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THE CONSTRUCTION OF WRITER IDENTITY IN THE ACADEMIC WRITING OF KOREAN ESL STUDENTS:

A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF SIX KOREAN STUDENTS IN THE U.S.

A Dissertation

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies and Research
in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

Soyoung Baek Burke
Indiana University of Pennsylvania
December 2010

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ABSTRACT

Title: The Construction of Writer Identity in the Academic Writing of Korean ESL

Students: A Qualitative Study of Six Korean Students in the U.S.

Author: Soyoung Baek Burke

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This study focused on how six Korean students at a university in the U.S. constructed their academic writer identities ideationally, interpersonally, and textually (Halliday, 1994; Ivanič, 1998). The purposes of this study, grounded in social constructionism and discourse theory, were to (a) understand how Korean students constructed their identities as writers in the English academic discourse community based on previous L1 writing practices and the current L2 writing practices, (b) determine their use of metadiscourse features in framing their authoritative writer identities, and (c) discover how they used Korean discourse and other discourses in their English writing. I conducted a qualitative case study and collected two interviews, three academic papers, process logs, and a map of social influences from each student.

First, based on a thematic analysis, the Korean students exhibited various approaches in constructing their writer identities influenced by their previous Korean writing practices, privileged academic discourse, marginalized ESL social and linguistic identities, program level, resistance, and blogging. Their multiple writer identities were shifted, conflicted, and developed in the social contexts of writing.

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Second, the Korean students believed that authoritative academic writers needed to (a) present knowledge with the use of numerous citations and (b) guide readers into their ideas with many transitions in their papers. As a result, they frequently employed textual metadiscourse markers (transitions, code glosses, and evidentials), but used fewer interpersonal metadiscourse markers (writer-oriented markers, hedges, and boosters) (Hyland, 2004a, 2005a), which did not strongly establish their identities as authoritative academic writers.

Finally, features of Korean discourse were examined in their academic papers.

The undergraduates were more influenced by Korean discourse at lexical and grammatical levels. In contrast, the graduate students advanced their writer identities by relying on more traditional academic discourse, and process writing discourse.

These findings draw attention to the need for explicit discussion of the dominant discourse in the academy. Focused writing instruction helps students to raise their awareness of the relationship among language, identity, and the epistemology behind the available discourses. Also, it can guide them to use linguistic resources confidently in order for them to construct positive academic writer identities.

Dedication

My Father, NamJung Baek, and My Mother, KyoungAe Kim, For all their support and dedication to my life

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

When she was a student, Danling Fu (1995) saw herself as "helpless, incapable, and defeated" after coming to the United States for graduate study (p. 5). She felt confused and alienated in the university as she struggled to acquire academic literacy in English. This was especially significant since the "hallmark of success for any student at university is mastery of academic writing" (Jones, Turner, & Street, 1999, p. 38). Clearly, writing an effective academic paper in English can be a daunting experience for English as a Second Language (hereafter ESL) students because academic writing is a complex skill and it is a challenging process, especially when undertaken in conjunction with experiencing new discourses and mastering detailed subject matter in their specific fields of study.

The term *discourse* is defined in this study as a socially accepted association among ways of "saying (writing), doing, being, valuing, believing combinations" (Gee, 1990, p. 142) as well as "the complexes of signs and practices that organize social existence and social reproduction" (Norton, 2000, p. 14). ESL students who try to write for academic purposes struggle to become competent participants in the academic discourse community that is related to "the context of culture, the socio-historically produced norms and conventions of a particular group of people who define themselves among other things, by their discourse practices" (Ivanič, 1998, p. 78).

Due to the variety of discourse systems within different educational and cultural contexts, authorities have recognized the difficulties involved in mastering academic writing and the academic discourse among ESL students. Specifically, ESL writers have

become subjects for study within various disciplines and points of views. A number of approaches have been used in exploring ESL writing and ESL writers, and different studies have yielded a multitude of findings. Due to the difference between L1 (first language) and L2 (second language), linguists have focused on how one acquires a target language and what part of the brain works in using language, while considering critical periods (Krashen, 1973) and code switching (Cook, 1991). The low language proficiency of ESL writers usually leads to concern among the faculty with surface language features in writing (Silva, 1997). ESL writers are more likely to feel less confident and more stressed than their native English speaking (hereafter NES) counterparts because the former has to demonstrate their writing in language and genres appropriate for their expected readers and they have to do this within a relatively short period after learning English (Currie, 1998).

In terms of the cultural schemata and writing practice, L1 linguistic and rhetorical conventions interfere with writing in English (Connor, 1996). In addition, the conceptions of learning and the attitudes, approaches, and strategies in L1 and L2 writing context can conflict with one another (Ramanathan & Atkinson, 1999; Yabarra, 2001). That can lead to problems for ESL students, including an inability to fully understand the purposes and requirements in L2 academic writing classes (Cumming, 2006) and teachers' claims of plagiarism as "knowledge transforming" or "knowledge telling" (Bereiter & Scardamalia, 1987) due to a lack of cultural understanding on the part of the ESL students about borrowing sources (Leki & Carson, 1997; Pennycook, 1996).

Sociopolitically, another complexity is that ESL students are marginalized and disadvantaged by being outsiders—not belonging because they are international students

or "cross-over students" and are disassociated from the class activities and assignments in mainstream classes (Zamel, 1995). Individual factors, including learning style (Jones, 1999), control of affective manifestations such as writing anxiety and writer's block (Cheng, 2004), and writing motivation and goal (Cumming, 2006), can add to the complexity of L2 writing. These factors present ESL writing and writers with multidimensional problems.

ESL writers face not only various problems, but also an issue of identity. Courtivron (2003) researched bilingual writers' works and experiences and found that the fundamental issue is identity. As Lantolf (2000) stated, "Learning of a second language, under certain circumstances can lead to the reformation of one's mental system, including one's concept of self" (p. 5). As an ESL speaker and writer, I strongly feel that we cannot avoid the question of identity: "Do [we] constantly translate [ourselves], constantly switch, shift, alternate not just vocabulary and syntax but consciousness and feelings?" (Courtivron, p. 1)

Individual factors and the academic context influence the construction of identity when writing for academic purposes. Therefore, I propose to study the ways ESL writers construct their identities as writers when they face not only linguistic difficulties in writing English academic papers, but also sociocultural problems in the academic discourse community. Notably, ESL writing researchers (Fox, 1994; Lu, 1987; Shen, 1989) have shown that ESL writers have become conscious of their identities as writers through L2 writing experiences; these same researchers have brought attention to the emergence of the writer identity in the L2 writing context. It is evident that writers struggle with the conflicts between different discourses but work toward constructing

their identities in their texts and the writing context (Fernsten, 2002). The narratives of ESL writers and scholars, such as Lu and Shen, have led me to focus on ESL writer identity in relation to performance in L2 writing and the social context. The issue of writer identity has been explored in L1 and L2 writer research, but there is still a gap that my study can fill on the construction of the writers' identity in L1 and L2 writing practices among a particular group of students.

While the study of linguistic, cultural, social, and individual factors has expanded the ESL educators' knowledge on ESL writers' backgrounds, the study of Korean writers has not kept pace with the increasing numbers of Korean ESL students in the U.S. academy. The Institute of International Education reported that for the year 2004-2005, a total of 565,039 international students enrolled in American higher education institutions. Asia continues to be the most dominant region, accounting for 58 % of the total international enrollment. For the fourth year in a row, the Republic of Korea ranked as the third largest country sending students to the U.S.; it accounted for 9.4% of the total foreign students, up by 2% to 53,358. The majority of Koreans come to the U.S. as visiting scholars, language school students in intensive language programs, or students taking credit courses in graduate (45%) or undergraduate programs (44%) ("Open Doors," 2005). These numbers indicate that the majority of Koreans study in the academic community that demands not only communicative competence, but also academic writing competence, which is considered the most important element in achieving academic success.

Because their new discourse community will require them to employ unfamiliar norms and practices and undergo an apprenticeship in the discipline, the growing

population of Korean ESL students may face various difficulties in the academic writing context. It is important to explore how they construct their identities as writers while mastering academic writing. Through multiple discourses, human beings continually change their positions in relation to one another, depending on a particular social context (Davies, 1993). Individuals' identities are shaped within a community, and their social identities in the academic community may influence their writer identities or vice versa. When they are seen as deficient, strange, or disengaged in the social context, how do they deal with this situation, and how do they perform as members of the academic community?

Although there has been some research on the writers' identities of NES college students (Fernsten, 2002; Hollander, 2005; Ivanič, 1998; Otto, 2001) and a few professional and multilingual faculty writers (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Watkins-Goffman, 2000), research on ESL writers has never sufficiently explored Korean students and their construction of writers' identities. This dissertation will be a unique study of Korean ESL writers as distinct from any NES writers and other groups of ESL writers.

Previous research has some limitations in terms of the relation between writing theory and research focus. Grabe and Kaplan (1996) have criticized a lack of contextualization in writing research and suggested an integrating view with three domains (cognitive, social, and textual), which would serve "a balanced interpretation of what it means to be able to write" (p. 203). Some prior research did not have a balanced view of L2 research writing and did not consider contextualization. For example, much ESL writing research has used a product-oriented research approach or cognitive-focused research that can show some parts of ESL writers' characteristics (Hinkel, 2002; Silva,

1993; Zamel, 1983). In addition, previous research on writer identity seems to have a limited focus on method. Some studies have dealt only with the social aspect of the writers' identities without textual analysis of students' papers (Camp, 2007; Ortmeier-Hooper, 2007), while other research has focused mainly on textual features for writers' engagement with readers but has ignored the contextual factors of the individual (Hyland, 2004b). I believe that the construction of writer identity should be explored with an ecological view including outsiders (e.g., teachers, educators, and researchers), ESL writers themselves, the texts, and the writing context. Research with an integrating view on writer identity of Korean students is needed to provide a valid picture of ESL writers in the field of second language writing.

When ESL students as newcomers or latecomers enter their disciplines in U.S. institutions of higher education, they face the different discourse practices preferred in the U.S. academic community. Socially, they are viewed as strangers to the established discourse community because of their marginalized social position. Cognitively, they face different writing process and reasoning. Textually, they suffer from their lack of English linguistic and genre knowledge. Even NES graduate student writers experience conflicts between their familiar discourses and the discourse of their discipline because they are unable to construct an effective ethos as writers (Camp, 2007). It is understandable that ESL students, like first-year college students, would probably have less control over their intended discursive identity in English academic papers than NES students would. In this situation, my main interest is to explore how Korean ESL students construct their identities as writers in their text and their writing contexts while they face difficulties and confusion in academic, cultural, and social expectations.

Personal Interest in the Study

This study has been inspired by my personal experiences as an English language instructor and an ESL writer. In this section, I will illustrate my personal experiences in two ways: First, I will show multiple social identities in a current social context, and second, I will describe the multiple positions occupied through transitions and transformations as an ESL writer, related to my L1 and L2 writing experiences.

Socially, I identify myself with various labels (e.g., a daughter, a Korean female, a Korean wife of an American husband, a soon-to-be Korean-American, an ESL speaker, a graduate student in a U.S. school, a piano accompanist, and an English instructor in the U.S.), and these labels are also recognized by others. I do not, however, assume every one of these roles and identities at all times. Instead, I select the one identity from among the group that seems most appropriate to the given social situation because playing one appropriate role always involves a "power struggle" (Connolly, 2002). In other words, a particular situation specifies who I am and how I am supposed to act.

For example, when I am part of a group of Korean people having lunch in a Korean church, I make myself present the image of a good "Korean Christian woman," which is actually a combination of images from the Korean traditional culture that weighs gender, social status, age, and authority, and the Christian culture that emphasizes love, help, and sharing in interpersonal relationships. In presenting this image, I try to be submissive, loving, faithful, respectful, and polite, and to use Korean modalities popularized in the Korean community. I use honorific Korean words to Korean elders, help in cooking or setting the table and sit with the women around the table. I consider

not only my verbal and non-verbal communication style, but also the visual presentation of myself by dressing neatly according to specific situations.

In society, discourses including language and visual or invisible social practices become "the mediating mechanism in the social construction of identity" (Ivanič, 1998, p. 17), as I verbally and physically present who I am within the group. The social construction of identity can best be understood with dramaturgical metaphors by Goffman (1990, first published in 1959). He viewed social life as a "staged drama" because the individual as "the performer" acts as "the character" according to the desired roles or scripts in the presence of the audience. However, people feel uneasy when playing a new role while entering a new community. People go through transitions and transformations into new identities to adjust themselves in the target world.

I have had a number of experiences with new roles and new discourse practices. By nature, I am quiet and lenient, and I usually ask others' opinions in order to consider their situations. Now, after having lived in the U.S. for about nine years, I am told by some of my American friends that I have changed to become more like an American. Specifically, I am now more likely to raise my voice and be more independent. I have learned that Americans value individual expression and distinctive character. For that reason, when I communicate with Americans, I put myself in a special mode in which I try to be more active and communicative because these characteristics are desired.

In the beginning of my teaching in the U.S., I strived to demonstrate my knowledge to my NES students in order to show my authority as a teacher, and I spent a great amount of time in memorizing teaching content. I have realized, however, that American students would rather participate in discussions and express their opinions than

listen to a teacher's lecture. I have changed my teaching approach from being a knowledge provider to being a facilitator, which requires me to lead them to engage in activities and encourage them to construct knowledge. Living in a new country, the U.S., has given me multiple identities (e.g., a friend of Americans, a daughter in-law in an American family, an English teacher), and I have adjusted myself accordingly based on the expectations of the culture in each situation. That is, I have observed preferred discourse practices, and I have followed them to fit myself into the American society.

For ESL students who are newcomers to higher education in the U.S., their identities will change through categorizing themselves within different groups or situations, just as I have done. They will construct new images of who they are in a new discourse context. For example, people who are authoritative teachers in their home country might become powerless ESL students when they come to study in the U.S. This new social identity may affect them when they write academic papers. Conversely, their identity as ESL writers, with low self-esteem due to the difficulty of English academic writing and their low language proficiency, may negatively affect their social identity. Writing and academic performance are closely related because their performance reflects who they are, positively or negatively. It is believed that a macro context, such as a society or community, shapes the sense of who we are, but also micro events, such as writing papers or meeting professors in conference, influence the image of ourselves. Through numerous encounters, students will go through different stages of transition and transformation. All of these considerations related to the identity issue can be applied to ESL student writers in the academic setting.

It would be easier to understand my transitions and transformations as an ESL writer by looking back on how my perceptions of writing and being a writer have changed since I started writing in English. I have gone through difficulties because originally I had a simple definition about writing, but later I started to look at broader aspects of writing and writers. In Korea, I literally practiced how to make sentences in English by translating and memorizing English idioms in secondary school. In college, I had some writing practice in English composition courses, including memorization of English phrases and writing journal entries in English, but I never thought of myself as a writer. When I arrived in the U.S. as an ESL student in an English-intensive program, I was not comfortable with the level of my English language proficiency. I came to realize that writing in English required more difficult language skills than were necessary for speaking, listening, and reading. The most troublesome aspect of writing in English was being aware of all the lexical and syntactical knowledge. At that point, translating Korean sentences into English took me a great amount of time, and it produced inaccurate results. My awkward English sentences proved to be a great embarrassment to me, especially when my American teachers had trouble understanding my writing. I had no confidence in my ability to write in English.

As a master's degree student, I gained more confidence through memorization of common English expressions and began to pay more attention to different genres of writing, English rhetoric, and L1 writing influence. Nevertheless, one terrible experience during this period made me desperate—one of my papers was rejected by a professor, and I had to rewrite the entire paper. Inappropriate practices from my L1 writing style are still implicitly or explicitly in my L2 writing. These difficulties have made me realize

that writing in English involves more than just the production of text. Now I realize that grammatically correct English sentences do not guarantee good writing. Writing has to make sense of the written text, and this requires logic, unity, coherence, and organization. More importantly, I have learned to consider writing contexts, including my purpose, my audience, my voice, and my position in my academic papers.

