distinctions between the nature of textual borrowing from book articles versus Tammy's paper, which provided some insight into the differences between textual borrowing and imitation.

Borrowing of Content from Research Articles

Jen claimed that her textual borrowing from book articles revolved around borrowing of content. "My main focus was on borrowing content from the books," Jen argued. Associating borrowing of content with that of ideas, she stated that

appropriation in this context enabled her to “support [her] ideas with another’s ideas.” She also demonstrated awareness that borrowing other’s ideas to support her argument entailed situating her ideas and argument within an intertextual context: “It shows that my ideas did not come out of nowhere.”

Furthermore, in borrowing the ideas of scholars, she stated that she was also drawing from their authority. “Scholars, people who are much more professional than I am, said so....Thus, my opinion is correct,” she conjectured. Conversely, as noted earlier, one reason why she presumably did not borrow content from Tammy’s paper may be because citing a student writer like Tammy would not provide a strong support for her argument since Tammy lacked the authority exuding from professionals. It seemed that Jen’s underlying purpose for borrowing content from research articles was due to her perception that they constituted authoritative discourse, which Bakhtin (1981) describes as “encounter[ing] it with its authority already fused to it” (p. 342).

Borrowing of Format and Language from Tammy’s Paper

The purpose for textual borrowing from Tammy’s paper, Jen posited, was to borrow the format and academic language specific to the research paper genre. As Jen put it: “I borrowed a lot of the academic structure since it has the academic format [I

need]. That's why I borrowed a lot of the language expressions." Jen's observation that borrowing language was intricately intertwined with the format of a research paper resonated with Bakhtin's (1986) argument "A speech genre is not a form of language, but a typical form of utterance" (p. 87). This may explain why she drew distinctions between borrowing of content versus the structure and language expressions unique to the research paper genre. She emphasized: "I didn't borrow the content [from Tammy's paper] though. Just language expressions such as 'fewer studies' because I don't know how to use academic expressions."

Perception of Difficulty and Textual Borrowing

Her perception of text difficulty also appeared to have exerted influence on why she believed she imitated the language and format of Tammy's paper. The ensuing conversation shed light on why she imitated Tammy's paper as "an academic template," as opposed to other research articles, such as Murphy and Neu's (1995), which she indicated was easier to comprehend:

Jen: Since my professor gave [Tammy's] paper, I thought it was the format [to follow]. The books were not research papers at my level. ...But [Tammy's] was on the same topic. It served as a model for how to write.

Soo: You're both student writers, so you were able to identify with her?

Jen: Yes, because I can write at this level. But I couldn't follow the books.

But Tammy's I could understand all. Why is the language in the books so difficult? It was written in such a difficult manner. I couldn't understand it.

Note that the reason why the research articles were difficult to emulate was based on her perception that the academic discourse and the level of research writing seemed beyond what a novice student writer like herself could produce. As such, she articulated: "The book articles were research papers written beyond my level, so I couldn't follow their format."

Her statement echoed her earlier perception of academic language as being too difficult, along with her notion of "in one's own words" that excludes difficult language, which she would not be able to use in explaining to someone since it was not part of her repertoire. In a similar vein, the genre specific language and format of the research articles may have been perceived as authoritative discourse that could "not be assimilated into [her research paper] context" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 294).

In contrast, she indicated that Tammy's paper felt more "appropriate at [her] level," given that the language was within her grasp. In fact, she was able to identify with Tammy on many levels. They shared similar status as master's students in the

same program; their papers, written as part of the course requirement for the same course, addressed the same topic. In this respect, her rationale for emulating and appropriating discourse from Tammy's paper echoed her earlier notion of writing "in one's own words" as language that approximated what she was capable of producing at her level of English proficiency, along with her proclivity to use easy-to-comprehend language.

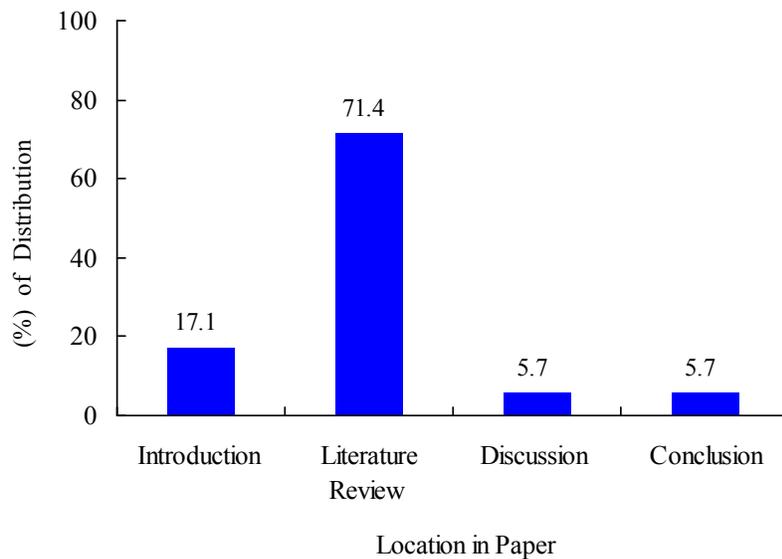
As such, her perception that she could produce writing at Tammy's level echoed her earlier statement on her partial copying: "I can explain using this [kind of] language." Thus, she was able to try on the academic discourse from Tammy's paper because it felt like a good fit, as opposed to those of academics. This in turn implied that the discourse in Tammy's paper, while being authoritative discourse that needed to be imitated (Bakhtin, 1981), was simultaneously, internally persuasive discourse since it could be "affirmed through assimilation, tightly interwoven with [Jen's] own word" (p.345).

Textual Borrowing of Content from Research Articles

What did Jen mean when she said she only borrowed content from the book articles? How was borrowing of content from book articles incorporated into her research paper? Figure 4.1 shows the distribution of Jen's sentences containing

textual appropriation of content from books based on its location in Jen's research paper.

Figure 4.1. Distribution of borrowing of content by location in Jen's paper



Note that 71.4% of the total sentences clustered in the literature review section, followed by 17.1% in the introduction, and 5.7% for the discussion and conclusion sections, respectively. Her argument that she borrowed content primarily from book articles was supported by this pattern of use when we consider the nature of the literature review. It is the section where summaries and critiques of research studies are presented. Next, I discuss how content was incorporated into each of the above sections in Jen's paper.

Introduction

The content from book articles incorporated into Jen's introduction was also selected from the introduction section of the source texts respectively, suggesting that the underlying purpose for borrowing in this context was to provide background information. This was evidenced in her textual appropriation that centered on the knowledge-telling mode of reproducing content.

The following example provides an illustration of how content from the original sentences has been reproduced closely, along with its language and sentence structure:

Example 4.9.

<p>Murphy and Neu,1996, p.191</p> <p><u>Speech acts</u> are the acts we perform when we speak: e.g., <u>congratulating, thanking, requesting.</u> ... Thus, <i>research on speech acts is crucial</i> <u>in that it can provide us with the social context and the appropriate socio-cultural rules surrounding native speaker utterances.</u></p>	<p>Jen, p. 1</p> <p><i>Studying</i> <u>speech acts,</u> such as <u>congratulating, requesting, thanking, complaining, inviting, refusing, complimenting, apologizing, etc.</u> <u>is important in that it can provide us with the social context and the appropriate socio-cultural rules surrounding native</u></p>
<p>Murphy & Neu (1996), p. 211</p> <p>For teachers of English as a second/foreign language, these distinctive features <i>need to be taught.</i></p>	<p><u>speaker utterances,</u> which <i>should be taught</i> in ESL/EFL classes (Murphy and Neu, 1996).</p>

The close textual similarities between the second sentence in the original and Jen’s rewritten version bears observation. Although three sentences have been synthesized into one, the former serves as the basis for her patchwriting: “research on” and

“crucial” has been replaced with “studying” and “important” respectively; examples of speech acts have been added; and “need to be taught” from the third sentence has been replaced with “should be taught.” Aside from similar sentence structures, 59.5% of the words have been borrowed directly from the original. As can be seen, Jen mainly repeats content through superficial changes to the original.

At the same time, aspects of imitation seemed to be at play. The original sentences which appeared under “background” in the introduction of Murphy and Neu’s (1995) article, not only presented background information but also exigency for studying speech acts. Likewise, in borrowing content from Murphy and Neu’s (1995) sentences, her patchwriting carried a similar effect although she positioned it under the subheading “The prevailing view or controversy” instead of “background and motivation.” Thus, Jen appeared to have re-contextualized the original sentences in accordance with her own intentions.

The next example also illustrates that borrowing of content was closely associated with imitating its function. As the amount of underlined words suggest, 82.1% of the words have been copied. The two sentences in the source text, both of whose subject is “native speakers,” have been copied nearly verbatim through the patchwriting strategies of deletion of unnecessary details, addition of “from non-

native speakers,” and replacing “however” and “native speakers” with “but” and “they” respectively. Thus, it represents a faithful reproduction of content and sentence structure.

Example 4.10.

<p>Boxer, 1996, p. 218</p> <p><u>Native speakers often forgive</u> <u>phonological, syntactic and lexical</u> <u>errors</u> as clear signs that a speaker does not have native control.... Native speakers, however, <u>typically interpret</u> <u>sociolinguistic errors as rudeness rather</u> <u>than as the transfer of different</u> <u>sociolinguistic rules</u> (Ervin-Tripp 1972; Thomas 1983; Wolfson, 1981; 1983; 1989).</p>	<p>Jen, p.1</p> <p><u>Native speakers often forgive</u> <u>phonological, syntactic and lexical errors</u> from non-native speakers, but they <u>typically interpret sociolinguistic errors as</u> <u>rudeness rather than as transfer of</u> <u>different sociolinguistic rules</u> (Wolfson, 1989; Boxer, 1996).</p>
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The imitative aspect of patchwriting is evidenced by the fact that the function and role

of the patchwritten sentence is similar to the original sentences which have been re-situated into her own research paper context, despite transgressive textual borrowing. The two sentences from Boxer's (1996) article originally appeared in the Introduction section of the article, to emphasize the importance of studying social rules of speaking underlying native speaker speech. Similarly, Jen's version appeared as the opening sentence of the introduction section in her research paper to set the stage for the importance of studying pragmatic competence.

The next example provides an interesting illustration of how despite wholesale verbatim copying of content, an examination of its surrounding context and the way it was used suggested that it quite possibly arose out of imitation—learning how to write the introduction.

Example 4.11.

<p>Cohen (1996), p. 22</p> <p>Fortunately, <u>over the last decade, there has been a wide range of empirical studies on speech act behavior.</u> One of the most comprehensive empirical <u>studies</u> of <u>speech act</u> behavior, ... has been that of the Cross-Cultural Speech Act Research Project (CCSARP) (Blum-Kulka- House-Kasper 1989), which compared the speech act behavior of learners of those languages.</p>	<p>Jen, p. 1</p> <p><u>Over the last decade, there has been a wide range of empirical studies on speech act behavior</u> (Cohen, 1996). Whereas a great number of <u>studies</u>, related to other <u>speech acts</u>, such as requesting.... have been done, only a few studies on complaining speech acts have been completed by Olshtain and Weinbach (1993), Murphy and Neu (1996), Boxer(1996), and Cohen(1996).</p>
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Note that 100% of the words have been copied from the text. On the surface, it was blatant wholesale copying. However, she classified this as partial copying since she did not copy the whole sentence but deleted “fortunately.”

When we step aside momentarily from our preoccupation with the extent of copying, and instead examine how it has been re-contextualized into her research

paper, another aspect of her textual borrowing is revealed—that in copying the whole sentence, Jen has also imitated the function of the original sentence and paragraph. To illustrate, Cohen’s (1995) first sentence, located near the end of his introduction, was used as a lead-in to a study on speech acts. Similarly, in borrowing the content and language from Cohen’s (1995) article, Jen concurrently emulated its format, as her patchwritten sentence also functioned as a lead-in for her ensuing sentence addressing the gap in literature on the speech act of complaints. As can be seen, she imitated the function of the original sentence as well as its format and surrounding context despite her transgressive textual borrowing. Thus, her copying of Cohen’s (1996) sentence may also have operated within the context of imitation. While textual appropriation of one kind may be more prominent than the other, in borrowing the content, she borrowed the format simultaneously, suggesting that the two are inseparable and that the distinctions may not always be so clear-cut.

Literature Review

In this section, Jen’s incorporation of content was compared against the original in terms of sequencing of ideas so as to determine the nature of her paraphrasing approach. For the most part, Jen employed a knowledge-telling approach to paraphrasing that entailed faithful reproduction of content. Her

sequencing of ideas taken from source texts was characterized by a linear, sequential approach: she followed the chronological order in which ideas were presented in the source texts.

On the surface, her literature review was organized around five subheadings (i.e., *Interlanguage Pragmatics*, *Pragmatic Transfer*, and *Direct and Indirect Complaints*, *Interlanguage Features of Speech Acts*, *Speech Acts and Semantic Components/formulas*). However, based on what was being summarized, her literature review could be divided broadly into two parts. The first part comprised of a set of summaries on three subtopics respectively, while the latter had detailed summaries of two research studies that served as the basis for her study.

In both instances, instead of drawing from ideas from various authors for each subtopic, she took a paragraph by paragraph approach where each subtopic presented information exclusively from one source text, respectively. The following excerpt entitled *Interlanguage Pragmatics* aptly shows how sequential textual borrowing of content from one source dominated her whole paragraph:

In learning a second language, one must learn more than just the pronunciation, the lexical items, the appropriate word order; one must also learn appropriate ways to use those words and sentences within a social

context (Gass and Selinker, 2001). Gass and Selinker (2001) also emphasized the importance of pragmatic knowledge by mentioning that serious miscommunication takes place frequently, especially between native speakers and relatively proficient non-native speakers because native speakers tend to *ascribe* pragmatic errors to non-native speakers' *personal flaw* rather than their inability to map the correct linguistic form onto pragmatic intentions. In other words, the lack of pragmatic skills can cause interpersonal problems as well as a communication breakdown. Another point that Gass and Selinker (2001) made is that "one must ultimately deal with the wide range of social variables that might determine how language is used (p. 247)." That is, understanding of L2 pragmatics cannot be separated from the social relationships between speakers. In summary, there are two considerations when interlanguage pragmatics, in dealing with how people use language within a social context, is discussed (Gass & Selinker, 2001);

- How to use grammatically correct language forms
- A situation where speakers have a conversation (where, when, why, or to whom do they speak?)

Underlining indicates overlapping words with the source text and italics mark

synonym replacement. In terms of content selection, she synthesized by assembling information spread out across five pages. Yet, in terms of synthesizing from sources, she focused on presenting ideas drawn exclusively from Gass and Selinker (2001). Noticeably absent was her own ideas or those of other source texts. Consequently, at both the individual sentence and paragraph levels, Gass and Selinker's (2001) ideas and words dominated. It may be that in patchwriting from one source using a knowledge-telling approach, her paragraph became monological.

The foregoing paragraph showcases a wide range of textual borrowing strategies on Jen's part to incorporate content, from direct quotations and exact copy to add and delete, and changes in syntax and even paraphrasing by Jen's standards. In light of the varying degrees of borrowed words versus her own words, and Campbell's (1990) argument that patchwriting strategies can be placed on a continuum based on the extent of integration, Jen's patchwriting may have been used as a paraphrasing strategy.

Recall that for Jen, so long as verbatim copying of complete sentences are avoided, she considers it a paraphrase. Also, recall that her textual appropriation of the first sentence with 100% of the words copied was selected on the basis of her personal writing style that favored repetitive sentence patterns and easy—to-

comprehend language. In this sense, her verbatim copying simultaneously represents an attempt on her part to ventriloquate academic discourse that approximates her own style. Furthermore, the third sentence, represents her personal interpretation of the significance of Gass and Selinker's (2001) statements.

The next example shows a departure from her tendency to cite primarily from one source text per paragraph. It is more dialogic in the sense that information from two source texts are presented side by side:

According to Gass and Selinker (2001), "Speech acts can be thought of as functions of language, such as complaining, thanking, apologizing, refusing, requesting, and inviting and much of the work in interlanguage pragmatics has been conducted within the framework of speech acts." Also, it is shown that speech acts consist of several semantic components (formulas) by Murphy and Neu (1996). They introduced four basic semantic components of the complaining speech act set through their investigation....

Note, however, that the first sentence is made up of a stand-alone direct quote of an entire sentence, disconnected from the rest of sentences. While the other two sentences are not copied verbatim, considering the extent of underlined words, it seems that once again, the words and the ideas of the source texts dominate and there

is little room for Jen to voice her own ideas or words.

Jen appears to show textual dependence on the source for ideas as well as words, suggesting that she has difficulty with integrating the ideas and words of the authors with her own without copying closely or using direct quotations. At this point, I hypothesize her patchwriting, along with her knowledge-telling approach, are symptomatic of her difficulty with working with sources.

Likewise, in the second part of her literature review where she provided summaries of two research studies, she also engaged in heavy patchwriting. Instead of summarizing in her own words and incorporating her own ideas, drawing from various parts of the research articles, she engaged in a knowledge-telling approach to summarization where the aggregate of individually patchwritten sentences resulted in a patchwork summary. At the same time, it should be observed that she was imitating Tammy's literature review section.

Interestingly, the nature of textual borrowing in the second part of Jen's literature review where summaries of research studies were presented appeared to be different from those in the earlier part of the literature review that merely presented information on each topic. In fact, there was more textual borrowing derived from 2→1 sentence combinations and in some cases 3→1. Although she still displayed

textual reliance on the source texts by basing her summary of sentences taken from various parts of the research articles, compared to the sentence-to-sentence textual correspondence type of paraphrasing used earlier, she was able to engage in more synthesis than previously.

Consider the following example where Jen has abridged two consecutive sentences from the original into one.

Example 4.12.

<p>Olshtain & Weinbach, 1993, p. 120</p> <p>More pronounced variability in strategy selection, <u>use of intensifiers, softeners,</u> number of moves, etc. can be seen from ...standard deviations exhibited by learners.</p> <p>Learners are less certain about such decisions and therefore <u>tend to vary more in their choices than native speakers.</u></p>	<p>Jen, p. 4</p> <p>Second, non-native speakers <u>tend to vary more in severity patterns, use of intensifier and softeners than the native speakers.</u></p>
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Using the sentence structure of the second sentence from the source text as the basis,

she employed replacing and adding words to make changes to the original, resulting in 63% of the words copied. Given that details have been deleted and only what she considered essential information has been included, the next example serves the function of a summary although not in the strictest sense of the word. Nonetheless, despite superficial changes such as combining two sentences into one, traces of direct textual borrowing were still transparent.

It is important to note that Jen's sentences here, along with her other patchwritten sentences in the paragraph summarizing Olshtain and Weinbach's (1993) study, were taken from their conclusion section, in which the authors summarized findings from their study. In accounting for why and what she borrowed from Olshtain and Weinbach's (1993) article, she may have relied on the source's words and content in providing a summary and chose readily available sentences that she could make some modifications to. That way, her summaries would be accurate and to the point, and at the same time, she would be able to write using some of her own words.

The next example also involves 2→1 sentence combination, but illustrates how traces of the original source text became less transparent than before through the patchwriting strategy of change in syntax.

Example 4.13.

<p>The <u>situation</u> placed the <u>subject</u> in the position of a student whose <u>paper</u> had been <u>unfairly marked</u> by a <u>professor</u>.</p> <p>The subject was <u>directed to “talk”</u> to the <u>professor</u>.</p> <p>Murphy & Neu, (1996), p.197</p>	<p>The scenario that <u>subjects</u> encountered is a <u>situation</u> where they needed to <u>talk directly to a professor</u> about their <u>paper</u>, which had been <u>graded unfairly</u>.</p> <p>Jen, p. 6</p>
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There are no verbatim word strings present. Furthermore, although 32% of the words derive from direct textual borrowing, changes have been made to the original sentence structure and she has used more of her own words than those of the source text. In this regard, change in syntax has led to a decrease in textual reliance on words and sentence structure, but nonetheless still bear traces of the original wording.

The following example constitutes a paraphrase since it could not be traced directly to any sentences in the original and was based on her synthesis of content from three sentences:

The conclusion was that the speech act set of most Korean subjects, especially, the main component- complaint- was inappropriate for the

situation, so it could be considered as rude or aggressive.

Yet, in terms of the presence of direct textual borrowing, it employs the patchwriting strategy of replacing words, with 19.4% of the words from direct textual borrowing.

She has borrowed consecutive word strings “appropriate for the situation” from Olshtain and Weinbach’s (1993) article, replacing them with “inappropriate.”

On the other hand, some 2→1 sentence combinations behaved similarly to one-on-one sentence correspondence type paraphrases by copying closely from the original. Example 5.10 provides an illustration of a 2→1 sentence combination that displays characteristics of both one-on-one paraphrasing. It involves verbatim copying of long consecutive words strings, and simultaneously 2→1 paraphrasing where more synthesis is involved:

Example 4.14.

<p>Murphy & Neu, 1996, p. 196</p> <p>5.1. Subjects</p> <p>For the productive part of the study, <u>14 male American graduate students and 14 male Korean graduate students</u> participated.</p> <p>Murphy & Neu, (1996), p. 197</p> <p>5.2. Instruments</p> <p>The <u>speech act data were collected via an oral discourse completion task</u> that consisted of a hypothetical situation typed on a sheet of paper.</p>	<p>Jen, p.6</p> <p>Their <u>subjects were 14 male American graduate students and 14 male Korean graduate students</u> and the researchers compared <u>speech act data which were collected via an oral discourse completion task.</u></p>
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Note that the sentences from Murphy and Neu (1996) are not adjacent sentences. By combining across sentences taken sequentially from different sections, she demonstrates synthesis. Nonetheless, she copies closely from each sentence using

exact copy in the former, and add and delete in the latter, resulting in 76.7% of the language taken from Murphy and Neu (1996).

At times, at the individual sentence level, she also engaged in patchwriting of statements that were taken from the conclusion section of the original in lieu of her own summary statements. Take, for instance, the following example:

Example 4.15.

<p>Olshtain & Weinbach ,1993, p. 120</p> <p>Conclusion</p> <p><u>A number of interlanguage features of speech act behavior</u> have been established in the series of studies reported in this chapter....</p>	<p>Jen, p. 5</p> <p>Olshtain and Weinbach (1993)</p> <p>investigated <u>a number of interlanguage features of speech act behavior</u> in complaint situations.</p>
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On the surface, Jen’s sentence looks like a summary statement of Olshtain and Weinbach’s (1993) study. With 52.9% of the language copied verbatim, the main point derives from the source. So while it functions as a summary statement, it is

based on a knowledge-telling approach to paraphrasing that reproduces the content.

All things considered, the nature of Jen's textual borrowing in the section where she provided summaries of two research studies displayed properties of summaries to varying degrees, such as deleting unnecessary information, synthesizing, and presenting key points. Nonetheless, her textual borrowing also displayed variation in terms of the extent of direct textual borrowing involved. While some displayed higher textual dependence on the source as evidenced in higher proportions of the language taken from the source, others were more independent in language use, using more of her own words and borrowing less from the words of the source text.

For the most part, she engaged in a knowledge-telling approach to paraphrasing in which she showed textual dependence on the source text for content, providing very little of her own ideas. From a Bakhtinian (1981) perspective, the heavy patchwriting induced from a knowledge-telling approach can be attributed partly to the source texts becoming authoritative discourse that "has but a single meaning" and "enters our verbal consciousness as a compact and indivisible mass" (p. 343). Hence, her monologic approach may be reflective of her knowledge-telling approach where one merely regurgitates content.

Discussion

Two similar instances of overt content borrowing from research articles were identified. Initially, her patchwritten sentences were inconspicuous. Rather, it appeared that she was relating the findings of her study with those of similar studies. However, one paraphrase seemed a bit more sophisticated in diction, whereas the other had a ring of familiarity. Upon comparison against the original, I found that she had copied long, consecutive word strings that depicted the main point from source texts, in lieu of summarizing the study's findings in her own words.

Take, for instance, the below example where the parts that present findings from Olshtain and Weinbach's (1993) study have been copied verbatim, with the extent of copying accounting for 66.7% of the words in the entire sentence:

Example 4.16.

<p>Olshtain & Weinbach, 1993, p. 120</p> <p><u>Learners at the intermediate to advanced level of second language acquisition tend to be verbose and use more words than native speakers, more than they themselves would use ... language.</u></p>	<p>Jen, p. 16</p> <p>This interpretation is similar to Olshtain and Weinbach (1993)'s findings that <u>learners at the intermediate to advanced level of second language acquisition tend to be verbose and use more words than native speakers.</u></p>
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The exact copy functions as a direct quote, except for missing quotation marks.

Despite the extent of copied text, given that she had copied partially, it would be considered partial copying or partial direct quotes by Jen's standards, which accounts for why she did not put quotation marks.

On the other hand, despite the transgressive nature and form of her textual appropriation, her use of Olshtain and Weinbach's (1993) sentence is in line with her earlier statement that she used the authors' ideas to support her argument. By pointing out that her findings overlapped with the above authors, she appealed to the validity of her findings. As such, both centripetal and centrifugal ways of textual borrowing

seem to coexist.

Furthermore, the nature of her textual borrowing may also be a case of Jen imitating the format of Tammy's discussion section, though it was not based on any specific excerpt sentence. In fact, Jen had noted earlier that she referenced Tammy's discussion section as she did not know how to write a discussion section. Apparently, her overt textual appropriation of content and language from Olshtain and Weinbach's (1993) article masked her covert textual appropriation of format and language of Tammy's paper, and vice versa. While the absence of verbatim copying from Tammy's sentence veiled Jen's imitation, she borrowed the way in which Tammy's sentences in the discussion relating one's findings to those of other similar research findings.

To illustrate, Jen's use of "finding" in citing studies could be traced to expressions such as "These findings suggest that..." or "Murphy and Neu (1996) found that..." in Tammy's paper. Another modification Jen made was to elucidate the relevance of her own findings with those of similar studies by adding, "This interpretation is similar to..." or "This is supported by...", as opposed to the more generic "...found that" used by Tammy in which the reader was left to infer that Tammy's finding was similar to those of the cited studies.

As is illustrated in Example 5.13, she also imitated the context as well as the specific ways in which content from articles was incorporated into the discussion section:

Example 4.17.

<p>Murphy & Neu, 1996, p. 203</p> <p><u>Excluding the complaint component and substituting a criticism component may change the illocutionary force of the set into a criticism.</u></p> <p>Tammy, p. 13</p> <p>Especially, when responding to the prompt, non-native speaker responses were somewhat longer than those of native speakers. Olshtain and Weinbach (1993) found that non-native speakers' complaints were generally longer than those of native speakers.</p>	<p>Jen, p. 16</p> <p>Also, the fact that Korean speakers' expressed criticism instead of showing disagreement to the teacher in situation 5 might change the purpose of the speech act into criticism. This is supported by Murphy and Neu's (1996) finding that <u>excluding the complaint component and substituting a criticism component may change the illocutionary force of the set into a criticism.</u></p>
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Aside from the verbatim copying of an entire sentence from Murphy and Neu (1996), consider how Jen has imitated Tammy's sentence structures in relating her findings with that of another's. In Tammy's paper, the parallel sentence structures between the first sentence that reports her results (i.e.,...non-native speaker responses were somewhat longer than those of native speakers) and the ensuing sentence which cites similar findings by Olshtain and Weinbach (1993) (i.e.,...non-native speaker complaints were generally longer than those of native speakers) are noteworthy. Both share common words and sentence structure with minor word differences.