During my troubled time, I faced several transitions as a writer in my academic setting. Over time, I struggled to establish my own identity as a writer while finding a comfortable authoritative voice for English academic papers. The difficulties I faced centered on my own lack of confidence in my writing ability.

Not only had the transitions occurred, but also transformations came, shaping new identities for me. I struggled to find the appropriate voice to produce my best work for different audiences. When writing academic papers for professors, I used the vocabulary and terminology that they emphasized. I tried to keep an objective voice and tone throughout the papers. When writing emails or comments to my students, on the other hand, I strived to use a concise tone to represent me well as a teacher. As I changed my writing, I started to change myself to someone new. I was not a logical person by nature, and I did not like argument and critique. But English academic writing has required me to be critical, creative, reasonable, and logical. It was a new and refreshing experience for me to be another person. Nevertheless, my social status as a non-native English speaker (hereafter NNES) and my limited English fluency made me feel uncertain and powerless.

When I think of my transitions and transformations, the expression of "writing games" comes to me. According to Casanave, the biggest challenge for graduate students

is to learn the game of academic writing (2002, p. 139). Her description of academic writing as a "writing game" is easy to understand and has several connotations. Games are played by rules, conventions, and strategies, and evaluated by judges or referees. They can be played as individuals or in a team. Also, novice players require practice to become experts. Similarly, writing games consist of rule-based practices and can be done by an individual or group. Writers, like players, need to practice to be experts in their disciplines over time. Writing can be practiced by repetition, imitation, and observation. As people play games in front of an audience on stages or playgrounds, writers also present themselves in the presence of readers. However, such dramatization and performance in writing games can cause identity conflicts or the emergence of new, multiple identities.

My seven years of teaching ESL writing and reading at an ESL institute and three years of teaching writing to NES students in a college setting drew my interest to the field of second language writing. Teaching two different groups of students made me realize differences between such groups. It is not simply a matter of language proficiency, but literacy practices. My impression from NES students is that they love to write, although there are exceptions. Many of the students still have very positive attitudes toward developing writing skills and building individual voices in writing. I have met several NES students who believe themselves to be confident writers and are not afraid of expressing their own thoughts. On the other hand, NNES students seem to have little writing experience in their native countries and little confidence in expressing and sharing their ideas. They seem to distance themselves from being authoritative and confident when writing. A question grew out of these observations: How do ESL

students construct their writer identities in the U.S. academy—which requires authoritative writer identity—when they have little writing practice and low English language proficiency? From personal reflection on my own social identities and English writing experiences, I became aware of multiple identity reformations and strategy developments in interpersonal communication in spoken and written forms and became interested in learning about ESL students' construction of identity as writers in the academic society.

Pilot Study

I conducted a pilot study that showed writing and identity are closely related in student composition. The initial pilot study with a male Korean ESL student, Jaemin, raised an issue of power in terms of the presentation of self in his English writing courses and academic social context. He was an undergraduate student majoring in English with previous experiences of learning English in the Philippines. He was very interested in gaining additional practical knowledge in the English language, through such areas as jokes, grammar, and expressions.

In an interview, the following questions were addressed: personal background; Korean writing practices and English writing practices in Korea and the U.S.; and ideas about writing and being a writer, as well as one's own image as a writer when composing academic papers in English.

Having experienced two English composition classes, EN 101 College Writing and EN 202 Research Writing courses, Jaemin expressed his view that the meaning of good writing was to present deep thoughts and knowledge of topics. Good writers should influence their readers; otherwise, they were not good writers. He also believed that so-called academic papers written by students were not good enough and not worthy to be

read because those papers usually did not present profound knowledge or a strong argument and they were not astonishing or even influential to readers. His image of successful writers included bestselling authors and scholarly writers. Thus, he has distanced himself from that image and could not acknowledge himself to be a good writer. I believe his ideology might be influenced by his previous Korean epistemology, which does not encourage students to feel like writers. Similarly, in my own experience in Korea, I never thought of myself as a writer because status as a writer seemed to be too difficult to achieve; thus, the idea never even occurred to me.

Despite Jaemin's inability to imagine himself as a writer, he attempted to secure his identity in the social academic setting. Interestingly, to secure his social identity, he did not seek any writing help from his American classmates because he was afraid of revealing his lack of fluency in his English writing and did not want to feel inferior among his peers. His strategy was to write things in Korean first in order to get enough ideas, organize them, and then translate the ideas into English. He avoided word-forword translation as he was aware that it would tend to be awkward and unclear. Instead, he tried to collect English colloquial expressions as *prefabricated routines* as much as possible from conversations with NES classmates and then to use those expressions in his papers. This technique made his writing sound "native" and acceptable to American readers. The effort to imitate the native might be a common step in the development of writer identity by ESL writers.

My pilot study supports the idea that ESL writers are implicitly or explicitly engaged in the construction of their writer identities by asking help and developing their positive self images in the text and the community. However, in order to obtain a

balanced and more descriptive picture of the construction of Korean ESL writers' identities, I am studying six Korean participants and looking into multiple aspects of the factors that influence the construction of writer identity. I am conducting this study using the research questions that I present next.

Research Questions

This study attempts to extend our understanding of the construction of writer identities, particularly of Korean ESL students who have been categorized in past scholarship simply as Asians or basic writers. This study will uncover Korean ESL students' perceptions of academic writing, their strategies, and their literacy and social practices in developing their academic writer identities in the social context of higher education. The main goal of this study is to explore how Korean ESL students construct their identities as writers in the English academic discourse community and to examine their use of metadiscourse and Korean discourse in the development of an academic and authoritative writer identity in their English academic papers. My research questions are as follows:

- 1. How do Korean ESL students construct their identities as writers in the English academic discourse community based on their previous L1 writing practices and the current L2 writing practices?
- 2. How do Korean ESL students use metadiscourse in order to develop academic writer identity in their English papers in terms of the interrelations with the readers?
- 3. How do Korean ESL students use L1 Korean discourse in their L2 English academic writing? In other words, what are the L1 discourse features that Korean

students rely on in English academic papers? What traces of discourse remain in their L2 writing?

This study seeks to find out the Korean student writers' points of view by direct and indirect inquiry--by questioning writers, but also by probing and interpreting contexts in which they have written. Questions include the participants' personal and social self-images in writing contexts, their view of writing in L1 and L2, and social and literacy practices in order to bring a contextual picture of the individual construction of writer identity.

When people are producing texts, they are not only *doing writing*--presenting ideas in textual form--but they are also *being writers*--creating a variety of meanings in the writing context. Especially when people enter a new social context (e.g., higher education), they notice that certain styles and practices are identified or preferred, which are different from those they bring with them from the past (Casanave, 2002; Fox, 1994). I assume that many students, like myself, do not "get it" all at once. Therefore, the first research question seeks Koreans' construction of writer identities in the challenging academic contexts and situated cognitions by analyzing their L1 and L2 literacy practices.

In U.S. universities, students are expected to exhibit an academic and authoritative voice in their academic writing (Swales & Feak, 2004). Korean students face the problem of voice development as they are not equipped equally with U.S. students (Zamel, 1995). My second question will explore what linguistic resources they utilize to develop their identities as authoritative academic writers. When writing is viewed as a social activity (Canagarajah, 2000), writers are expected to engage in the social activity with linguistic features.

One way to understand how writers establish a certain attitude toward readers or content is to look at metadiscourse. The term *metadiscourse* is understood as a main feature of communication, referring to linguistic or rhetorical manifestation in text.

Hyland (2004a) explains metadiscourse as "an essential element of interaction because of its role in facilitating communication, supporting a writer's position and building a relationship with an audience" (p. 110) and has studied writer identity through linguistic features in texts from different disciplines. It is questionable whether ESL writers are aware of the importance of authoritative voice with the use of metadiscourse. If they are, what are the metadiscourse features used to achieve their authoritative voices in their texts? If not, do they resist it or create their own authoritative voice?

The third question will seek to identify the influences of L1 discourse in English academic writing. The state of being a bilingual writer consists of one language constantly influencing the other. Since Korean ESL students have somewhat mastered or acquired their L1 writing skills in Korea, it is assumed that L1 Korean discourses are affecting their L2 academic writings or vice versa. While some research (Friedlander, 1990; Mohan & Lo, 1985) has indicated that writers transfer writing abilities and strategies from their first to their second language, whether it is good or not, Byrnes (2002) stated that the L1 language influences need to be removed in order for writers to master L2 writing. In this situation, do ESL writers try to eliminate the influences of L1 discourse in L2 academic writing or not? How do they deal with the conflicts and make choices among L1 discourse resources in L2 academic writing? L1 and L2 discourse features will be explored through contrastive rhetoric and cultural views, and text

analysis will be used to find evidence of various aspects of discourse in their L2 English academic texts.

Significance of the Study

This study will be beneficial for the participants and for ESL writing educators.

One of my primary goals is to open a positive door for ESL writers and show how they construct their writer identities under the influences of social and academic factors.

Despite the fact that ESL writers struggle with writing, the students will be treated as powerful and active participants who develop their writer identity in the academic context. The findings of this study will contribute to an understanding of writer identity. This study will also empower Korean ESL writers by not branding them with negative images or giving up on their academic writing, but rather inviting them into the conversation to get new insights of the construction of writer identity. This study will provide more information on Korean ESL student writers and will be useful to ESL writing educators to understand Korean ESL students' identities as writers, their educational backgrounds, their epistemological beliefs, and their L1 and L2 writing practices.

Finally, this study will enhance our understanding of the ways ESL students acquire L2 writing and what influential factors are prominent (Hirvela & Belcher, 2001; Lantolf, 2000). In developing a theory of writing, Spolsky (1989) has developed factors of writing contexts, such as individual abilities and preferences, knowledge of language, the social context, and the writing process (as cited in Grabe, 2001). Beyond limited perspectives of the cognitive aspect of writing, Grabe and Kaplan (1996) stated that all the cognitive, social, and textual (linguistics) factors are needed in a theory of writing. Those factors from writing context will be explored from the interviews, their logs, and

their academic papers so that most influencing factors will be analyzed. I hope that this will contribute an alternative scaffold for an L2 theory of writing and bring us one step closer to an understanding of identity construction among ESL writers in academic context.

Summary

In research that compares the linguistic features of English written products by native and non-native English speakers (Hinkel, 2002; Silva, 1993), ESL students have been represented as less capable and more limited than their native counterparts. However, Ferris and Hedgcock (1998) have stated that ESL writers are not deficient but simply developing writers. ESL writing teachers need to have a clearer understanding of the unique natures of L2 writers. The construction of writer identity will be explored while Korean ESL participants are exposed to new academic contexts and experience diverse social, academic, and literacy practices. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to investigate the construction of Korean ESL writers' identities in three ways: interviews to determine their own images as writers through L1 and L2 writing practices, metadiscourse analysis to look at authoritative academic voices in academic papers, and discourse analysis to see the influences of other discourse, particularly Korean discourse, on English academic writing. This study will be significant because of micro to macrolevels of discourse analysis. In addition, it will help give a better understanding of Korean ESL writers. Finally, the findings will contribute to second language acquisition and second language writing teaching.

Chapter 2 will provide my theories in philosophy, linguistics, discourse analysis, and L2 research on which this dissertation is premised. I will present necessary

conceptions and a relevant literature review on the background of Korean students in terms of culture, language, and writing education, as well as English academic discourse, metadiscourse, and writer identity for understanding the relationship between writing and identity.

CHAPTER 2:

THEORY AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This study is designed to add to the body of knowledge on writer identity and how it is formed through language. I believe that discourse, language, and social practices are major factors in the construction of identity in a given context. Section I will explain the relationships among identity, language, discourse, and social practices. The theoretical bases for this conceptual view include the following: Philosophical Theory:

Poststructualism (Bourdieu, 1977; Weedon, 1997) and social constructionism (Vygotsky, 1978; Wertsch, 1991); Linguistic Theory (Halliday, 1994); and Discourse Theory (Gee, 1990). These theories are closely related to the contemporary discussion of language, discourse, and identity. Instead of explaining each theory, I have adopted the following statements, which represent the core ideas in this study: (a) Identity is not socially determined, but socially constructed; (b) Writer identities are multiple and socially constructed; and (c) Academic writing is a situated social practice.

In section II, I focus on writer identity by presenting examples of identities of ESL student writers and ESL professional writers. I discuss how their social, historical, and ethnic identities can shape their writer identities and what strategies they take in creating L2 writer identities in academic writing from previous L1 and L2 writing research.

Section III presents the cultural background of Korean students to examine how cultural discourse and literacy practices could shape their ideational, interpersonal, and textual identities. I review the background of Korean cultural communication codes and

literacy practices in L1 and L2 writing education in Korea, and finally I present a detailed discussion of Korean writing features that have been influenced by Confucian rhetoric.

Conceptual Overview of Identity and Writing

Identity and Discourse

When people are asked, "Who are you?" they may identify themselves by political, social, cultural, gender, linguistic, or national characteristics. According to social identity theory, people tend to identify themselves in relation to different social groups, categories, or stereotypes (Tajfel & Tuner, 1986). People understand the question of identity as "personhood," "an individual self," or "a personal feature" (e.g., introvert or extrovert) composed of different characteristics that are unique, individual, and private. This traditional humanistic approach views individuals in terms of their personalities, motivations, and distinctive characteristics based on Western philosophy. This approach has been dominant in understanding individuals in the field of second language acquisition as well. There is little doubt that individuals have their own unique characteristics distinguished from others. This understanding of identity seems to be limited, however, in responding to questions when individuals relate themselves to their sociocultural world. The relationship evolves across time and space because individual identity becomes incoherent and changeable due to world experiences (e.g., sociopolitical changes or socioeconomic factors).

Socially Constructed Identities

This study is premised on a notion of identity as multiple and socially constructed. My theoretical stance on identity is grounded in contemporary social philosophies, including postmodernism, feminist poststructuralism, and constructivist theory or social

constructionism. Postmodernists and poststructuralists argue that there is no static nature of rationality and knowledge. When Foucault discussed power and knowledge, social institutions, such as school and hospital hold subjective knowledge and keep power to keep the social systems that influence the nature and identity of people (Fillingham, 1994). Thus, identity is historically, socially, and culturally specific and partial, and it is not stable, but fluid and dynamic in various discourses, including class, gender, race, ethnicity, and nationality. People carry more than one identity because they possess a social identity, sociocultural identity, cultural identity, ethnic identity, and so forth. The example of a mechanical engineer, Mr. Kim, shows that an individual belongs to many different discourse systems and groups that require different roles and expectations. Mr. Kim is a member of at least five different discourse systems. They are the discourse systems of mechanical engineers; the Utilitarian discourse system; the Confucian discourse system; the generational discourse system; and the gender discourse system (Scollon & Scollon, 2001, p. 182).

In current society, people continually enter new discourse communities and encounter new social practices in which a new construction of identity is involved. For instance, when a Korean English teacher comes to study as a graduate student in the U.S., the teacher's identity becomes multiple by adding more social, cultural, and linguistic identities. He or she strives to position himself or herself with a powerful identity as an authoritative or experienced teacher, rather than a less powerful social identity as an NNES graduate student. At the same time, he or she may realize the multiple identities are influenced by his or her own political, social, linguistic and socioeconomic factors

because people's actions and desires are limited to their own resources and backgrounds (i.e., language, race, education, and gender) in reality.

At this point, I discuss Weedon's idea (1997) of social relation with a feminist view because this can apply to ESL students in educational institutions in the U.S., who can be considered as minorities in American society. Weedon, a feminist poststructuralist, discussed how social power is practiced and how the social relationships of gender, race, and class are transformed with a feminist point of view in social and institutional context by integrating language, experience, and social power in a theory of subjectivity. She defined *subjectivity* as "a site of disunity and conflict, and central to the process of political change and to preserving the status quo" (p. 21), and described it further as "the conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of the individual, her sense of herself and her ways of understanding her relation to the world" (p. 32).

Weedon depicted the individual as diverse, contradictory, dynamic, and changing over historical time and social space because people are exposed to a wide range of different societies that carry on discursive practices in economic, political, and social aspects. Therefore, subjectivity is constructed and socially produced through language, which is defined as "a site of disunity and conflict, and central to the process of political change and to preserving the status quo" (p. 21). The position of language is significant in identity formation because specific use of language helps construct the individual's subjectivity or possible modes of subjectivity. In writing, writers' subjectivity can be analyzed with their use of language, such as rhetoric and linguistic devices. The specific textual language will be discussed in *metadiscourse* part.

In addition to the concept of subjectivity and the function of language in identity formation, I also draw on a constructivist theory to emphasize the idea that identity is continually constructed. Human beings are viewed, not as active receivers, but as constructive agents who not only create things by building, shaping, and designing, but also create meanings by understanding, interpreting, responding, and planning in relation to many aspects of life through oral and written forms or tools. According to the view of social constructivists of identity, people are not set with predetermined identities (Spivey, 1997, p. 1). Their identities are continually being reconstructed as they interact with one another in a particular way in a certain situation. People continue to seek their relationships within social contexts or the world, and their views of themselves will change across time and space. In other words, people are not set with permanent labels because they are constructive agents who continue to construct their own meanings in social contexts. They choose to be members of certain social groups because they have desires for recognition, affiliation, and security.

Similar to the ideas from the theories mentioned above, social constructionism focuses on how people account for the world in which they live and challenge the existence of the positivist-empiricist concept of knowledge. Perspectives, beliefs, and conceptions, such as self, identity, or love are historically situated and contextualized as the result of individuals' various experiences and engagements across time. This idea may be applied specifically to Korean ESL students when they define themselves as writers in different writing contexts. They may stay with a solid conventional concept of writer, or they may interpret the term *writer* variously according to their own experiences.

Therefore, the first theoretical concept--identity is multiple and socially constructed--denies the concept that individuals have a unique, fixed, and coherent core, but understands identity or subjectivity as multiple, non-unitary, and dynamic. There seems to be no generic belief or knowledge that exists due to individuals' engagements and experiences in different discourse communities.

When multiple identities are formed in many different sites in which particular discourses are preferred, individuals re-identify themselves with different organizations. Once they categorize themselves as group members, they differentiate their in-group members from out-group members, seek to show in-group favoritism, and achieve the norms and positive self-esteem in the group.

At the same time, people may face an identity crisis, which is a "mismatch between the social contexts which have constructed their identities in the past and the new social contexts which they are entering" (Ivanič, 1998, p. 12). When entering a new social group, people realize that they do not have the same values and practices as others in the group, and that makes it hard to access the new target community. People recognize that unfamiliar mindset and symbolic power or material power (Bourdieu, 1977) exist, which causes them to take a political action. Seeing unequal distribution of power in a social group, people have a desire to obtain more of the power, so they struggle. Depending on how an individual is positioned in a group, he or she may set up a counter-discourse to resist the subject position or try to practice a preferred discourse to attain power for a better subject position.

When ESL students are positioned as ignorant or inferior, they struggle and take actions to put themselves in stronger subject positions. For example, in Norton's case

studies (2000), the immigrant, Martina, focused on her established subject position, a mother and a care-giver, rather than a helpless immigrant. This led her to speak English more and to gain a strong subject position. Eva used her own native language as a symbolic power, impressed her co-workers, and gained a wider social network.

Another concept of identity as non-unitary and contradictory can be illustrated by the female immigrants (Norton, 2000). Eva, a female immigrant to Canada, wanted to be treated equally with her co-workers, but at the same time, she wanted to be distinguished and respected by them for her difference. Katrina also showed her contradictory identities. She wanted her daughter to learn English while she thought she did not want to be destabilized by her daughter's English language skills, which affected their relationship.

ESL students might consider themselves as inferior or helpless non-legitimate speakers and writers, but over time their images of identity can be changed. That can lead them to more powerful subject positions, such as that of multicultural citizens or multilingual speakers, by gaining more access and seeing themselves positively (See Eva, in Norton, 2000). Successful ESL professionals including Canagarajah, Connor, Matsuda, and Shen in the U.S. are good examples. In the past their identities were centered on their status as minorities and non-legitimate writers; however, their achievements in symbolic power in language, social status, and professionalism have given them new identities having more power and confidence.

A person's identity is continually and socially constructed, changed, and reformed because identity is "a layer of events of participation and reification by which our experience and its social interpretation inform each other" (Wenger, 2002, p. 151).

Finally, I refer to Canagarajah's (2002) new realizations in understanding of the human subject that summarize what I have explained above:

The Self is shaped considerably by language and discourses. The self is composed of multiple subjectivities deriving from the heterogeneous codes, registers, and discourses that are found in society. These subjectivities enjoy unequal status and power, deriving differential positioning in socioeconomic terms. Because of these inequalities, there is conflict within and between subjects. In order to find coherence and empowerment, the subject has to negotiate these competing identities and subject positions. Therefore, selves are not immutable or innate - they are reconstructed and reconstituted in relation to changing discursive and material contexts. (p. 105)

Discourse Serving to Construct Identity

Since I discussed the characteristics of identity as socially constructed, there are some important questions to be answered. When people re-identify themselves with different communities, how do they construct their new identity? The term *discourse* is generally defined as aspects of language use and is used variously in different disciplines, such as linguistics and literacy. In a narrowed definition, it is related to the study of grammar and the relationships among sentences. However, in the broader functional use of language, discourse focuses on the language we use in social environments. As I explained it in chapter 1, discourse is related to the study of the whole system of communication. For example, a study of the language of a particular group of people, such as English professors, businessmen, or politicians, can help determine the *discourse system* of the group. Scollon and Scollon (2001) explained that a discourse system

consists of four elements: the forms of discourse, the socialization, the ideology, and the face systems.

I illustrate the four elements using the example of Ms. Liu, who, when she started working in an international corporation in Hong Kong, felt somewhat out of place.

Therefore, she learned the specific language (the forms of discourse) used in the company, which was available to her through training and formal and informal socialization. Over a period of time, she felt at ease with the culture by understanding the company's ideology, defined as "the worldview or governing philosophy of a group or a discourse system" (p. 108). Also, she learned how to develop attitudes and interpersonal relationships with the workers and the clients (face systems). Eventually, she felt accepted as a member of the company because she identified herself as a businesswoman by practicing the discourse system.

Equipping the discourse system is an essential factor in becoming a member of a community because it is the "mediating mechanism" that leads people to choose a particular identity (Ivanič, 1998, p. 17). Here I borrow Gee's (1990) definition of discourse to understand how discourse and identity are closely related:

A *Discourse* as a socially accepted association among ways of using language, of thinking, feeling, believing, valuing, and of acting that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or 'social network', or to signal (that one is playing) a socially meaningful 'role'. (p. 143)

He claimed that discourse is a site where identity is manifested as an "identity kit," which plays a particular social role that others would recognize; as ways of displaying

membership in a social group; and as clubs with rules distinguishing insiders and outsiders.

As Ms. Liu's case shows, identity can be equipped through social practices within the discourse system. Gee (1990) argued that "[d]iscourses are mastered through *acquisition*, not *learning*. That is, Discourses are not mastered by overt instruction, but by enculturation ('apprenticeship') into social practices through scaffolded and supported interaction with people who have already mastered the Discourse" (pp. 146-147). He emphasized that acquisition precedes learning, not through overt teaching but through apprenticeship and social practice in acquiring discourse.

The concept of situated theories of learning is important in order to understand how people master intellectual growth as part of discourse. Lave and Wenger (1991) considered intellectual growth as participation and "an integral and inseparable part of social practice" (p. 31). They emphasized the close relationship between learning and apprenticeship in mastering skills and discourse by characterizing learning as "legitimate peripheral participation" that is proposed as "engagement in social practice" (p. 35). In their notion of legitimate peripheral participation, community consists of members who variously engage in the practices of the community and this engagement is learning.

In the relation between identity and community of practice, Wenger (1997) shared the same view that I have in this study--identity is socially constructed--because he characterizes identity as "negotiated experience," "community membership," "learning trajectory," and "nexus of multimembership" (p. 149). He emphasized the importance of social practice as it is very "crucial to the success of [members'] enterprises" by equipping "all the implicit relations, tacit conventions, subtle cues, untold rules of thumb,

recognized intuitions, specific perceptions, well-tuned sensitivities, embodied understandings, underlying assumptions, and shared world views" (p. 47). The notion of practice refers not only to practical application of activities or a series of actions, but also to knowledge of theory and ideology. Learning is not a passive transference of knowledge from the more to the less competent, but a social achievement within a community that shares values, attitudes, and social engagements with the members (Vygotsky, 1978).

Participating in social practices means learning from skilled persons in the target community. Encounters with language teachers and professors through receiving comments, going to conferences, and having conversations occur in a "zone of proximal development" (ZPD) for ESL students, as proposed by Vygotsky. This means that people can achieve and internalize new skills with the help of experts and/or other mediational means, such as artifacts and language. Participating in culturally specific activities, like schooling, can reform people's mental systems and shape them as the members of the target community (Lantolf, 2000). A social constructivist, Vygotsky, claimed that acquisition and intellectual development were the result of social experience and interaction with others, which are inter/intramental encounters (Wertsch, 1991). His claim supports the idea that previous or present encounters, such as literacy practices of reading and writing or apprenticeship, can be significant factors in the construction of writer identity.

For ESL students, it is a matter of how they efficiently appropriate the language practices with others through legitimate peripheral participation. For that reason, learners' personal investments and availability in community practice are important in mastering

new discourse. Successful language learners not only participate in many language activities in the classroom, but also extend the realms of their community so that their language skills can be developed more quickly than others who have limited views of the target community and participate less in various language activities.

Writer Identity

Based on the poststructuralist perspective, people construct their multiple identities according to various social groups. This idea can be applied even to writers. Hence, students construct their identities as writers in different writing contexts. The sites can be text where they focus on the contents and the authorship, or physical places like a classroom where social interaction occurs with other writers/readers and tutors. Similar to the identity construction discussed above, I have developed the following assumptions of writer identity: Writer identity is multiple; writer identity is socially situated; writer identity is fluid and changing overtime.

We behave differently through our clothing and communication style, depending on the occasion. Similarly, writers adopt an appropriate identity with the use of appropriate vocabulary for the intended audience. Writers may even exaggerate, disguise, and distort their true selves. Since multiple writer identities can be created through various writing contexts, Roz Ivanič (1998) claimed a strong connection between writing and a writer's identity: "Writing is an act of identity in which people align themselves with socio-culturally shaped subject possibilities for self-hood, playing their part in reproducing or challenging dominant practices and discourses, and the values, beliefs and interests which they embody" (p. 32). When writing, people are conscious of the presentation of their values, their intentions, their desires, and their languages as a self-

representation. Bartholomae (1986) emphasized the ethos as academic writers who need to imagine. Entering a new academic discourse community is related to the formation of writer identity because newcomers need to take on the identity as members of the community.

The notion of writer identity is not simple, but complicated by its multiple aspects. Ivanič (1998) understood four interrelated aspects of writer identity: "autobiographical self," "discoursal self," "self as author," and "possibilities for self-hood." She suggested that the first three writer identities are labeled under the heading of "aspects of the identity of an actual writer writing a particular text" (p. 23). In the first aspect of writer identity, what a writer brings into his or her act of writing is "autobiographical self," which refers to the writer' self-history--the sense of the writer's roots that reflect who he or she is in text. It is historically constructed and shaped by the past experiences and literacy practices with which he or she has been familiar.

The second aspect, "discoursal self," is the self representation in text, which emerges from the text that a writer creates. It is "constructed through the discourse characteristics of a text that reflect values, beliefs and power relations in the social context in which they were written" (p. 25). This is a writer's voice that he or she conveys consciously or unconsciously in the text. I believe that the rhetorical term *ethos* is related to "autobiographical self" and "discoursal self" because ethos refers to a writer's credibility and morality, which the audience perceives, and it is a somewhat accurate reflection of a writer's characteristics, which will influence the writer's credibility (Cherry, 1988, p. 268).

The third aspect, "self as author," represents a sense of self-worth or a writer's voice in the sense of the writer's position, opinions, and beliefs that enable him or her to writer with authority, to establish an authorial presence in the text. In particular, the sense of authoritativeness is an important characteristic of a writers' discoursal self in academic writing. Authoritativeness in academic writing has been considered with the following questions: How do people establish authority for the content of their writing? To what extent do they present themselves or others as authoritative? (Ivanič, 1998, p. 27).

The fourth aspect is a more abstract notion of writer identity concerning the "socially available possibilities for self-hood" within sociocultural and institutional contexts and how they shape and constrain individual acts of writing (Ivanič, 1998, p. 28). A writer can construct the "discoursal self" and the "self as author" by choosing one type of possibility that is supported by particular sociocultural and institutional contexts where he or she is writing. A writer may struggle to choose one among many possibilities and eventually learn to use preferred language over time as he or she takes on a particular discoursal identity. For example, ESL writers are exposed to many "possibilities for selfhood," and eventually they work toward situating themselves in a particular discourse community by adopting appropriate and beneficial writer identities. Another rhetoric term, persona, seems to be similar to the concept of "socially available possibilities for self-hood." Persona refers to another self that authors create from themselves for the written context and is relevant to "[writers'] ability to portray the elements of the rhetorical situation to their advantages by fulfilling or creating a certain role (or roles) in the discourse community in which they are operating (Cherry, 1988, p. 265).

Writers variously construct their positions by being authoritative or taking a particular discoursal identity according to different writing situations. In constructing writers' positioning, an author positions himself or herself in other ways. Ivanic and Camps (2001) presented the three macrofunctions of language from Halliday (1994). They are "ideational positioning," "interpersonal positioning," and "textual positioning." Ideational positioning refers to different stances towards topics, values, and beliefs, as well as interests, or particular ideas that writers have. Interpersonal positioning refers to a writer's power relationship with the reader in terms of the sense of the writer's authority. It can show self-assurance and certainty. For example, writers position themselves in relation to the mode of communication--which can be illustrated by an "I write-like-I-speak, committed-to-plain-English" voice or a "reader-considerate" voice-through the use of textual features, such as length of sentences, semiotic modes, or markers of cohesion (pp. 28-29). Ivanič & Camps created a table that shows the interrelationship between the three types of positioning and linguistic realization in order to examine a writer's identity in texts. I have modified Ivanič & Camps's *Three* simultaneous types of subject positioning, in terms of classical rhetoric concepts (i.e., voice, audience awareness, and organization) in text. Table 1 is helpful to understand how writers position their identities in text with the use of discourse features. This table is very important to an understanding of my study. Based on Halliday's view of language, I have developed my three research questions. Analysis of a writer's language can show the different types of writer positioning in ideational, interpersonal, and textual aspects. In my study, the interviews, my participants' academic papers, and their logs will help me to analyze their identities as writers in different ways. Interview

will reveal Korean students' views of writing and writer in the academic setting.

Metadiscourse analysis of their papers will help to determine how they position themselves in relation to the reader in text. Finally, analyzing textual identity can show what discourse, rhetorical structure, and conventions they prefer to use among L1 and L2 discourse features.