In a similar vein, Jen's version also displayed parallel sentence structures. She juxtaposed her finding with that of Murphy and Neu's (1996). "...might change the purpose of the speech act into criticism" in the first sentence parallels her verbatim copying of Murphy and Neu's (1996) finding, "may change the illocutionary force of the set into a criticism."

The issue of why she did not put verbatim copying in quotation marks can be explained in terms of imitation and addressivity to her professor. Since no quotation marks were used in Tammy's discussion section in relating one's findings with those of similar studies, Jen could have followed suit by abstaining from using quotation marks. Also, recall that in an earlier interview, Jen's use of quotation marks for long

sentences elicited comments from her professor to write in her own words. Taken together, her omission of quotation marks may possibly be an avoidance strategy to avoid inappropriate and excessive use of quotation marks.

Conclusion

Only two instances of content borrowing were identified, which speaks to the nature of the conclusion where new information is rarely incorporated. In the following example, 96.2% of the words were copied verbatim by adding and deleting words:

Example 4.18.

<p>Gass & Selinker, 2001, p. 248</p> <p>In pointing this out, <u>Bardovi-Harlig, Kasper, and Schmidt (1996) made the important point that there is a dearth of studies dealing with changes in or influences on pragmatic knowledge.</u></p>	<p>Jen, p. 17</p> <p><u>Bardovi-Harlig, Kasper, and Schmidt (1996) have made the important point that there is a dearth of studies dealing with changes in or influences on pragmatic knowledge (Gass and Selinker, 2001).</u></p>
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Jen's rewritten version represents a faithful, one-on-one sentence correspondence to

the original sentence. Instead of incorporating content into her own argument, she merely reproduced what the authoritative text said, suggesting that she was using the ideas and words of the source text as a substitute for her own. In contrast, in the second example, she was able to use more of her own words and ideas, as suggested by the decrease in underlined words:

Example 4.19.

<p>Gass & Selinker, 2001, p. 248</p> <p>Bardovi-Harlig (1999b) correctly pointed out that one cannot consider <u>the development of pragmatic knowledge ...</u></p> <p>Tammy, p. 15</p> <p>Future <u>studies should</u> investigate semantic formulae...</p>	<p>Jen, p. 17</p> <p>Further <u>studies should</u> focus more on <u>“the development of pragmatic knowledge,”</u> which is related to “how can pragmatic knowledge be taught and learned effectively?”</p>
--	--

Despite her verbatim copying of “the development of pragmatic knowledge,” there was no overt direct textual correspondence in meaning with the original sentence. In

fact, 29.2% of her words came from two different sources. One she borrowed content from ; the other she borrowed language as part of imitation of format.

She argued that the parts enclosed in quotation marks were used for emphasis, not as signaled quotations and, thus, were her own opinion. Indeed, none of her references contained the expression “how can pragmatic knowledge be taught and learned effectively.” It seemed that she was able to strike a balance between ideas of the source text and her own, as the content from the book was juxtaposed with her own opinion.

At the same time, the above example also shows that the boundaries separating borrowing of content from format and language can be fuzzy. Note that “Further studies should” in Jen’s sentence resembles “Future studies should” from Tammy’s last sentence in the conclusion, the difference being synonym replacement. But given that the phrase “Future studies should” is not a unique expression, this can be seen as imitation, which does not warrant quotation marks.

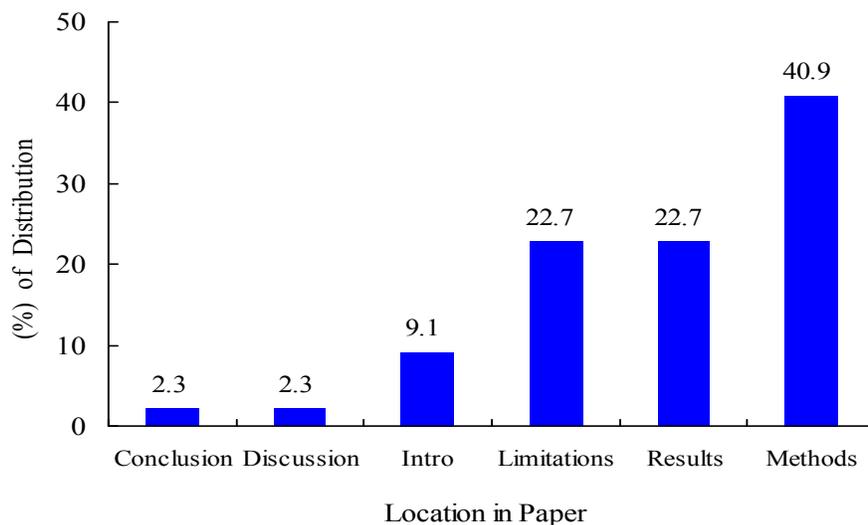
Relatedly, despite the presence of direct textual borrowing of consecutive word strings “the development of pragmatic knowledge,” it is unclear whether it warrants quotation marks since the expression is often used in discussions of pragmatic knowledge. As such, the above example represents a case of borrowing of

content, coming together with borrowing of format and language, which in turn speaks to the complexities involved in determining the nature of textual borrowing.

Textual Borrowing of Format and Language From Tammy

Underlying her assertion that she “borrowed the format and language but not the content” from Tammy’s paper was the assumption that she engaged in imitation. Her argument that her textual appropriation of Tammy’s paper revolved around borrowing the format and language was supported by the pattern of distribution that emerged based on its location in Jen’s paper. Figure 4.2. represents the distribution of Jen’s sentences containing direct textual borrowing from Tammy’s paper based on location in Jen’s paper.

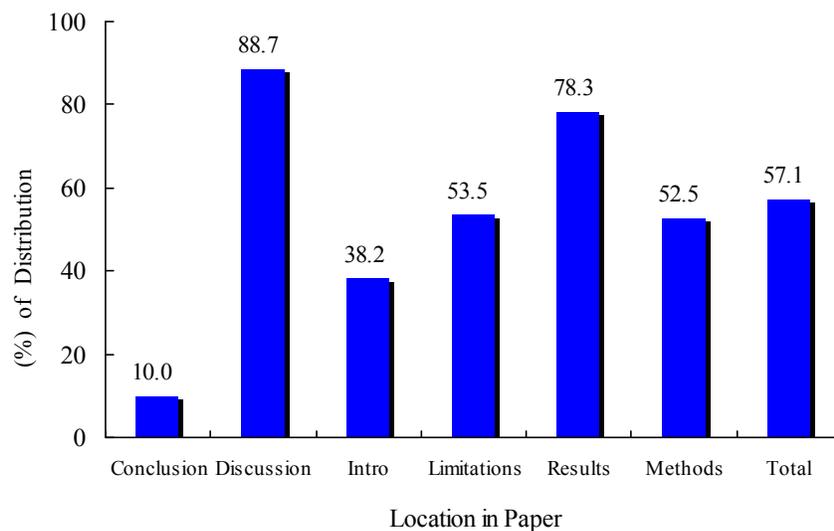
Figure 4.2. Distribution of borrowing of content by location in Jen’s paper



Forty-one percent of the sentences were concentrated in the methods section, followed by 23% for the limitations and results sections respectively, with 9% from the introduction and 2% each for the conclusion and discussion. Also, the absence of direct textual borrowing of language from the literature review section of Tammy's paper appeared to corroborate her argument that she did not borrow content from Tammy's paper.

To get a better sense of textual dependence on Tammy's paper for language, the mean average of words from Tammy's paper per sentence was calculated based on its location in Jen's paper (See figure 4.3.).

Figure 4.3. Mean percentage of textual borrowing in sentence by location



The Discussion section had the highest proportion of direct textual borrowing of language per sentence. In fact, 88.7% of the words were copied from Tammy's sentence. At the same time, in this instance, the proportion of borrowed words per sentence may have been exacerbated by the fact that the discussion section contained the lowest frequency of textual borrowing (n=1) compared to those in other sections.

The results section also displayed high textual dependence, with 78.3% of the language on average taken from Tammy's paper. The limitations and methods section had a mean average of 53.5% and 52.5% of the words borrowed respectively. Taken together, it seemed that Jen imitated closely the language from the discussion, results, limitations and methodology sections in descending order, suggesting that these sections were difficult for her to write using her own words and without imitation.

Introduction

Next, I examine textual borrowing of language and format from Tammy's paper. Jen stated that she borrowed the format and language related to the research paper genre, but not the content from Tammy's paper. How did this play out in her patterns of textual borrowing in her research paper? As Jen noted earlier, Tammy's introduction appeared to serve as "an academic template." As such, the three paragraphs in Tammy's introduction were incorporated into Jen's introduction with

their basic structure, original sequencing and foci preserved for the most part. For instance, Tammy's basic outline was pragmatic competence → gap in literature → purpose for the study and its significance.

While Jen's outline was expanded, it nonetheless followed Tammy's structure as its basis: pragmatic competence → speech acts → gap in literature → purpose for and significance of the study. On the surface, however, Jen's introduction looked different because it had subheadings (i.e., Background & Motivation, The Prevailing View or Controversy, Gap between Previous Research and Previous Research), whereas Tammy's only had a general heading Introduction.

Not only did Jen imitate the sequencing of paragraphs, she also borrowed sentences sequentially and chose functional sentences that were characteristic of introductions. The following is an example of imitation of Tammy's introduction in writing about the gap in literature:

Example 4.20.

<p>Tammy, p. 1</p> <p><u>A great deal of research has been</u> done on the <u>speech acts of apologies</u> and <u>requests</u>, including studies by Olshtain and Blum-Kulka (1985)... and Bergman and Kasper (1993) (as cited in Kasper and Rose, 2001). <u>Fewer studies on complaints</u> and refusals <u>have</u> appeared in the literature; Olshtain and Weinbach (1987), ... Chen (1996), and <u>Murphy</u> <u>and Neu (1996)</u> represent some of this research.</p>	<p>Jen, p. 1</p> <p>Whereas <u>a great number of studies</u>, related to other <u>speech acts</u>, such as <u>requesting</u>, thanking, inviting, complimenting, or <u>apologizing</u>, have been done, only a <u>few</u> <u>studies on complaining</u> speech acts <u>have</u> <u>been completed</u> by Olshtain and Weinbach (1993), <u>Murphy and Neu (1996)</u>, Boxer(1996), and Cohen(1996).</p>
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Literature Review

While initially commenting that she “didn’t borrow any content” from

Tammy's paper, Jen rescinded by acknowledging that she "looked at [Tammy's] content quite a bit" to get a better sense of how to write her own review section. She imitated the format of Tammy's literature review which presented paragraph-length summaries of relevant studies and their findings. Indeed, on the surface, their literature reviews looked similar in this regard.

However, there were a number of qualitative differences between the two women's literature reviews. For one, Tammy's literature review was more dialogic since ideas from various authors were either brought together within the same paragraphs or subheadings. Moreover, upon comparison against the original source texts, it was found that Tammy paraphrased without resorting to partial copying or use of direct quotations.

Contrary to Jen's observation that Tammy's literature review also "borrowed from quotation marks," Tammy's use of quotation marks were different from Jen's. While Tammy also quoted whole sentences, they were used to show actual examples of semantic formulas from research studies, and were not used in lieu of writing in one's own words. Tammy's concluding paragraph, under the subheading *Summary of Findings*, also presented a synthesis of the aggregate findings of research studies on complaints in her own words.

While Jen was able to imitate the format of Tammy's literature review, Jen was unable to imitate the knowledge-transforming aspects of source incorporation or Tammy's writing in her own words. These differences in paraphrasing approaches may be indicative of the extent of disciplinary enculturation. While both were student writers, Jen was a novice, L2 writer unfamiliar with textual borrowing practices, including how source texts are generally incorporated into a literature review.

Methodology

Jen's textual borrowing of sentences from the Methodology section were taken sequentially and selectively across the follows subsections: *Overview*, *Subjects*, *Materials*, and *Procedures*. Her textual borrowing of language was related to describing the participants, the research design, the instruments used, and procedures outlining administration of instruments. The extent of source dependence on language and format was contingent on the subsection. Thus, there was variation in the concentration of patchwritten sentences in paragraphs. For instance, in her *Subjects* section, she wrote primarily in her own words, while following Tammy's order in which description of participants was presented.

The following excerpt shows the nature and extent of textual borrowing, that is, how she combed and appropriated them into her first paragraph under procedures.

Example 4.21.

<p>Tammy, p. 4</p> <p><u>Subjects were asked to participate in the study in person by the researcher.</u></p> <p><u>Subjects</u> were asked to <u>complete</u> the Informed Consent. They <u>then responded</u> to a written Demographic Survey ...</p> <p>Subjects responded by writing what their oral response would be <u>to each situation</u> posed....Subjects were asked to <u>write their responses to</u> match as closely as possible what they might <u>actually</u> say.</p>	<p>Jen, p. 7</p> <p><u>Subjects were asked to participate in the study by the researcher.</u></p> <p>First, <u>subjects completed a written Demographic Survey and then responded</u> to each prompt in DCT.</p> <p>When they were provided with the DCT, it was emphasized that they should <u>write their responses to every situation</u> as if they were in an <u>actual</u> speaking situation.</p>
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The extent of textual borrowing in Jen’s sentences ranges from 100% of the words copied to 60% and 21.4% of the words borrowed from source text. The variability in the extent of words borrowed may be reflective of the nature of textual borrowing in the context of writing the procedures section.

By contrast, there were instances in which she borrowed closely and selective

from individual sentences written succinctly that served specific functions (e.g., The collected data was analyzed by the researcher based on semantic formulas (components) and expression forms of the speech acts).

It is important to note that Jen was able to imitate closely from Tammy's methodology section due to overlap in content, as they both shared the same research method, administering an open-ended Discourse Completion Test Questionnaire to native and non-native English speaking participants. In this respect, the lines between borrowing of content and format became blurred.

Results

Despite her transgressive copying, her patchwriting involved sentences that served specific functions related to presenting information, such as how to report what contents are shown in a table (e.g., The frequency of use of the individual components of the speech act set can be found in Table 1), how to report specific results (e.g., In general, three groups produced the second and third component with roughly frequency).

In the next example, Tammy's original sentence "Four components were typically found in native speakers' production of complaints" was patchwritten as follows through the use of substitution to report on her findings: "Two main

components were typically found in native speakers' production of the first and second situations."

Ostensibly, her sentence was patchwriting in form, but different in nature from a typical paraphrase. While 57% of the language was copied, she was borrowing the function and format at the same time. Thus, it may be that the underlying purpose for textual borrowing in this context was to imitate the original sentence and adapt it to her own research paper context.

Discussion

She followed Tammy's Discussion section by starting the first sentence with a statement about the "main purpose" and synthesizing the findings. The below example shows the fine line between patchwriting closely from the original sentence and imitation of its format and language.

Example 4.22.

<p>Tammy, p. 12</p> <p><u>The main purpose of this study was to compare the differences between native and non-native English speakers' production of the speech acts of refusal and complaint.</u></p>	<p>Jen, p. 21</p> <p><u>The main purpose of this study was to compare the differences between native English speakers and Korean non-native English speakers' production of the speech acts of complaining.</u></p>
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Adding and deleting words from Tammy's sentence accounted for the close textual similarities, resulting in 88.9% of the words copied.

The remaining 11.1% consisted of Jen's own words, which she used primarily to adapt Tammy's sentence into her research paper context. The patchwritten sentence served a specific function of recapitulating what the purpose of the study was. Moreover, both the original and Jen's sentences occurred immediately after the subheading *Discussion* as its opening sentence. Thus, her close copying of language and its location seemed to be in line with Jen's earlier statement that, not knowing how to write each section, she often copied closely from the first sentence of each section from Tammy's paper. In this regard, Jen appeared to have imitated the

format of Tammy's discussion despite heavy appropriation of language.

Limitations

Despite Jen's argument that she only borrowed the format and language from Tammy's paper, a counter example was her limitations section. In fact, Jen copied closely from the content, format, and language: the organization and development of the paragraphs, such as the total number of paragraphs, the presentation sequence of the foci of each paragraph, as well as the order in which individual sentences were deployed in each paragraph. Overt traces of direct textual borrowing from Tammy's limitations section was evidenced by her use of patchwriting strategies that made superficial changes to Tammy's original sentences.

To show the nature and extent of textual borrowing involved, excerpts from a paragraph from Jen's limitation was compared against the original paragraph from Tammy's paper. As shown in Example 5.19, the paragraph from Jen's limitations section bore close textual similarities to that of Tammy's paper on multiple levels.

Example 4.23.

Tammy's paragraph from Limitations	Jen's paragraph from Limitations
<p><u>The Discourse Completion Test, while a time-efficient instrument, may not be the best way to obtain authentic data. Subjects are writing, not speaking, and have the opportunity to contemplate and change their responses, something that is less possible in a naturalistic spoken setting. For this study, most subjects responded immediately, taking about 15-20 minutes to complete the survey in the researcher's presence. Twenty percent of subjects completed the survey outside of the researcher's presence. When naturalistic data ... future studies should adopt procedures</u></p>	<p><u>The Discourse Completion Test might not be the best way to collect speech act data from subjects even though it is a time-saving instrument. Subjects' responses were not spoken, but written, so they had the opportunity to rethink and change their answers. Also, their answers might not realistic because taking a DCT is not the same as a task in a naturalistic setting. For this study, most subjects were given 15~20 minutes to take the DCT on the spot when the researcher administered it, but roughly 15% of subjects took the DCT home and completed it outside of the researcher's presence. Also, controlling</u></p>

<p>to better <u>control the amount of time</u> that the subject <u>spends completing the DCT</u>.</p> <p>Another <i>enhancement</i> may be to produce <u>an oral</u> version of the DCT, <u>in which participants respond orally to the prompts and audio recordings are made and transcribed</u> (Hendricks, 2002).</p> <p><u>Future studies should</u> use DCTs with <i>a greater number</i> of prompts directed to each of the four scenarios.</p>	<p>for <u>the amount of time spent</u> on <u>completing the DCT</u> should be considered. In future studies, using <i>better</i> instruments such as an <u>oral discourse completion task</u> (Murphy and Neu, 1996), <u>in which subjects respond orally to the prompts and audio recordings are made and transcribed</u>, should be regarded.</p> <p><u>Future research should</u> include and analyze <i>a wider range</i> of situations.</p>
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Forty percent of the language in this paragraph comprised of direct textual borrowing, with the number increasing to 49.8% when synonym replacement was included. While she used more of her own words, the whole paragraph comprised of line-by-line patchwriting that bore close one-to-one sentence correspondence to Tammy's paragraph. The overlap in words and content was possible because both women administered DCT instruments to a similar pool of participants. Thus, it appeared that she engaged in patchwriting of content and language.

On the other hand, her patchwriting also served as imitation. She openly acknowledged that she borrowed heavily from Tammy's limitation section. "I have never written a limitation section before. But now, all of a sudden, I'm required to write one? How can I know how to write one without looking at [Tammy's] section?" Considering that this was the first time she was writing a research paper, the close copying seemed to be that of imitation. Conversely, the argument can be made that had Jen had more experience with writing research papers, she might have engaged in less direct textual borrowing. Taken together, it can be said that the lines between copying and imitation became blurry in the context of Jen's textual appropriation of Tammy's paper.

Comparison of Textual Borrowing by Source Text Type

This section compares the extent and nature of Jen's textual borrowing from research articles and Tammy's paper.

Extent of Textual Borrowing

The extent of textual borrowing will be examined at both the individual sentence and word-string levels. From a Bakhtinian (1981) perspective, Jen's patchwriting that contains near verbatim copying can be explained in terms of its being authoritative discourse that is "incapable of being double-voiced" but "only transmitted" (p. 344).

At the individual sentence level. To examine the extent of textual borrowing within sentences, the proportion of words derived from direct textual borrowing was calculated by dividing the number of overlapping words by the total number of words in each sentence.

Figure 4.4. Proportion of borrowed words per sentence by source text type

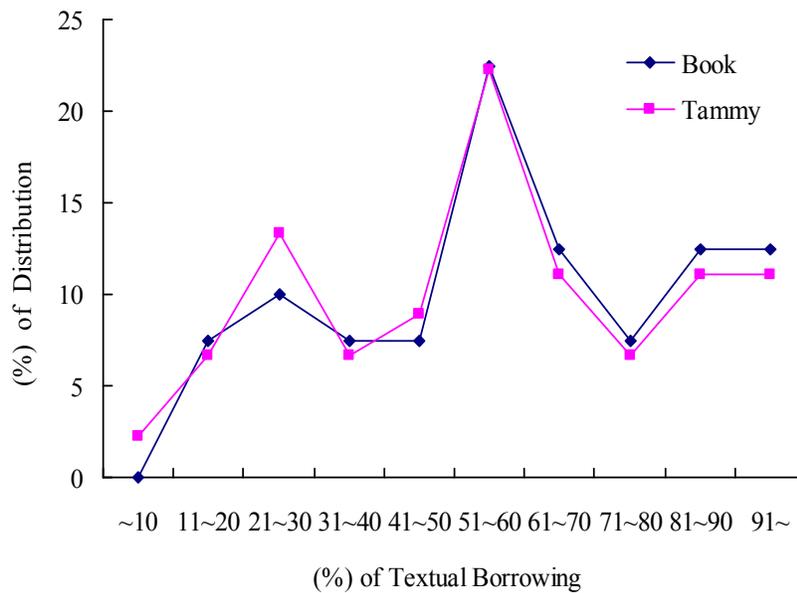


Figure 4.4 shows the distribution of sentences containing textual borrowing based on the proportion of directly borrowed words per sentence by source text type. Overall, textual borrowing from both source text types displayed similar proportions of direct textual borrowing in sentences. In fact, sentences with 51-60% of its words overlapping with source texts accounted for 22.5% and 22.2% of the total number of

sentences respectively.

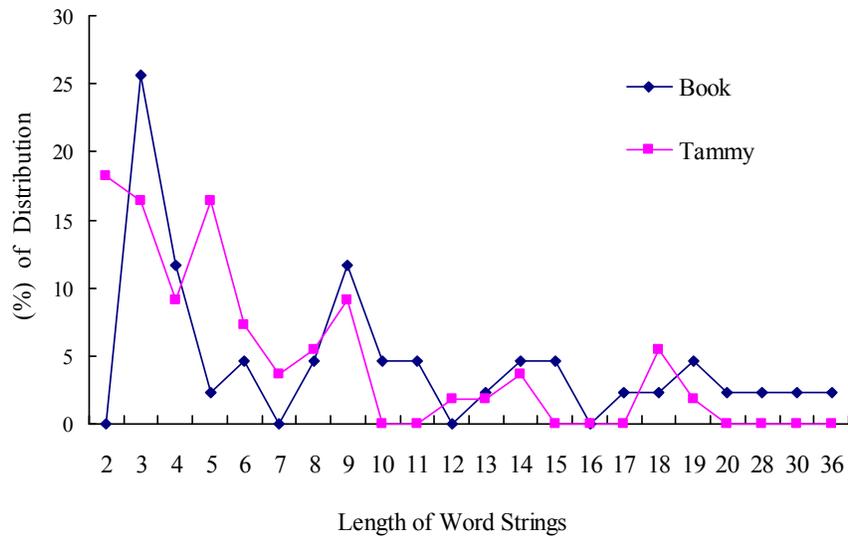
However, the extent of textual borrowing within sentences seemed a bit higher in textual borrowing from books than from Tammy's paper. Note that the distribution of sentences with more than 81% of the language taken from sources was higher for borrowing from books. By contrast, sentences with 21-30% of the language copied from the source was higher for borrowing from Tammy's paper, suggesting that textual borrowing from books might have resulted in higher textual dependence on language.

Moreover, if we consider 50% of words in a sentence taken from source texts as the threshold for determining whose words dominate, in textual borrowing from books, 67.5% of the sentences had more than half of the language borrowed, while 32.5% of the sentences had under 50%. Similarly, in textual borrowing from Tammy's paper, sentences with more than 50% of words borrowed were 62.2%, whereas those below 50% of words borrowed was 37.8%.

At the Word- string Level

Differences were also evidenced in the extent of direct textual borrowing at the smaller unit of verbatim copying of words by source text type. Figure 4.5 provides a comparison of the length of verbatim word- strings copied.

Figure 4.5. Length of exact copies by source text type



Overall, textual borrowing from book articles resulted in higher numbers of exact copies as well as longer word strings. By contrast, textual borrowing from Tammy had higher numbers of exact copies for word strings spanning two to seven words. Thus, in terms of the extent of copying in consecutive word strings, textual borrowing from books was more extensive and longer, which may speak to the different nature of textual borrowing by source text type.

Exact copies from book articles involved textual borrowing related to content in the sense that they entailed listing factors or characteristics (e.g., learner external factors, such as learning context and length of residence in the target community; utterance length as expressed in number of words, utterance length as expressed in

number of moves, position on the severity scale...). Partial and wholesale verbatim copying of content was also used in presenting main points or in lieu of a summary (e.g., tend to be verbose and use more words than native speakers; excluding the complaint component and substituting a criticism component may change the illocutionary force of the set into a criticism). In the case of the former, the somewhat technical and descriptive nature of the lists may have induced copying. In the latter case, instead of summarizing in her own words, she engaged in exact copying of parts that functioned as a summary.

In contrast, exact copying from Tammy's paper was reflective of imitation. That is, her verbatim copying was related to data collection (e.g., To compare the pragmatic competence of...), analysis (e.g., Responses of native speakers were reviewed...), and presentation of data in table format (e.g., The frequency of use of the individual components of the speech act set can be found in Table 1.). From a Bakhtinian (1981) perspective, even when a sentence is copied verbatim, the meaning of the sentence changes due to the dialogizing contexts that frame it. In a similar manner, Jen's imitation and transgressive textual borrowing from Tammy's paper can be said to Jen's internally persuasive discourse which has been assimilated into her own context.

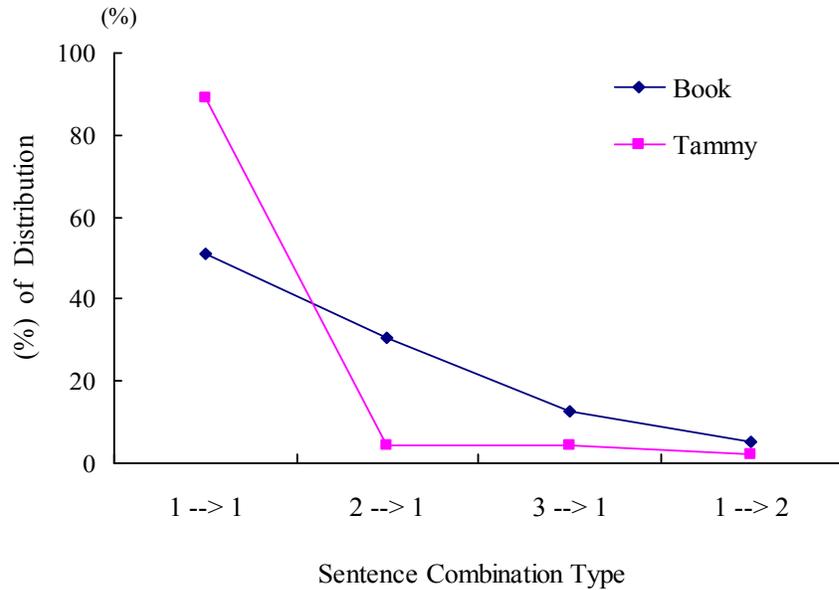
Nature of Textual Borrowing

The nature of textual borrowing will be examined in terms of the number of sentences combined from the source text combined into Jen's rewritten sentences and categories of patchwriting strategies she employed.