Table 1

Three Types of Writer Identities in Discourse Realizations

Types of Writer Identity Ideational identity: Voice as culture, social, individual identity Cultural structures: world views, ways of approaching topics	In Relation To 1. Social identity: race, class, ethnicity, gender; 2. Ideology: beliefs, values, preferences.	Linguistic Features: Discourse Discourse analysis: Lexical and syntactic choice, first person reference, and evaluative lexis.
Interpersonal identity: Writer-audience role relations	 Power relationships between the writer and the reader; Ideology: beliefs, values, and preferences. 	Discourse analysis: Lexical and syntactic choice, first person reference, and evaluative lexis.
Textual identity: Form, organization, and rhetorical structure	 Views of how a written text should be constructed; Way writers construct their message. 	Discourse analysis: L1 and L2 Rhetoric conventions, discourse structure, organization; ways that introductions and essays are organized; questions of personal, academic voice, and use of sources

Note. Modified from 'Three simultaneous types of subject positioning' by Ivanič & Camps (2001)

Academic Discourse Community

When students write for academic purposes in their academic institutions, it is important to understand the conceptual terms of academic discourse community, academic writing, and academic writer identity. Generally, a community emphasizes what is shared. According to Durkheim (1953), society compels its members to think,

believe, and practice in their own way to keep the collective representation referring to traditions, customs, languages, conventions, and bodies of knowledge (as cited in Spivey, 1997, p. 20). Porter (1986) defined a discourse community as a group of people who have common topics for their discourse and common conventions for their discourse practices, with shared assumptions of appropriate and valid ways of discussing and making claims (as cited in Spivey, 1997, p. 22). Swales (1990) proposed six characteristics of a discourse community (see pp. 24-27). A discourse community sets common public goals and provides its participatory mechanisms, such as genres and lexis for intercommunication, information, and feedback exchange.

However, as Canagarajah (2002) pointed out, Swale's notions of a discourse community are generally described as a homogeneous group without considering the complexity of members being involved in other communities, the divergence of members, and change among or in members (p. 165). Paul Prior (1998) and Hyland (2004a) also argued that discourse communities are multiple, overlapping, shared, and hybrid. In reality, a discourse community has characteristics of diversity, flexibility, and mobility because knowledge making is achieved through engaging, participating, reshaping, and intermingling among other communities, persons, and institutions rather than through following abstract rules in the discourse community.

For example, a TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) discourse community, one of many academic disciplines in higher education in the U.S., currently consists of heterogeneous groups of people including native English speaker professors as well as non-native English speaker international students. The TESOL community has evolved recently along with the participation of diverse members and the

adoption of various research methods and philosophical theories. Thus, new group members from various backgrounds contribute their knowledge and create flexibility and diversity in the community because of their sociohistoric orientation, which they have acquired through previous life experiences. Despite the flexibility of the academic community, I believe that academics make use of the shared ways of doing and believing in order to legitimize and justify themselves.

One particular discourse community in which students engage is the academy. The academic discourse community brings a set of beliefs and actions that assist members to shape a certain identity. Many scholars from the discipline of English have discussed the notion of academic discourse (Bartholomae, 1986; Bizzell, 1998, 1999; Elbow, 1991; Harris, 1989, Zamel, 1993). Simply, traditional views of academic discourse about the world are "objective, impersonal, lacking emotions or prejudices, fair, knowledgeable, skeptical, argumentative, precise, [and] logical" (Bizzell, 1999, pp. 10-11), while academic discourse is distinguished by common practices including acknowledgement of sources, rigorous testing, [and] intellectual honesty (Hyland, 2004a). Academic writing, particularly in scientific fields, has been characterized as objective, written in the third person, and distanced from personal feelings and experiences. These attitudes have been the foundation of scholarly writing in many language-related fields (Casanave &Vandrick, 2003, p. 2). Consequently, general views of academic discourse tend to be objective and rational, as well as ideological, neutral, and impersonal.

However, this unitary view on academic discourse has been questioned because it seems to be oversimplified and reduced (Elbow, 1991; Harris, 1989; Hyland, 2002a).

Zamel (1993) argued that academic discourse is not static or monolithic. After he had

observed multiple discourses in the discipline of English, Elbow said that it was "crazy to talk about academic discourse as one thing" (p. 140). The problems of the simple notion of academic discourse are embedded in many factors, including differences between teachers' and students' expectations, approaches and intentions; complexity of learning contexts; and personal experiences. Each discipline has its own way of doing things in using language. The notion of objectivity does not seem to be clear because the rhetorical objectivity devices and markers are various. This is due to the fact that in some contexts, credibility and objectivity can be achieved with objective knowledge on personal experiences. Credibility and objectivity depend on the flexibility that each discipline allows, and individuals cannot be absolutely objective or separate themselves when they bring their own values, experiences, and knowledge based on their native culture (Elbow, 1991; Spellmeyer, 1989). In addition, Hyland (2004a) criticized the traditional view of academic writing and says, "Academic writing is not simply a passive expression of a world-view, it involves a deployment of rhetorical strategies that express a theory of experience in conventionally coherent ways" (p. 116).

Even though there are many critics of a narrow notion, academic discourse still emphasizes reasoning strategies, problem-solving skills, evidence, claims, assertions, positions, and arguments. These characteristics have been viewed as male, Eurocentric, and middle class oriented practices (Atkinson, 1997; Batholomae, 1986). I believe that these intellectual skills are needed in academic discourse because the most important goal of the academic discourse community is to construct academic knowledge (Hyland, 2004a). Knowledge in academic communities is understood not as universal or transparent truth, but as a social contract that members agree to uphold. The creation of

knowledge is produced from social interaction between individuals--with their beliefs, principles, and orientations--from cultural resources in the discipline.

New members through the communities of practice begin to acquire new discourses that will lead them to develop new ways of seeing the world and eventually help them to construct new subjectivities. For those who are rarely exposed to a culture where specific argumentation is emphasized, novices will develop a new way of understanding and doing things. This means the community shapes identity and emphasizes the specific use of language for making knowledge. Hence, I agree with Canagarajah's (2002) definition of a discourse community as an identity-shaping and knowledge-making community made through the use of language in social practices when he explained as follows:

Discourse communities provide identity and group solidarity to their members, while socializing them into community-based values and norms. . . . In this sense, all discourse communities . . . are knowledge-making communities. They are constantly reconstructing their understanding of the world through language and communication in the light of their changing experiences in social practice. (pp. 162-163)

Academic Writing

One of the most important social practices in the academy is writing. When social interactions occur in the academic community, text is a place where knowledge and writer's identities are constructed, negotiated, and created. Accordingly, academic writing is what academics do most, through publishing, communicating, and contributing their knowledge. Traditionally, writing has been viewed as a mental and cognitive

activity, with the image of an individual working in a quiet, isolated place. However, my study is not limited to this internal view of writing, but sees a text as historically and socially situated (Canagarajah, 2002, pp. 4-6).

The roles of academic writing in the academy are based on the understanding of writing as socially constructed. Academic writing is not just a tool of communication, but should be understood as a powerful social practice itself. Good writing may be a matter of the individual reader's taste, but good academic writing is evaluated in a shared professional context. As Faigley said, "Writing can be understood only from the perspective of a society rather than a single individual" (1986, p. 535). Academic writing is a collective social practice in the academic discourse community. When writing papers, academics are expected to produce knowledge, make claims, and reveal epistemic beliefs and institutional structures in ways recognized by the discourse community. That is, social interactions occur through academic writing in the academy.

Academic writing works as a gatekeeping mechanism. This means that having competence in academic writing in a shared professional academic context is beneficial. While Bartholomae (1986) expressed a concern for newcomers or basic writers who are not equipped with these academic writing skills, he argued the power of academic writing in his article, "Inventing the University," stating that students equipped with academic literacy ability can win. Students' previous literacy and social practices can play a huge role when they enter the academy, which requires them to demonstrate their abilities in academic and authoritative writing style. Literacy practice is a significant factor for students entering higher education. Starfield (2002) compared two ESL writers' identities in papers written for sociology class in South America. He explained that one

successful white student demonstrated his ability to use the linguistic features of authority while one black African student failed and struggled in the sociology class to become an authoritative writer in his paper. He found a significant (un)successful factor which was based on the cultural capital that has been unequally distributed in South Africa since 1960s. That is, academic success was influenced by racial and socioeconomic factors, which in turn affected their progress and position when entering the university.

Academic writing is not an easy social practice for students because it requires cognitive, social, and psychological resources (Sternglass, 1997). Cognitively, writers have to remember facts and analyze concepts. Though student writers have to show their academic and authoritative voice in their writing, they are not quite socially and psychologically positioned as authoritative writers, and they may not easily imagine themselves in the target community as academic writers. In addition to that, the most difficult metacognitive demand is the construction of new knowledge, which requires high intellectual literacy skills (Li, 2006). Hyland (2004a) explained that academic writers engage in the following writing practices while constructing knowledge (p. 12):

- · Establishing the novelty of one's position
- · Making a suitable level of claim
- · Acknowledging prior work and situating claims in a disciplinary contest
- · Offering warrants for one's view based on community-specific arguments and procedures
- · Demonstrating an appropriate disciplinary ethos and willingness to negotiate with peers

Academic writing is the medium of social (academic) interaction in the academy. When constructing knowledge, writers primarily negotiate their meaning and agreement with the readers. Not only cognitive factors but also social and affective factors are necessary (Spivey, 1997). Writing is a social engagement between writers and readers, so writers use strategies on an interpersonal level with discourse knowledge and in a power relationship. In order to achieve their intentions, writers carefully make textual choices to deliver their ideas and positions explicitly or implicitly through the text. In this case, academic writing requires social interaction with rhetorical choices. Writers act as members of the group and communicate to their colleagues "in recognisable discursive spaces in recognisably acceptable ways, shaping their actions to the presumed understandings and needs of their readers" (Hyland, 2004a, p. xi). It means writers ought to use the institutionally populated rhetorical choices that reflect the ideology and represent preferred disciplinary discourse. Hyland analyzed the linguistic and rhetorical conventions from different disciplines and argued the importance of appropriate textual practice in social interaction. Other, earlier studies of textual features in academic texts include discourse markers (Schiffirn, 1980), syntactic and lexical features (Swales, 1990), first pronouns (Tang & John, 1999), modal verbs (Coates, 1983), and hedges (Huebler, 1983).

In academic writing, a writer's sense of authorship is critical. Authorship can be realized through language choices. Bourdieu (1991) explained that the language of authority is realized through the following resources: rhetorical devices, genres, legitimate styles, authoritative formulations, and good usage. For example, using citations demonstrates that writers rely on contextual knowledge. Use of reporting verbs

also reflects writers' acknowledgement of community-based preferences. The following writing conventions are common features in academic writing: the use of reporting verbs, the idea of "entering the conversation," a focus on the issues of authority and authorship, a focus on paraphrasing, and the idea of novelty or designing to be new (Ivanič, 1998, p. 89).

Recently, there has been growing recognition of the use of I for the negotiation of identity in academic writing. An impersonal notion of writer identity in academic writing is not quite fixed. Academic writer identity emphasizes powerful authorial presence by using I as the originator rather than the guide. Hyland (2002b) and Tang and John (1999) found that personal pronouns are used to promote the impression of authorship, especially in the humanities and social sciences in contrast to the hard sciences and engineering.

In making a claim, one of the common linguistic devices in an academic text is "strategic vagueness" to avoid making a commitment to the true value of propositions and to defend certainty of their results and arguments (Channel, 1994; Ventrola & Mauranen, 1996). The social function of vague language is to soften expressions and assist speakers or writers not to appear directly authoritative or assertive (Huebler, 1983). Vague language is an indication that marks in-group membership and an assumed shared knowledge used in a discourse community.

Metadiscourse

As discussed above, linguistic markers, such as *I* and vague language, become strategic language in academic writing. In order to understand the linguistic devices more clearly, I am introducing the term *metadiscourse* for my study and the second

research question. Metadiscourse has been used in research over 20 years and characterized with linguistic and rhetorical sensitivity in order to construct a particular interpersonal relationship with readers to support writers' positions. Starfield (2004) emphasized the importance of metadiscursive or metatextual markers and said, "Metadiscourse is central to writers' representations of themselves and to the organization and presentation of their arguments in their texts" (p. 153). Examples of the phrases used are "my research concerns," "this section attempts to challenge," and "considerable attention has been paid to" (Starfield, p. 153). I believe that metadiscourse is a suitable linguistic and rhetorical analytic tool in understanding academic writer identity in relation to readers.

Generally, it is defined as "discourse about discourse" (Vande Kopple, 1985, p. 83) and due to a lack of theorization, several researchers have acknowledged its vagueness, attempted to clarify its definitions and functions, and created different models in their own research (Burneikaite, 2008; Crismore & Farnsworth, 1990; Hyland, 2004a, 2005a; Mauranen, 1993; Nash, 1992; Swales, 1990).

Metadiscourse is a term that contains heterogeneous boundaries but has diverse functional categories (Ädel, 2006). Metadiscourse is distinguished from propositional information. Several scholars have insisted on a clear distinction between metadiscourse and propositional discourse (Ädel, 2006; Crismore, Markkanenm, & Steffense, 1993; Halliday, 1994; Vande Kopple, 1985) and defined the former as "writing about writing, whatever does not refer to the subject matter being addressed" (William, 1985, as cited in Crismore & Farnsworth, p. 119), and "an author's overt or nonovert presence in the discourse in order to direct rather than to inform readers" (Crismore & Farnsworth, 1990,

p. 119), or "writing about the evolving text rather than referring to the subject matter" (Swales, 2004, p. 121). However, Hyland and Tse (2004) acknowledged difficulty in separating propositional content and metadiscourse and said, "It is unwise to push this distinction too far" (p. 160). It should be noted that both propositional material and metadiscourse may occur together at the same time in understanding writers' involvement in texts to build authoritative relationships with readers and content knowledge.

Metadiscourse is writers' presence in the text to direct the organization of the text and show their attitude toward propositional content (Hyland 2005a). Even though different models of metadiscourse and various terms were created by several researchers (Ädel, 2006; Mauranen, 1993; Nida, 2008), the most accepted frameworks of metadiscourse usually contain two main categories: textual and interpersonal (Crismore et al., 1993; Hyland, 2004a; Vande Kopple, 1985). On the one hand, textual metadiscourse is used to guide readers to follow texts logically and show writers' predictions of readers' intertextual challenges. It helps writers to build their logical relationships between ideas so that their ideational functions can be easily realized with textual metadiscourse. It is advantageous for readers to predict what will be coming in texts (Dafouz-Milne, 2008). For example, connectors, frame markers, endophoric markers, and evidentials are included in textual metadiscourse.

On the other hand, interpersonal metadiscourse helps writers to express their attitudes toward the propositions and bring an interpersonal relationship in which writers treat their readers. Writers can express their ideas passionately or softly. Being explicit in text helps readers to understand writers' stance rather than remain confused. Hedges,

boosters, attitude markers, and reader/writer markers belong to interpersonal metadiscourse. Finally, metadiscourse allows writers to show their "personality, credibility, considerateness of the reader, and relationship to the subject matter and to readers" (Crismore et al., 1993, p. 40). Writers' use of metadiscourse can reveal writers' abilities to interact with readers, show textual experiences, and control content knowledge and readers because metadiscourse provides writers with an armory of rhetorical appeals to achieve successful communication (Hyland, 2005a, p. 41).

Overall, the term *metadiscourse*, defined as "the cover term for the self-reflective expressions used to negotiate interactional meanings in a text, assisting the writer (or speaker) to express a viewpoint and engage with readers as members of a particular community" (Hyland, 2005a, p. 37), is an essential element. In other words, metadiscourse in writing helps writers utilize language effectively for their authoritativeness and their communicative purposes when claiming, denying, and synthesizing ideas throughout the paper. In chapter 3, a model of metadiscourse along with subcategories, functions, and linguistic examples will be presented to explain how metadiscourse corpus analysis will be conducted for the second research question.