Type of Sentence Combinations

In examining the nature of textual borrowing, the number of original sentences combined into Jen's rewritten sentences was also considered as an index of change. The premise was that patchwriting based on one-on-one sentence correspondence to the original sentence might have higher textual dependence on words and sentence structure, leading to superficial changes. This is because one-on-one paraphrasing might pose more difficulty in making changes to the original. Conversely, as the number of sentences combined increased, textual dependence on words and sentence structure may potentially decrease, involving more changes. Another assumption was that the process of selecting and abridging information and language across sentences would lead to a more summary-based writing that brought more changes to the original. Figure 4.6 presents a comparison between textual borrowing from book articles versus Tammy's paper, in terms of the number of original sentences combined into Jen's textual borrowing.

Figure 4.6. Type of sentence combinations by source text type



One notable difference between textual borrowing from different source text types was in the distribution of the scope of sentences incorporated into her rewritten sentences. In textual borrowing from books, one-on-one sentence correspondence accounted for 51.3% of the total number of sentences, followed by 30.8% involving combination of two sentences.

By sharp contrast, in textual borrowing from Tammy, one-on-one sentence correspondence was the predominant mode of textual incorporation, accounting for 88.9% of her patchwriting. Other types of sentence combinations were marginal. The high proportion of one-on-one sentence-level textual borrowing here may speak to the

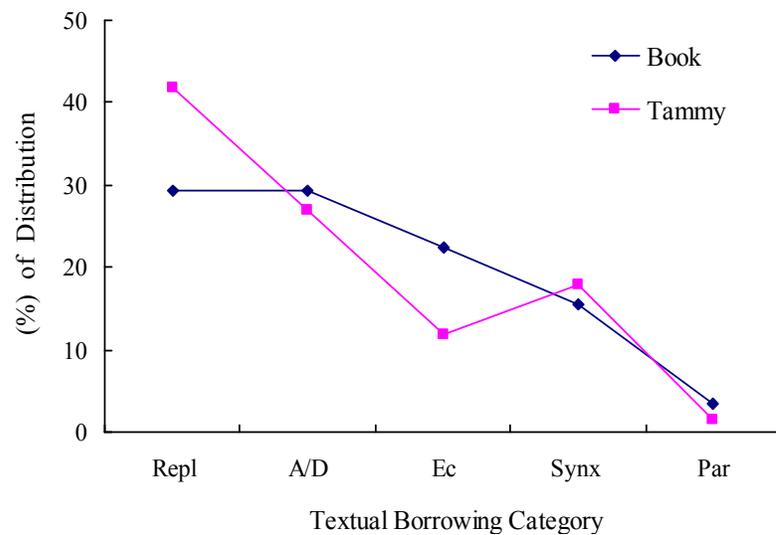
formulaic nature of imitating the research paper genre. Most of her textual borrowing from Tammy's paper was linked to borrowing format and language specific to different sections of the research paper.

Thus, many of Jen's sentences were taken sequentially and individually from the corresponding sections in Tammy's paper. Jen followed the same sequencing of sentences by preserving the location and chronological order in which they appeared. In light of the fact that she imitated selectively the format and language of sentences from different sections of Tammy's paper, her high textual dependence can be seen as part of her attempt to appropriate the research paper genre. Her imitation of functional sentences may have resulted in close one-on-one sentence correspondence and textual similarity to the original sentence. This in turn provided support for Jen's earlier argument that Tammy's sentences provided "concrete examples" of how to write various sections of the research paper.

Categories of Textual Borrowing Strategies

Types of textual borrowing strategies were examined to determine the nature of changes made to the original sentences. Figure 4.7 compares the distribution of categories of textual borrowing strategies Jen employed based on source text type.

Figure 4.7. Categories of textual borrowing strategies by source text type



Overall, Jen’s sentences demonstrated high textual reliance on language from both source text types, suggesting that a wide range of patchwriting strategies were used in lieu of paraphrasing. More specifically, textual borrowing from both source text types showed similar patterns of textual borrowing strategies, with replacement (Repl) and add/delete (A/D) occurring much more frequently than changes in syntax (Syn) and paraphrasing (Par).

The reason why replacement and add/delete strategies were employed at a higher rate than changes in syntax and paraphrasing can be accounted for in terms of difficulty associated with paraphrasing. Recall that Jen indicated that changes to the sentence structure posed more difficulty than changes to wording. Thus, difficulty

with making drastic changes may have resulted in insufficient changes that preserved the original sentence structure, while making word level changes via replacing words and add/delete. Conversely, the relatively lower cases of changes in syntax may be accounted for by the tougher challenge involved in making more extensive changes leading up to paraphrasing.

On the other hand, differences in the distribution of textual borrowing categories were also identified. In textual borrowing from books, replacement of words (29%), along with adding and deleting words (29%) occurred in similar proportion, followed by exact copying (EC) (22%). Higher proportions of exact copying in this context may be reflective of the nature of borrowing of content. Exact copying was used to extract information or content, such as the main or key points of a sentence, or descriptive information. Relatedly, her knowledge-telling approach to paraphrasing that faithfully reproduces the content at the individual sentence level may also have contributed to the use of exact copying.

By contrast, in textual borrowing from Tammy's paper, replacement of words comprised 42% of the total number of strategies, implying that Jen's primary method of textual incorporation in the context of imitation was replacement of words. It seemed that Jen imitated Tammy's sentences that served specific functions in the

research paper by replacing the original wording with her own words in recontextualizing them into her own research paper context. Lower use of exact copying could be explained in terms of imitation. As imitation involves adapting the original into her own context, the need for exact copying may have been lower. For example, instances in which 100% of the language was copied from Tammy's sentences was limited to the results section where she introduced tables into her paper.

Summary of Findings

This chapter looked at both products and processes involved in paraphrasing embedded within two different writing tasks. One was contextualized as a paraphrasing task in an authentic research paper. The other was more decontextualized since it involved paraphrasing a paragraph in response to a prompt that it would be included as part of an academic paper. Interestingly, despite differences in contextualizations, it appeared that Jen employed similar paraphrasing and reading approaches without using paraphrasing more purposefully, but in a uniform manner.

Another emerging theme was that she resorted to patchwriting when confronted with difficulties in paraphrasing. Her concerns and difficulty with finding appropriate words and sentence structures suggested that she approached

paraphrasing as a rewording activity. Patchwriting occurred as her paraphrasing became constrained by her limited vocabulary due to her L2 proficiency and lack of academic repertoire to draw from. In this respect, difficulties in paraphrasing may have contributed to her patchwriting, which spoke to the unintentional aspect of transgressive textual borrowing.

Jen's approaches to reading and paraphrasing, both of which demonstrated a knowledge telling orientation affected what and how she paraphrased. In contrast, her paraphrasing-as-organizing approach and cryptomnesia showed a decrease in textual dependence on words and content since they potentially facilitated a knowledge-transforming approach where she produced paraphrases based on her understanding without looking at the source text.

Based on analysis of her research paper, different patterns of textual borrowing manifested between borrowing of content versus format and language by source text type. Borrowing from books employed add and delete, along with replacement of words in similar proportions, while showing proportionately higher use of exact copying. In contrast, in borrowing from Tammy's paper, substitution of words was the most prevalent strategy, with relatively lower uses of exact copying. These different patterns of use and the locations in which textual borrowing by source

types appeared in Jen's paper, supported her argument that her purpose for textual appropriation was contingent on source type.

At the same time, while borrowing of content and imitation displayed differences, the boundaries between borrowing of content and imitation became hazy when the surrounding contexts in which her patchwriting occurred was examined. More importantly, while one type of borrowing was more transparent than the other, the two often occurred concurrently, suggesting that despite close copying, at times, it was associated with learning how to write a research paper.

CHAPTER 5: DIALOGIZING INFLUENCES SHAPING JEN'S TEXTUAL BORROWING PRACTICES

In the previous chapter, actual data on Jen's patchwriting was examined, which set the stage for the current chapter that examines the centripetal and centrifugal forces that shape Jen's textual borrowing practices. This chapter serves as explanation of the complex layers and tensions that have shaped her inappropriate textual borrowing practices.

To illustrate the importance of taking a contextualized view toward Jen's transgressive textual borrowing practices, this chapter is organized differently from standard research that takes a macro-view of the contexts first, followed by a micro-view. Instead, as with the traditional views on student plagiarism, I start with a decontextualized approach by examining Jen's own internally persuasive discourses that have shaped her conceptions of paraphrasing. Then, I move toward a contextualized approach, as with the alternative view toward plagiarism, by examining the authoritative discourses or outside factors that shaped her textual borrowing practices. This chapter sets the stage for the discussion chapter which speaks to the complex interplay of multiple influences shaping her heteroglossic,

inappropriate textual borrowing practices operating in the midst the centripetal and centrifugal tensions.

To that end, Jen's internally persuasive conceptions of paraphrasing are examined in the following order: (1) view of subjectivity in paraphrasing; (2) addressivity to audience; (3) how to communicate effectively; (4) conceptions of academic discourse as too difficult; and (5) individual writing style. Then, the sixth section, addressivity to professor's feedback, shows how the gap between her professor's notion of "in one's own words" and her own notion led to omission of quotation marks as a coping strategy.

Next, the section on pedagogical tension will show centripetal and centrifugal tensions between her previous cultural and educational experiences in Korea and the U.S. regarding textual ownership and copying. Then, perspectival tension between what to cite as well as what counts as imitation is addressed, followed by her perceptions of and difficulty with citation practices to show how her lax attitude toward textual ownership may be an extension of her source misuse. After that, her previous literacy and academic writing experiences follow, to show where her epistemology of knowledge was possibly formed. Finally, I examine how her inexperience with academic research papers resulted in inappropriate textual

borrowing to compensate for her lack of academic discourse and knowledge of how to write a research paper.

Borrowing and Subjectivity in Paraphrasing

Jen's internally persuasive view of borrowing as a natural part of language use and of subjectivity in paraphrasing shaped her inappropriate textual borrowing practices. That is, her lax criteria of textual ownership of words can be attributed in part to her personal interpretations of the authoritative discourse on paraphrasing from her previous ESL class.

Previous ESL Instruction

Her understanding that some degree of textual borrowing was acceptable originated from a one-hour paraphrasing practice session in an ESL class at a large U.S. institution prior to entering her graduate program. The activity entailed paraphrasing a whole paragraph from the textbook. In her recollection, the teacher explained that using some same words as the original was permissible, whereas using the same sentence structure was not. The authoritative discourse, as manifested in her ESL instruction, impressed on her that paraphrasing entailed making sufficient changes to the original at the word and sentence level. Yet, with regard to the extent of change required to produce an appropriate paraphrase, Jen stated that her ESL

teacher had not “provide[d] any specific criteria.”

When asked why she had copied large chunks of words from the original in writing her research paper, Jen replied: “It would not make sense if I could not use even one word [from the original].” To that end, she noted that she “paraphrase[d] to [her] advantage,” which translated into allowing for partial copying of verbatim words without quotation marks. Following up with an illustration, she explained: “Hmm, I think I can change two words here, and one word there.” However, she immediately corrected herself: “No, changing only one word would be a bit too much. If I add more words or change three or four words, then, I would consider that a paraphrase.”

Rectifying the number of words to be changed from one or two to three or four words suggests that she had some level of awareness that paraphrasing necessitated that some changes be made to the original. In fact, the fluctuations in her answers on the extent of change appropriate for paraphrasing may be in line with the fact that patchwriting also covers a wide range of semantic and syntactic changes, from adding, deleting, and replacing words to making syntactic changes.

Even in the midst of applying paraphrasing to her advantage, Jen simultaneously expressed ambivalence concerning what constituted sufficient levels

of change in paraphrasing. She went on to speculate that the amount of change deemed sufficient for a legitimate paraphrase was a subjective matter:

Soo: In your opinion, how much change is needed to be considered an acceptable paraphrase?

Jen: Who knows? I'm not counting all the words to keep track. That is the answer. No one really knows how much change counts as a paraphrase.

In a subsequent interview, Jen explicitly stated: "I'm not sure up to what point [of change] is considered a paraphrase," suggesting that determining where paraphrase ended and plagiarism began was a source of difficulty that may have contributed to her inappropriate textual borrowing practices.

Paraphrase and Extent of Change

The question arises as to how Jen made paraphrasing work toward her favor in light of the subjectivity in paraphrasing, that is, in the absence of explicit criteria outlining appropriate levels of change. The below exchange illustrates how the subjectivity in determining appropriate levels of change contributed to Jen's inappropriate textual borrowing practices.

Soo: I noticed that you did not *copy everything* [from the original sentence.]

Jen: Yes, that is my concept! If I *copy* exactly from the text, I use direct

quotations. But if I make *any changes*, even one word, then, it is a
paraphrase. [emphasis added]

As can be seen, Jen adopted loose criteria for differentiating direct quotes from paraphrases. Irrespective of the nature of the change, as long as it was not copied verbatim, she considered it a kind of paraphrase. The extent of copying, as opposed to the extent of change, appeared to be her primary criteria distinguishing direct quotations from paraphrases.

Based on the extent of *copying* involved, her taxonomy of textual borrowing of words was further refined into direct quotes, partial direct quotes or partial copying, and paraphrasing. Demarcation of textual ownership of words via quotation marks hinged on the extent of copying involved: “[In copying] complete sentences, I use quotation marks, but for partial quotes I don’t.” In accounting for why she engaged in selective copying without quotation marks, she explained: “This is not the whole content. I only quoted a portion directly.” Paraphrasing, Jen noted, was different in that it entailed writing in her own words. But as will be demonstrated later, her paraphrasing involved changing only difficult words or included partial copying.

However, there was much variability in her notion of partial copying, or the extent of copying involved. Using a stringent criteria of contiguous verbatim word-

strings, they ranged from two (e.g., social distance, semantic components), three (e.g., three independent variables, than direct complaining), and four (e.g., relatively proficient non-native speakers, social obligation on hearers) words to units that resembled sentences (e.g., is the ability to use language forms in a wide range of environments, factoring in the relationship between the speakers involved and the social and cultural context of the situation). While smaller units of partial copying of two, three, and four words seem natural and reasonable in terms of borrowing without quotation marks, as the units of partially copied text grows longer, it becomes closer to near-verbatim copying of the whole sentence.

Yet, Jen did not seem to make distinctions between these two, suggesting that she applied loose criteria for textual borrowing of words. Partial copying may have been a more viable option than using too many quotation marks in the absence of clear criteria on how many words could be copied freely. In fact, during another interview on how anticipation of the authoritative discourse of her professor resulted in omission of quotation marks, Jen alluded to the nature of partial copying as a coping strategy: “It’s not like I can fill up my paper with quotation marks.” Patchwriting with partially copied word strings may be a means for her to borrow closely from the text without too many quotation marks.

Furthermore, the variation in the extent of copying allowed suggests that what was internally persuasive to her was that, as long as word-for-word copying of entire sentences is avoided, she did not need to use direct quotations. She demonstrated relaxed criteria for textual ownership of words: “I thought that when I paraphrase, copying chunks of words is acceptable. I did not consider it a direct quote.” Interestingly, she referred to partial copying as partial direct quotes, using a label that subsumed it under direct quotes, though she did not see it as direct quotes.

Her label of partial direct quotes may be indicative of the heteroglossic nature of patchwriting. Partial direct quotes as hybrid discourse occupy a middle position between direct quotes, at one end of the spectrum and paraphrasing, at the other end, based on the extent of change made to the original in terms of wording and sentence structure. She explicated the nature of copying involved as follows: “I didn’t copy everything. I borrowed selectively. Only the essential parts have been included.” Note her distinctions between unfiltered, wholesale copying and selective copying that has “tightly interwoven” with her own words (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 283). The latter resembles internally persuasive discourse which has been re-accentuated and re-assimilated into her own writing context.

Jen explicated that her notion of a good paraphrase allowed for partial

copying. For example, in one of her patchwriting examples, her sentence structure (e.g., There are two considerations when... is discussed) was considerably different from that of the original (e.g., Interlanguage pragmatics...must take into consideration not only...but also....). Upon noticing that two points on interlanguage pragmatics were being highlighted in the original sentence, she incorporated the key points into a new sentence structure that was “general and easy to understand.” Jen argued: “Of course, I borrowed 'consideration' [from the original], but I changed the sentence structure because I thought I should.”

However, in terms of the extent of textual dependence, 40.5% of the language in her paraphrase was copied from the original via exact copying and change in syntax. Yet, she claimed that the most important parts have been paraphrased and that the copied parts (e.g., in dealing with how people use language within a social context) played an ancillary role. As a modifying phrase of interlanguage pragmatics, the words were extraneous information that could be deleted, she argued. Emphasizing that her paraphrase could be used without the copied modifying phrase, she concluded: “So I thought I could copy them [without using quotation marks.]” Considering that many of Jen’s paraphrases have been patchwritten, it may be that Jen’s partial copying and paraphrases pertain to what Howard (1995) terms

patchwriting. Jen's above description also provides some insight into her knowledge-telling approach to paraphrasing as extracting the main points.

Addressivity to Audience: How to Communicate Effectively

Her own internally persuasive discourse on how to communicate effectively with others in everyday communication shaped her conceptualization of paraphrasing and textual borrowing practices by bringing in the issue of addressivity and emphasis on using easy-to-comprehend language.

Initially, suspecting that her proclivity to paraphrase in easy language was rooted in past instruction, I asked where she had learned that paraphrasing should be done in simple, comprehensible language. Much to my surprise, Jen replied: "I think it came out of my personal experience." In fact, it had originated from her firsthand experience on how to communicate effectively with others in daily life. Drawing a parallel between her real-life communication and paraphrasing, Jen maintained that the ultimate goal in communication, irrespective of the language medium, was to "make [oneself] understood."

Paraphrase and Easy-to-Comprehend Language

Re-contextualized within the context of speech communication, addressivity in the Bakhtinian (1981) sense was included in her notion of ease-in-comprehension

in paraphrasing. “If I use a lot of difficult language to look smart, then, they won’t be able to understand me at all,” she argued. Comments such as “Could you repeat that? I don’t understand,” she reasoned, required the speaker to find simpler and easier ways to rephrase the original. “It would be foolish to use the same words,” Jen observed, noting the futility of repeating the very same words that caused a breakdown in communication. Alternatively, such occasions called for what Jen referred to as “paraphrasing in easy words.”

How to Paraphrase

Jen’s internally persuasive discourses on using easy-to-comprehend language and on the subjectivity in the extent of change in paraphrasing served as the dialogizing contexts that shaped her notion of paraphrasing as it pertained to how, when, and why to paraphrase. Within the context of effective communication, paraphrasing was depicted as “changing into [her] own words to make it easy [to understand]. Upon encountering various forms of difficult language and sentence structure, Jen believed it was an occasion to make it comprehensible. Given that her notion of paraphrasing grew out of the practical context of communicating effectively in daily life, Jen’s paraphrasing was motivated by the pragmatic reason of making it comprehensible, with less consideration of demarcating textual ownership of words

for partial copying of words.

In terms of the extent of change deemed necessary in paraphrasing, she adopted a minimalist approach: “Difficult language should be changed.” Her rationale was depicted as follows: “It’d be more convenient to replace them with my own words. It becomes easier to comprehend if I change difficult words into my own.” As can be seen, her description of paraphrasing was similar to a rewording activity and knowledge-telling mode of writing where accurately conveying content took precedence over other concerns, such as the extent of change necessary to be deemed a legitimate paraphrase.

When to Paraphrase

Jen’s main criteria in determining when to paraphrase was based on her perception of whether the sentence(s) clearly conveyed the main point without having to be changed, or needed to be changed into her own words to facilitate comprehension.

She “felt the need to paraphrase” difficult sentences that would potentially cause difficulties in understanding the content. “I paraphrase when what I read is difficult to understand,” Jen noted. She personally “felt the need to paraphrase” difficult sentences which she described had one or all of the following characteristics:

(1) those with long and complicated sentence structures that required “breaking down into manageable chunks” for comprehension, (2) those that made her pause to figure out what it was trying to convey, taking up considerable time in reading comprehension, and (3) those that had difficult language that hindered comprehension. Such complicated sentence structures required her to paraphrase using a series of shorter, simpler sentence structures, she explained.

Conversely, Jen did not perceive a need to paraphrase easy sentences written in easy-to-comprehend language and sentence structures without much terminology. She explicated that easy sentences already communicated their meaning clearly. Her rationale was that it was already “easy to understand without having to be changed into [her] own words.” Given that the primary purpose for paraphrasing based on her internally persuasive discourse was to facilitate comprehension, easy sentences precluded the need to be changed into her own words. “It’s not difficult [to comprehend] at all, so the importance of paraphrasing did not come through to me,” she explained.

At the same time, she was cognizant of the subjectivity operating in the midst of her perceptions of when to paraphrase: it was not so much about there being “no [objective] need to paraphrase,” as it was about her “personally” not “feel[ing] the

need to paraphrase.” As can be seen, paraphrasing, for Jen, involved making the original sentence fairly easy to comprehend in an internally persuasive manner. As she put it: “I have to change it in a way that makes sense to me.”

Why Paraphrase

Her notion of paraphrasing was heteroglossic in the sense that it was shaped by both authoritative discourse and, to a larger extent, her internally persuasive discourse. Addressivity to herself and others in terms of comprehension was an essential component of paraphrasing that shaped her paraphrasing approach. In accounting for why it was necessary to paraphrase, she argued: “How can others comprehend it when I don’t understand it myself?” Her premise was that if she experienced difficulty with comprehension, so would her readers: “If I have difficulty understanding what I am reading, then, my readers will too.”

She went on to say: “Because if someone asks me if I understand, what am I going to say.” It was later revealed that the “someone” in the above statement was her professor, as direct textual borrowing of difficult language resulted in his telling her to paraphrase in her own words. Thus, paraphrasing difficult language into easier ones was simultaneously an act of making the original comprehensible and internally persuasive for herself and at the same time, incorporating addressivity to her general

readers and her professor.

Consider the amount of emphasis placed on paraphrasing as a way to make the original comprehensible. In some respects, Jen's recurring references to "comprehend," "understand," and "understanding" may be an outgrowth of the authoritative discourse that views paraphrasing as an index of one's level of understanding. Those who are unable to paraphrase are presumed not to have comprehended the source well enough to restate it in their own words.

Simultaneously, Jen's notion of paraphrasing was idiosyncratic in that her internally persuasive discourse applied looser criteria of textual ownership of words that allowed for insufficient changes in so far as the paraphrase had been made easy to understand. In other words, despite minimal changes that revolved around changing difficult language, her patchwriting may be a product of her understanding of the sentence being paraphrased. Jen referred to the aspect of paraphrasing that reflected her understanding as "changing in a way that ma[d]e sense to her," suggesting that her patchwriting may constitute paraphrasing on her part.

Paraphrase as Explaining to Someone

Her inappropriate textual borrowing can also be accounted for by her heteroglossic notion of paraphrasing as "being able to explain in [her] own words."

Initially, her conception of paraphrasing seemed to be aligned to that of authoritative discourse. However, situated within her internally persuasive context of how to communicate effectively, her notion of “in one’s own words” pertained to language she considered to be within her repertoire of daily discourse as well as viable within her current level of English proficiency.

She conceptualized paraphrasing as follows: “When I change [a sentence] into my own words, I do it as if I am explaining to someone.” As such, words she changed were those she deemed incapable of producing on her own: “Sentences like these, I’m unable to produce normally on my own.” Words that sounded alien and foreign which were not part of her regular discourse were also changed: “Expressions like these do not come out of my speech when I speak.” Her rationale for paraphrasing difficult language was epitomized as follows: “I can’t explain using those [difficult] words, so I have to explain it in an easy manner in my own words.”

Conversely, in accounting for her partial copying of easy expressions without quotation marks, she posited that they were words that could be produced on her own given her current English proficiency and linguistic repertoire. “Those are words I am able to use [on my own]. I can speak using those expressions,” Jen argued. She further elaborated: “Though the author said it, I can say it like that, too.” While the

words had initially originated from the author, she believed that they were within the parameters of what she considered to be her own words.

As can be seen, her internally persuasive discourse on writing in one's own words was applied broadly and loosely to encompass not only words she actually produced, but those, she felt, she could produce independently at her current level of English proficiency. It seemed that Jen applied the authoritative discourse to use "one's own words" selectively in an internally persuasive manner. As such, despite insufficient changes, her patchwriting may serve a means to appropriate language from source texts for her own purposes and infuse them with her own intentions.

Perception of Academic Language as Gratuitously Difficult

Jen's perception of academic language as gratuitously difficult for general readers also served as internally persuasive discourse that reinforced her notion of paraphrasing as changing difficult language into easy-to-comprehend language.

Academic Language as Authoritative Discourse

Jen expressed ambivalence regarding the exigency of academic language being difficult, suggesting that centripetal and centrifugal tensions existed. On the one hand, she recognized that jargon and academes were characteristic of academic discourse: "Of course, the language that scholars use, they have their own

terminology, and stuff.” On the other hand, she questioned the appropriateness of the level of difficulty involved in academic language: “But sometimes I just don’t understand why they write in such a difficult way.”

Throughout the course of the study, she occasionally made a number of casual remarks about how difficult academic language was. In fact, she saw academic language as being more convoluted than necessary: “Academic sentences generally write in a more difficult manner what can actually be written in an easy way.” She depicted scholars as people who “deliberately” wrote with difficult language to look very “sophisticated.” Not only was Jen unconvinced as to why academic language had to be so difficult, she openly shared that she was clueless as to what purpose paraphrasing served in academia: “I’m sure there’s a purpose for paraphrasing that academic people have come up with. But I don’t know what that purpose is. I never asked [academics] what paraphrasing was for.” In the absence of a clear foreknowledge of why paraphrasing was required in academia, her internally persuasive discourse on paraphrasing may have occurred as a direct response to the difficulty associated with comprehending academic language.

As an inexperienced, L2 student writer who had yet to become enculturated into disciplinary culture, academic language reified authoritative discourse located in

“a distanced zone” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 342). Jen indicated that academic language was one of the areas that posed difficulty for her in academic writing-from-sources tasks. Part of the difficulty with academic language was attributed to the fact that “academic words [were] not used commonly in daily life.” In particular, she traced the source of difficulty to the “academic words the authors used” and the “long-winded sentences and complicated sentence structures.” She conjectured that academic discourse would pose comprehension difficulty for herself and general readers: “Common people can’t understand you if you speak that way. When you talk to people, speak in easy language,” she remarked.

Arguably, the difficulty posed by the aforementioned properties of academic language may stem partly from the fact that they possess opposite characteristics of spoken discourse, which is relatively shorter and simpler in terms of diction and sentence structure. Given that academic language remains remote from every day discourse, her conception of paraphrasing as using easy-to-comprehend language may be an attempt to make academic discourse more similar to spoken discourse. That is, patchwriting may be a means to make it internally persuasive by infusing it with her own intensions” to make it comprehensible through easy-to-comprehend language. As a result, it became “double-voiced” as both authoritative and internally persuasive

discourse coexisted.

Paraphrase and Leveling Down

Jen summed up her purpose for paraphrasing academic language as follows: “Among other things, I have to unravel it into easy language.” To that end, she referred to paraphrasing of academic texts as “leveling down.” By “level down,” she meant toning down the difficulty level of the academic sentence(s) by “breaking [them] down” into smaller units of simpler, shorter sentence structures and replacing difficult language into easier ones. Her notion of leveling down paralleled what she considered to be the hallmarks of a good paraphrase. In both instances, she advocated “simplifying” the original in terms of sentence structure and language, by putting it in easy words “without making it complex.”