In summary, section I has explained the relationship among identity, language, and discourse in order to understand the notions that identity is socially constructed and that academic writing is a situated social practice. The role of discourse community, academic writing, and the importance of a choice of linguistic markers related to writer identities were also discussed.

ESL Writers' Identities in Research

In section II, I present findings from prior research about ESL writers' reflections upon writing experiences in the academic community and the identities in their L2 papers, as well as their strategies.

Professional Immigrant Bilingual Writers' Identities

Even though bilingual writers (mostly immigrants) are not language educators or scholars, it is helpful to look at their reflections on their published work, autobiographical narratives, and interviews (Courtivron, 2003; Kellman, 2003; Kouritzin, 1999; Watkins-Goffman, 2001). Immigrant bilingual writers have provided insights on learning language and understanding the relationship among language, identity, and their positioning when publishing novels, poems, and essays in the U.S. Although bilingual, bicultural, or translingual writers have more or less noticeably been given attention in the U.S., they have become significant resources for ESL learners and ESL educators. Some bilingual writers began to learn L2 language after they were confronted with poverty and forced to face challenges and pain; those difficulties have made their work very worthwhile to read. Some masterpieces in American literature written by bilingual writers are Hoffman's *Lost in Translation* (1989), Chang Rae Lee's *Native Speaker* (1995), Rodriguez's *Hunger of Memory* (1982), and Kaplan's *Lessons in French* (1993).

Courtivron (2003) discussed the experiences and insights of multilingual writers (e.g., Anita Desai, Eva Hoffman, and Sylvia Molly) as they were publishing memoirs, autobiographical poems, personal essays, and critical and reflective works. First of all, the writers described how they faced uncomfortable and unsatisfied feelings by living in a bicultural world, using the following expressions: "Anxiety about fragmentation," "the

search for existential coherence," "lifelong struggle," "painful renegotiated process," "painful apprenticeship," "duality," "dislocation," "disconnection," "uncertainty," "displacement," "never easy, never painless," and "betray" (pp. 4-6). Sylvia Molly characterized the work of bilingual writers as "of need always altered, never 'disaltered;' always thirsty; always wanting, never satisfied" (as cited in Courtivron, p. 74).

Secondly, the writers emphasize the influence of their native language and take advantage of it. Eva Hoffman said that "the kind of relationship one develops with an acquired language is deeply influenced by the kind of bond one had with one's mother or father tongue and, by extension, with all the intimacies and intimate sensations of early life (as cited in Courtivron, 2003, pp. 51-52). In her memoir, Hoffman repressed the use of her native language, Polish, but 20 years later she carefully let it out while maintaining her use of English. She learned that using both Polish and English was a source of pleasure for her. Successful writers do not just discard one identity or the other, but use them flexibly by moving back and forth without losing the native language that helps support them emotionally. When starting a new piece, Molloy (2003) relied on the other language that would not be written in the piece because it made her feel comfortable to enter the writing she initially feared. Holding two language identities allows bilingual writers more chances to be successful academically, socially, and professionally (Watkins-Goffman, 2001).

Among bilingual writers, the fundamental problem concerns "issues of identity, of existential anguish, of difficult choices, and of the tortured search for self and place" (Courtivron, 2003, p. 2). Faced with particular difficulties, such as war, immigration, and living with two languages, many of them have felt they were exiles experiencing

uncertainty, displacement, and fragmented identities. They transferred their deep sense of self in a new language. Through writing, they confessed that they could find the self and a place. Furthermore, bilingual writers have made a creative choice between two languages and developed a personal style in order to question belonging, home, and community in the process of finding self. As Chiellino says, "Difference is the source of creativity which is lost as soon as the boundary between the familiar and the foreign is blurred" (as cited in Kramsch & Lam, 1999, p.64).

Bilingual writers eventually receive the blessing of emotional and literacy enrichment and celebrate their unique experiences, transformations, adjustments, and reconciliations. For some this may take a lifetime, and for others it will never be complete. Writing is a journey of finding self as well as a place for comforting self. Although writing in a non-native language is usually after a painful apprenticeship, bilingual writers develop and control the multiple possibilities politically, socially, and economically by reinventing and reestablishing themselves to be part of a new context.

ESL Student Writers' Identities

I present the ESL student writers' experiences, the strategies they take up, and the thoughts they convey about the construction of writer identity in the academic community as reflected in previous L2 composition studies. Studies relevant to ESL writers' identities and their experiences have been growing (Abasi, Akbari, & Graves, 2006; Canagarajah, 2003; Casanave, 2002; Fox, 1994; Hirvela & Belcher, 2001; Ivanič & Camps, 2001; Jarratt, Losh, & Puente, 2006; Kramsch & Lam, 1999; Lu, 1987; Shen, 1989; Starfield, 2002), while studies of L1 student writers' identities and writing development in the academy have been well documented (Brooke, 1991; Carroll, 2002;

Hesford, 1997; Herrington & Curtis, 2000; Hollander, 2005; Jensen, 2002; Morgan, 1997; Spack, 1997a; Sternglass, 1997). Examining research on the writers' narratives, experiences, and strategies in the academic community reveals various themes in the construction of writer identity.

First, there are several factors that influence the construction of writer identity and the development of writing. The main concern among ESL writers is language proficiency, including grammar and vocabulary (Yang, 2006). Even though their language proficiency improves after a period of study, their L2 proficiency still hinders their confidence in the construction of their writer identity.

The L1 discourse and identities with which they are familiar are different from the ones required in their disciplines (Cadman, 1997). In particular, when Asian students face Western epistemological assumptions, they have difficulties with reasoning, authoritativeness, logic, and other areas (Ramanathan & Atkinson, 1999). ESL students may not understand the practices of reasoning and problem solving that are embedded in social practice within their disciplines because they are not taught to do so in their native country (Currie, 1998).

The connection between cultural identity and writer identity is strong. The previous literacy practices of ESL students, which are based on their native culture, may deter them from imagining authoritative writer identity. Even though they are equipped with rhetorical conventions in their disciplines, they are not confident enough to be authoritative in their writing (Hyland, 2002b). With the example of the first person pronoun *I*, ESL students have a sensitive attitude in using the authorial toward its connotation of authority, subjectivity, and personal responsibility in claiming and arguing

in their writing. According to social practice in Asia, the culture values "strong traditions of communicating indirectly and holistically, learning by absorption, valuing the wisdom of the past, and downplaying the individual in favor of the group" (Fox, 1994, p. xiii). Therefore, they carry a weak sense of the individual voice and authoritative writer identity that are expected in the English academic discourse.

ESL students are not intensively taught the academic writing conventions in their countries (Scollon, 1999), as writing is not considered an important subject, or their L1 academic conventions are different from English ones. Hyland (2002b) found that ESL students from Hong Kong did not feel comfortable in using first person pronouns because they were taught that they were not appropriate in academic writing. As I have personally observed, ESL students are taught simple conventions of English academic writing, such as avoiding the use of first person pronouns and active voice verbs rather than the passive voice. They are not aware of flexibility, the active view, and the power of personal voice in academic writing, as opposed to Hyland's idea that "academic writing is not passive expression of a world-view, it involves a deployment of rhetorical strategies that express a theory of experience in conventionally coherent ways" (2004a, p. 116).

Second, despite the challenges and difficulties ESL writers face, they construct their writer identity in their academic papers with lexical, syntactic, and rhetorical choices (Ivanič & Camps, 2001). Previous ESL writing research on conflicting identities in experiencing L2 writing supports manifestation of transitions and transformations in the construction of writer identity. While struggling with unfamiliar discourses, ESL student writers realize that they face transitional phases in which they can transform

themselves by creating new or alternative identities to fit into the target community as well as in their L2 writing. Several studies clearly provide the points of struggle in creating a new writer identity. For example, Lu (1987) described her confusion in reading and writing between two worlds as she defined English as the language of the Bourgeois, and Standard Chinese as the language of the Working Class, and shared her struggles from opposing personae between English and Chinese discourses. Writing became a terrible chore. She was very conscious in choosing words and using them because the voice of her home discourse and the voice of her school discourse interfered with each other and troubled her by contradicting what her parents and teachers taught and expected of her. Her confession of the two conflicting identities in L1 and L2 literacy prompted me to realize how identity can be the most important factor for ESL writers.

Shen's (1989) narrative accounts of Chinese and English writing experience explained that he had to modify both ideological and logical identities in L1 and L2 writing to position himself appropriately for writing in academic environments. That is, since his Chinese cultural background had shaped his approach to writing in Chinese, he had to abandon the humble, timid, modest Chinese self and ideology of collectivism and create a confident, aggressive, and assertive English self with an ideology of individualism ("Be yourself") to succeed in English composition in the U.S. For him, writing in English was about learning the values of Anglo-American ideology and reprogramming his writer identity in his L2. He stated explicitly that writing was about acquiring an appropriate identity:

Looking back, I realize that the process of learning to write in English is in fact a process of creating and defining a new identity and balancing it with the old identity. The process of learning English composition would have been easier if I had realized this earlier and consciously sought to compare the two different identities required by the two writing systems from two different cultures. (p. 466)

As a final note, he stated, "Writing is not an isolated activity in class, but a social and cultural experience" (p. 461). Li (1996) agreed with Shen's L1/L2 writing experience, calling it "a process of acculturation" (p. 127).

In his 3-year longitudinal study, Spack (1997a) observed a Japanese student named Yuko, who struggled at first with differences between Japanese and English rhetoric, but finally found out that she could visualize herself with a new writing identity through academic literacy practices in English.

A third theme in the construction of writer identity is that ESL students develop strategies in creating new writer identities in text while they negotiate between various discourses available to them. Sometimes this action reflects a power relationship among discourses and the student's choice of powerful discourse or resistance against dominant discourse. I summarize Canagarajah's taxonomy of strategies that ESL writers use in negotiating identities when writing in English (2003, pp. 271-285) and include more examples or sources in parenthetical notes, as follows:

1. Avoidance: When facing conflicting identities, discourses, roles, and voices, writers do not negotiate or engage in any of the conflicting discourses between native discourses and academic discourses, nor do they create a critical role.

- 2. Accommodation: Writers favor more dominant discourse and avoid adopting the other. (see Ulla Connor, 1999)
- 3. Opposition/Resistance: Writers directly resist the established academic discourse but adopt a voice shaped by the vernacular discourses (i.e., native religious, ethnic, linguistic, and cultural background) and claim the role against the dominant discourses without creating a new alternate role.
- 4. Transposition: Writers construct a new subjectivity and voice that are detached from both discourses. Writers use diverse or hybrid texts in order to "infuse [their] desired oppositional discourse into the established conventions of both communities" (p. 278). That is, writers develop an alternative voice or "textual identities of the third kind" (Kramsch & Lam, 1999, p. 71) so that writers make a critical adjustment for different communities (see X. M. Li, 1999).
- 5. Appropriation: Writers take over dominant discourses (i.e., academic writing conventions) as textual appropriation while bringing their preferred values to create a critical voice.

One single strategy may not guarantee students' success in L2 writing, and their "voice has to be truly 'negotiated' in relation to the ideological, institutional, linguistic, and rhetorical contexts of communications" (Canagarajah, 2003, p. 286). In order to understand the success as ESL writers, studying professional scholarly ESL writers would be helpful in finding how they have developed their own strategies and what sociopolitical circumstances they were exposed to and how they have dealt with it.

ESL Scholarly Writers' Identities

Analyzing scholarly ESL writers is helpful in understanding their construction of writer identity in the academic community by overcoming challenges and developing their strategies. The construction of writer identities of several ESL scholarly writers, such as Connor, Kubota, Li, and Oliver, will be explored (Belcher & Connor, 2001; Braine, 1999; Canagarajah, 2003).

First, native Chinese scholar in ESL composition, Xian Li (1999), brought several insightful aspects that NNES writers and scholarly writers face: constant wrestling within conflicting discourses and incompatible positions, and linguistic disadvantages. She used to borrow Chinese idea under Mao Tse-tung thought and kept the exact phrases in Chinese writing. On the other hand, against her Chinese influence, she had to "push and knock" for words and bring her unique style, tone, accent, and perspective in writing in English. Li expressed two conflicting positions between two worlds when writing in English:

I have to deal with the conflicting urges within me, between seeing myself as a writer and a language learner, to write both creatively and idiomatically, and to listen to both my own voice and the tenor and tone of the new language I am learning. (p. 50)

Due to being an NNES speaker and committing numbers of grammatical errors,
Li feared claiming authority over the language. When critics failed to consider her book
a scholarly publication, she protested by claiming that it was published by a scholarly
press and was supported by several professors in the writing community. Her work
turned out to be of great value to English education, and she was finally promoted to an

associate professorship in an American university. As an ESL graduate student, she had struggled with language obstacles but learned how to write in English by learning originality, individuality, spontaneity, honesty, rationalism, and an aversion to sentimentality and didacticism. She made a great effort to communicate to the academic community with her own strong will and encouragement from the members.

Another ESL scholar, Ulla Connor (1999), shared her literacy autobiography beginning with her experiences as a master's student of English language and literature at the University of Helsinki, Finland, and English literature at the University of Florida. She advanced from a doctoral student to an ESL teacher to a professor publishing articles. Her awareness of the different rhetorical patterns of American English and Finnish (see her book, *Contrastive Rhetoric*, 1996) made her work hard in developing her own writing style and her writer identity. Connor confessed that she became Americanized as she was concerned with American readers' expectations and American English rhetoric. She adopted a voice and identity preferred by American discourse and restrained her native discourse. She moved from her reserved and restrained Finnish writing style to a more aggressive and authoritative American writing style due to the power of discourse. She now advises ESL students that writing requires discipline, creativity, audience expectation, and practice, and that the efforts of sharing and collaborating in writing with mentors and professors will help writing become more enjoyable.

Ryuko Kubota's narrative (2001) explained how her early L1 literacy practice at home and in school in Japan with various types of writing and reading activities influenced her academic work in English, in which she was late in developing advanced proficiency. She believed that L1 literacy became a foundation for her acquisition of L2

literacy. However, she could not develop her advanced literacy skills in English. Once she was exposed to higher education and publishing experience, she realized different expectations of academic writing: logical writing style, politeness strategies, and consideration of readers. Kubota's development of writer identity has been shaped by her devotion to learning writing in English and by help from proofreaders.

Similar to Kubota, Sasaki (2001) and Liu (2001) indicated that their L1 literacy experiences in childhood were a huge influence on being ESL scholars. They both were raised in a rich literacy-learning environment in their home countries, a fact that prompted their interest in language learning. Based on his personal experience, Liu brought attention to the closeness between L2 identity and L2 writing identity. He had an embarrassing experience when he was a doctoral student. Liu was placed in an ESL composition course despite his 10 years of English teaching experience. Because of this humiliating situation, he felt sad and disappointed and his L2 identity negatively influenced his L2 writer identity in general. In order to gain a good L2 identity, he worked hard to establish a better L2 writer identity with L2 writing experiences (i.e., motivation, efforts, and help from peers) and confessed that "the L2 writing experience and the L2 social identity co-exist and they reinforce each other" (p. 130).

ESL scholars admit there are many disadvantages in being ESL (NNES) writers publishing in English (see Flowerdew, 2005). They take a humble attitude toward learning English as a life-long project while they are concerned by their weakness in language proficiency and the unnatural sound of writing in English with a shadow of their native language. However, they have developed strategies that help them to possess a professional scholar L2 writer identity. I present the characteristics of effective writers

based on the findings from ESL scholarly writers' discussions on their strategies and Casanave's (2002) findings of the strategies that ESL scholarly writers employ when publishing (p. 181):

- 1. Effective writers know how to position themselves strategically, related to their fields and their readers (Li, 1999).
- 2. Effective writers know how to position their work within a field, particularly in the introductions in their articles (Swales, 1990).
- 3. Effective writers know how to use metadiscourse in order to employ politeness strategies when claiming their ideas in ways that are not offensive to their readers (Hyland, 2004a; Kubota, 2001).
- 4. Effective writers know how to use other sources as citations to enhance their writing (Abasi et al, 2006).
- 5. Effective writers know how to join academic conversations while keeping their own distinctive voice, style, and accent against convention (Li, 1999).
- 6. Effective writers know how to interact in the linguistic, social, political, and local nature of the writing game (Casanave, 2002; Casanave & Vandrick, 2003).
- 7. Effective writers understand the social and political nature of interaction with reviewers, editors, and coauthors and the need for responding, negotiating, and revising multiple times (Flowerdew, 2005).
- 8. Effective writers use resources from both L1 and L2 discourses and employ them tactically in text (Canagarajah, 2003).
- 9. Effective writers are aware of the power of the dominant English discourse and consider the expectations from the target discourse community (Kubota, 2001; Liu, 2001).

- 10. Effective writers utilize help available and appreciate help from proofreaders, editors, or peers' comments (Kubota, 2001; Liu, 2001; Sasaki, 2001).
- 11. Effective writers make tremendous efforts to be insiders in the U.S. academy and to be confident in teaching and publishing (Connor, 1999; Liu, 2001).

Korean ESL Writers' Identities

There is no single research focusing on only Korean ESL writer identities, but a few Korean ESL students have participated in case studies related to writer identity in second language writing research (Abasi et al., 2006; Kim, Baba, & Cumming, 2006).

Kim, Baba, and Cuming (2006) conducted a case study with three East Asian students (two Japanese and one Korean) over a 3-year period and focused on the four aspects of writer identity (see Ivanič, 1998) in order to see the relationship among goals, motivations, and identities in the academic community. In terms of an "autobiographical self," a Korean ESL writer, Jina, expressed her discomfort and dissatisfaction with her writing in English because of her lack of English proficiency. Her positions as a writer were various, based on the writing context--the topic and the discipline. In the analysis of "discoursal self" and "self as author," her tone was evaluative on the topic of slavery and its economic system. She relied, however, on domain-specific lexical phrases and a variety of mathematical formulas and calculations in her writing for economics courses while her expression of evaluations disappeared in her writing in the discipline. Jina tried to adhere to the academic conventions, which require logic and objectivity, in her major because she believed herself to be successful in college, and such success would secure her future. This reflects her cultural assumption of the power of education in Korea. Similar to other Koreans, she held the belief that self-realization in success for her family

can be achieved from her academic success by following the academic expectations and conventions. In terms of her "possibilities for self-hood," she wanted to realize herself comfortably in both audiences with two languages. In order to satisfy both Korean and Canadian readers as well as herself, she utilized websites where she could be free from academic writing, and she expressed her emotion and self actualization in L1 and L2 writing.

In Kim, Baba, and Cumming's study (2006), the experienced Korean ESL writer, Soo-Sang, in the second year of her Ph.D. in counseling, followed the privileged discourse in the construction of academic writer identity. Her awareness of the power relation between her professors and herself led Soo-Sang to align herself with the professors' perspectives and interests because those ideas are favored by the professors and the action affects her grades. She believed that using many references could reveal her background knowledge of the topic and could impress her professors. Soo-Sang adopted the strategy of accommodation by using many citations to show her intertextual knowledge, which makes her closer to being a member of the academy.

In conclusion, the discussion of the three groups of writers (i.e., bilingual writers publishing literature, ESL student writers, and professional ESL scholarly writers) raises common issues. The common problems among the three groups are (a) challenges from the weakness of their English language proficiency, which influences their writer and social identities, (b) unsettled choices between two languages, and (c) a painful lifelong experience of learning writing. However, they naturally become aware of the dominant discourse that works better for their target audience, adjust their strategies, and get help from others. The more they devote their efforts to writing, the more confident they

become as writers. Other social, linguistic, historical, and literacy experiences in L1 can also be positive factors in the construction of writer identity. Among professional writers, they develop their L2 writing skills and writer identity simultaneously on the personal, interpersonal, and institutional levels (Minick, Stone, & Forman, 1993).

Background of Korean ESL Writers

Section III focuses on research aimed at understanding Korean ESL students and writing. Therefore, educational background, writing instruction in Korea, Korean discourse in written and spoken language, and characteristics of Korean ESL writers' writings will be presented. The background of culture, communication style, rhetoric, and education in Korea is important in understanding the Korean ESL participants in this study. This literature review of Korean culture and the discourse systems may explain their preferred social and literacy practices throughout their history and some possible influential factors in the construction of their writer identity.

First, in order to understand characteristics of interpersonal communication in Korea, I discuss Korean culture and communication style based on Confucianism.

Second, literacy education that includes Korean writing and English writing education in Korean is explained to understand what educational background they have in Korea.

Finally, I explore the development and characteristics of East Asian rhetoric as part of Korean rhetoric and textual features in Korean ESL writing. This part provides background information that helps us understand what ideational, interpersonal, and textual aspects are prevalent in Korea in terms of the construction of identity.

Confucian Influence in Korean Culture

Korean Cultural Codes as East Asian Culture

Korea is one of the oldest nations in the world, with the first kingdom dating back to 2333 B.C. In order to discuss Korean culture and history, the discussion must start with Confucianism, although there was a time in which Buddhists had influenced the culture. Confucianism is so important because it was adopted from China as a combination of culture and religion and a philosophy of education in Korea. Confucianism is the philosophical foundation of Chinese collectivism and was created and developed by Confucius (551-479 B.C.). Because of the great influence of Confucianism, it became the official ideology and ethical code, which influenced education and literacy as well as interpersonal communication in Korea (Taylor & Taylor, 1995).

As Confucianism dominated the social, political and educational system during the fourteenth to nineteenth century, it stressed the cultivation of ethos, harmony, social hierarchism, and indirectness. Sohn (1983) characterized the traditional society's values in Korea with five value dimensions. They are collectivism, hierarchism, indirectness, formalism, and emotionalism; these are in contrast to the American values of individualism, egalitarianism, confrontation, pragmatism, and rationalism. The impact of Confucianism on interpersonal relationships is great in verbal communication.

Collectivism, hierarchism, and formalism are realized in a huge collection of lexical terms, honorific words, forms of address and reference terms, speech styles, and emotion-related words of love, affection, sentiment, and sympathy. S. H. Kim (2003) characterized Korean communication codes with the following key terms: thrift on words,

silence and smiling, *nunchi* (sense of eye), *chemyon* (face-saving), in-group networking, *kongson* (respect others and humble thyself), and *euiri*.

First, a saying, "Silence is gold, but eloquence is silver," represents a silent value of communication in Korean culture while Americans value frankness and outspokenness. Many Koreans consider what and how to say before speaking and think about other's feelings and moods related to social order (i.e., age, social status, gender, etc). Expressive verbalization is not encouraged. According to Confucianism, suppression of emotion is admonished, and human passions (e.g., joy, anger, sorrow, pleasure, love, hatred, greed) as well as the use of gestures and facial expression are to be restrained. Buddhism, which dominated during the Koryo Dynasty (918-1392), pursued anti-rhetoric. Spoken and written communication was discouraged, and language was treated as useless and devilish. Therefore, silence and thrift in words became a prime virtue.

Due to the discouragement of verbalization, Korean culture places a great emphasis on non-verbal communication: "Koreans have become accustomed to communication dependent on a given circumstance and through indirect, implicit and non-verbal communication" (S. H. Kim, 2003, pp. 94-95). The concept of *nunchi* is an ability to read the other's hidden intent, desire, feelings, and attitudes behind the uttered words or the various contextual factors. *Nunchi* is prevalent in interpersonal communication. Because of inexplicit verbal communication, listeners have to interpret hidden messages that are not verbalized and have to understand speakers' intentions and points quickly. In a way, it is similar to a speaker saying to a listener, "Do I have to tell you everything?" or "Do you know what I mean?" Many times, Korean speakers and

writers do not express their ideas explicitly, and they assume that interlocutors and readers can catch hidden but intended meanings.

Another communication style is based on the concept of saving face (*chemyon*), which is used to avoid embarrassment between interlocutors. Foreigners often see Koreans as ambiguous in responding to questions and prone to avoiding direct statements. Some Koreans are afraid of offending the other person and causing the other person to lose face. Therefore, speakers' intentions or an opposite point of view may be indirectly delivered in order to avoid embarrassment and humiliation.

The concept of *konson* (respect others and humble thyself) refers to humbling oneself but respecting others. For example, the introduction to a speech shows how a cultural code is reflected in verbal communication. While a speaker from North America often begins with a joke to capture the audience's attention, a Korean speaker may start with a self-depreciating remark, such as "Thank you for asking me to speak before you even though I'm not qualified" (S. H. Kim, 2003, p. 106). This approach seems less competent to Westerners. Modesty emphasized by Confucius cannot separate from the concept of saving face (*chemyon*), as both are essential communication strategies. The strategies are using certain qualifiers (e.g., *maybe*, *seem*, *perhaps*, and *likely*), using honorific terms, lowering oneself, making blank statements (e.g., "I am sorry," or "I have prepared nothing but enjoy this dinner"), avoiding conflicts and tensions by reserving straight responses (e.g., "I do not know well" or "Let's see"), and using indirect forms of communication to convey the speaker's true desire.

In social relations in collectivist culture, the concept of self is very much likely independent with group members. In traditional East Asian culture, individuals could not

be separate from their family and society (Wu, 1998). Korean communication is relationship and intro-group oriented. They clearly distinguish in-group and out-group, so they are very active in information sharing and socialization among in-group members to enhance their closeness and cohesiveness. A strong sense of collectivism emphasizes using the term, we over the term I, which makes Koreans use the term, uri (our) in daily conversation. They are accustomed to use "our family" or "our country" instead of "my family" or "my country," which is seen in their English writing. Group networking based on blood ties, school ties, or regional ties strongly exists. In-group network behaviors are regulated by in-group norms and rules. Therefore, they pay attention to values, needs, interests, social norms of in-group members, emotional attachments, and cooperation with in-group members. This leads Koreans to place an emphasis on euiri, having a sense of integrity to in-group members or friends and showing loyalty, faithfulness, self-sacrifice, responsibility, obligation, and gratitude.

From the cultural and historical influence, indirect and inductive patterns in communication have been developed in the homogeneous collectivist society that is Korea. With the exceptions that occur in outside encounters, such as calling a taxi or buying a ticket (Scollon & Scollon, 2001, p. 91), indirectness is used for many intentions: to save face; to create a positive image for others; to preserve interpersonal harmony; to achieve avoidance, vagueness, even deception; and to show one's concern for another's face. Confucian influence on communication style is helpful in understanding how this tradition of cognitive culture works in their subjective positions. However, it is important to note that Korea is currently in transition between a pre-modern and a modern society. Korea is democratic and becoming liberal. In particular, the younger generation faces

conflicts between traditionalism and modernism in the age of pluralism and globalization.

Therefore, it would be cautious to assume that the majority of Korean ESL students would strongly utilize the principle of the traditional communication style in their speaking and writing.

Literacy Practices in Korea

This part reviews Korean students' literacy practices in L1 and L2 writing. In addition to epistemological beliefs, their writing experiences in L1 and L2 can be significant factors in constructing their identities as writers. A brief history of education and current characteristics of Korean and English writing education in Korea will be discussed.

History of Education and Literacy in Korea

The history of education and literacy in Korea is not familiar worldwide. It shows complicated changes in Korean education according to three different political and historical periods: before the nineteenth century; during the enlightenment and Japanese ruling period; and after the Korean War.

Korean education before the nineteenth century is characterized as "traditional, Confucian, civil service exam-centered, male-dominated, and elitist" (Taylor & Taylor, 1995, p. 259). Instilling Confucian ideology in males from aristocratic families and preparing them for the civil service exam were main focuses while females were not given learning opportunities. One significant literacy event was the Civil Service Examination. The exam was set up in AD 788 as part of the recruitment of bureaucrats and civil servants on a competitive, merit basis rather than appointment by hereditary lineage. The exams tested candidates on the *Confucian Five Classics*, the *Four Books*

and their ability to compose prose and poetry (*ki-seung-jun-kyul* pattern) using formal Chinese language forms. During the Choson dynasty (1392-1910), the exam became central and national, *kwago*, and the successful candidates became the *yangban* class (a well educated scholarly class of male Confucian scholars or elitists). Since *yangban* class was earned by passing the exam, it became shameful not to have three successive generations of successful candidates. Although Confucian values of learning and virtue were advocated, the civil service examination and the emergence of the *yangban* class strengthened the power of elitism and unequal education opportunities for commoners.

For the second stage, while the *Choson* dynasty pursued an isolationist policy towards other nations in the nineteenth century, some progressive scholars started to open up to foreign culture by studying abroad in order to modernize the country; this was called the "enlightenment period." The facets of this movement are as follows: several newspapers appeared; spacing between phrases was introduced; *Hangul* (Korean language) newspaper was introduced to encourage literacy skills to Koreans regardless of age, gender, and social status; the first novel written in *Hangul* was serialized; and foreign language dictionaries were translated into Korean. However, during the Japanese colonial period (1910-1945), Korean language education suffered from the Japanese rulers. Publication of the newspapers was stopped, and use of the Korean language and Korean names was prohibited.

During the modern period after the Korean War (1950-1953), scholars adopted knowledge from Western countries and Japan in Korean education. Since the Korean government (1980-present) has advocated globalization and emphasized learning English in public education, Western culture has become strongly embedded in Korean education

and traditional Confucius Korean literatures and Korean language education have been to some extent neglected.

Korean education has been characterized as "elitism," which is believed to be a way of success for one's life and family. Hence, the adult literacy rate is very high because education is very desirable. According to the results of UNICEF research on education in Korea during the period 2000-2006, the primary school enrollment rate was 100%, and the secondary school enrollment rate was 94%. This indicates that most Koreans have completed at least secondary education.

Koreans seek higher education abroad or better education environments, so serious social issues have emerged. Colleges in rural areas have faced a problem of low Korean student enrollment and have tried to attract foreign students from China, Indonesia, or Vietnam. Korean students, from elementary to secondary schools, are sent abroad to learn the English language because their parents worry and push their children to be successful by providing better a learning environment while the number of "goose fathers,"-- fathers living "alone in Korea having sent his spouse and children to a foreign country to study English or some other form of advanced study" (Kim, 2008)--has increased to almost 200,000 nationwide.

Korean Writing (Hangul) Education

Through the long and complicated history of Korea, the Korean language was invented in the fifteenth century and has been a Korean official language since the twentieth century. However, no traditional Korean rhetoric exists. No established composition theory and composition approach have originated from Korea. Several reasons for the absence of distinctive Korean rhetoric have been explained, as follows:

Confucianism emphasizes the preservation of harmony and the avoidance of raising opinions. Due to the traditional Korean history, with a long hierarchy of kings and dictators, free speech and persuasion were not favored in the society. Under the Japanese colonial rule (1910-1945), many Korean scholars were educated in Japan and influenced by Japanese scholars. At that time, Japan opened to Western culture, but they were not knowledgeable about Western rhetoric. Indifference to Western rhetoric among Japanese and Korean scholars prevented Korean writing theory from developing fully. Since there was no clear development in Korean rhetoric, Western rhetoric was adopted after the Korean War (1950-1953). Currently writing theory and approaches are from two orientations: Chinese Confucian rhetoric and English composition theories in Western culture, mainly North American.