The following excerpt based on her description of an earlier example of her paraphrase aptly captures how “leveling down” influenced her paraphrasing process.

She wanted to avoid opening her sentence with any terminology:

I have to make it easy...I know this sounds funny, but if ‘interlanguage pragmatics’ is the first word of the sentence, it sounds heavy. Because it’s terminology, when my readers read this, it’s gonna make them feel uneasy. But if the sentence starts with ‘There are,’ it sounds easier. That’s why I began

with ‘There are two considerations’ and put the terminology in the back.

As a result, the original sentence which read: “Thus, interlanguage pragmatics, in dealing with how people use language within a social context, must take into consideration ...” was “leveled down” into what she considered an easier sentence structure that read: “In summary, there are two considerations when interlanguage pragmatics, in dealing with how people use language within a social context, is discussed...” While Jen considered it to be a paraphrase, due to insufficient changes to syntax, it nonetheless constituted patchwriting.

In the following example, Jen had leveled down difficult terminology into easy-to-comprehend language: “Murphy and Neu’s (1996) research focused only on one situation in which a student complains to a professor, who has more social power.” While 47.8% of words were borrowed directly from the original, using changes in syntax, “asymmetrical status relationship” in the original has been “leveled down” into a much simpler sentence structure and language (i.e., “who has more social power”).

In some respects, paraphrasing as leveling down difficult sentences may provide partial explanation of why she made insufficient changes in patchwriting. “Paraphrasing based on my current level of understanding helps my readers

comprehend,” she argued. Close textual correspondence in content and language between the original and Jen’s patchwriting suggests that she may have engaged in a knowledge-telling approach that contributed to her patchwriting, whereby superficial word changes were made, so as to reproduce content faithfully. For this reason, despite insufficient changes, her patchwriting may reflect her understanding of the sentence using a knowledge-telling mode.

Her notion of “leveling down” also extended to direct quotes and partial copying without quotation marks: “When it is written in an easy-to-comprehend style, without any terminology, those I take directly from the text.” Pointing out how tough it was to change easy language into an equally easy construction of similar caliber, Jen exclaimed: “It’s really hard to paraphrase easy sentences.” This was because easy sentences or direct quotes “could not be leveled down anymore” from her view. She went so far as to state that the attempts to level down easy sentences would result in paraphrases that were more difficult than the original. In this respect, some of her partial copying and insufficient changes in paraphrasing may have been induced by her misconception of paraphrasing as using easy-to-comprehend language.

In sum, underlying Jen’s notion of paraphrasing as using easy-to-comprehend language and leveling down difficult sentences seem to be a knowledge-telling mode

of epistemology where emphasis is on conveying content of individual sentences. This, in turn, resulted in a lax criteria of textual ownership of words as emphasis was on demonstrating her understanding of the content. For this reason, in spite of insufficient changes, patchwriting may represent her understanding of content of the sentence being paraphrased.

Individual Writing Style

Jen's individual writing style was one of the internally persuasive forces that shaped her textual borrowing practices and patchwriting. In describing her personal writing style, Jen stated that she "loved to organize [information]" so much that her friends often teased her: "Are you doing mathematics?" She further recalled: "They asked how I can pack my teaching beliefs neatly into one, two, three points. And they said the sentence structures are almost the same."

Following up with examples from an earlier literature review on her teaching philosophy, she recited two of her main points: "First, I believe that I should encourage students to be confident....Second, another belief is that I should motivate students to engage in each activity." Her sentence patterns were indeed somewhat mechanical and formulaic, sounding as if she were plugging in words into the same sentence pattern, which was somewhat reminiscent of the patchwriting strategy of

replacement of words.

By her own admission, Jen agreed that her writing style sounded formulaic. But despite her peers' disapproval, Jen was intent on using near identical sentence structures with little variation in presenting main points:

You can see that [the sentence structures] fit right into the same patterns.

How can you write with such conformity, they asked. Honestly, I love to write like that. I deliberately try to make them fit because, then, the readers will find it easy to, umm. That way, it's easier to emphasize my points. I really hate writing that is all over the place. I need to number them.

Her rationale was that writing in a homogeneous style was an effective means of communicating easily and clearly to her readers. Inherent in her statement was the recurring notion that language and sentence structures should be in easy-to-comprehend and simple terms.

To illustrate, Jen's patchwriting contained matching repetitive sentence structures "one must learn..." and "one must also learn..." which was a near verbatim copy except that she deleted, "We noted that in Chapter 1 that," from the original sentence. Despite heavy copying of the original sentence, Jen was able to appropriate repeating sentence patterns that reflected her personal writing style and fit her criteria

of being easy-to-comprehend.

In the following example, Jen engaged in more active construction of the repetitive pattern by combining two sentences into one and using contrasting comparatives “less ~than” and “more ~ than” in parallel form:

Additionally, the speech acts of non-native speakers are less severe than
native speakers and non-native speakers seem to be more sensitive to
differences in social factors related to their interlocutors *than native speakers.*

Based on her observation that comparatives “less” and “more” were in adjacent sentences, she made modifications to create parallel sentence structures. The underlined words represent copied words, and italics denote words replaced with synonymous expressions. While 55% of the words do not originate from Jen, through the use of the repetitive refrain she was able to accentuate the author’s words with her own intentions.

It is important to note that she referred to the various forms of patchwriting above as paraphrasing, suggesting that patchwriting may be a form of paraphrasing in her own words despite insufficient changes. Further, it can be said that despite the veneer of transgressive patchwriting, appropriation in the Bakhtinian (1981) sense was also at play. The use of parallel, repetitive patterns in adjacent sentences

represented her attempt to make the language her own by “populat[ing] it with [her] own intension, [her] own accent...adapting it to [her] own semantic and expressive intentions” (p. 294). Recall that in an earlier interview, she stated that she generally borrowed language that sounded like her own. Indeed, while the majority of the words were technically another’s, it nonetheless carried reverberations of her personal writing style that deployed repetition of language to make it easy-to-comprehend.

Addressivity to Professor’s Anticipated Response

Jen’s internally persuasive discourse on the need to write and paraphrase in easy-to-comprehend language made sense if we accept that her intended audience is the average person. But considering that she was writing a research paper for an academic audience, namely, her professor, insisting on writing in easy-to-comprehend language seemed unwarranted. In the exchange below, Jen introduced another source of addressivity that shaped her textual borrowing, her anticipation of her professor’s response to the words she used in terms of textual ownership:

Jen: When I paraphrase, I get the sense that, instead of using academic words,

I have to write in a way that is comprehensible for general people, using common everyday language.

Soo: But it’s an academic paper. Do general readers read it?

Jen: Actually, the professor reads it. So, in his view, are they words that I wrote [on my own] or words I copied.

Although she purported to write for a general audience, her professor seemed to be the primary reader. Considering that he was the one evaluating her paper, it followed that his response would be critical. In this regard, her inappropriate textual borrowing can be seen in light of a coping strategy, and passing procedural display mode of disciplinary participation: to meet his expectations and to get a passing grade.

Her understanding of her professor's notion of "in her own words" arose out of her dialogic interaction with his previous feedback and response to her inappropriate textual borrowing. To understand better how her conceptualization of what her professor meant by writing "in her own words" came into being, let us take a closer look at two dialogizing contexts where she received written feedback on her first draft. His feedback suggested that she had problems with citation practices. Of the five citation-related comments, two were on using her own words.

In One's Own Words and Direct Quotes

In the first instance, her professor's feedback "try to use your own words" occurred within the context of Jen using long, direct quotes in excess. Four direct quotes appeared on the same page, with three clustering in the same paragraph.

Immediately thereafter, the fourth direct quotation appeared as the first sentence of the adjacent paragraph. Instead of being spread out across the page, her direct quotations were densely concentrated in two paragraphs. Moreover, the direct quotes were generally three to four lines long, with the shortest being two lines.

The below four-line long, direct quote elicited her professor's written comment, "try to use your own words":

In summary, "Interlanguage pragmatics, in dealing with how people use language within a social context, must take into consideration not only how language is used (i.e., how grammatical forms are used to express semantic concepts), but also what it is being used for and who it is being used with (Gass and Selinker, 2001)."

Her sentence opened with "In summary," setting up the expectation that a synopsis in her own words would follow. Instead, an entire sentence of another's words enclosed in quotation marks followed.

When asked why her professor commented on her use of direct quotations, Jen replied: "It means I have not paraphrased it." From then on, Jen came to associate "in one's own words" with the admonition to avoid overuse of quotation marks and to paraphrase instead. Consequently, in her revision of the above page, the number of

direct quotes was reduced from four to two. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that despite her attempts to paraphrase, both of her paraphrases contained varying degrees of patchwriting.

In One's Own Words and Avoiding Copying

In the second instance, except for the addition of “Therefore, they suggested that” to the beginning of the original sentence, the sentence was copied verbatim though it was presented as a paraphrase:

Therefore, they suggested that further research should investigate if there are differences in complaints lodged against peers and persons of higher or lower status. Your words? stated (?)

Her professor had underlined “complaints lodged against” and wrote “your words?” underneath. He also highlighted “lodged,” offering “stated” as an alternative. Though in a circumvent manner, her professor appeared to be questioning textual ownership of “lodged” via a question mark. Against this backdrop and dialogic interaction, her previous encounter with her professor’s utterance “your words?” dialogized her current understanding of “in her own words” to indicate not to copy.

In One's Own Words and Procedural Display

In making sense of what her professor’s authoritative discourse on “in one’s

own words” meant, she also drew from her teaching experience as an ESL teacher. When asked to explain what ‘citizenship’ meant, one of her ESL students, reading from the textbook, replied: “Official membership.” To demonstrate his understanding, she argued, the student had to explain in his own words. At my suggestion that he might not have had the appropriate vocabulary to express his understanding, Jen conceded: “That’s true.” She went on to say: “However, to check his comprehension, he has to express it in his own words. If he reads directly from the text, I cannot say that any understanding has taken place.” Interestingly, she was firm in her stance on the importance of using one’s own words as part of evaluation, implying that there was a gap between what she knew, namely, the authoritative discourse on writing in one’s own words, and what she could produce at her current level, namely, her internally persuasive discourse on writing in one’s own words.

Her personal illustration of the importance of the student being able to paraphrase in one’s own words spoke to the fact that addressivity to her professor was operating in the midst of her own textual borrowing practices. Drawing on her dual status as student and teacher, Jen came to interpret her professor’s authoritative discourse to write in her own words as an intersection of opposing tensions, where the student has to demonstrate one’s understanding and the teacher has to evaluate the

student's extent of understanding:

S: What is your understanding of writing 'in your own words?'

J: It's changing the sentence in my own way. But if you ask me why do I have to write 'in my own words,' the real, real, real reason, honestly, is so the professor can see whether I have understood the sentence or not.

S: As part of evaluation?

J: Yeah.

Jen conjectured that the underlying motivation behind the authoritative discourse, particularly, her professor's comment to write "in her own words" was to assess how much she had understood the content.

Note how her interpretations of her professor's notion of writing in her own words changed depending on the context in which it previously occurred. "Us[ing] a difficult sentence without quotation marks" might make him suspect that she copied, whereas "putting a difficult sentence in quotation marks" might result in him asking, "Do you know what this means?" followed by a request to paraphrase. By contrast, she explicated that the reason he wanted her to paraphrase in her own words was to monitor her level of understanding. "In his view, write 'in my own words' probably means he wants to see if I have understood it," she posited. Copying, on the other

hand, she posited would deprive him of the opportunity to find out if she had understood the content or not.

Taken together, paraphrasing in easy words considered to be within her command of English served the dual purpose of making the original accessible and comprehensible for general readers, as well as showcasing to the professor that she had understood the content and was capable of producing paraphrases, as opposed to engaging in blind, mechanical copying or quoting. Hence, an element of display was evident in her use of inappropriate textual borrowing and patchwriting since it enabled a novice or outsider to academia like Jen to demonstrate to an insider, such as the professor, that she had understood the content and could paraphrase accordingly.

Omission of Quotation Marks as a Coping Strategy

Contextualized within her addressivity to her professor's anticipated response, her inappropriate textual borrowing can be seen as operating out of a procedural display mode and coping strategy. According to Bakhtin (1981), there are "various kinds and degrees of" authoritative discourses that "have a variety of relations to the presumed listener or interpreter" (p. 344). Thus, her tendency to omit quotation marks occasionally may have arose at the intersection of two conflicting authoritative discourses: one telling her to put quotation marks around another's words, and the

other dictating that she paraphrase in her own words without excessive use of direct quotations. Caught between these two simultaneous centripetal forces to quote and to avoid quoting excessively, Jen succumbed to the latter as it stemmed from her professor's admonition and expectations and might affect her grade. "It's not like I can fill up my paper with quotation marks," Jen bemoaned.

Given her difficulty with "leveling down" sentences already written in easy language, she resorted to fudging the textual boundaries of words by not always putting quotation marks where they belong. "I didn't use quotation marks here. If I use too many quotation marks, he will keep telling me to write 'in your own words.' Then, I'll have to change it," she explained. In this regard, her occasional omission of quotation marks may be an unintended consequence of the professor telling Jen not to use too many quotation marks and a reflection of her inability to write without relying on the source texts for words.

While her procedural display strategy can be seen as intentional plagiarism from an ethical tension perspective, from a Bakhtinian (1981) perspective, her patchwriting can be seen as a response to authoritative discourse where she is put in a position to "totally affirm it, or totally reject it" (p. 343). On the surface, she assumes the role of totally affirming her professor's admonition. In this regard, inappropriate

textual borrowing practices arising from incorporating the teacher's anticipated response can be seen as a coping strategy on the part of students to produce what is seemingly aligned to the teacher's expectations. To invoke Bakhtin (1986), some of her transgressive textual borrowing may be the result of her utterance being shaped by her addressivity to the professor's future response overriding observance of correct citation practices.

Dishonest Intentions as a Coping Strategy

Nonetheless, in terms of her intentions and underlying motivations behind her direct textual borrowing of words without quotation marks, there were elements of "dishonest writing" to borrow Hale's (1987) expression.

She first brought up the word plagiarism without any prompting by me in the context of explaining her occasional omission of quotation marks for easy sentences. As her professor was familiar with her English proficiency, omission of quotation marks was made in anticipation of his perception of what looked feasible as her own words. Copying difficult language beyond her English proficiency might raise suspicion. In contrast, if a sentence did not contain any difficult terminology or complicated sentence structures, she could borrow without quotation marks. Easy sentences written that approximated her English proficiency were less likely to raise

suspicion concerning textual ownership of words, she reasoned.

It would be considerably more difficult for the professor to “figure out whether it had been taken directly from the text or [she] ha[d] written it on [her] own.” “Probably, the professor was fooled in some instances. He wasn’t able to find all of them,” Jen remarked, suggesting that an intention to mislead the professor was present in her omission of quotation marks. She went so far as to argue, “In such cases, even without quotation marks, it looks like I have written it myself.”

Initially, her remark “looks like I have written it myself” seemed to hint that she deliberately engaged in full-blown plagiarism. However, immediately thereafter, she rectified her statement as follows:

No, it wouldn’t look like I wrote it. It would look like I paraphrased it. If I pretend that I wrote it, that would be pl-a-pla-gi-a-ri-sm. But in my case, I definitely wrote the author’s name, so the professor would think I paraphrased it.

Only after stammering for the right word was she able to enunciate the word plagiarism, giving the impression that it may have been a term that she was still coming to terms with.

Note her distinctions between “pretend[ing] that [she] wrote it” by not citing

the author versus making it “look like [she] paraphrased it” by citing the author. Both acts constitute plagiarism due to misappropriation of another’s ideas and words: The former violates textual ownership of ideas while the latter, textual ownership of words. Especially from the moral perspective, both acts are plagiarism by virtue of its being dishonest writing.

Yet, in her view, on the basis of violation of textual ownership of ideas, the former constituted plagiarism, whereas the latter did not. Recall also that her above distinctions parallel the middle-ground stance she adopted between the American and Korean perspectives of textual borrowing in recounting cultural differences on textual ownership. Thus, her relaxed view on textual ownership of words may have been influenced from pedagogical tensions between different conceptions of what constitutes legitimate borrowing.

Misconception of Plagiarism

It was at this juncture that the heteroglossic nature of her transgressive textual borrowing was revealed: aspects of intentional plagiarism gauged by the intention to misappropriate textual ownership of words intersected with unintentional transgressive textual borrowing arising from her misconception of plagiarism. In Bakhtinian (1981) terms, the hybrid nature of Jen’s patchwriting may be a case where

the authoritative and internally persuasive discourses are simultaneously “united in a single word” (p.342). Consequently, what emerged was that her internally persuasive discourse on plagiarism, in tandem with her interpretations of the authoritative discourse’s notion of “in one’s own words,” as personified by her professor, contributed to her applying a loose criteria for direct textual borrowing.

That Jen’s inappropriate textual borrowing originated partly from her misconception of plagiarism was corroborated by further interview data. The following excerpt further clarifies that Jen’s loose criteria for textual borrowing of words stemmed partly from her misconception of plagiarism as pertinent only to violation of textual ownership of ideas:

Soo: You gave the author but took a whole chunk of language directly from
the text.

Jen: No, that is *not plagiarism (italics added)*. I indicated where I got it
from....Though there are no quotation marks, it went ‘according to’.

Her rationale was that as long as signaling phrases, reporting verbs, or parentheses were used to cite the author, partial copying of words without quotation marks was acceptable. In her view, if the author has been acknowledged, she cannot “pretend that [she] wrote it.”

The fact that she viewed plagiarism simply as violation of textual ownership of ideas, along with her use of patchwriting as a coping strategy, may explain in part why she underestimated the seriousness of violating textual ownership of words. Later, she elucidated, “Plagiarism relates to taking someone else’s ideas” and that it could be avoided if one “remember[ed] to cite the author.” Accordingly, she reasoned that fudging textual ownership of words through exclusion of quotation marks, while it might mislead the professor into thinking she paraphrased it, was not plagiarism due to source attribution. As she put it, “I already mentioned the author’s name. Whether I used direct quotations or paraphrase, it’s clear that I have taken the information from the author.”

Noting that she had addressed the more important issue of expressing her indebtedness to the source by citing the original author, she concluded, “So why would I be subject to legal action?” To that end, she perceived the issue of fudging the boundaries of textual ownership of words as a small offense that “could be overlooked.” She reiterated that “whether or not she used quotation marks” was that was “not that important.”

In accounting for her lax attitude toward demarcating textual ownership of words, another source of influence may be her professor’s earlier response where he

gently questioned textual ownership through question marks. This may have shaped her perception that pushing the textual boundaries of words was permissible and that she would be given an opportunity to revise later. Indeed, she openly admitted that, at times, she was aware that some of her paraphrases were not technically paraphrases due to insufficient change: “Actually, I knew that [they were not really paraphrases.] Anyway, I’ll just have it pointed out to me. Because it’s not, what you call, pragma-plag, plag-iarism.”

Furthermore, in light of her earlier attitude toward citation practices as time-consuming and complicated, another possible influence at work may be her lack of disciplinary enculturation. As citation practices were seen as being regulated by her professor, she likewise indicated that she would make appropriate changes after it has been pointed out to her by her professor. It is likely that Jen considered the use of quotation marks to be on par with citation practices which she viewed as a hassle, but whose breach did not bring about serious consequences. She went so far as to interpret her professor’s reticence as tacit permission for her direct textual borrowing without quotation marks, “Besides, the professor did not say anything about it.”

That Jen, as with the L1 college students in Hale (1987) and Roig’s (1999) studies, used inclusion of the author as the primary criteria in determining plagiarism,

suggests that her notion of plagiarism covered the more conspicuous form of plagiarism, such as transgression in textual ownership of ideas, but not its subtle forms such as violation of textual ownership of words. As her misconception of plagiarism concerning textual ownership of words was the primary source of her transgressive textual borrowing, despite her intention to deceive the professor, it can also be seen as unintentional plagiarism. In this respect her misconception of plagiarism might not be so much a disregard for textual ownership of words, as it was lax criteria concerning the appropriate form of textual borrowing of words.

All things considered, despite the intention to deceive, there were a myriad of other factors that shaped her transgressive textual borrowing, such as her misconception of plagiarism and its parameters, views on textual borrowing of words, attitude toward citation practices, extent of disciplinary enculturation, and the institution or professor's response to students' source misuse. As such, the boundaries separating intentional and unintentional plagiarism became enmeshed, attesting to the complexities involved in determining the nature of plagiarism. Where should the lines separating source misuse and plagiarism be drawn?

Pedagogical Tension on Textual Ownership and Plagiarism

How were her inappropriate textual borrowing practices influenced by

cultural differences arising from her previous educational experiences in Korea and in the U.S.? Aside from her misconception of plagiarism, cultural influences from her previous educational background on plagiarism or lack thereof contributed to her loose criteria on textual ownership of words.

The biggest cultural differences, she noticed, were in sensitivity toward plagiarism and textual ownership of ideas and words. When asked why she thought students plagiarized, she replied that unintentional plagiarism arising from cultural differences would probably account for the majority of cases of plagiarism by international students. “They may not be sensitive to the issue of plagiarism as much as Americans,” she surmised. Likewise, it is possible that some of Jen’s lax criteria in textual ownership of words stems from lower levels of sensitivity to textual ownership.

Different Attitudes toward Textual Ownership

Jen noted that cultural differences in sensitivity to textual ownership of words and ideas led to different attitudes toward copying and plagiarism. She demonstrated awareness of the moral view of plagiarism by pointing out that “Sensitivity toward borrowing someone else’s ideas” in the U.S. stemmed from treating ideas as “a kind of patent” to the point that plagiarism was considered tantamount to stealing.

In contrast, there was less sensitivity toward plagiarism in Korea since ideas and words were not conceived of as private property but as something that could be borrowed and passed around, she noted. She provided a vivid contrast of the different labels used to denote the same behavior of appropriating another's words without citing the source:

Let's say I *copied* something, a difficult word from the text. Who would think I wrote it on my own? They would probably think I *got* it from somewhere and *used* it, rather than think I *stole* it from somewhere. [italics added]

Note that copying of words was depicted in neutral, descriptive terms such as "got," and "used." The assumption behind borrowing appeared to be that one appropriated words to achieve one's purpose.

She went on to argue that, in Korea, in the absence of a reference or quotation marks, it was understood that the writer probably borrowed it from somewhere. "We do not make a fuss about whether it is your idea or mine. They'll just think she probably read it in a book somewhere." On the other hand, she pointed out that textual ownership was taken very seriously in the U.S. "In this culture, if you don't use quotation marks, they think it is stealing," she indicated. As can be seen, implicit in her comparisons was the awareness that cultural differences led to different attitudes

toward copying.

In light of cultural differences in sensitivity to textual ownership, the question arises as to which stance Jen adopted as being internally persuasive. It may be that the view she aligned herself with reflects in part the extent to which she has been enculturated into her academic disciplinary culture. Interestingly, in the midst of centripetal and centrifugal tensions on what constitutes plagiarism, Jen adopted both views to varying degrees, which may be indicative of her ongoing disciplinary enculturation.

On the one hand, Jen subscribed to the authoritative discourse that framed plagiarism as a moral issue, as was reflected in her use of the terms “stealing” and “pretending.” However, she diverged in terms of what constituted violation of textual ownership. She deemed blatant plagiarism where one usurps textual ownership by “explicitly claiming it as one’s own” as stealing. “When you say that you said it or that it is your own idea, you are pretending that you came up with it. Then, I think it is stealing,” she stated, suggesting that in such instances, she also saw it as an ethical violation.

On the other hand, she adopted a more lenient view toward textual ownership that was similar to her description of the Korean perspective that displayed less

sensitivity to textual ownership. She did not deem subtle forms of plagiarism where textual ownership was not clearly delineated as plagiarism: “If you do not state where you got it from, as long as you avoid saying, ‘It is mine.’ Then, it is not necessarily stealing.” In some respect, her lax attitude toward demarcating textual ownership suggests that centrifugal tension from Korea was more internally persuasive to her and thus, she was not fully enculturated into disciplinary culture, had a stronger pull on her conception of textual borrowing.

Emphasis on Citations and Plagiarism

Cultural differences in the amount of emphasis placed on citations and plagiarism may have carried over into Jen’s relaxed attitude toward demarcating textual ownership of words. Pointing out that she had never received any formal instruction on paraphrasing or how to avoid plagiarism in Korea, Jen argued, “I don’t think plagiarism was ever emphasized in Korea.” In her recollection, plagiarism was a topic that was rarely addressed in Korea by her teachers and professors, with the exception of one college professor who told students not to plagiarize in their assignments without explaining how to avoid it. Even then, she felt apathetic since plagiarism felt like a topic that was “irrelevant to In terms of instructions on citations. Jen vaguely recalled learning how to use footnotes for direct quotes in college, but

overall, she noted, “When I was in college, there was no emphasis on citations. Also, the professors hardly ever brought it to our attention.”

By contrast, in the U.S., she was introduced to plagiarism and citations throughout her ESL classes and graduate work to varying degrees. One ESL class, in particular, devoted some class time to learning about plagiarism through the teacher’s lecture, a class discussion, and a paraphrasing exercise. Then, in her first semester of graduate school, she encountered the topic again through a classmate’s presentation on plagiarism.

However, Jen remained aloof to the topic of plagiarism as she thought to herself: “Oh, he’s talking about plagiarism. I learned about that in my ESL class.” She indicated that she did not get a sense of how to avoid plagiarism, as the presentation was too theoretical. In some respects, her lukewarm attitude toward plagiarism may be an extension of her perception of plagiarism as a remote topic that she experienced in Korea. It may also be indicative of the conception of plagiarism as an authoritative discourse that has yet to become internally persuasive to her.

Then, in her graduate courses, some professors provided instructions on APA style. Consequently, her instructions on citation practices in the U.S. raised her awareness that the concept of plagiarism in the Anglophone context was a serious

matter. At the same time, however, as was the case in Korea, she noted that, none of her American professors had explicitly told students not to plagiarize. Interestingly, she attributed this lack of explicitness to the fact that it was common knowledge to Americans. “Most of the students are Americans, so the professors don’t tell us not to plagiarize because they already know what it is,” she inferred.

Though different reasons underlie the absence of explicit mention not to commit plagiarism and open communication on the importance of abiding by citation practices, her citation instructions may potentially have led to her misconception of plagiarism as failure to cite the source. Citation instructions that focused on presenting concrete ways to cite sources based on source text type and location in their paper may have been perceived as a set of decontextualized, mechanical rules to follow. This was evidenced by the fact that her previous citation instructions seemingly did not lead to deep disciplinary enculturation where she was able to share the values underlying citation practices and plagiarism.

It may be that her American professors did not impress on her the importance of not committing plagiarism, as they assumed that students knew better than to engage in inappropriate textual borrowing practices. Consequently, even in her American graduate program, there was little emphasis on committing plagiarism and

on how to avoid plagiarism, which may have contributed to her misconception of plagiarism and casual attitude toward demarcating textual ownership of words.

View on Copying as Coping Strategy

Thirdly, the fact that inappropriate copying was a common coping strategy for completing assignments in Korea, and that it did not bring about serious consequences, may have influenced her current textual borrowing practices. Despite tacit understanding that students should not engage in copying, it was common practice among college students in Korea at the time, Jen noted. She went so far as to interpret the teachers' silence as acquiescence. As such, she noted that plagiarism was treated less seriously in Korea: "If I am accused of plagiarism, I won't be summoned to someplace in the school. You just have points taken off your grades."

At the same time, her copying may be an outgrowth of her educational background in Korea where the dominant epistemology of knowledge was knowledge transmission and acquisition. As such, her current inappropriate textual borrowing practices may be an extension of her previous textual borrowing practice as a coping strategy for completing assignments.