Confusion and problems still exist in the Korean writing system and writing education, despite the fact that Western rhetoric and Chinese rhetoric have been adopted into the Korean writing system. Though Korean composition classes are offered, the problems are many: grammar and sentence-oriented writing instruction, insufficient teaching of Korean composition in schools, students' lack of basic knowledge in the Korean language, the disestablished concepts of paragraph and writing, chaotic writing systems and terminology, and low writing skills of pre-service teachers.

The goals of writing education at the secondary level are (1) to understand the writing system, (2) to learn spellings and usages of words, (3) to know Korean grammar and elements of sentence levels, (4) to be able to write compositions based on all this knowledge. While the first three goals seem to have been encouraged in writing classes,

the fourth goal is seldom practiced and is not even included in syllabi because of time constraints (Sohn, 1996).

Korean writing education has been confused and without focus due to the lack of theory research. Incomplete writing theory has brought confusion and errors into Korean grammar and writing system. J. W. Lee (2000) studied error analysis in middle school students' writing and found five types of errors: errors in leaving space between the words, orthography errors, errors in a sentence mark, word choice errors, and errors in the flow of sentences and passages.

One of the biggest problems in the Korean writing system is the faulty concept of a paragraph. The problems related to writing paragraphs in Korean rhetoric stem from the fact that the concept of paragraph was adopted from the Western writing system after the 1960s, and there are no clear and systematic concepts of terminologies and paragraphs among Korean people (Frodesen, 1991). Korean students are not aware that there is a problem with having a paragraph in which the form and the central idea are not matched (Choi, 1988). They believe that expressing their ideas without considering form and coherence can be legitimate writing. Some examples are sentences starting without indentation or a single sentence considered to be a paragraph, though these are admittedly exceptional cases.

Attention has been paid to the importance of writing education since the late 1990s, and the argumentative written exam has been included in some college admission tests. Some Korean students have to take the College Scholastic Ability Test (*Suneung*), similar to the SAT, and the written test, if the schools they apply for have that requirement. Since writing classes in middle school and high school do not prepare them

extensively, students prepare the written exam for college admission, *Nonsul*, in advance with the help of private tutors or private institutes. After school, the majority of Korean students go to private institutes (*hagwon*) or private tutoring (*kwaye*) to study important subjects (English, writing, mathematics, or science) and/or explore their talents (music and sports). This reflects the current situation in Korean writing education in which private education seems to be getting more attention by providing effective writing test skills.

Debate over Korean writing theory carries with it a certain tension over the question of adopting more Western rhetoric and writing approaches into Korean writing education (Kang, 1997). Some scholars are acutely aware of shortcomings in the Korean writing theory and system, so they advocate adopting more elements of Western education. Educators who have studied in the U.S. promote current writing approaches and methodologies used in the U.S. academy for teaching writing courses in Korea. For example, Kang analyzed two composition texts used in Korean colleges and concluded that there was no clear and effective methodology to teach writing and suggested the idea of a cognitive writing approach as the solution, using the writing process followed in Western writing education. These approaches were used in college composition classes for her empirical study, and Korean participants indicated that using the writing process was positive and helpful in developing their writing skills. On the other hand, some Korean writing scholars may be against the idea of adopting Western rhetoric and writing instruction. They believe that Korean writing education needs to be independent from the influence of Western writing theory. Lack of a Korean writing theory causes teachers and students to engage in an ongoing debate on establishing such a theory.

English Education in Korea

Due to the symbolic power of English and the government's crucial role in English language education, Korea has become an "English frenzy" country. According to the Korean Choson news article, for English education, 31 trillion won (29 hundred million dollars) will be spent as the education ministry annual budget, and over W10 trillion is spent on private English education alone (K. H. Kang, 2008; S. H. Kang, 2009). Most Korean students spend about 100,000 hours on English study by the time they graduate from high school, but their fluency in speaking is low when interacting with English speakers, and Korea was ranked 35 out of 61 countries by the Swiss-based International Institute for Management Development ("Slim Pickings," 2006).

The Korean Ministry of Education has been criticized for mute English education, which means that many Korean students are communicatively incompetent in using English. Miller (2005) analyzed the problems with English education in Korea dealing with two factors. First, many public school English teachers are not qualified, as shown by shockingly low scores among teachers taking the Test of English for International Communication (TOEIC). Second, numerous privately owned institutes and private tutoring organizations have been engaging in English education in which greedy owners of *hagwon* hire unqualified non-native or native English instructors. Those unqualified English instructors in private institutes take students' money and time, but many of those students may not gain the abilities they need in reading, writing, and appropriate communication. Most institutes exist to prepare students for the foreign languages tests (i.e., TOEIC and TOEFL) for applying for study abroad programs, jobs, higher education institutes, or enhancing English skills. Popular English teachers who concentrate on

teaching test-taking skills rather than actual English literacy mislead learners and hamper the development of English communication skills. A further problem is that in order to improve their TOEFL (Test of English as Foreign Language) or TOEIC scores for getting a job or entering a university in a short period of time, Koreans tend to cram for the English test rather than taking the time to learn thoroughly.

Another related concern in the failure of English language education is rooted in the English test itself, which focuses on grammar and reading skills, and the Korean teachers of English, who are not fluent in the language and not fully qualified to teach four language skills in English. Old-fashioned teaching methods and inappropriate focus on content and activities have increased people's dissatisfaction with the inefficiency of the government and English education in Korea.

For effective English education, numerous campaigns and programs have been established by the Korean government to provide better English learning environments. It has reformed English education several times. The sixth and seventh national curricula (1992-1999; 1999-2006) have started to focus on the development of communicative competence of Korean students, and third grade students have been taught English since 1997. One specific effort was the Korean Ministry of Education's sponsorship of the hiring of qualified native English language instructors with at least a bachelor's degree. These instructors were hired from six different English speaking countries (e.g., Australia, Canada, Ireland, etc) for primary and secondary public schools. They were trained through the English Program in Korea (http://www.epik.go.kr/) for development of cultural exchanges and reform of English methodologies in Korea. As a short-term immersion program, several "English Villages" were established to promote English

learning and increase cultural awareness as a live-in environment where only English was spoken. However, its effectiveness is questionable at present.

In 2008, the newly-elected Korean presidential team expressed interest in English immersion programs where academic subjects are taught in English in public schools, and 23,000 new English teachers will be hired between 2010 and 2013 to reinforce public English education and strengthen English language education at the primary and secondary levels (Kim, S. J, 2008). Even though these initiatives have not been definitely put into practice, they have increased confusion among educators and parents, who have raised many questions about the qualifications of English teachers and implementing all classes in English. It may prove to be inefficient to conduct classes only in English because the majority of students will be confused through their lack of understanding of English and only a few teachers are equipped to teach classes in English.

Throughout the many English educational reforms, the language has come to be considered more as a communication tool rather than simply knowledge for passing a test. Accordingly, English tests add weight to speaking and listening sections while grammar has become less focused. Most Korean students and teachers now focus on fluency in speaking. No attention is given to teaching English writing, and there is no detailed discussion on teaching English writing, except that speaking and writing will be included in the new English standardized test by 2015. Currently in English classes in public secondary schools and colleges, English native speakers teach speaking classes, and Korean teachers teach grammar and reading classes. It is clear that the government is paying serious attention to English education; however, progress in English writing is far from satisfactory in Korea.

English Writing Education in Korea

Even though English as a Foreign Language (EFL) instruction has been generally developed, writing in English as a FL has not received much attention (Hinkel, 2002). English writing education in Korea has been neglected compared to other language skills due to several constraints: limited English class time each week, large class sizes, lack of student interest and motivation, teacher weakness in teaching English writing, and a mismatch between writing goals in the national curriculum and organization in English textbooks. In a survey, Korean students and teachers in secondary education expressed that writing in English was the most difficult academic activity for them and the one in which they were least confident and on which they spent the least amount of class time (Chang, 2004).

The weakness in English writing education is observable. Chang (2004) conducted surveys, interviews, class observations, and textbook analysis in order to describe English writing education in primary and secondary levels in Korea and concluded that there is a mismatch between real classroom situations and the unrealistic English education policy. That policy suggested various types of group work, writing activities, and a student-centered classroom, but the core activities in classes were dialogue memorization and structured pattern drills. Because English writing is not required in the College Scholastic Ability Test (*Suneung*) and most exams, this leads teachers to skip teaching English writing and spend more time in teaching test-taking skills, and it causes a decline in student motivation and attitudes toward learning English writing.

Korean English language teachers' attitudes toward teaching English composition are not generally positive. In reality, they consider it a great burden to implement idealistic English writing approaches, such as open-endedness and the use of group work in large classes. Also their weakness in English writing skills because of their lack of training and experience prevents them from giving systematic writing instruction and feedback. Even though some teachers' self-efficacy in teaching EFL writing at the college level was high, their feedback on student papers was limited to grammar correction rather than rephrasing awkward sentences and commenting on content or organization (Kim, M. K., 2002).

As Korean students are not given adequate training in English, they have limited experience and knowledge in English composition. One Korean EFL student who did not know expository writing and narrative writing said as follows:

What the teachers I've had emphasized in terms of the conventions of English writing are: A paragraph starts with the topic sentence. And a text has three parts including introduction, body, and conclusion. That's all I know about English expository writing. (Park, T. H., 2004, p. 49)

Despite Korean students' strengths in grammar and spelling skills, they show weakness in writing English and seem to be reluctant to write (Han, 2003). Their notion of English writing is to translate Korean sentences into English. Their limited linguistics training causes difficulties in translating, and they often omit some ideas that need to be expressed to accurately show the original meaning.

English textbooks also provide evidence of the limitations in writing activities and the writing approach faced by Korean students. Chang (2004) analyzed 15 Korean

English language textbooks used at the secondary level in Korea in order to understand how writing activities and writing theory are implemented in English textbooks. Based on a content analysis for writing activities, close-ended activities (72.16%) and individual works (75.04%) are prevalent while only 0.94% of writing activities are free writing activities. Mainly students are asked to produce "words and phrases" (55.72%) and "sentence completion" (22.49%).

Based on observation of English classes, any creative writing activities in English education were the least focused of all classroom activities (Han, 2003). Teachers' desires for teaching open-ended and communicative writing activities are often hampered by their students' deficiency in English language skills. Students' desires for doing group or pair writing activities are frequently frustrated by teachers deciding to skip writing sections and focus instead on short term test taking skills.

Lee (2006) studied Korean EFL undergraduate students' meta-cognitive perception of L1 and L2 writing. One important note from the study is that the researcher was surprised by the students' confidence and openness and their engagement in a variety of resources for accomplishing their writing assignments. Contrary to the results from previous research, the participants with high proficiency took advantage by switching their L1 writing strategies and discourses into L2 writing. With practice in writing, their perceptions of writing grew to include expressing ideas coherently and awareness of self in the writing process. Their belief in success in writing in English was based on three factors: the quality of the textbook, the efficacy of the teacher's methods, and their own hard study. These factors affected their participation in writing activities in current

classrooms and their identities as writers, while their previous L1 writing experiences and ideological and sociopolitical beliefs were consistent with classroom practices.

In conclusion, the discrepancy between the National Curriculum and the reality of current writing instruction including teachers' burden of implementation and students' low motivation all contribute to the weakness of Korean EFL writing education in public education and even higher education. Ideal plans to improve English writing instruction in Korea exist, but it would take a long time to make it work together. The backgrounds of L1 and L2 literacy practice in Korea were discussed, and these would make it easier to understand how Korean ESL students' current situation of learning L1 and L2 writing in their native country would influence the construction of their writer identity.

Korean Discourse in Rhetoric

Section III introduces that the relationship between rhetoric and ideology is very close. Berlin claims that "A rhetoric can never be innocent, can never be a disinterested arbiter of the ideological claims of others because it is always already serving certain ideological claims" (1987, p. 477). The way ideology in Korean culture influences the function and characteristics of rhetoric and Korean discoursal structure and rhetoric conventions features that have been studied in second language writing research are presented.

Korean Rhetoric as Part of East Asian Rhetoric

Oliver (1971) pointed out that the West has developed rhetoric intensively and extensively as a separate subject. Famous Western rhetoricians include Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, and Blair. On the other hand, due to the emphasis on the value of tradition, authority, and harmony, rhetoric in East Asia was not fully developed. The function of

rhetoric in Asia is to promote harmony by referring to communal and traditional wisdom and to stress the value of adhering to patterns of expectation rather than to enhance the welfare of the speaker or pursue argumentation and persuasive favor (pp. 261-264). The development of rhetoric has been absent from Korea because free speech and persuasion were not encouraged in the traditional Korean history, with its long hierarchy of kings and dictators. Group unity, consensus, and harmony were emphasized over originality, individuality, analysis, and proof.

Even though there are distinct cultural differences between China, Korea, and Japan, they are considered as parts of the overall East Asian culture for the following reasons: close geographical proximity, their use of the Chinese ideographic writing system, and a shared intellectual tradition based on the influences of Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism (Powers and Gong, 1994). Most of all, Confucianism has had a great impact on East Asian rhetoric. One way to understand the features of Korean rhetoric is to see the influence of Confucianism on East Asian rhetoric.

Confucianism tends to be anti-rhetorical. Even Confucius did not consider himself as an eloquent speaker. Minimal linguistic communication and few details are used in persuasion. Mediation and intuition play major roles in discovering meaning and understanding *do* (the way of heaven). The Confucian concept of "rectification of names" (*zheng ming*) refers to the relationship between the role of the individual and the structure of society, so the function of rhetoric is to resolve potential conflicts between an individual action and an individual's position in society and to aid in achieving social harmony and spread a social hierarchy (Hansen, 1989). Under the hierarchy of power,

individuals are not allowed to present their intentions strongly, especially at the beginning. Therefore, individual voices were not encouraged.

Writing promotes individualism in the West while writing in the East Asian culture promotes collectivism. However, Pang (1988) and de Bary (1991) brought careful attention to the fact that the notion of individualism in East Asia should not be confused with individualism as used in the West (as cited in Bloch & Chi, 1995, p. 263). In other words, individualism in East Asia is achieved in harmony with the society rather than against it.

Confucians believe that truth is out there, not in an individual's mind. It is not wise to construct reality or recognize the world unless the writer is quite trained to build good ethos because it is assumed that the *chun-zha* (heavenly man) is able to recognize the truth. Another way of learning truth is from Confucian classics. Literacy and rhetoric focus on gaining knowledge from Confucian classics. Memorization of the past-sages' sayings and wisdom from the Confucian classics and expressions of well-known phrases are preferred cultural practices. Memorization by readers is considered as showing respect for the knowledge, scholarship, and intelligence of the writers (Cho, 1999).

Even though Confucianism tends to be anti-rhetorical, there are rules about speech and writing. Speakers are judged based on their inner character and attitude, which can be revealed with slow speech and their sincere expression of humble hearts and mind. Relying on too much rhetorical elaboration is seen as less capable in showing inner virtues and truthfulness (Chang, 1997).

The study of comparative rhetoric between East Asia and the U.S. began with Kaplan's inspiration from rhetorical textual analysis of students' writing (1966). Since then the attention has been growing, and the focus in comparative rhetoric has gone through many stages: the deficiency stage, the recognition/emergence stage, the native/emic stage, and the appreciation/appropriate stage (Lu, 2006). There have been many studies on Korean written discourse in English writing in comparison with English written discourse, mainly during the 1990s (Eggington, 1989; Frodeson, 1991; Cho, 1999; Kang, 2005, Kim, J. W., 1995; Kim, K., 1996; Lee, B. M.,1995; Lee, S. B., 1995; Lee, S., 2001; Martin, 1995; Ok, 1991; Silva, 1993; Walker, 2004). The findings are in accordance with those from the studies by Kaplan (1966), Hinds (1983, 1984, 1987, and 1990), and Eggington (1987): thesis statement, cohesive marker, indirect (inductive) strategies, writer-based prose, organization, introduction, and so on.