In contrast, from her previous ESL class, Jen had learned that plagiarism in the U. S. brought about serious repercussions. The teacher gave a real-life anecdote of

a student who was taken to the school judiciary board under suspicion of plagiarizing to demonstrate how serious an offense it was. However, in actuality, plagiarism in her graduate program did not necessarily lead to severe punishment, as was the case in Korea. She recounted that when an international graduate student was found to have plagiarized heavily from the textbooks without citing the source, the professor had her redo the work, as he took into consideration her extenuating circumstances that led to plagiarism. Jen recalled that while the student received a low grade, it did not result in any severe punishment.

It is possible that the above incident impressed on her that so long as she remembered to cite her sources, there was room to redo the paper, as will be illustrated in a later section on how her misconception of plagiarism encouraged her inappropriate copying on the grounds that she could wait to have her teacher point it out to her. This is consistent with Patterson's (2003) finding that some students may take advantage of the fact that the institution or program takes into consideration unintentional plagiarism that leads to pedagogical responses. Taken together, it can be inferred that students' perceptions of the school's or teacher's stance on plagiarism may exert influence on their attitudes toward inappropriate textual borrowing such as copying.

Internally Persuasive Discourse of Korean Classmates

The internally persuasive discourses of her Korean classmates regarding what can be cited and what constitutes legitimate imitation influenced her inappropriate textual borrowing practices. In this section, I examine how she navigated through centripetal and centrifugal (the perspectival and pedagogical) tensions between the authoritative discourse on citations, personified by her professor, and the internally persuasive discourses of novice, L2 student writers such as herself and her Korean peers.

In the process of trying to locate the excerpt where Jen got the definition of pragmatic competence from, I discovered that it actually might have been cited from a secondary source, although primary sources were given. This was because one of her sources was not in her bibliography and was not cited anywhere else in her paper. As for the other source, I could not find any specific excerpt that provided a definition of pragmatic competence. As an alternative, I googled portions of her sentence and stumbled upon Tammy's paper which was uploaded in Jen's graduate program website.

When I mentioned that her definition of pragmatic competence was almost identical to Tammy's, she openly acknowledged that she had followed Tammy's

paper, which her professor gave as a model student paper on her topic. It seemed unlikely that she intentionally neglected to tell me about Tammy's paper since I had initially asked only for a copy of her research paper after finding out she had not photocopied any of her source texts. She worked directly from the books checked out from the library and returned them after completing her first draft.

When asked why she had copied language heavily from Tammy's paper without citing it, Jen stated that she had mulled over the issue considerably. "Actually, I did consider citing it. I thought of asking my professor about that." But then, her Korean classmates, who had also received sample student papers, shared that they too had copied language without citing it. Her ambivalence was suggestive of the tensions between the professor's authoritative discourse on citing one's sources and novice, L2 student writers' internally persuasive discourses on what qualifies as a citable source and the parameters of appropriate textual borrowing of words.

Upon consulting her classmates, Jen decided not to cite Tammy's paper and, consequently, engaged in unintentional, transgressive textual borrowing of ideas and words, the former by copying too closely without citing the source and the latter by not signaling what words had been copied verbatim.

What Counts as a Citable Source

Jen explained that her argument, as well as peer Korean students, was that the sample student papers were unqualified as references since “they were not professional papers.” How ludicrous it would be to cite course papers “written by fellow students from the same school,” they posited. The premise behind the argument that only professional papers qualified as references was a hidden cultural assumption that sources had to have authority to merit being cited. Sample student papers may have been perceived as internally persuasive discourses that are “denied all privilege, backed up by no authority at all, and is frequently not even acknowledged in society” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 342).

In some respects, their rationale or internally persuasive discourse on what can be cited can be seen in light of perspectival and pedagogical tensions between the authoritative discourse on citation practices and the internally persuasive discourses from their Korean cultural and educational backgrounds, as well as from the disciplinary enculturation of novices still coming to terms with citation practices. In the latter case, hierarchy and status appeared to be an inherent part of judging the authority of sources.

Their dismissal of the sample student paper can be seen as an outgrowth of

their previous epistemology of knowledge underlying their Korean educational experiences: authority and status go hand in hand. At the risk of overgeneralization, within the knowledge-transmission conception of learning and knowledge construction, students' words or ideas carry little authority due to their lower status as students without professional degrees. The sample papers, in their view, did not warrant citations since they lacked authority exuding from professional scholars and academics. In fact, the sample papers were authored by fellow graduate students, who occupied similar positions in the academic discourse community hierarchy. Thus, what was internally persuasive to them was that the sample student papers fell short of their criterion of credible sources.

Their rationale contrasted with the Western notions of the authoritative discourse on citation practices that dictate, "When in doubt, cite." Over-citation is considered a better alternative to under-citation since the former is the lesser of two evils than potential plagiarism. Also, even student papers need to be cited. However, for Jen and her cohorts, the authority of the sources and their credibility seemed to take precedence over citing one's sources, resulting in inadvertent plagiarism arising from failure to cite one's sources and the nature of one's indebtedness to the sources.

On a positive note, their dismissal of the sample papers as uncitable

transpired in the course of evaluating their sources and being selective about what to include as references, which, in and of itself, was a valid part of writing a research paper despite its misapplication. Professional papers in scholarly journals were indeed more credible authoritative sources, having withstood rigorous peer-reviewed processes by other scholars. Thus, their exclusion of sample papers as uncitable potentially occurred at the intersection of two authoritative discourses: application of the often-taught criteria of evaluating the credibility of one's sources, on the one hand, and following the dictum to cite one's sources, on the other hand. Obviously, the former prevailed.

Another point to consider is the possibility that even if she wanted to cite Tammy's paper, it would have been difficult to figure out how, considering that she had copied heavily from the language and format, as opposed to content. Given the nature of what was copied, namely, parts of formulaic sentences taken from various sections of a student research paper, determining the nature of the violation was ambiguous and complex. While transgressive textual borrowing had occurred, it may have been rooted in learning how to cite one's sources, as opposed to the intention to deceive by passing on another's discourse as one's own.

Textual Ownership of Words

Another aspect of cultural and educational influences, hence pedagogical tensions, can be found in Jen and her cohort's relaxed attitude toward copying and demarcating textual ownership of words. As noted in the literature review section, copying in non-western contexts, while doing one's assignments, is not necessarily associated with plagiarism. This may explain why her Korean classmates openly shared that they had also copied partially from functional sentences without citing since they were unfamiliar with the format of writing a research paper genre. Related to Jen's earlier argument on partial copying, given that they did not engage in verbatim copying of whole sentences, but partial copying of functional sentences with modifications, they might not have seen it as violation of textual ownership of words.

Interestingly, they demonstrated more sensitivity to the credibility and authority of the sources than to the dangers of committing plagiarism by lifting directly from the text. Jen noted that no one had raised concerns about whether they should express their indebtedness to the sample papers for words copied verbatim, suggesting that their notion of plagiarism might not have extended to textual ownership of words, as was the case with Jen. All things considered, it seems that their inappropriate copying of consecutive word strings from the sample papers, may

have stemmed partly from their misconception of the parameters of appropriate textual borrowing and citation practices, in tandem with their being novice, L2 student writers who were writing their research paper in English for the very first time.

Note Jen's following comments on why she decided not to cite Tammy's paper: "They said they copied, too. They said they didn't cite it, so I didn't, either."

When examined, in and of themselves devoid of context, her comments seem to indicate that she intentionally engaged in transgressive textual borrowing by following her Korean friend's lead. Her decision seemed to echo findings from McCabe and Trevino's (1993) study that students' inappropriate behaviors tend to be influenced by perceptions of how prevalent the behavior is. And, of course, there is some truth to the fact that Jen was influenced by her friends.

However, when their transgressive textual borrowing is situated within the context of novice, L2 student writers trying to navigate through the academic discourse related to the research paper genre for the very first time, imitation or direct textual borrowing appears to be a natural and common strategy for novices to fall back on. As can be seen, depending on the perspective taken, the same comments can be interpreted differently, which speaks to the importance of taking a contextualized approach to student writers' inappropriate textual borrowing practices.

Imitation or Copying

The misuse of sample student papers that the professor distributed may attest to the mismatch between the professor's and students' notion of where the lines of appropriate textual borrowing lie. This section will examine the perspectival and discursive tensions between the fine lines of copying and imitation.

Jen explained the circumstances under which sample student papers were distributed and the context in which her direct textual borrowing from Tammy's paper occurred. Her professor had given each student a sample student paper on the same or similar topic since most were total neophytes in writing a research paper. "The professor meant for us to look at the sample and follow the form," Jen noted. Transgressive textual borrowing occurred at the intersections of perspectival and discursive tensions in how "follow the form" was interpreted by this novice, L2 student writer.

In all likelihood, the knowledge that her Korean classmates also had resorted to copying from functional sentences in their respective sample papers provided reinforcement and self-justification about her close copying of Tammy's language without giving credit. Pointing out that they were total novice, L2 student writers who had no prior experience with research papers, she exclaimed: "It was our very first

time. So we needed to look at the samples and follow the form.”

It seemed that her internally persuasive discourse took into consideration the context in which her copying occurred. This, in turn, may have contributed to her condoning of close copying as imitation that was inevitable. It may be that the collective behavior of her peers was perceived as the norm for novice, L2 student writers writing a research paper for the first time. As such, she might have considered direct textual borrowing and copying a natural and inevitable strategy for novice student writers like herself, who needed a format to emulate.

In a similar vein, when I mentioned that Tammy’s paper had won an award for excellence, Jen suggested that Tammy might not have written everything from scratch and that it might also have been written by imitating the format of another research paper closely. “It’s well-written if she wrote it completely on her own, that is. She could have borrowed the format [from somewhere] like [I did],” she conjectured. Being all too familiar with the difficulties of writing a research paper for the first time, she added: “It would be really hard [for a novice] to develop a paper like this. She might also have engaged in textual borrowing of some kind.” Apparently, the point Jen seemed to be trying to make through this statement was that imitation or close textual borrowing seemed an indispensable strategy for novice student writers with

little experience with research paper genres. In this respect, Jen saw copying as a legitimate textual borrowing strategy.

It is interesting to note that Jen interpreted her professor's reticence about her close copying as acquiescence, echoing her previous statement that she tends to make paraphrasing work to her advantage. I inquired whether she had felt uneasy about submitting her paper since her professor was probably familiar with both Jen's and Tammy's papers. "The thought did occur to me," she continued, "But since he didn't say anything about it, I think he gave the paper to me so I could follow it." She went on to say that it probably would be acceptable since the professor "had not put any brakes on what could be copied."

Most likely, her professor and Jen were in agreement that writing a research paper for the first time would be a daunting challenge for novice writers, and that they needed guidance in knowing how to organize and develop their research papers, especially if this was their first research paper. But in terms of the nature and extent of direct textual borrowing, they would probably diverge. While the professor wanted students to imitate, Jen copied closely from the language of the paper, treating it as a legitimate textual borrowing strategy.

What was initially intended to be imitation from the professor's perspective

was misconstrued on Jen's part as a license to appropriate freely what she needed, with little regard for the extent of copying involved. In this respect, what was needed was open and clearer lines of communication between students and professors that demarcated the boundaries of appropriate textual borrowing. At the same time, this incident speaks to the gray areas between imitation and copying.

Perceptions of and Difficulty with Citation Practices

This section indirectly explores Jen's level of disciplinary enculturation within the context of her previous instruction on citation practices, perceptions of citation practices, and her difficulties with citation practices, all of which were intricately interrelated with her novice, L2 student writer status. Her previous instruction on citation practices in her ESL class and her graduate program are embedded within examinations of her perceptions of and difficulty with citation practices.

Confusion toward Citation Practices

Jen perceived citation practices as a constant source of confusion, which spoke to the perspectival tension due to the gap between novice, student writers and the gatekeepers and insiders of academia, in her case, professors and instructors.

Her first citation instruction dated back to an ESL class that taught academic

writing to graduate-school bound students. While research papers were not part of the writing requirements, a literature review was required. It was within that context that she was introduced to citations. Note that citation practices posed considerable difficulty for her from the very beginning:

It was so new to me. It also felt very, very challenging. There were so many citation methods [for different sources]. ...Sometimes you have to put quotation marks. Other times, use 'according to.' Then, explanation on this is plagiarism and that is paraphrasing. But I couldn't quite grasp what it was all about....Because it was taught in a simple manner, I was so disoriented.

Jen's above difficulty echoes Wells' (1993) argument that the complexities in mastering and navigating through documentation skills and citation practices can be an overwhelming task for a novice, student writers, though it is automatized for insiders.

Her observation that she felt confused after learning about various citation practices that were taught "in a simple manner" also alluded to the perspectival tension at work. While her teacher probably intended to ease the burden of learning the complexities of citation practices by pinpointing key aspects of citation, Jen may have perceived them as a set of decontextualized rules to follow.

Her initial confusion with citation practices continued throughout graduate school. Her first citation instruction was in her second semester in preparation for her first graduate-level literature review in English. A year later, her professor went over citation methods of three different source types in another class since they had to write their first research paper. Although this was her third time with citation instruction, she depicted herself as being “in a state of oblivion.” “It’s strange. I get confused every time I do this [cite],” Jen noted. She attributed this to her having forgotten how to cite sources since a year had passed.

Her confusion with the heterogeneous ways of providing in-text and bibliographic information based on the source-text type was reiterated in graduate school. “It’s [citation method] different for each source. The format is all different,” she lamented. In fact, she found the APA style handout on how to cite various sources “unhelpful.” Aside from being “too complicated” to go through, it overwhelmed her with “too much information,” giving her “a headache.”

From the centripetal perspective of her instructors, her APA style sheet was descriptive, well-organized, clear, and concise. In-text and end-of-text-citations were presented neatly under separate sections. In tabular form, the sheet gave concrete examples of how to cite based on type of source. From the centrifugal perspective of

a novice, however, it appeared prescriptive, dense, technical, and decontextualized as examples were presented out of context, and some examples were presented as self-explanatory. The instructions included words that potentially had overtones of authoritative discourses, as evidenced in the use of imperatives, “shoulds,” “musts,” and if-clauses/when-clauses with imperatives in the style sheet. Thus, it is possible that some of her confusion in making sense of the APA style sheet arose in part from perspectival tension between the ways citation instruction was presented as well as Jen’s perceptions of it.

Disinterest toward Citation Practices

In accounting for why her citation practices often deviated from standard practice, she ascribed part of it to her disinterest toward citation practices. “Honestly, I am not interested in citations. Let’s just get it over with. Ha ha ha,” she remarked. In some respects, her indifference was shaped partly by the fact that her professional goals did not involve staying in academia, which in turn may have prevented her from identifying herself as a member of the academic discourse community. As Jen put it, “It’s not like I am going to be a scholar.” Upon graduation, she planned to pursue a career in teaching English to youngsters. Thus, she may have considered mastering citation practices to be pertinent only during her graduate work.

To that end, she displayed a minimalist approach: “If the professor points something out, then, I will fix that. If he doesn’t, then, I won’t have to.” Apparently, she perceived her professor as playing the role of enforcer who regulated her citation and paraphrasing practices. It seemed that abiding by citation practices was authoritative discourse that was imposed upon her, rather than a set of internalized, internally persuasive rules she followed voluntarily as a member of the academic discourse community.

Aversion toward Citation Practices

Jen also displayed strong aversion toward citation practices. While the most obvious reason was that it was time-consuming, upon delving deeper, other underlying reasons contributed to her aversion and frustrations with citations. The following excerpt provided some insight into the underlying reasons behind why she disliked referencing so much:

Jen: The instructor distributed a handout on APA style again. I really really didn’t want to do it [cite using APA style]. I hate it so much.

Soo: Because it’s time-consuming?

Jen: Yeah, so I asked another group member to do the reference sheet and did another task instead....One reason I hate it so much is, I mean, who

actually looks it all up? The reference sheet at the end, I don't mind doing.

But putting citations within the text is such a hassle. Well, I guess you do, sort of, need it, especially, for someone doing research [on the topic]. Hmm, I guess they will look it up after all. But in our [students'] case, it's unlikely that someone will look up our reference sheets.

Her aversion stemmed partly from her perception of citation practices as busywork with little intrinsic value. In such cases, abiding by citation practices can be perceived as authoritative discourse being imposed on her from without, as opposed to internally persuasive discourse arising from an internal need within herself.

On the other hand, upon closer examination, there also seemed to be internal, conflicting tensions between centrifugal and centripetal views on the value of referencing. While she was skeptical that anyone would use her paper as reference given that it was a student paper, she also acknowledged the possibility that her bibliography might be used by a person who comes across her paper while doing research on complaints. Taken together, these counter tensions may be reflective of her ideological becoming as it relates to disciplinary enculturation.

Citation Practices as Time-consuming

A recurring theme throughout her discussion of citation practices was that it

was “time-consuming,” which was used as a blanket term to denote several aspects of citation practices. For one, the amount of time required served as an immediate constraint that influenced what types of source texts she used. Aside from not being able to find relevant journal articles during a quick library search, her decision to cite only books was prompted by her estimation that using articles featured in a book would be more accessible and time-efficient. Books could easily be checked out from the library, while journal articles would require additional time and effort in looking up each individual item, followed by photocopying. Thus, her bibliography was comprised of a total of six source texts: one book chapter and five research articles from three books, four of which came from the same book.

Her reference to time-consuming also insinuated that observing correct citation methods constituted mechanical, busywork. Take, for instance, her incorrect use of direct quotations, where she had initially left out the page numbers by mistake. Even after her professor wrote “(p. ___)” to indicate that she needed to give the page number, Jen opted not to follow through. Her rationale was that it would take too long to go over her source texts to locate where the quotes were originally taken from. “Because there was too much to do, I probably didn’t consider it important,” she conjectured. Implicit in her statement was her internally persuasive discourse that

following citation practices was of minor importance compared to other aspects of writing a research paper.

Her notion of time-consuming was also used to represent the complexities and difficulties involved in establishing connections between figuring out how to cite sources. When asked how she felt about academic writing in her field, Jen replied, “I feel the most uncomfortable in using citations.” Jen’s following excerpt provided indirect evidence that underlying her perceptions of citation practices as complicated and time-consuming were her difficulty with citations:

It’s [Citations] complicated. Actually, it’s not that complicated, but it just feels so difficult. I wouldn’t need citations when I’m writing about my ideas and experience. I can just write whatever I want, so it’s less time-consuming. For example, writing about my own experience is not that difficult. But when using citations, I have to make accurate and logical connections. And it’s not easy.

Her statement that citations demand that one makes “accurate” connections can be interpreted in two ways: from her knowledge-telling approach to paraphrasing, it pertains to “accurate” portrayal of content, but from source attribution, it relates to being able to use “accurate” citation practices in citing from various sources.

However, as will be shown in Jen's case, without a clear understanding of the values behind citation practices, abiding by correct citation practices can be perceived as a time-consuming and cumbersome endeavor. In fact, her perception that certain citation practices were time-consuming exerted influence on her actual citation practices.

Difficulty with Citing Non-book Sources

Despite efforts to limit her references to book articles, inevitably other source types found their way into her paper, such as written professorial feedback, a website on pragmatics, a sample student paper (i.e., Tammy's paper), all of which were given by her professor, and hearsay, which entailed citing someone else's experience.

As noted earlier, Jen found varying documentation methods for different source types to be complicated and relatedly time-consuming. As such, when faced with the task of incorporating information from non-book sources, Jen either omitted source attribution of ideas and words (i.e., teacher's written feedback, Tammy's paper), or attributed sources in an idiosyncratic manner (i.e., citing someone else's experience/hearsay) or by replacing the original citation information (i.e., website information) with another source text in her bibliography. Due to space limitations, Jen's use of Tammy's paper will be addressed later in a separate section.

In the next instance, Jen drew from a real-life example based on what she heard from her friends. This time, however, Jen was unable to omit her source since it required providing an illustration of miscommunication arising from pragmatic transfer. Alternatively, she documented the source in her own way via “for example (it really happened).” Her professor wrote “whose quote?” since the current method did not clearly explicate whose information was being cited and deviated from correct APA style.

In her second revision, she clarified where the source came from as follows: “for example (this is one of the episodes that Korean students in the U.S. usually share for fun).” Her use of parenthesis seemed to reflect her awareness of citation practices: parentheses are used to set the source apart from the rest of the sentence. As can be seen, her unfamiliarity with citation practices or knowledge exerted influence on her textual borrowing practices, suggesting that her transgressive textual borrowing may have occurred in tandem with insufficient citation knowledge.

Jen also misrepresented patchwritten information from a website on interlanguage pragmatics as a paraphrase from Boxer’s (1996) book article when the primary source was actually a journal article by Boxer (1993). Figuring out how to document non-book sources was overwhelming enough, but now, she would have to

combine citational information on the website and the journal article. As in her earlier coping strategy, she turned to simplification by presenting it as a book article, thereby alleviating the need to grapple with the complexities of discerning what and how to cite information shared by two sources, one of which was from the web. Moreover, considering that the citation was embedded within a paragraph that drew exclusively from Boxer's (1996) article, her method of source attribution would blend in naturally with the rest of the paragraph.

The below example illustrates how her professor's written feedback had been incorporated into her own sentences:

Example 5.1.

<p>Professor's written feedback</p> <p>It's <i>not the same</i> <u>purpose</u>. <u>Indirect</u> <u>complaint builds solidarity.</u></p>	<p>Jen, p. 4</p> <p>Also, direct and indirect complaints have <i>a different</i> <u>purpose</u>:</p> <p>Direct complaints...</p> <p><u>Indirect complaints</u> to <u>build solidarity</u> through sympathizing.</p>
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Jen appeared to have engaged in a knowledge-telling mode of paraphrasing, as evidenced by the direct one-on-one sentence correspondence between her professor's and Jen's sentences. Also, in terms of transparency of direct textual borrowing, the second one, in particular, copied closely from the original using the patchwriting strategy of adding and deleting words.

In principle, citation practices require that all sources be acknowledged as well as the nature of their indebtedness. At the same time, considering that students tend to incorporate their teacher's feedback without giving credit, the context in which textual borrowing from her professor's feedback without citations may actually obliterate the need to cite. As can be seen, determining whether or not transgression has taken place is a complex issue that needs to take into account other contextual factors besides the transgression itself.

Initially, I was unaware that she had incorporated information from the website as well as from her professor's feedback. But in comparing her rewritten version against the original, I noticed that the information she cited could not be found anywhere in her in-text reference:

Soo: I can't seem to find the place you got the information from. Also, where does it say they serve a different purpose?

Jen: I think it's from the website I told you about. The second part I added later because my professor pointed it out to me. Look at his feedback here. (She showed me the professor's feedback on her first draft.)

Notice that she was open about what sources she referred to and kindly directed me to the correct sources.

Moreover, Jen voluntarily told me that she had learned how to cite her professor's words using APA style, but that she had forgotten "how to cite advice." In accounting for why she did not cite her professor's feedback, she explained: "But I didn't do it because it's too demanding. When am I gonna get it done? And how am I gonna find the right APA style?" In some respects, her failure to acknowledge the source arose partly from her lack of knowledge of proper citation method, along with a tendency to avoid what she did not know. "Yes, I avoided them as much as I could," Jen exclaimed. Given that avoidance is a common strategy employed among L2 learners, it is possible that she resorted to avoidance as a coping strategy in this instance.

Had the intention to deceive existed, Jen probably would not have been so transparent. She could have opted not to tell me about having learned how to cite personal communication, let alone that she incorporated her professor's words into

her own writing without giving credit. Given her candidness, it seemed unlikely that her unattributed source stemmed from an intention to deceive. Although she intentionally chose not to cite her professor, it appeared to be a case of unintentional plagiarism due to insufficient knowledge of how to cite.

Contextualized within a novice, L2 student writer's unfamiliarity and difficulty with citation, Jen's transgressive textual borrowing and misuse of non-book sources can be seen as unintentional plagiarism arising from inappropriate coping strategies. In fact, her source misuse appeared to be rooted in not knowing how to cite properly and her perceptions of citation practices as complicated and time-consuming endeavors. In the absence of sufficient citation knowledge, she improvised by simplifying or avoiding it. All things considered, her view of citation practices as "demanding" and complicated led to the use of coping strategies, which may be seen as her response to authoritative discourse that "demands [one's] unconditional allegiance" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 343) without first having become internally persuasive to her.

Difficulty with Citing Secondary Sources

Jen's difficulty with citing secondary sources generally manifested as misuse of sources that were incorrect, ambiguous, or idiosyncratic in terms of source

attribution. Before examining her use of secondary citations, it is worth noting that her APA style sheet, despite its comprehensive coverage, did not provide information on secondary citations. Jen gave contradictory remarks on whether she learned to cite secondary sources. On the one hand, she vaguely remembered learning it, and on the other hand, when told that secondary sources required the use of “as cited in,” she replied, “I didn’t learn stuff like that.” Thus, it is possible that her secondary citation was based on her improvisation.

The below example shows Jen’s incorrect secondary citation that, on the surface, appeared to be a synthesis of the crux of Wolfson’s (1989) and Boxer’s (1996) research studies in her own words:

Example 5.2.

<p>Boxer, 1996, p. 218</p> <p><i>Native speakers, however, typically</i> <u>interpret sociolinguistic errors as rudeness</u> <u>rather than as the transfer of different</u> <u>sociolinguistic rules</u> (Ervin-Tripp 1972; Thomas 1983; Wolfson, 1981; 1983; 1989).</p>	<p>Jen, p. 1</p> <p><i>...but they typically interpret sociolinguistic</i> <u>errors as rudeness rather than as transfer of</u> <u>different sociolinguistic rules</u> (Wolfson, 1989; Boxer, 1996).</p>
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As shown by the underscored words, Jen's sentence was patchwritten from Boxer's (1996) sentences. When asked why she only included Wolfson (1989), Jen explained:

Here's how I learned it. In APA style, the original (i.e., secondary source) comes in the back, and if they cite someone's words, you put that in the front.

But there were too many people to cite, so I chose [the most recent] person [reference].

Note the presence of both authoritative and internally persuasive discourse on citations in her explanation. Some of her statements were not altogether incorrect since she was able to pinpoint the positions where the primary and secondary sources came, although she used "original" to indicate the secondary source. She also showed awareness that Boxer (1996) had borrowed the ideas from the authors in the original text. Thus, despite her incorrect use of secondary citation, she appeared to demonstrate some working knowledge of authoritative discourse on citation practices, and simultaneously used her internally persuasive discourse to fill in the gaps of knowledge.

Her next example of incorrect secondary citation was more idiosyncratic since her direct quote had two in-text citations, making it difficult to distinguish between primary and secondary sources:

Example 5.3.

<p>Maeshiba et al. 1996, p. 155</p> <p>The influence of non-native language users' linguistic and cultural background on their performance of linguistic action in a second language has been a focal concern in interlanguage pragmatics (Kasper, 1992, for review).</p>	<p>Jenny, p. 3</p> <p>“The influence of non-native language users' linguistic and cultural background on their performance of linguistic action in a second language has been a focal concern in interlanguage pragmatics (Kasper, 1992; Maeshiba, Yoshinaga, Kasper, and Ross, 1996).”</p>
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When asked why she had two references, Jen replied that it was because Maeshiba, Yoshinaga, Kasper, and Ross (1996) had borrowed ideas from Kasper (1992). As can be seen, she demonstrated an understanding of secondary sources, although she did not know how to cite from secondary sources. Her professor had underlined Kasper (1992) and wrote “not in references,” hinting that Jen may not have looked up both references and that one was a secondary source. However, Jen kept the above intact on grounds that it would be too difficult to go through her sources to locate where it was taken from.

The last example of incorrect secondary citation looked different from earlier examples: the primary source had been separated from the secondary source by embedding the former within the beginning of the sentence, while the latter came at the end of the sentence:

Example 5.4.

<p>Gass & Selinker, 2001, p. 248</p> <p>In pointing this out, <u>Bardovi-Harlig(1999b), Kasper, and Schmidt (1996) made the important point that there is a dearth of studies dealing with changes in or influences on pragmatic knowledge.</u></p>	<p>Jen, p. 17</p> <p><u>Bardovi-Harlig, Kasper, and Schmidt (1996) have made the important point that there is a dearth of studies dealing with changes in or influences on pragmatic knowledge (Gass and Selinker, 2001).</u></p>
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When asked why her version included two citations, Jen replied: “The content is from Gass and Selinker’s (2001), but there was no indication that they [Bardovi-Harlig(1999b), Kasper, and Schmidt (1996)] wrote the words. I didn’t know how to cite it, so I just wrote it like this.” Thus, her ambiguous citation may be reflective of her confusion on what and how to cite when dealing with secondary sources. In the

process, she engaged in transgressive textual borrowing of words by misrepresenting a patchwritten sentence as a paraphrase.

Nonetheless, it is important to note that despite her incorrect secondary citations, she cited all her sources. As Jen noted earlier, this may be because so long as she cited the author irrespective of incorrect use of textual ownership of words, she would not be committing plagiarism.

Of particular interest was the variability in her secondary citations which may be reflective of the fact that her knowledge of citation practices was unstable, influx, and still in the process of developing. A less conspicuous but deeper underlying problem behind her incorrect citation methods was due partly to her novice status and unfamiliarity with the values and assumptions of citation practices. That is, Jen lacked an understanding that appropriate source use included making transparent the nature of source use and demarcating clear textual boundaries between sources, along with sources and the writer.

Previous Literacy and Academic Writing Experience

This section examines Jen's previous literacy experiences in Korea and in the U.S. in terms of what kinds of writing experiences she had, the nature of writing assignments, including what epistemologies of knowledge and writing were promoted,

as well as her response to the writing demands.

Previous Literacy Experience in Korea

Jen's previous literacy experiences in Korea which revolved around memorization and knowledge-telling may have shaped her textual borrowing practices, particularly, her tendency to rely heavily on the source text for words and ideas.

In her recollection, reading instruction in high school was taught in a knowledge-transmission mode where students memorized what their teacher taught them, including summaries of reading text. "Everything was about memorization, so I memorized too." She continued, "I don't think I did any independent thinking for my Korean language arts class." As for writing instruction, none had been offered. Nonetheless, throughout primary school and junior high, she was required to submit book reviews to "show" that she had read books.

Jen claimed that the situation was the same for college-level writing in Korean 101 and her major. She could not recall receiving any training on how to write academic papers. "They never taught us how to write. It was more like, just write something and hand it in," she argued. "Actually, we weren't interested in learning how to write, either," Jen explained. It is interesting to note that based on her

description, disinterest in teaching and learning how to write was reciprocal on the part of her school and the students.

In the absence of explicit instruction, she proceeded to reproduce and display her knowledge of content by “gathering” and copying patches of information from various sources. “I barely put in any of my own ideas. Probably a line or two of my opinion went into the conclusion,” she argued. In this respect, it is possible that the genesis of her knowledge-telling approach to paraphrasing and writing can be traced back to her previous educational experiences in Korea.

Touching on the knowledge-displaying aspects of copying and reproducing content, she claimed, “Back in those days, borrowing from books meant that I have read a lot. It was a way of showing off how much I read.” Note that her task representations of her writing assignments resemble the knowledge transmission epistemology of knowledge. Jen’s following statement aptly depicts the knowledge-telling mode of her writing assignments: “My own ideas were rarely included. Maybe one or two lines in the conclusion?” Jen concurred that she approached her writing assignment as “an information gathering exercise” which entailed “patching” pieces of copied text from various sources.

At the same time, she demonstrated awareness of the problematic aspects of

patchwritten texts which became fragmented and awkward. “I attached them together, but in a disconnected way. It’s probably because I tried to assemble them together. But I didn’t have time to fix them, so I just submitted it.” In this respect, the genesis of patchwriting as a coping strategy can be traced back to her previous background in her home country. Interestingly, while she recognized that patchwriting led to incoherent writing, she did not problematize reproducing content without including her own ideas, which may speak to her underlying epistemology of knowledge and writing.

In sum, it seems that she gained little experience with presenting her own ideas or with the knowledge-transformation mode of writing that required her to integrate sources using her own words and throughout her education in Korea. It follows that the epistemology of knowledge promoted in her previous writing experiences in Korea, having become deeply engrained, may have shaped her interactions with text as authoritative discourse, leading to her patchwriting and knowledge-telling approach.

Previous Experience with Writing in English

The first time Jen wrote in English was after college when taking prep courses for the Test of Written English (TWE), a standardized test required at many

English-speaking universities. It consists of writing a short essay in response to a prompt that asks students to make comparisons or argue for or against an issue. Gaining practice in writing English essays helped her “get a taste of the American style of writing.”

However, she stressed that it did not help her gain experience with academic writing. Her view on the differences between academic writing and an essay provided insight into her conception of academic writing: “Writing only about my views is not academic writing. It’s an essay because there are no citations.” As can be seen, her TWE essay writing was unrelated to academic writing-from-sources tasks since it was monological in nature: it entailed writing about her personal opinions.

Previous ESL Paraphrasing Instruction

Jen’s previous paraphrasing instruction in her ESL class may have also contributed to her epistemology of knowledge that conceives of paraphrasing as a knowledge-telling activity. According to Jen, paraphrasing “practice” in her ESL class comprised of a one-hour session that entailed paraphrasing a paragraph taken from their reading textbook. In terms of task analysis, on the one hand, the paraphrasing task was contextualized: it involved paraphrasing sentences within the same paragraph. On the other hand, it was also decontextualized: the paraphrasing activity

occurred devoid of rhetorical context and purpose. Simply put, paraphrasing was not embedded within a broader framework of a rhetorical paper, such as a research paper or literature review, where paraphrasing served as a means to an end, but as a separate, independent activity in and of itself.

That Jen might have subscribed to the latter task interpretation of paraphrasing was alluded to by her comment that the main purpose of the paraphrasing task was to “gain practice” in paraphrasing in one’s own words. Her view of paraphrasing at the individual sentence level was further evidenced by her observation that the sentences she paraphrased in her ESL class were much easier than those in academic texts which were much more difficult as they entailed paraphrasing difficult sentences.

Thus, it is possible that the decontextualized nature of her ESL paraphrasing task may have influenced her conception of paraphrasing that focuses on making changes to the form of individual sentences at the expense of other concerns. For instance, the paraphrasing activity may have left little room for dialogic interaction with the text, as the emphasis was placed on making changes to the original sentence without distortion the meaning. In this respect, it may be that her paraphrasing practice in her ESL class might have been transplanted into the context of the

literature review section of her research paper.

Previous Writing Instruction in ESL

Based on Jen's description, compared to Korea, reading and writing in the U.S. were taught in an integrated manner since reading served as the basis for timed in-class writing and journal writing. Timed in-class writing entailed free writing in response to a self-selected paragraph from her reading text. The point was to write as much as she could in five to ten minutes. Pointing out that there were no prompts involved, Jen surmised that the purpose was to promote writing fluency. Journal writing, on the other hand, involved more teacher-direct writing since she had to write a journal entry by choosing from one of the two or three prompts the teacher gave her on her reading text.

On the one hand, her ESL writing tasks allowed her to interact with sources while presenting her own ideas in response to the readings, suggesting that it involved knowledge-transformation, as opposed to merely reproducing the content of her reading. On the other hand, the writing tasks were limited to interactions with a paragraph or at most, one source text at a time. In this respect, her ESL writing tasks seemed different in nature from the writing-from-sources tasks required in academic settings where one had to work dialogically with multiple texts.

She added in passing that she had to write one literature review in her ESL class for graduate-school bound students while talking about her previous citation instructions. Overall, she seemed to have little experience with academic writing-from-sources tasks prior to entering her graduate program.

Previous Writing in Her Graduate Program

Prior to her writing first research paper, Jen had some experience with academic writing-from-sources tasks in her graduate work. A year earlier, in her second semester, she had to write a literature review in English, which she described as follows: “It was so poorly written. The citation was a mess, too because it was my first time [writing a literature review]. I didn’t understand how to write it.”

The rest of her writing assignments, Jen noted, were less academic and more informal, experiential papers that required relating her language learning and teaching experiences to the content of textbooks or response papers. At the same time, she stated that the writing load for her courses had been quite intense. She had to submit weekly writing assignments comprised of two-to-three-paged analysis papers requiring her to respond to course readings. Moreover, a minimum of three to four citations per paper were required. Given the use of citations, along with analysis backed up by drawing from source texts, her writing assignments seemed academic.

However, Jen alluded to the possibility that she avoided incorporation of source texts: “But I focused primarily on presenting my opinions.” Her statement suggested that she might not have gained sufficient practice with knowledge-transforming approaches to writing that involved integrating her own ideas with those of source texts. This was suggested in part by Jen’s observation that despite the amount of course-related writing assignments, she did not feel that her writing had improved that much.

Particularly noteworthy is Jen’s statement that she cited only the minimal amount of citations required. “I followed the [minimal] requirement. If it was more than four [citations], then I did four,” she stated, suggesting that the minimal use of citations may also have been a coping strategy on her part to deal with her difficulty incorporating sources. Along similar lines, Shi (2004) posited that decreased use of sources in students’ opinion essays, as opposed to summaries, could be attributed to an avoidance strategy on their part due to unfamiliarity with integrating source texts and their own opinions.

Thus, despite increased opportunities in graduate school to engage in a knowledge-transformation mode of writing where ideas of the source texts and her own are integrated dialogically, Jen might not have been able to take advantage of

them. Due to her difficulties with incorporating sources, she might have avoided them or, as is shown in chapter 5, continued to engage in a knowledge-telling mode of paraphrasing that led to patchwriting.

Inexperience with Academic Research Papers

Jen's inexperience with writing research papers exerted influence on her inappropriate textual borrowing practices. Her inexperience with academic writing in general also posed considerable difficulty in writing a research paper genre that required appropriate format and academic registers. Situated within the context of a novice, L2 student writers coming to terms with learning how to write a research paper for the very first time, textual appropriation from Tammy's paper was used to bridge the gap between what was expected and what she could actually do. Due to a lack of experience with writing research papers and academic papers in general, being able to write academically was one of her overarching concerns.

Textual Borrowing of Academic Register

Why did Jen have difficulty with academic language? For one, there seemed to be a gap as this was her first time writing a research paper, she did not have her own immediately available academic repertoire to draw from. "I have to write academically, but I don't know much academic language. I don't have many options,"

she sighed.

Jen's textual borrowing of academic language and register from Tammy's paper occurred against the backdrop of writing in appropriate academic register while simultaneously writing in her own words. Ideally, there would be considerable overlap between the two for insiders of academia. However, given Jen's status as a novice, L2 student writer with little experience writing an academic research paper, there was a wide gulf between the two. Jen summed up her dilemma as follows: "I can't write in my own words using academic language, but I can change them into every day English [my own words] that the general public can understand. But my language and expressions would not be academic."

Note that her reason for textual borrowing was not so much attributed to an inability to write in her own words, as to the inappropriateness of using colloquial language for an academic paper. In alluding to the gap between what she knew (i.e., use academic language) and what she could actually do (i.e., use colloquial language), Jen stated: "I have to write academically, but I don't know much academic language. I don't have many options," she sighed.

Her description of the difficulty associated with using academic vocabulary provided insight into why she needed to borrow academic expressions from Tammy's

paper. Pointing out that there were instances in which words with synonymous meaning could not be used interchangeably because they might be inappropriate for that specific situation, she referred to academic language as “one of those difficult words” that fit only in particular situations.

For instance, textual borrowing from Tammy’s paper enabled her to use academic expressions such as “a great number of studies,” “the subjects received,” and “verbose,” which would otherwise have been expressed in her own words as “a lot of studies,” “the subjects got,” and “talkative” respectively. In response to the question why she copied “verbose” although it did not sound like her own words, Jen explained that she had always wanted to try out the word and that it was the most appropriate. “If I use the word ‘talkative,’ it’s not academic,” she noted. As can be seen, Jen engaged in selective copying of academic register to make up for her lack of academic repertoire. That is, related to the issue of appropriate words, she often borrowed academic words which were not available to her in her own linguistic resources

Her task interpretations of the research paper also influenced her textual borrowing practices. Jen’s direct textual borrowing of Tammy’s paper was motivated by her awareness of the need to use appropriate academic diction to meet the task

demands of rigorous, academic writing-from-sources task. “In this [research] paper, I didn’t use a lot of Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS),” she noted. “But in my previous papers, I used a lot of BICS because they were not research papers.” BICS, an acronym for Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills, is a term coined by Cummins (1979) to draw distinctions between differences in the development of language proficiency of conversational language, which is acquired more easily within a shorter period of time than Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP), which is academic proficiency that takes much longer to acquire.

Note that her textual borrowing of academic language occurred purposefully. Her past papers were less academic and more informal, experiential papers that required relating her language learning and teaching experiences to the content of textbooks or response papers. As such, she conjectured that they did not necessitate the use of academic language. By contrast, as her research paper was more formal and academic, her textual borrowing entailed making it sound more academic.

Her observation that she engaged in more textual borrowing of academic language for her research paper may be accounted for by differences in task types. Based on her description, her previous papers were similar to an opinion essay, whereas her research paper involved source-based academic writing with a literature

review. This is consistent with Shi's (2003) finding that L1 and L2 college students engaged in less copying and patchwriting in writing an opinion paper than in a summary, which entailed incorporating the source texts. Her observation that she used more academic discourse in her research paper than in her earlier papers suggests that textual borrowing in this context was closely linked to textual appropriation of academic discourse.

Textual Borrowing as Learning Academese

While the primary purpose for textual borrowing from Tammy's paper was to writing a research paper in appropriate academic register, she added that learning how to speak academese also transpired as a by-product. Textual borrowing enabled her to "mimic academic writing" and expand her repertoire of language by trying on academic discourse which was not normally part of her own words. As an illustration, she indicated that expressions such as "provided with," "should be addressed," "if the study were to be replicated," and "responded orally" were academic registers she "rarely used" previously. As she had encountered them in her course readings, she "knew" those words, she argued.

Yet, her knowledge was limited to "knowing their meaning," suggesting that they were part of her receptive vocabulary since she could recognize them in speech

or writing. However, when it came to their actual usage, they had not become part of her productive vocabulary since she was unfamiliar with how to use them in context as part of her own words. With this in mind, she went on to say, “Borrowing is a form of learning for me since I rarely used such expressions [before].”

It may be that such selective textual borrowing provided her with opportunities to practice using academic words in context as part of her own words, which resonated with what the literature on vocabulary learning says about how ample exposure and practice opportunities are a precursor to one’s receptive vocabulary transitioning into one’s productive vocabulary (Hatch & Brown, 1996). Along similar lines, Jen indicated, “I was able to familiarize myself with those words by gaining experience using them.” In this regard, direct textual borrowing allowed her to go beyond the confines of her own words to assimilate and appropriate academic discourse into her production.

Textual Borrowing as Emulating Format and Language

The words “I didn’t know how” was a recurring theme throughout the whole interview, attesting to her unfamiliarity and difficulty with figuring out how to write and develop a research paper. In fact, throughout the whole research writing process, from conception to actual writing, she was continually confronted with the task of

figuring out how to begin and write the research paper genre.

For instance, this being her first time writing research questions, Jen recounted that initially her research questions were based solely on what she wanted to find out without consulting any literature on her topic. “I didn’t know that I had to read the literature first.” Her professor pointed out to her that her research questions dealt with issues that could not be measured or operationalized. It was at this point that her professor referred her to a website and gave her Tammy’s paper as a sample paper. She first read the contents of the website on interlanguage pragmatics with annotated bibliography of books and articles that her professor referred her to, but found it unhelpful. The extensive amount of information only overwhelmed her: “What am I supposed to do?” she wondered. “It didn’t provide me with a concrete format like [Tammy’s] paper did. I was at a loss.”

That Jen really did not know how to write a research paper was also evidenced by the fact that she went to see her professor to get help on data analysis. “It almost made me cry. I didn’t know how to do the analysis,” she noted. Only after her professor demonstrated how to form a semantic formula using 1- 2 sentences from her data did she get a sense of how to analyze her data. In this respect, her professor’s demonstration and Tammy’s paper served as models. It was against this

backdrop that Jen engaged in textual borrowing to emulate the format.

From the outset, Jen indicated that she experienced difficulty in writing the introduction section of her research paper. Pointing out that it took two days just to write the introduction, she sighed: “The introduction really took a long time to write.” Not having a sense of how to write the introduction, Jen turned to Tammy’s paper. On one level, Jen found Tammy’s paper to be extremely helpful in providing her with “a concrete example.” However, on another level, it gave rise to another dimension of struggle related to determining what and how much to appropriate from Tammy’s paper. As appropriation of academic discourse in this context involved selective copying, as opposed to wholesale copying, she had to find ways to “assimilate, rework, and re-accentuate” (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 89) Tammy’s language into her own context of her research paper.

Although Tammy’s paper served as a template, there was tension concerning how much to appropriate: “I couldn’t copy all of it. But since I was writing on the same topic, I thought I should include [some of] what [Tammy] said.” Given that Jen’s textual borrowing arose out of this context, the extent of change involved in imitation on her part was depicted as follows: “So I had to make some changes [to Tammy’s], but it was really hard.” The operative word was “some changes,” which

resonated with the notion of patchwriting that entailed making insufficient changes to the original. Given the level of insufficient change involved, patchwriting may be an imitation strategy of novice, student writers like Jen to emulate academic discourse and the format of the research paper genre. Of particular interest was that Jen explicitly stated that determining what and how to copy and change was difficult. Beneath the veneer of close copying was her struggle involved in appropriating another's discourse, which had been frequently overlooked in traditional literature on plagiarism.

The format of the research paper was one area in which Jen turned to Tammy's paper. In recognition of the essential role that Tammy's paper played in helping her formulate and develop her research paper, Jen posited, "If it hadn't been for [Tammy's] paper, it probably would have been extremely difficult [to write the research paper]." Not having a sense of how to proceed in writing the research paper, she focused on the format of Tammy's research paper. By providing "concrete examples," Jen noted, Tammy's paper guided her through each step of the research writing process: "Oh, this is how I am supposed to write."

For instance, skimming through Tammy's paper, she circled its headings and subheadings, paying particular attention to the format. Jen described this step-by-step

noticing process as “formulating the outline for [her] research paper.” Thus, she was able to get a sense of the basic organization of the research paper, such as what sections to include. Jen also emulated the format for the literature review, as was evidenced by the fact that both student papers devoted whole paragraphs to summarizing studies and their findings. Other aspects of Jen’s imitation of format through language are addressed in the next chapter on the analysis of Jen’s paper.

In referring to her imitation of Tammy’s sentences in the context of learning how to write a research paper, Jen stated that she “copied beginning statements” from various sections. There was variation in terms of how she copied beginning statements. Words identical to the original are underlined and words replaced with Jen’s own words are italicized. Some statements were almost identical to the original (e.g., The subjects were provided with a Demographic Survey (Appendix A) and a Discourse Completion Test (DCT) (Appendix B).), some replaced a few words (e.g., *Two main components were typically found in native speakers’ production of the first and second situations.*), and others appropriated only necessary words (e.g., This paper investigated the differences between the speech acts of English native and Korean native speakers of intermediate and advanced English proficiency in six complaint situations, categorized three ways according to social status and social

distance.).

In accounting for her high textual dependence on the source text for language and format, Jen provided the following explanation. If she tried to paraphrase the above into her own words, Jen pointed out that in addition to becoming long-winded, it probably would not sound academic at all. What is more, the expressions would not be clear and simple as the ones from the text. “If I explain in my own words, it becomes wordy. As I mentioned earlier, the fact that I am using a lot of words to explain means I am not using academic language. Rather, I’m just explaining it in a way that is easy for the other person to understand.” In this regard, it is possible that textual borrowing from Tammy’s sentences occurred simultaneously with imitating the format of the research paper that requires genre-specific discourse.

Summary of Findings

What emerged was that centripetal and centrifugal forces, that is, authoritative discourses and internally persuasive discourses from her previous and current contexts, have shaped Jen’s conceptualizations of paraphrasing, plagiarism, and textual borrowing including citation practices.

Part of her transgressive textual borrowing, particularly, patchwriting stemmed from her misconception of paraphrasing. Not knowing why paraphrasing

was required by academia, her paraphrasing was driven by her internally persuasive discourse. The extent of change she deemed necessary was driven by pragmatic reasons, such as emphasis on replacing difficult language with easier words, “leveling down” difficult academic language, and lax criteria of textual ownership of words.

Simultaneously, her misconceptions on the purpose for paraphrasing and the extent of change deemed necessary for paraphrasing were also shaped in part by authoritative discourses such as previous ESL instruction, previous response of her professor, as well as her own internally persuasive discourse on incorporating addressivity to audience and her professor. She freely appropriated discourse that resembled what she considered to be within the parameters of her own words and individual writing style.

Jen’s transgressive textual borrowing was unintentional plagiarism in the sense that it was due in part to her misconception of plagiarism: she subscribed only partially to the authoritative view of plagiarism as an ethical violation, considering only blatant forms of usurping textual ownership of ideas as plagiarism. Simultaneously, it also had elements of intentional plagiarism, as she fudged textual boundaries of words to demonstrate her understanding of content to her professor and show that she could paraphrase. This, in turn, necessitated that she use easy words

that would be perceived as her own.

The reasons behind her internally persuasive discourse that excluded textual ownership of words can be attributed to her disciplinary enculturation and cultural view toward textual ownership that saw it as borrowing. Also, the internally persuasive discourses of her Korean colleagues on what can be cited, and why, demonstrated how novice, student writers' difficulties in negotiating appropriate parameters of textual appropriation without acknowledging of can lead to inadvertent plagiarism.

Her inexperience with academic writing, coupled with this being her first research paper, also contributed to her inappropriate textual borrowing practices. Textual borrowing within the context of learning how to write a research paper was employed to compensate for her lack of insufficient academic resources, such as appropriate academic register, format of research paper, and in some cases, learning how to use academese by gaining practice using them in the context of her paper.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The previous chapters analyzed two of Jen's writing-from-sources tasks, as well as the centripetal and centrifugal forces that have shaped her textual borrowing practices. In this chapter, I revisit the initial research questions, which are used as the basis for linking discussions of findings with what the literature says. I organize and synthesize findings from Chapters four and five around the four tensions that were identified in extant literature on students' inappropriate textual borrowing practices and plagiarism. Also, using Bakhtin's (1981) notions of authoritative and internally persuasive discourse, I offer alternative accounts for Jen's transgressive textual borrowing practices.

The main purpose of the present study was to explore the textual borrowing practices of a Korean novice graduate student, including how and why she incorporated source texts into her own writing by examining the products and processes of performing writing-from-sources tasks. The present study was guided by the following overarching research question and sub-questions:

What factors contribute to a Korean L2 graduate student's conceptualization of Western notions of plagiarism and to her patterns of textual borrowing that emerge in their writing-from-sources tasks?

5. What influence does the nature of the source texts have on this student's textual borrowing practices?
6. What and how does this Korean graduate student borrow from texts and why?
7. How do her ways of reading and epistemology influence her textual borrowing practices and interactions with source texts?
8. What influence do her task interpretations have on her textual borrowing practices?

Considering these research questions, Chapter Six discusses research findings from two previous chapters. First, I examine patchwriting as coping and procedural display, then, examine patchwriting as learning, followed by patchwriting as imitation, and then, interaction with source texts. The concluding sections present limitations of the study, implications, and close with areas for future research.

With respect to the overarching research question, the factors that shaped a Korean student's conception of plagiarism and inappropriate textual borrowing practices can be reframed into the question of what factors contributed to her lax criteria of textual ownership of word. This is because application of lax criteria of textual ownership of words was the common denominator underlying her

misconception of plagiarism and patchwriting. By way of synthesizing the analyses from Chapters four and five, the factors that exerted influence on her lax criteria are presented under the relevant tensions briefly.

Patchwriting as Coping Strategy and Procedural Display

In describing the relationship between the novice student writers and the evaluative context which implicitly demands that students produce writing that conforms to standard forms, a number of researchers (Angelil-Carter, 2000; Abasi et al., 2006; Bartholomae, 1986; Currie, 1998; Halasek, 1999; Hull & Rose, 1989; Pennycook, 1996; Richardson, 2004; Starfield, 2002) posit that their social role as students puts them in positions where they have to “demonstrate rather than claim or assume their authority” (Halasek, 1999, p.103) through their ability to “construct” discourses “pleasing to the [authoritative discourse of the] academic social collective” (p. 102) while demonstrating one’s understanding of disciplinary content. The tensions to produce both language and ideas that conform to disciplinary expectations can pose a significant challenge, especially if the L2 writer does not have the necessary L2 proficiency, academic discourse, terminology of the field, and sufficient content knowledge.

Pointing out that to gain insider status, students have to appropriate academic

discourse prematurely even before they have acquired the necessary ways of speaking and thinking, Bartholomae (1986) posits that earning “the privilege of being insiders” (p. 10) or learning, for that matter, “becomes more a matter of imitation... than a matter of invention and discovery.” In the discursive tension, in Chapter two, this was depicted as the dual challenges of having to strike a balance between academic discourse and one’s language, and between learning content, and one’s own words respectively.

Given that the traditional view of plagiarism draws clear textual boundaries between one’s own words and another’s, this raises the question of how novice students deal with having to imitate academic discourse when they have not fully acquired their own. While Howard (1999) conceptualizes patchwriting as a positive “move toward membership in a discourse community” (p.7), imitation of academic discourse may not always be motivated by a desire to gain membership. At times, passing and getting grades may be the primary motivation for patchwriting. Likewise, Bartholomae (1986) operates on a similar assumption that students may want to approximate academic discourse to achieve insider status by: “invent[ing] the university by assembling and mimicking its language, finding some compromise between idiosyncrasy, a personal history, and the requirements of convention, the

history of a discipline” (p. 5).

His portrayal of the counter tensions are applicable to the novice, L2 student writers’ situation who have to appropriate academic discourse irrespective of whether they have accumulated a sufficient repertoire of resources to draw from. It also captures the tensions between the authoritative discourse and Jen’s internally persuasive discourse operating in the midst of her patchwriting. As was shown in Chapters four and five, Jen’s patchwriting became a means of procedural display and coping strategies to bridge the wide gulf between what was expected and what she could produce at her current level of L2 proficiency and academic competence.

So long as students are placed in an evaluative context where their writing is judged in terms of its convergence to standards, the temptation to copy may be a ubiquitous presence. Hence, whether copying occurs due to an intention to deceive or not, ethical tension appears to be omnipresent. To that end, Prior’s (1998) taxonomy of modes of disciplinary participation may be more suitable for representing the various shades of motivations behind L2 student writers’ patchwriting. His passing mode of participation resonates with the use of copying as a survival strategy to pass the course. His procedural display includes both negative and positive aspects of demonstrating alignment with disciplinary activities, which is similar to those of

patchwriting. Centripetal participation refers to participation that will eventually culminate in full participation.

Patchwriting as a coping strategy and procedural display occurred when there were gaps and tensions between her knowledge of what was expected by the authoritative discourse of her professor and her actual performance in terms of what she could actually do on her own.

Discursive Tension

Jen's inexperience with academic writing in Korean and in English, in particular, with the research paper genre led to high textual dependence on language, resulting in patchwriting that stayed close to the text in language and content. That inexperience with academic writing is linked with insufficient academic repertoire has been documented in other qualitative studies of struggling novice, L2 student or L1 basic writers who used copying closely as a coping strategy (Angelil-Carter, 2000; Currie, 1998; Hull & Rose, 1989; Leki, 2003; Starfield, 2002). But as Starfield's (2002) comparison study demonstrates, novice student writers with rich textual capital are able to write without relying excessively on the sources' words.

Pedagogical Tension

Considering that Jen had never written a research paper, let alone do research,

Jen's heavy use of patchwriting in completing her paper can be explained as applying a writing strategy that worked relatively well in Korea to an American setting. This was because patching and copying from several sources was a common and popular strategy used to complete assignments by others and herself in the past, especially without necessarily knowing how to write a paper. Likewise, falling back on one's previous educational and cultural experiences in one's native country was a coping strategy commonly employed by the L2 graduate student writers in Angelova and Riazantseva's (1999) case study, especially those with no prior experience with English academic writing. The authors argue that the need for such survival strategies usually arose among students who had no prior experience with academic writing in English. Similarly, Nelson (1992) found that students who lacked appropriate resources in conceptualizing their writing assignment drew from personal situational resources, one of which was resorting to past experiences or strategies of completing assignments. In this regard, patchwriting may have been used as a coping strategy and passing procedural display that served as a means to an end, that is, earn grades and graduate. That copying was used as a prevalent strategy in Korea may explain why she did not view copying or patchwriting as a moral violation, but as arising from cultural differences in sensitivity levels toward textual ownership of words.

Patchwriting as Heteroglossia

It should be noted that Jen's patchwriting, was shaped by both centripetal and centrifugal forces, suggesting that it may be an attempt on her part to reconcile differences between the two. On the one hand, patchwriting represented a variation of imitation or appropriation of the form of paraphrasing, which was "posited" by the authoritative discourse of her professor. On the other hand, her patchwriting also entailed making changes to the original sentences to approximate her own L2 discourse. She endeavored to "infuse" the academic sentences with her own intentions by using easy-to-understand language that approximated the features of her own language.

In this respect, her partial copying can be seen as another aspect of applying "paraphrasing to her advantage" and a conscious strategy on her part to avoid plagiarism arising from copying entire sentences verbatim. From a Bakhtinian (1981) perspective, despite insufficient changes in her patchwriting, her textual appropriation can be seen as part of the development of one's ideological becoming, "the process of selectively assimilating the words of others" (p. 341).

Caught between two centripetal tensions, one telling her to use quotation marks and the other, to paraphrase in her own words without excessive use of

quotation marks, she developed a coping strategy to deal with her professor's response to use her own words. Omission of quotation marks for partial copying of easy words occurred against the backdrop of perspectival tension between her professor's comment to use her own words and her interpretation and understanding of how to implement in one's own words in her paraphrasing practice.

Patchwriting as Procedural Display

Her professor was possibly implying that she should avoid indiscriminate use of direct quotes, or what Troutman (2003) calls unnecessary quoting. However, Jen interpreted "in your own words" in a more literal sense, using omission of quotation marks for partial copying as a strategy to avoid too many quotation marks. Her adjustments to the use of quotation marks can be interpreted as another aspect of her "applying paraphrasing to her advantage." She knew that technically quotation marks were used for words taken directly from the text, but, in reality, she did not always follow through. Thus, her patchwriting, despite being transgressive in nature, can be seen as a gesture of procedural display in response to the rule to use her own words.

Patchwriting as Coping Strategy: Resistance

One emerging theme, from a disciplinary enculturation perspective, was the possibility that Jen's patchwriting as a coping strategy may be a form of resistance

against citation practices, as opposed to cheating from an intention to deceive. If we consider her notion of paraphrasing as heteroglossia where centripetal and centrifugal forces come into contact, her application of what is internally persuasive to her can be seen as a form of resistance or “struggle against various kinds and degrees of authority” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 345). This distinction also overlaps with the ethical tension in Chapter one where how we define the nature of plagiarism affects our pedagogical response. If we view her plagiarism as cheating, it might elicit a punitive approach, but if it is seen as a coping and resistance strategy, it might call for disciplinary enculturation.

The perspectival tension in Chapter two touched on plagiarism by international students in terms of student resistance to writing assignments (Bloch, 2001; Pennycook, 1996) and L1 basic writers (Chaney, 2004). In this respect, plagiarism, as resistance by L2 students from other cultures, overlaps with pedagogical tension that posits, cultural differences in textual ownership may give rise to unintentional plagiarism. Unlike students in other studies whose primary concern was the fear of committing plagiarism (Hull & Rose, 1989; Richardson, 2004), her addressivity to her professor’s previous injunction to use her own words informed her decision to copy without quotation marks. Although Jen was inducted

into the moral view of plagiarism in her ESL class, applying the notion of stealing to textual ownership of words was not internally persuasive.

Perspectival Tension

Hale's (1987) argument that students know when their writing is honest or not may be reflective of the perspectival tension and mismatch between the authoritative discourse of the instructors and the internally persuasive discourse of students. Her citation instructions and the notion of plagiarism as stealing, inculcated from her ESL class and graduate program respectively, were intended to familiarize and induct students into legitimate source use as newcomers to the academic discourse community. Yet, Jen perceived them as time-consuming, complicated rules that were an inconvenience. The discrepancy was also found in Ouellette's (2003) ethnography where the ESL teacher's focus was on the macro and broader implications of citing sources and avoiding plagiarism as it related to academic responsibility and integrity as members of the academic discourse community, whereas the ESL students' primary concern was getting penalized by copying too closely and breaking the teacher's rules.

In terms of whether Jen knew her paraphrasing was honest or not, the answer would be sometimes yes and sometimes no. At times, she showed awareness that her

patchwriting was not technically a paraphrase due to insufficient changes. Other times, especially with respect to the patchwriting in her paraphrasing task of Shabecoffe's (1990) paragraph, she strongly believed she had paraphrased. In terms of the intersections of ethical and perspectival tensions, Jen's case demonstrates that despite awareness of the moral view of plagiarism as stealing, in the absence of disciplinary enculturation, it may not have been made internally persuasive to her, suggesting it was perceived as authoritative discourse that enforced the citation rules on her.

It is noteworthy that despite having received instructions on citations in her graduate classes and ESL class, she never once associated plagiarism or lax criteria of textual ownership of words with breach of academic integrity or values, such as being fair to others, taking responsibility for one's learning, or giving credit where it was due. Thus, it may not have become internally persuasive, but was perceived as a set of rules to follow which her professor imposed on her. Considering that some of her source misuse was not plagiarism, but rather stemmed from an outsider's application of procedural display and coping strategy to present herself as being in alignment with citation practices, her incorrect use of citation practices may be an attempt to approximate citation practices using APA style. In a similar vein, her patchwriting, when situated within her difficulty with and attitudes toward citation practices, can be

seen as an extension of her source misuse.

Ethical Tension

The ethical tensions in Chapter Two revolved around how to conceptualize plagiarism and whether distinctions between intentional and unintentional plagiarism should be made. From the centripetal view, Jen's patchwriting was blatant intentional plagiarism. It was motivated by an intention to mislead her professor into thinking she had paraphrased in her own words. She knowingly engaged in patchwriting with insufficient changes, stating that it was a "forgivable" act since it included source attribution. In this regard, her deliberate omission of quotation marks can be seen as a coping strategy to get a passing grade.

On the other hand, despite her intention to deceive her professor, her patchwriting simultaneously operated out of procedural display. As noted in Chapter Two, one of the discursive tensions L2 student writers face is determining how to bridge the gap between performance standards and what they are capable of producing on their own. Given that, her main purpose for partial copying was to demonstrate to her professor that she had understood the content by presenting herself as someone who could paraphrase.

L2 Proficiency and Coping Strategy

In some respects, despite being transgressive, Jen's loose criteria of textual ownership of words that encompassed language she considered plausible given her current level of L2 proficiency speaks to the gray areas of what constitutes "one's own words" for a L2 learner. For one, she raises the issue of distinctions between receptive, passive vocabulary and productive, active vocabulary. The former refers to vocabulary that ranges from words one can recognize in speech and reading to those one knows the definition of, but does not know how to use in context. The latter refers to vocabulary one is able to use as part of one's own discourse in speech or in writing. Hatch and Brown (1995) point out that vocabulary learning occurs in stages on a continua and that there are different dimensions and levels of knowing a word.

In light of the passive and receptive dimension of vocabulary knowledge, Jen's earlier observation on why her limited vocabulary caused difficulty in paraphrasing was related to not having enough passive vocabulary: while she knew many similar words, she was unsure whether they were interchangeable in terms of nuance, usage, and appropriateness. At this point, the question arises as to what the parameters of one's own words should be for L2 learners whose productive vocabulary is much larger than one's active vocabulary. How well must one know a

word to consider it as one's own words? The textual boundaries between one's own words and another's words become hazy when we take into consideration the different dimensions of vocabulary knowledge. In Jen's case, she "paraphrased to her advantage" by including passive vocabulary that she could possibly use since she knew the definition and had encountered them in her reading texts.

Depending on how we define what is permissible as one's own words, we can either increase student's opportunities to use passive vocabulary through imitation or patchwriting, or limit their own words to the use of their active vocabulary only. A case in point would be an earlier example of Jen's textual appropriation of academic language in Chapter Five. Prior to writing her research paper, she never had an opportunity to use academic registers, such as "a great deal of" which she had encountered frequently in her readings and "knew" the meanings of. Her patchwriting presented her with an opportunity to get a chance to use it finally through a modified version of synonym replacement in the context of her research paper. In this sense, patchwriting or borrowing served as a scaffolding, presenting her with an opportunity to use receptive vocabulary as part of her productive vocabulary. It is important to note that multiple exposure and opportunities are needed before one's passive vocabulary can become more readily available for use.

Another gray area where textual boundaries of one's own words become blurry is language attrition, the loss of an individual's language skills over time. Given that academic language is used only in school settings and for writing assignments, it is possible that words that were part of one's active vocabulary may degenerate into passive vocabulary, or even atrophy, resulting in an inability to use them. When that happens, are the words that the L2 learner used to know still part of his/her own words or no longer so? This was alluded to in Hu's (2000) study of L2 graduate students who indicated that unless they used the academic language copied from source texts repeated over a period of time, they often forgot how to use them or that the words seemed unfamiliar and distant. Thus, Jen's textual appropriation of academic discourse from Tammy's paper may face the same fate unless it is consolidated through multiple usage.

Patchwriting as Learning

The sub-research questions on how the nature of source text type influenced Jen's textual borrowing, along with how and why she borrowed from source texts overlapped. As such, they will be merged into a discussion of Jen's textual appropriation of books versus Tammy's sample student research paper. Jen's distinctions between different purposes for textual borrowing based on source text

type was in line with Howard's (1999) argument that patchwriting serves as "a means of learning unfamiliar language and ideas" (p. 7). Thus, this section focuses on the learning dimension of patchwriting, the unintentional side of plagiarism, which happens at the intersection of the gray areas of textual boundaries.

Different purposes for textual appropriation based on the nature of source text that emerged from Jen's data point to the limitations of the traditional approach. As has been noted in the discursive tension in Chapter Two, the traditional view of plagiarism does not make allowances for different purposes for textual appropriation, in other words, the different ways that reading interacts with writing given their interrelationship. Rather, it sees transgressive textual borrowing primarily as a writing problem due to insufficient citation knowledge, poor paraphrasing skills, or lack of ethics. The premise that reading and writing are disparate activities may lie at the heart of the dictum to write in one's own words without copying by delineating clear textual boundaries. Noticeably absent from the traditional view of plagiarism is a contextualized view that takes into account the nature and complexities of learning disciplinary content and how to write research paper genres that stem in part from intertextuality arising from ambiguous textual boundaries between ideas and words which are inextricably linked.

As noted in Chapter Four, Jen's source text types can be broadly classified into research articles from books and a sample, student research paper. While the purposes for textual appropriation was different, the common denominator was that they were treated as authoritative discourse that are "refer[red] to, ...cited, imitated, and followed" (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 88). One was written by "professionals in the field," whereas the other served as "an academic template" for her research paper. Her high textual dependence on language from both sources suggests that they were authoritative discourse that Bakhtin (1981) posits cannot be represented but only "transmitted" and "incapable of being double-voiced" (p. 344). Consequently, some of Jen's paragraphs and sentences were monological in the sense that the words and ideas of the source texts dominated.

While textual appropriation from both source text types showed similar distributional patterns as a whole, different patterns of patchwriting categories and number of sentences incorporated into Jen's sentences alluded to the dynamic nature of textual appropriation. Jen posited that textual borrowing from research articles entailed borrowing the authors' ideas, albeit content, while textual appropriation from Tammy's paper involved borrowing academic language and sentence structures related to the research paper genre. Framed another way, her clear distinctions

between textual appropriation of ideas and language by source text type relates to what functions textual appropriation serve. The question then becomes why did she turn to source texts?

Patchwriting as Learning Disciplinary Content

Textual appropriation of content manifested as patterns of borrowing where similar proportions of add and delete, along with substitution of words, were used to extract and reproduce content, with higher use of exact copying for descriptive information than from Tammy's paper. Her statement that she borrowed content from book articles was supported by the fact that it was incorporated mainly into the literature section of Jen's paper. As shown by the high proportion of direct textual borrowing from research articles in Chapter Four, this may suggest that she engaged in a knowledge-telling approach to paraphrasing where her emphasis was on faithfully regurgitating content.

Her argument that textual borrowing from books enabled her to borrow content is also consistent with Hu's (2000) finding that obtaining information was the primary reason his L2 graduate students read articles in their disciplines. In this sense, Jen's writing-from-sources operating within the disciplinary context of learning content and writing as a corollary is supported by literature that looks at how novice

student writers, L1 and L2 alike, incorporate disciplinary content into their own papers (Angelil-Carter, 2000; Curie, 1998; Richardson, 2004; Starfield, 2002).

Since borrowing of content and ideas usually go hand in hand with borrowing of language, disciplinary writing of content can pose considerable difficulty for novice writers who are not only coming to terms with the content but also the terminology of the field. Pennycook (1996) describes the centripetal tensions involved in the dual task of “acquir[ing] a fixed canon of knowledge and a fixed canon of terminology” while simultaneously “being told to write in their own words” (p. 213). This is partly because the lines separating common property, that is, words and ideas that do not need citations and those that do become murky.

Richardson (2004) cautions that this can pose learning problems on the part of students: on the one hand, one has to determine whether adequate changes have been made to avoid plagiarism, and simultaneously monitor whether sufficient levels of one’s own words were used to meet the task requirements of disciplinary writing. When contextualized within disciplinary reading and writing involved in taking an *Introduction to Second Language Acquisition* course, the above bind may partly explain why Jen’s patchwriting of content displayed high textual dependence on words and ideas. In fact, her argument that easy sentences could not be “leveled

down” into her own words, as they most appropriately and clearly expressed the content in comprehensible manner, echoed the struggles and difficulties of the L1 college students in Richardson’s (2004) study taking an introductory economics class:

The content, concepts, and terminology which students are expected to learn often seem to them so aptly expressed by textbook authors that they have no words of their own in which to register them when they are required to demonstrate their understanding in writing. (p. 517)

As they were coming to terms with learning unfamiliar disciplinary knowledge, both Jen and the above novice students might not have accumulated a sufficient base of background knowledge and terminology to draw from and write in their own words. Hence, her textual dependence on source text for language and ideas in her patchwriting of content may stem from her difficulty with balancing learning of disciplinary content with writing in her own words. This is consistent with what has been noted earlier in the discursive tension ; one’s background knowledge of the topic or lack thereof adds to one’s perception of difficulty or comprehensibility (Chambliss & Calfee, 1998).

Patchwriting as Imitation

Textual appropriation of genre-specific language related to learning how to

write the research paper manifested as patterns of textual borrowing that showcased predominant use of replacement of words, along with high one-on-one sentence correspondence to the original sentences, with lower uses of exact copying. Imitation occurred in the context of not knowing how to write a research paper, in particular, how to begin and write each section, as well as not knowing how to write in academic language. Given that textual borrowing in this context enabled her to find concrete and immediate ways to solve the problem at hand, it involved learning in the sense that textual borrowing occurred in response to now knowing how. Textual borrowing as imitation had an instrumental role in that it helped compensate for her lack of procedural knowledge and schemata related to how to write the research paper genre and lack of academic resources. While the primary role of imitation was to complete the assignment, it nonetheless enabled her to learn how to write a research paper. Relatedly, the percentage of overlapping words with the original might not necessarily be an index only of copying but reflective of the formulaic nature of the research paper genre.

Close textual appropriation of content and language from Tammy's paper also touched on the gray areas between imitation and copying that resulted in perspectival tension regarding the appropriate parameters of legitimate borrowing.

Relatedly, Jen and her Korean classmates decided that the language copied verbatim from sample student research papers did not need to be cited, as they were not professional papers. This also presented another set of perspectival tensions regarding what needed to be cited. From their standpoint, the sample papers did not warrant citations because they were the internally persuasive discourse of students that were “backed up by no authority at all” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 342). Their dismissal of the sample papers as not citable may also have stemmed from pedagogical tension due to their epistemological conception of knowledge from previous educational experiences in Korea where the ideas and words of authorities counted, but not those of student writers.

Fuzzy Boundaries of Ideas and Language

Contrary to what the traditional view on plagiarism posits about there being clear textual boundaries between ideas and language, the distinctions were rendered hazy in some cases. At times, her initial distinctions between borrowing of ideas from books versus borrowing of language and format from Tammy’s research paper intruded upon each other. As shown in Chapter Four, textual borrowing of content from books in the introduction and discussion sections contained long verbatim word strings. Simultaneously, she also imitated the surrounding contexts and functions of

the patchwritten sentences by appropriating the ways in which the source texts rhetorically presented certain pieces of information. Conversely, there was considerable overlap in appropriation of language, format, and content in the procedures and limitation sections, since her study shared the same research instrument as Tammy's paper. Clearly, from the decontextualized approach adopted by the traditional view, the above cases would unequivocally be blatant plagiarism. But a Bakhtinian (1981) perspective that also pays attention to the context, would stress that "The various forms for transmitting another's speech" should not be examined "in isolation, from the means for its contextualized (dialogizing) frame—the one is indissolubly linked with the other" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 340).

By framing plagiarism primarily as an academic integrity or moral issue, the traditional view of plagiarism operates on the premise that avoiding plagiarism is a matter of abiding by citation practices and upholding academic integrity by drawing clear textual boundaries between the ideas and words of another's and one's own. Language and ideas are seen as individual property that should be treated with respect and integrity. However, such a prescriptive view runs the risk of simplifying the centrifugal forces that influence students' transgressive textual borrowing, and may be ineffective in addressing the reason behind students' apparent plagiarism.

In contrast, the alternative view, which this study has taken, operates on a Bakhtinian (1981) perspective that recognizes the complexities, tensions, and struggles involved in textual appropriation, where the boundaries between one's own words and another's are influx depending on the nature of appropriation.

Neglected Aspect of the Nature of L2 Learning

Especially in the context of learning an additional second language, borrowing plays an integral role. As one is learning a language that is not one's own to begin with, the process of making it into one's own language inevitably necessitates borrowing and learning the words and the ways in which the target language is used. For this reason, memorization of and practice using others' words in another language, especially in the beginning stages of learning another language, is a fundamental part of L2 learning and acquisition. To that end, Jen's textual borrowing of language from Tammy's paper can be seen along the lines of formulaic language, which Lightbown and Spada (2006) define as "expressions or phrases that are often perceived as unanalyzed wholes" (p. 200) given the formulaic nature of the language in the research paper genre. Citing Weinert's (1995) assertion that language learning exists on "a formulaic- creative continuum (p.198), Angelil-Carter (2000) posits that irrespective of one's L2 proficiency, to varying degrees, "chunks of language are

learned and reproduced word for word” for all L2 learners.

Another important component of L2 learning is in getting exposure to the target language through interaction with native or non-native speakers who speak it and get sufficient opportunities to practice it and use it in context. By the same token, borrowing words from source texts in the context of interacting with source texts through reading and writing seem natural.

In light of the role that borrowing and practice play in L2 learning, one possible reason why Jen employs a lax attitude toward using another’s words, that is, views plagiarism of ideas as stealing, but sees unattributed language as borrowing may be due to her status as a L2 learner. This may explain why she viewed the extent of change required in paraphrasing as a subjective matter. In Chapter Two, she argued that prohibiting borrowing of words from the source texts would be absurd, adding that her ESL teacher said some borrowing of words was permissible. In this respect, her loose threshold for plagiarism may be reflective of her perceptive of a L2, in addition to its being influenced by her cultural background that views using another’s ideas and words as borrowing, not stealing. In such cases, discursive and pedagogical tensions overlap.

Patchwriting as Internally Persuasive Discourse

Furthermore, despite high textual dependence on Tammy's paper for language and format, unlike the authoritative discourse used by researchers in the research articles, Jen was able to imitate and "re-accentuate" them into her own research paper context, which was described as "adding new things." Since it was written by a fellow student, the level of the research paper and language used felt more appropriate at her level, which translated into Jen's paper being written with her internally persuasive discourse that was "half-[hers] and half-someone else's" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 345). As Tammy's research paper was simultaneously authoritative and internally persuasive, textual appropriation in this context can be explained as occurring due to "greatly weakened utterance boundaries that are completely permeable to the author's expression" (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 93).

The finding that Jen's self-identification with Tammy as a graduate student led to textual appropriation of academic discourse from Tammy's paper, as opposed to the difficult academic discourse of academics in research articles, parallels the finding from Hull and Rose's (1989) study of the "patchwork" of Tanya, an L1, basic writer. Having identified herself with the nurse who authored the source text, Tanya also appropriated language through close copying with modifications, which they interpret

as “trying on the nurse’s written language and, with it, the nurse’s self” (Hull & Rose, 1989, p. 151).

Jen’s speculation that Tammy’s paper might also be the product of imitation echoed Hull and Rose’s (1989) epiphany of what Tanya’s “plagiarism” revealed about the fundamental nature of appropriation in language:

...clearly documented writing may ... camouflage, how much ... we borrow from existing texts, how much we depend upon membership in a community for our language, our voices, our very arguments.... and that such appropriation is a fundamental part of language use even as the appearance of our texts belies it. (p.152)

Despite differences in levels of sophistication, textual borrowing strategies, and observance of citation practices with which language and ideas have been incorporated into established academic writers’ texts, the underlying purposes for appropriation are similar for novices and experts alike. Their argument resonates with Bakhtin’s (1981) assertion of the struggles involved in expropriating language wherein we take language from other people’s mouths, serving other people’s contexts, serving other people’s intentions, and assimilate them into our own contexts, to serve our own intentions (p. 293), with “varying degrees of otherness, our own-

ness” (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 89).

Taking into account the perspectival and discursive tensions of novice, student writers who do not have the necessary means to write without patchwriting conflicts with the ethical tension involved in how to conceptualize plagiarism. Both Jen and Tanya engaged in close copying to appropriate academic discourse in the context of imitation, but also took precaution not to copy texts in its entirety by making some changes to the original. In some respects, Jen’s above statements, as well as Hull and Rose’s (1989) epiphany speak to the limitations of traditional plagiarism that focuses on form exclusively, dismissing all forms of transgressive textual borrowing as deceitful or a breach of academic integrity.

As with Howard’s (1999) assertion that everyone patchwrites, but differs with varying degrees of sophistication, it may be that for novice, L2 student writers like Jen or Tanya, the extent of textual borrowing and the form of textual appropriation is more conspicuous and transparent than those of the insiders of academia. Dependence on source texts, as measured by the extent of direct textual borrowing, may be reflective of their novice stage, where direct textual appropriation may be needed than in later stages of writing development.

Interaction with Source Texts

This section is related to the research questions on how different ways of reading and epistemology and one's interpretations of the task influence one's textual borrowing practices and interactions with source texts. This part deals with the inadvertent nature of patchwriting that occurs as a result of one's epistemology, the reading and writing approaches one adopts, and task interpretations that potentially increase source dependence on words and content.

In Chapter Two, epistemology of knowledge was addressed in the pedagogical, perspectival, and discursive tensions, as it influenced how students interacted with the source texts, what the focus of their reading and writing became, as well as decrease or increase textual dependence on source texts for language and content. Irrespective of the tension involved, those who engage in knowledge-telling modes of reading and writing had a tendency to focus on reproducing content and treat source texts as authoritative discourse or facts. As such, it led to monologic reading and writing where the words and language of the source texts tend to dominate. In this respect, her patchwriting may have been induced by her monologic interaction with source texts (i.e., knowledge-telling, bottom-up, decontextualized approach) that remained at the superficial level.

Pedagogical Tension

In Chapter Five, it was noted that Jen's epistemology of knowledge and learning formed in her previous educational experiences in Korea promoted reproduction of content. Her tendency to adopt a decontextualized approach to paraphrasing as a separate activity in and of itself, irrespective of the rhetorical context in which it was used, may be reflective of her knowledge telling orientation where demonstration of mastery of content lies in accurate delivery of information. Her knowledge-telling mode of knowledge, coupled with a bottom-up approach to reading, may have contributed to her patchwriting. Kirk and Sanders (1991) caution that L2 students from cultures that emphasize memorization of details are more susceptible to plagiarism due to their tendency to engage in a bottom-up reading approach. As can be seen, one's reading approach may lead to inadvertent plagiarism.

Perspectival Tension

In Chapter Two, it was noted that students' task representations may differ from their teachers in that the former conceive of writing assignments as information gathering, whereas the latter expects them to act as apprentices-in-training. As such, it was uncertain whether her task interpretation of paraphrasing as knowledge telling was influenced solely by her previous cultural background and educational practices,

or whether it was also influenced by her being unfamiliar with the nature of knowledge construction in disciplinary writing. A related but less conspicuous influence was the paraphrasing exercise in her ESL class, which entailed producing paraphrases for the sake of paraphrasing devoid of rhetorical purpose or context. Thus, her decontextualized sentence-by-sentence approach to paraphrasing may have been reinforced or formed.

Discursive Tension

The discursive tension related to the relationship between reading and writing or lack thereof. From a traditional view of plagiarism, it could be said that Jen's patchwriting was symptomatic of a writing problem. From a centripetal view of plagiarism, paraphrases with high textual dependence on words and content are seen as being devoid of understanding, as they have copied closely from the source text.

The other two views, however, looked at the interdependent nature of reading and writing as a cognitive as well as a socio-constructivist activity related to learning how to interact with source texts as disciplinary members of the community and the role that reading played in writing.

Jen's reading and writing approach resembled those of inexperienced reader-writers in L1 summary or writing-from-sources tasks. For one, Jen's decontextualized,

bottom-up, sentence by sentence decoding approach was similar to those of the less skilled, L1 students in Taylor's (1985) and Kennedy's (1985) studies of summary writing and writing-from-sources-task respectively, all of whom focused on details, as opposed to finding the gist or overall purpose of the text. Second, her difficulty with paraphrasing was analogous to the struggles of Taylor's (1985) inexperienced summarizers: "trying to put the author's words into their own but ...were having difficulty with finding the words to express their ideas" (p. 695). The absence of planning and thinking time was another common denominator: they proceeded to write almost immediately after completing their reading.

Building on the fact that the notion of paraphrase is similar to revision since both entail rewriting the original, I compared Jen's patchwriting approach to the revision behavior of L1 novice writers in Sommers' (1996) study, and found some commonalities. Making changes to vocabulary was their principal concern. In fact, the lexical changes that the L1 writers made resembled Jen's patchwriting strategies of replacing and deleting words: both searched for better words and deleted superfluous words, demonstrating a rewording approach to paraphrasing and revising respectively.

Furthermore, Jen's tendency to replace difficult language and sentence

structures on grounds that it would facilitate comprehension echoed Sommers' (1996) writers who considered "selection or rejection of words as the determiners of success or failure" (p.131). These L1 student writers' revision was informed by the question: "Can I find a better word or phrase?" (p. 131), which resembled Jen's paraphrasing approach: direct quotes or partial copying was employed when the sentence could not be leveled down into easier words.

Taken together, it is possible that Jen's reading and writing approaches to paraphrasing may be developmental, that is, reflective of her reading and writing ability. Thus, Jen's reading and writing approaches, along with her reading and writing ability, may have contributed to her patchwriting.

From a disciplinary enculturation perspective, as with Jen, those with less experience with academic writing or novices in disciplinary writing were found to adopt a knowledge-telling orientation that treated source texts as authoritative discourse, which in turn increased their textual dependence. It may be that the textual boundaries between words became less rigid due to the difficulty associated with paraphrasing closely from technical text. Due to her unfamiliarity with disciplinary ways of knowledge construction, Jen's decoding and knowledge-telling approach may have reflected her novice status, placing her in an outsider and spectator role (Greene,

1993, as cited in Hirvela, 2004), which she was unaware of. Greene (1993, as cited in Hirvela, 2004) also cautions that reading that merely decodes meaning results in putting students in a “spectator role” and as an alternative, proposes that active engagement with text can help them take on a participant’s role.

In accounting for how the above approaches contributed to her patchwriting, Jen’s task representation of the nature of paraphrasing may also have affected her patchwriting. By engaging in centripetal reading, comprehension becomes monologic as emphasis is on conveying content accurately from individual sentences. Thus, the source texts become authoritative discourse that “has but a single meaning” and “demands our unconditional allegiance” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 343). In this sense, Jen’s decontextualized approach to paraphrasing may stem from her view of texts as authoritative discourse that “permits no play with the context framing it” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 343).

By contrast, engaging in a centrifugal reading that brings the text into one’s own context (Scholes, 1989) may lead to interaction where the text is treated as another’s internally persuasive discourse that is “freely developed, applied to new material, new conditions” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 346). More importantly, dialogic understanding can occur as “it enters into an intense struggle with other internally

persuasive discourses” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 346).

Conclusions

By uncovering the hidden layers of complexities and tensions shaping and guiding her inappropriate textual borrowing practices, this study attempted to take a dialogic approach to one L2, novice student writers’ inappropriate textual borrowing practices. I tried to problematize the traditional view of plagiarism that simplifies the complexities involved in their transgressive textual borrowing practices. While the transgression may be transparent, the complex interplay of factors was not, including aspects of imitation. Bringing a novice, L2 graduate student’s perspectives and struggles to the fore using a Bakhtinian (1981, 1986) framework, along with Howard’s (1999) notion of patchwriting provided for a more heteroglossic, centrifugal approach to plagiarism as a complex, contextualized phenomenon. Also, ethical, pedagogical, perspectival, discursive tensions in extant literature were examined to show the complexities of the layers involved.

This study showed that high textual dependence on the source texts for language and ideas may occur at the intersections of patchwriting as a coping, procedural display strategy as well as learning to appropriate disciplinary content and disciplinary language. To better help students engage in more legitimate textual

borrowing and citation practices, it can be said that the starting point should be where students are, rather than where the teachers and the institution think they ought to be. A hidden assumption in the traditional view of plagiarism seems to be that if students copy on purpose for whatever reason, it is cheating. Although Jen admitted to intentionally engaging in partial copying, it does not negate the fact that writing-from-sources tasks is a complex and difficult endeavor. In this regard, instead of asking why novice, L2 students copied language from text, an alternative question may be what academic and linguistic resources do they need to write successfully, but do not current have? How does textual borrowing help them bridge the gap?

The study showed a developmental nature of patchwriting in highlighting the imitative aspect of textual borrowing of a novice, L2 writer who was writing a research paper for the first time. But it remains to be seen, whether she will continue to engage in heavy patchwriting of research genre or whether there will be a decrease due to building of schemata or accumulation of academic repertoire. That patchwriting can be used as coping, procedural display, as well as learning strategies attested to the centripetal and centrifugal forces that shape one's textual borrowing practices.

Jen's case demonstrated the difficulty associated with determining the nature

of plagiarism. In fact, her transgressive textual borrowing occurred at the junctures of intentional and unintentional plagiarism. On one hand, patchwriting as a coping strategy arose partly from an intention to pass off another's words as her own, due to her difficulty with paraphrasing. On the other hand, it was unintentional: It was due to her misconceptions of plagiarism and paraphrase respectively, reading and writing approaches, insufficient base of academic and L2 repertoire, coupled with disciplinary content learning with this being her first time writing a research paper. Fudging textual boundaries in spite of her knowledge that she did not make sufficient changes and trying to avoid her professor's comment to write in her own words may speak to the reality of the centripetal forces at work that can potentially give rise to plagiarism.

Limitations of the Study

Given that this was an case study of one novice, Korean graduate student and exploration of the centripetal and centrifugal forces that shaped her inappropriate textual borrowing practices and strategies, the findings cannot be generalized to other novice, Korean student writers nor other novice, L2 graduate students. Also, research bias might have intruded in data interpretation and findings. Adding a member checks would have increased the validity of the study. While standardized TOEFL and TWE

scores from two years ago indexed Jen's L2 reading and writing abilities to some extent, specific information about her current L2 reading and writing skills were not available except that she had passed all her courses and was finishing her program at the end of summer.

As some of the factors that shaped Jen's textual borrowing were based on interview data alone, there might have been other factors that were not covered by the interview and went unnoticed. Considering that the reading and paraphrasing processes involved in writing the research paper came from Jen's retrospective, self-report, there is the possibility of a gap between what she reported and what she actually did. In terms of classifying textual borrowing strategies or the extent of direct textual borrowing in Jen's sentences, calculating inter-rater reliability would have been a good alternative.

The limitations involved in taking a quantifying approach to identifying copied words also shed light on the blind spots or gaps in traditional literature on plagiarism. In this respect, one limitation of taking a quantitative approach to plagiarism was in the use of mechanical and quantitative measures to operationalize the extent of plagiarism. Granted, this method has been used by other studies on students' inappropriate textual borrowing to identify how much copying occurred in

students' writing (Currie, 1998; Keck, 2006; Pecorari, 2003; Shi, 2003). But its basis has the underpinnings of traditional plagiarism, as the extent of copied words is of primary concern. As such, this measure was not able to make qualitative distinctions between different kinds of textual borrowing. For instance, two sentences might have 50% of the words in common with the original source. One might stem from verbatim copying of long consecutive word strings, whereas the other comes from several technical jargon words interspersed throughout the sentence. The former would constitute patchwriting, while the latter would be related to learning content and discourse specific to the discipline. But in current traditional views of plagiarism, copying of words for whatever purpose is frowned upon.

While the bulk of the study focused on how Jen approached her writing-from-sources tasks, another limitation is that, the nature of her writing tasks, a less conspicuous yet pervasive influence, could also have been implicated in her transgressive textual borrowing. That is, both the contrived, paraphrasing activity and authentic, student research paper may have been set up as a conformist, knowledge-telling task that could have increased Jen's source dependence for language and ideas. Therefore, some of the tensions the framework was designed to make clear became obscure. As such, it follows that some readers may perceive Jen's patchwriting to be

motivated predominantly by pragmatic, instrumental concerns and by intentional transgressive textual borrowing, which were most salient, and, accordingly, not see her as being conflicted in navigating through the four tensions.

In this respect, the nature of the writing tasks may have served as a centrifugal force that unintentionally encouraged her patchwriting. The inherent contradiction of this study shed light on the perspectival tension and the gulf between the initial task, as designed by the teacher, and the student's interpretations of the writing task. By way of providing implications, it can even be argued that Jen's professor gave her a sample student paper to imitate, which resulted in her heavy patchwriting. Taken together, this may suggest that teachers are also implicated in student's transgressive textual borrowing practices when they assign certain types of writing assignments that are carried out as knowledge-telling tasks.

Implications

As this case study is based on an N of 1, I am wary in providing implications that may become over-generalizations. Instead, I opt for transferability, which is more pertinent to qualitative studies, where the reader plays a key role in determining to what extent and what aspects of results of the study, if any, may be transferable to his/her own situation or contexts.

The traditional view of plagiarism, predicated on the ethical tension, foregrounds the textual violation involved at the expense of overlooking the centrifugal forces operating in the midst of their transgressive textual borrowing. As a consequence, the pedagogical response then becomes to penalize students or give them a chance to redo their papers. While holding students accountable for the intentional aspects of plagiarism may address the ethical tension that gave rise to their transgressive textual borrowing at the outset, it does not adequately help students learn to avoid plagiarism. The first step in finding appropriate pedagogical and institutional responses to plagiarism may be in realizing the complexities underlying transgressive textual borrowing.

A less visible but centrifugal force that contributed to Jen's transgressive textual borrowing may be her difficulty with dealing with the occluded features of citations (Pecorari, 2006). As such, one way to decrease incidents of unintentional, transgressive textual borrowing may be to help novice student writers become familiarized with those less visible but challenging aspects. By helping them understand citation practices in terms of relationship and interaction with source texts and communicating the nature and extent of textual borrowing to one's readers, as opposed to rigidly abiding by a set of rules set forth by academia. Relatedly, missing

from instructions on paraphrasing and citation practices may be the bigger framework of intertextual connections and relations.

The use of model texts or writing samples that students can emulate would be an effective way to familiarize inexperienced L2 student writers with disciplinary genres. Considering that language development occurs over a period of time, and that newcomers to academia have not yet accumulated a sufficient repertoire of L2 academic language to draw from, making allowances for patchwriting in the early drafting stage may be one way to help them transition into disciplinary culture where emphasis is placed on writing in one's own words. In this regard, Hull and Rose's (1989) suggestion to encourage a "free-wheeling pedagogy of imitation" (p.151) where L2 student writers are temporarily granted access to textual appropriation without being fettered by the constraints to write in their own words may be a possible avenue in providing instruction to ESL students. Given the nature of L2 acquisition and learning, as with other L2 skills, opportunities to practice the target language is needed for L2 novice writers to develop competence to express academic language and disciplinary content in their own words without fear of plagiarism.

In extant literature, instructions on paraphrasing, summarization, quotations, citation practices, and guidelines on how many consecutive word- strings should not

be copied verbatim have been suggested as viable options for helping students avoid plagiarism. Granted, the above methods are necessary to some degree, but are limited in that they address only the centripetal, knowledge-telling aspects of writing from sources. As Jen's case has demonstrated, they run the risk of being perceived as decontextualized activities in and of themselves. Perceived as skills devoid of rhetorical purpose, they may inadvertently reinforce monological reading and writing at the sentence level.

Reading and writing skills need to be taught and framed as part of disciplinary enculturation where students learn the values and purposes behind them, as opposed to merely learning techniques on grounds that they are part and parcel of their academic study. Without having them become more internally persuasive to students, that is, without a clear understanding as to why they are required by academia, the effectiveness of the above instructions might be compromised.

Most importantly, to help novice L2 students avoid plagiarism, we need to provide them with a wider arsenal of resources that promote centrifugal reading and dialogic interaction with texts. Given that one's epistemology of knowledge also shapes one's interaction with texts, students should be taught how to assume new roles that cast themselves as active participants, rather than outsiders (Wilson, 1999)

or apprentice-researchers. To that end, learning how to engage in knowledge transforming aspects of academic writing-from-sources tasks is needed to help them transition into disciplinary writing where one can actively engage in centrifugal, dialogic reading and knowledge construction in writing. In recognition of the valuable role that reading can play in expanding L2 students' writing repertoire, Hirvela (2004) proposes that students be taught how to actively mine through reading texts to gain information on how to write. Helping students learn how to develop their papers around their own argument, take notes and engage in critical inquiry with source texts prior to writing may help them engage in more dialogic interaction with the text (Kennedy, 1985). At the same time, we should bear in mind that these skills and ways of knowledge construction develop over time through active disciplinary participation and enculturation.

One would expect that after completing this study, I would have a clear understanding of the nature of Jen's apparent plagiarism, to borrow Currie's (1998) term. However, after uncovering the hidden complexities and tensions that interanimate one another, I actually became more confused than when I initially started my study about how to classify Jen's transgressive borrowing and about what it means to "write in one's own words." The nature of my confusion or disorientation

may be the result of, in Bakhtinian (1986) terms, my dialogic understanding arising from my struggles and interactions with the literature on the various views of plagiarism and what Jen's data revealed.

Prior to data collection, analyses, and writing up the results, that is, based on my comprehensive literature review, I positioned myself somewhere between the middle ground and alternative approaches to plagiarism. However, as Jen's case clearly demonstrates, the ethical tension may be a pervasive influence within evaluative contexts where one's writing is graded based on one's performance. To that end, although she did not conceptualize transgressive textual borrowing as an ethical issue, she intentionally copied words to make her professor believe it was her own paraphrase. As such, I argue that alternative discussions of textual borrowing practices need to recognize the influence of what Jen refers to as "the temptation to copy" or the ethical tension intersecting with the pedagogical, discursive, and perspectival tensions.

Initially, my notion of the complexities of textual borrowing made clear distinctions between unintentional and intentional plagiarism, seeing them as mutually exclusive categories. However, the issue of one's developing L2 proficiency and emergent academic discourse, along with inexperience with the research paper

genre, may have confounded and obfuscated the lines separating unintentional from intentional transgressive borrowing. Indeed, the nature of Jen's patchwriting that encompasses coping and passing strategies, procedural display, and learning how to write a research paper and academic discourse shed light on the gray areas associated with motivations underlying textual appropriation and how they bleed into one another. While Jen's patchwriting overlaps with Howard's (1993, 1995, 1999) notion of patchwriting as a positive strategy to make sense of difficult ideas and language. However, absent from Howard's (1999) notion of patchwriting is the use of patchwriting as a survival and coping strategy on the part of L2 student writers who may not have accumulated their own repertoire of academic discourse or L2 proficiency to draw from.

At the same time, given the wide gulf between formal academic discourse and her informal, spoken English, it seems inevitable and natural, to some extent, that she resorted to patchwriting to bridge the gap as part of borrowing in language use. In this respect, penalizing or admonishing her may not have prevented her from engaging in patchwriting when she did not have sufficient textual capital of her own to draw from. Indeed, the notion of "writing in one's own words" is a nebulous concept for myself, as it was for Jen. By virtue of being an L2 speaker whose L2

proficiency continues to move to and fro along the interlanguage continuum and who still undergoes a sense of struggle, there is a sense of alienation that I feel over English. Hard as I may try, while my English proficiency may improve, I doubt that I will be ever be able to achieve native speaker proficiency and fluency, especially since I will be using English as a foreign language upon returning to Korea. At the risk of sounding deterministic, it seems inevitable that I will continue to appropriate and be indebted to borrowing words from native speakers in using English. And even after graduation, I will continue to acquire and appropriate the various terminology and ways of constructing knowledge in different research traditions and methodology, which continue to evolve. In this regard, appropriation seems inevitable to continue to grow in knowledge and gain membership, but finding the right balance between legitimate appropriation and plagiarism may be part of the challenges of learning.

All things considered, it seems that a contextualized view of patchwriting or plagiarism is needed to better understand how transgressive textual borrowing has occurred, and to find appropriate pedagogical and institutional responses. In other words, before penalizing an L2 student, we may need to try to understand what “writing in one’s own words” entailed for that student in that specific context in performing the writing-from-sources task. In the words of Bakhtin (1981), the

internally persuasive discourse of the student is “not finite, it is open; in each of the next contexts that dialogize it” (p. 346). Likewise, my own notion and understanding of writing “in my own words” will continue to evolve through continual dialogic interaction with the authoritative and internally persuasive discourse of others.

Areas for Future Research

While there is a growing body of qualitative studies on L2 student writers’ patchwriting in authentic, disciplinary writing contexts (Absai, 2006; Currie, 1998; Leki, 2003; Pecorari, 2003; Starfield, 2002), quantitative studies on L2 student writers’ patchwriting have focused on contrived, writing-from-sources tasks (Campbell, 1990; Hsu, 2003; Keck, 2006; Shi, 2004). Considering that the social setting in which one’s writing is situated or lack thereof may influence their textual borrowing practices, this may potentially increase cases of intentional copying due to resistance or lack of involvement in a decontextualized task. Thus, a possible avenue for quantitative studies may be writing assignments for required disciplinary courses in academic institutions.

More qualitative case studies of novice, L2 student writers’ authentic, disciplinary writing assignments are needed to understand better the role patchwriting plays in their academic literacy development. Is patchwriting a coping strategy,

learning strategy, or both? To examine patchwriting with more of a learning component, studies on L2 student writers who display a centripetal mode of participation, who are more enculturated into, or at least, identify closely with their disciplinary culture is needed. To further explicate the nature of patchwriting, whether it is a coping strategy to complete assignments, a reflection of one's writing development as an L2 writer, or both, a longitudinal study of investigating L2 student writers' authentic disciplinary writing over longer periods of time across different writing samples is needed. An added benefit would be that since rapport is built over time, the participants might be more open about discussing whether the transgression was intentional or not, an area that has been the subject of much speculation on the part of researchers who usually infer from data the nature of the transgression involved.

Furthermore, cross-sectional studies that compare L2 writers with varying degrees of writing experience may provide insight into the role that patchwriting may potentially play in one's writing development. More studies on novice, L2 student writers are needed to determine whether some of the copying is developmental in terms of one's writing or disciplinary enculturation. Relatedly, Given that L2 proficiency is attributed as a plausible reason for textual borrowing, a useful line of

inquiry would be to investigate possible correlations between L2 novice writers with low and high L2 reading and writing proficiency and their textual borrowing practices to determine if there are developmental aspects in patchwriting.

Appendix A: Interview Protocol for Academic Literacy Experiences

1. What is your total length of stay in the U.S. and other English-speaking countries?
2. What program are you in?
3. What was your TOEFL score? Do you know your TWE score?
4. Currently, how often do you speak English with native English speakers? How about opportunities to use English with non-native English speakers?
5. Can you tell me about your literacy experiences in your own country? How was reading and writing taught? If reading and writing were used in assessments, how were they used?
6. How was reading and writing used in your classes? How were they integrated?
7. What kinds of writing are done or required in your course work or in your program? How was your writing graded as part of class assessment?
8. How comfortable are you with academic writing? What are some challenges you face in academic writing? How do you deal with the difficulties of academic writing in English?
9. How is academic writing in your country similar to academic writing in the U.S.? How is academic writing in your country different from academic writing in the U.S.?
10. What is the relationship between reading and writing in academic writing? Why do certain assignments require that you write about what you read?

Appendix B: Sample of Retrospective Interview Protocol

1. Did you underline, highlight, or circle words or sentences in your reading texts? How did that help you with the task?
2. Did you take any notes or write in your reading texts? How did that help you with the task?
3. Sometimes while reading, we reread words or sentences immediately after the initial reading. Other times, we reread parts of the reading texts during writing. In what instances did you use the strategy of rereading the reading text? In your opinion, what purpose does rereading play in comprehending the reading texts?
4. In writing your essay, in what instances did you use the strategy of rereading the words or sentences you wrote while?
5. How did you choose which information from the source text to include in your written text?
6. Define paraphrase. What are the key characteristics of a good paraphrase?
7. Can you tell me how you decide whether to use direct quotations or paraphrasing?
8. When and why should you use direct quotations over paraphrases?
9. What is the purpose of paraphrasing? What are the key characteristics of a good paraphrase?
10. What challenges did you face when you were trying to paraphrase using your own words? Why is that?
11. How much change needs to be made to the original sentence or text for a

paraphrase to be considered acceptable/ appropriate?

12. What is your opinion on borrowing some of the words of the author without citing the source? Does it make a difference whether you copy a few words or many words?
13. What does it means to write “using your own words?”
14. In your opinion, what can be done to help reduce the difficulties students face in paraphrasing using their own words?

Appendix C: Post-Questionnaire Interview on Conceptualizations of Plagiarism

1. When did you first learn about plagiarism?
2. What kind(s) of instructions, if any, have you received on plagiarism in Korea? How about in the U.S.? How were you made aware of the rules concerning PG?" (from Paterson et al. 2003)
3. In your opinion, how common and widespread (prevalent) is plagiarism in the university in the U.S.?
4. In your opinion, how common and widespread was plagiarism when you went to school in Korea?
5. In your opinion, how common and widespread is plagiarism in Korea now?
6. How does the academic community in the U.S. define plagiarism? (I want to see if they will give the prototypical definition of plagiarism advanced by Western standards or their own understanding)
7. How would *you* define plagiarism? (What is your own understanding of plagiarism?)
8. How would the definition of plagiarism in Korea, be similar or different from that of the U.S.?
9. How do you recognize plagiarism?
10. In comparison with the attitudes toward plagiarism in the U.S., how would you describe the attitude toward plagiarism in your own country?
11. What is your opinion on the definition of plagiarism as stealing the ideas or words of others?
12. Why do you think students plagiarize? Is it always intentional?

13. What are the consequences of plagiarism in the U.S.?
14. What are the consequences of plagiarism in your own country?
15. What kind(s) of instructions have you received on avoiding plagiarism?
15. What techniques or strategies do you use that help you avoid plagiarism?
16. What is the role of citing sources (i.e., referencing) in academic writing?
17. Why is it required?

Appendix D: Writers' Perceptions of Source Misuse in Academic Writing

Below is part of a newspaper article a student writer will include in writing a paper entitled the "Loss of Tropical Forests."

Directions: Part 1 Read the original passage carefully, so that you can recognize the different ways it has been incorporated into the 4 writing samples that follow.

1. After reading each sample, determine if and to what extent the writer committed plagiarism. Underline the places that have been plagiarized from the original passage.
2. Put an X in the box that best represents the degree of source misuse (i.e., no instances of plagiarism, some instances of plagiarism, and many instances of plagiarism).
3. Please explain how you have arrived at your decision.

PLEASE, TAKE ABOUT 20-25 MINUTES TO DO THIS PART. Do not rush; rather, work carefully.

Gloom Over Tropical Forests*

by Philip Shabecoff

International Herald Tribune, June 9, 1990, p. 3.

Tropical forests, which play a vital role in regulating the global climate, are disappearing much more rapidly than previously estimated, according to an international research group. Each year recently, 40 million to 50 million acres (16 million to 20 million hectares) of tropical forest have been lost, as trees are cut for timber and land is cleared for agriculture and development, the World Resources Institute said in its 1990 report. According to the study, the rate of loss in most countries was nearly 50% more in 1987 than in 1980. The report said 1.9 billion acres of tropical forest remained.¹

¹ 1* From "Gloom Over Tropical Forests: Loss of Tropical Rain Forests Is Found Much Worse Than Was Thought" by Philip Shabecoff, *The New York Times*, June 8, 1990. Reprinted in *International Tribune*, June 9, 1990. Copyright 1990 by New York Times Company. Adapted by permission.

Sample A

Tropical forests, which play a vital role in regulating the global climate, are disappearing at an alarming pace. World Resources Institute, an international research group, reported that annually 40 million to 50 million acres of tropical forest have been lost, as forests are cut for timber, and land is cleared for agriculture and development. In most countries, the rate of loss was 50 percent higher in 1987 than in 1980. The group said 1.9 billion acres of tropical forest remained. ¹

¹ P. Shabecoff, International Herald Tribune, June 9, 1990, p. 3.

The sample has **no** instances of plagiarism.

The sample has **some** instances of plagiarism.

The sample has **many** instances of plagiarism.

Please explain how you determined if and to what extent the sample contains plagiarism, if any.

Sample B

The world is losing its valuable forests at an alarming pace. Tropical forests, which are an important factor in climatic patterns, are being rapidly cut back for timber, agricultural needs, and land development. Studies over the past decades indicate that the rate of loss increased by 50% between 1980 and 1987. The 1990 report said there are only about 1.9 billion acres of tropical forest left on earth, and about 40 to 50 million acres are being lost annually, according to the World Resources Institute. ¹

¹ P. Shabecoff, International Herald Tribune, June 9, 1990, p. 3.

The sample has **no** instances of plagiarism.

The sample has **some** instances of plagiarism.

The sample has **many** instances of plagiarism.

Please explain how you determined if and to what extent the sample contains plagiarism, if any.

Sample C

The world is losing its tropical forests at an alarming pace. Tropical forests, which play a critical role in regulating the global climate, are disappearing much more quickly than previously anticipated. An international research group reported that every year 40 million to 50 million acres of tropical forest have been disappearing, as forests are cut for wood, and land is cleared for farming and development. In most countries, the rate of loss was about 50 percent higher in 1987 than in 1980. The group said 1.9 billion acres of tropical forest remain. ¹

¹ P. Shabecoff, International Herald Tribune, June 9, 1990, p. 3.

The sample has **no** instances of plagiarism.

The sample has **some** instances of plagiarism.

The sample has **many** instances of plagiarism.

Please explain how you determined if and to what extent the sample contains plagiarism, if any.

Sample D

According to the World Resources Institute, tropical forests, which are vital in regulating the global climate, are disappearing at a much more rapid rate than it was previously estimated. Annually, 40 to 50 million acres are lost because trees are cut down for timber and removed to make land ready for agriculture and development. In 1990, it was estimated that only 1.9 billion acres remained.¹ Losing so much forest land might affect the climate and cause serious problems.

¹ P. Shabecoff, International Herald Tribune, June 9, 1990, p. 3.*

The sample has **no** instances of plagiarism.

The sample has **some** instances of plagiarism.

The sample has **many** instances of plagiarism.

Please explain how you determined if and to what extent the sample contains plagiarism, if any.

Part 2:

Circle the sample that contains **the most** amount of **plagiarism** of the original passage. (Choose among the samples you rated as having “many instances of plagiarism.”)

Sample A

Sample B

Sample C

Sample D

Part3: Imagine that you will include the below paragraph in an academic paper you are writing. To the best of your ability, paraphrase the below paragraph so that it does not contain any instances of plagiarism.

Original Passage:

Gloom Over Tropical Forests*

by Philip Shabecoff

International Herald Tribune, June 9, 1990, p. 3.

Tropical forests, which play a vital role in regulating the global climate, are disappearing much more rapidly than previously estimated, according to an international research group. Each year recently, 40 million to 50 million acres (16 million to 20 million hectares) of tropical forest have been lost as trees are cut for timber and land is cleared for agriculture and development, the World Resources Institute said in its 1990 report. According to this study, the rate of loss in most countries was nearly 50% more in 1987 than in 1980. The report said 1.9 billion acres of tropical forest remained.¹

¹ From "Gloom Over Tropical Forests: Loss of Tropical Rain Forests Is Found Much Worse Than Was Thought" by Philip Shabecoff, *The New York Times*, June 8, 1990. Reprinted in *International Tribune*, June 9, 1990. Copyright 1990 by New York Times Company. Adapted by permission.

Your Paraphrase:

This questionnaire has been adapted with permission from Deckert, G. D.(1993). A pedagogical response to learned plagiarism among tertiary-level ESL students. *Journal of Second Language Writing* 2 (2), 131-148.

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