By inference, Korean rhetoric is assumed to share similar characteristics with rhetoric in the broader East Asian culture, due to the sharing of other elements of culture. For one thing, textual features have been influenced by East Asian rhetoric. Hinds (1990) identified Chinese, Japanese, Thai, and Korean languages as one Asian group that shared some writing features including indirectness, a four-part pattern, delayed introduction, and reader-responsibility based on Asian culture. An applied linguist, Eggington also characterized Korean texts as indirect and nonlinear in development and argued that Korean writing has a similar rhetorical pattern with other East Asian writings: the four patterns, *ki-sung-chin-kyul* style.

Confucianism emphasizes ideas of harmony, modesty, and humility in writing.

Writers or speakers do not express their intention explicitly but take the middle ground of

a rhetorical situation and humbly express their intentions, mainly in an inductive way. As a result, indirect communication is preferred. For example, the topic is implied ("delayed introduction of purpose" or "quasi inductive"--Hinds's term), and the location of the thesis statement is often varied in the passage or placed at the end (inductive style). Arguments are often delayed and implied. Sometimes Korean writing is seen by American readers as vague, awkward, and unfocused, like Yeats' poetic expression of the falcon, "turning and turning in a widening gyre" (Kaplan, 1966, p. 10). Eggington also found that Koreans tend to use the "some people say" formula, with such expressions as "some claim that," "some scholars have," and "professors whom I know," (p. 155). This formula indicates several interpretations: to avoid criticizing another's position directly; to protect one's own position by using anonymous support; or to use oral influence on written discourse.

Correlative thinking is used in East Asian rhetoric so ideas are horizontally presented with images and metaphors as major linguistic devices. This is quite different from Western rhetoric, which is solid, coherent, linear, logical, and analogical (Cho, 1999). Confucian rhetoric does not depend on logic in making a claim, but heavily relies on prior wisdom, as did the works of Confucius. Logic in East Asia tends to be holistic and aesthetical; ideas are arranged horizontally and presented inductively.

Hinds (1990) suggested one established rhetoric sequence in East Asian expository writing: Chinese (*Chi-Chen-Juan-He*), Japanese (*Ki-Sho-Ten-Ketsu*), and Korean (*Ki-Sung-Chon-Kyul*) which were originated from the sequence of classical Chinese poetry due to its popularity. The rhetorical style is described by Takemata (1976):

Ki: First, begin one's argument.

Shoo: Next, develop that.

Ten: At the point where this development is finished, turn the idea to a subtheme where there is a connection, but not a directly connected association [to the major theme]

Ketsu: Last, bring all of this together and reach a conclusion. (as cited in Hinds, 1987, p. 150)

This rhetorical pattern is more aesthetical than logical to North Americans' eyes. Because of the lack of Korean writing theory, Koreans tend to apply the *Ki-Sung-Chon-Kyul* pattern as an Intro-Body-Conclusion pattern in academic prose by leaving out *Chon* (change stage). However, the *Ki-Sung-Chon-Kyul* pattern is not quite equivalent to the English rhetorical pattern of Intro-Body-Conclusion (Cho,1999; Eggington, 1987). In other words, <u>Ki</u> is not the same as the English introduction, and *Ki* is seen as "out of focus" to NES readers. I believe that Hinds's interpretation of *Ki-Sung-Chon-Kyul* as only one established rhetoric sequence in prose is problematic. Kubota (1997) criticized Hinds's argument as speculative and said it brought multiple interpretations of using the rhetorical pattern in different genres.

Eggington asserted that there were two main rhetorical patterns in Korean writing: one is *Ki-Sung-Chon-Kyul*, and the other is Intro-Body-Conclusion. More Korean sample writings, however, show a typical American organizational framework, including introduction, main body, and conclusion, but the introduction is not fully supported and does not lead to the body; the body is not well elaborated. The *Ki-Sung-Chon-Kyul* pattern is not used in academic prose, but in literature genres, such as novels and poems.

In terms of emphasis on the audience, Yum (1988) explains that East Asians are more concerned about how to improve the audience's sensitivity and how the audience will interpret their messages. In contrast, Americans try to improve their effectiveness in communicating messages, their credibility, and their presentation (as cited in Powers & Gong, 1994). Hinds characterized the textual characteristics of reader-responsibility in East Asian rhetoric. It means readers are responsible for inferring cohesive ties between propositions and making connections between arguments while English texts require writers to be responsible for readers. Confucius said, "Who does not understand words cannot understand people. Without knowing the force of words, it is impossible to know men" (Analects 20:3, as cited in Cho, 1999). As Koon (1986) pointed out, "No matter how loosely paragraphs or sentences are connected to each other, Korean readers may try to connect each paragraph or sentence to the main idea which is stated in the beginning as a title" (as cited in Hinds, 1990, p. 100). In the "quasi-inductive" writing that has a delayed thesis statement in the final position and a trail leading to this statement in previous paragraphs, readers need to contemplate the relationship between parts of an essay and the essay as a whole by filling in missing information; this is related to readers' responsibility.

The Korean concept of the objectivity and credibility of a writer is different from that concept in Anglo-American writing. Based on Confucian and Buddhist assumptions, by virtue of writing, writers are assumed to be authoritative, knowledgeable, and credible by delivering the truth (Oliver, 1971); or even a lack of clarity and the resulting confusion demonstrate that scholars and writers are superior and show the power of the ruling elite. Hwang (1987), Yum (1987), and Lee (1987) indicate that Korean writers tend to avoid

overt persuasion but achieve a mutual understanding with the reader and provide references to common wisdom and historical allusions as wisdom (as cited in Hinkel, 1999, p. 92).

Textual Features in Korean ESL writing

Recently, linguistic and rhetoric features in ESL writers' texts were studied by Hinkel (2002). According to his quantitative research on the English texts written by Korean ESL writers, he found several characteristics of Korean ESL writing. Korean ESL writers significantly overuse the following features: full adverbial causative clauses (because, since, although, unless, so), concession clauses, coordinating conjunctions in phrase level (e.g., also, and both, nor, not only, but also), hedges (e.g., kind of, as we know, as you know, or perhaps), demonstrative pronouns (e.g., this, than, those, these) and presupposition markers (e.g., obviously, of course). His research has contributed to the body of knowledge on textual features in second language writing; however, the research was lacking a clear contextual or cultural explanation of why Korean ESL writers tend to use particular textual features in their English papers.

Much research on Korean ESL writing has focused on the close relationship between textual features and traditional rhetoric because of increased interest in contrastive rhetoric in second language writing research during the 1990s. There have been many studies related to the features of Korean ESL writing, but the findings were similar among the various studies, and the scope was limited to T-units, thesis statements, rhetorical organization, coherence, politeness and so on.

For example, Cho (1999) analyzed Korean ESL writing according to T-units, thesis statements, paragraphs, topics, and topic changes in order to explore what text

features were presented in essays by Korean ESL students. He compared them with essays written by NES students and found that Korean students were reluctant to express their ideas explicitly. They showed less frequent use of a thesis statement and different placement of it, compared to NES students' essays. NES essays had three times the volume in the body paragraph, which indicated that NES writers provided more support and details in the body paragraphs. The textual features from the essays of Korean ESL students included indirect organization, fewer supporting ideas in the body paragraphs, a more general nature, digression, frequent use of topic changes, and less use of topic sentences in paragraphs.

Similarly, Kim (1996) analyzed topic structure with 30 editorials written by Koreans, and topic placement with eight Korean ESL students' writings. She found that the Korean students did not have a thesis summary in the beginning of both essays in Korean and English and put the main idea at the end of the essays while adding some facts that were loosely related to the main topic. She concluded that these characteristics tend to hold true for most essays written by Korean students.

Hinkel (1999) studied the types of rhetorical devices and objective markers used by NES groups compared with those used by NNES groups. Korean NNES groups tended to use proverbs and sayings (assumed common knowledge) to strengthen the writers' position. Relying on precedence and connecting with the past instead of using logic are techniques favored in Chinese rhetoric because of Confucius's respect for prior texts and the collective memory of history (Bloch & Chi, 1995). Also, Koreans used more direct personal appeal, general rules, and rhetorical questions and tags, which indicate marks of the writers' conviction and the writers' authoritative stance. While the

first person singular pronoun is not favored in the Confucian and Buddhist writing tradition, first person plural pronouns are used to stress the solidarity with readers and collectivism. As the presentation of opposing points of view in argumentation is not a writer's responsibility in East Asian rhetoric, Koreans showed weakness in refuting counterarguments and balancing contradicting ideas with the appropriate amount of elaboration.

English writing by Korean students shows a lack of coherence, which is an important element of English writing. T. H. Park (2004) concluded that their features—the mechanical use of personal subjects, trouble with generating nominalized sentences, and a heavy reliance on sentence transitions—reflect a shallow cohesion or actually impair cohesion.

A recent study found that face work (polite strategy) as part of Korean culture seems to be applied in the Korean academic community. With hedging strategies, Korean scholars are more likely to bravely criticize the works of non-Korean scholars, due to distance and the low risk associated with criticizing foreigners. They seem, however, to avoid bold criticism of the works of other Korean scholars, possibly because they try to maintain low tension and keep harmonious relationships by avoiding "face-threatening" of other Korean scholars in the same community (Shim, 2005).

Korean scholars who studied in the West have brought Western rhetoric into their publications in Korean and their teaching. The influence of English rhetoric and disestablished Korean writing theory has confused Korean students and teachers in writing education. For example, some Korean universities have started using research writing manuals based on those from the West, such as MLA, APA, and Chicago. S. Lee

(2001) pointed out that the manuals were introduced with help from the professors in the Korean literature and linguistics departments. However, they combined the American and Korean ways of writing and their own experience as researchers. Therefore, several Korean characteristics of writing are embedded in the manuals, which are supposed to follow the writing conventions of English writing manuals. One of differences in the manuals used in Korean academia is the function of the literature review, which is considered less as a simple historical review of previous works; Korean manuals are more likely to emphasize the politeness aspect in criticizing and praising previous studies. In Lee's findings, Korean national scholars showed very general, non-referenced theoretical backgrounds and a low number of references included in their introductions. In other cases, many Korean writers using the English rhetoric structure may have impeded effective communication to Koreans unfamiliar with English rhetoric and hindered Korean readers familiar with the traditional non-linear rhetorical framework in retaining information in memory (Eggington, 1987).

In a discussion of the rhetorical organization of research articles, S. Lee (2001) analyzed the introductions to 116 research articles written by Korean scholars and NES scholars and found out that, even though the function of the introduction seems to be similar in both languages, the Korean scholars' literature reviews tended to be more general and brief than critical. Choi (1988) studied organizational patterns in argumentative writing by one group of American students and two groups of ESL and EFL Korean students. In her interpretation, Korean students tended to use a Situation-Problem-Solution-Conclusion (SPSC) structure rather than a Problem-Solution-Conclusion (PSC) structure. In addition, they delayed the introduction of the problem,

direct confrontation with other people's opinions, and a direct presentation of the writer's own point of view due to their concern for face-work and their preference for an implicit mode of communication.

In terms of indirect and direct request and complaint, Park, Dillon, and Mitchell (1998) compared Korean and American business letters and discovered that Americans used lexical hedges with a function of shields and avoided a direct statement or accusation, but "Koreans use lexical hedges with a function of approximators which include expressions of 'rounders' of quantity or degree such as 'somewhat'" (p. 334). Korean letters tend to personalize both writer and reader more than American letters, which depersonalize them. Also, Korean letters seem to convey the writers' personal emotions and attitudes with intensifiers, amplifiers, and emotional tone in discussing business problems. In making requests, Koreans express wishes or anticipation rather than openly asking for what they want.

However, the findings from the contrastive rhetoric between East Asia and North America are cautiously understood. Some authorities have accused contrastive rhetoric of having a Western ethnocentrism or an English mono-lingualism as American writing is positioned as a norm while L2 writing is seen as a negative transfer of L1 rhetorical patterns to L2 writing (Casanave, 2004; Matusda, 1997). This may lead the national character on racism. For example, Kaplan (1966) was criticized for racism by inferring that a certain group of people do not think logically but prefer emotion and intuition. We should appreciate the communication behavior that respects relationships with others, preserves harmony, and honors the heritage of East Asian rhetoric, such as non-expression, softness, and indirectness.

Another problem is that contrastive rhetoric tends to generalize features of rhetoric written by homogeneous NNES groups of students. The methods in contrastive rhetoric study have been criticized for a lack of writing samples and unmatched writing genres (see Eggington, 1987; Hinds, 1984; Kubota, 1997). Throughout many studies in comparative rhetoric research, there has been much criticism of the findings and results. Hinds was criticized for a lack of experiment with many different subgenres and the absence of definitions of expository writing and academic writing. He seemed to generalize the pattern of the expository writing style from an analysis of nothing other than newspaper articles (editorials). Eggington's conclusion was also questioned with textual collection of a newspaper column written in English, the subject's proficiency level, and the immediate and delayed recall tests (Lee, S. 2001).

In recent critiques of contrastive rhetoric, ESL writing scholars warn against drawing generalizations from the findings of contrastive rhetoric, which does not serve as a reliable frame of interpretation. Instead, we should understand individual writers within pedagogical, cultural, and rhetorical contexts by questioning their educational backgrounds, writing experiences, and beliefs about good writing and writer identity (Connor, 2001; Casanave, 2004; Leki, 1997; Matsuda, 2001; Panetta, 2001). Instead of viewing individuals as a homogeneous group (Connor, 1996), it would be wise to understand students as individual cases with a non-traditional view and as continuously changing individuals in groups (Connor, 2001).

This last section explained current situations and the problems of L1 and L2 writing education in Korea, for which Korean students need more resources and time to improve. Based on Confucian cultural influence, East Asian ethos in spoken and written

communication and textual features has been discussed. Many findings reflect Korean students' respective traditional rhetoric patterns: the influence of Confucian rhetoric including reader-responsibility prose, delayed thesis statement, non-linear order, and quasi-inductive style. The impact of Western rhetoric on the Korean academic community has been growing through the latter's adoption of teaching approaches, organizational patterns, the use of mechanics, and research manuals. As one of the research questions in this study, I hope to find out which discourse features from Western rhetoric and East Asian rhetoric appear to be more influential in constructing their textual identity.

Summary

Chapter 2 has presented three areas of scholarship upon which this dissertation is based: the conceptual overview of writer identity, research on ESL writers' identities, and research on Korean ESL writers. In section I, my conceptual assumptions were introduced, as follows: identity is multiple and socially constructed; discourse serves to construct identity; writer's identity is socially situated, fluid, and changing over time; and academic writing is a social practice in the community. I explained the close relationship among the following terms: identity, language, discourse, discourse community, academic writing, and metadiscourse. In section II, I presented many examples of writers' identities from professional bilingual writers, ESL students, and ESL professors. These examples depicted their experiences, strategies, and transformations in the process of the construction of their identities as writers. Finally, in order to understand the social and educational backgrounds of Korean ESL students, I provided the communication code and their L1 and L2 writing education in Korea. Additionally, I addressed the issue of

contrastive rhetoric as it applies to Korean writing. The next chapter will present the methodology of this study.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Overview

This study seeks to show how Korean ESL students construct their writer identities based on their L1 and L2 literacy practice and linguistic L1 and L2 discourse resources in their papers. The basis of this study is the belief that ESL students face difficulty in establishing an appropriate, authoritative, and academic writer identity in writing English academic papers.

This chapter outlines the methodology for this study. First, I present the research design and method, qualitative case study, and rationale. Then, I describe the research context, including the research setting, the participants, and the researcher (with my background and bias), followed by the methods of data collection. These include multiple sources of information: academic papers, process logs, interview transcripts, maps of social influences, and other records. Finally, I describe data analysis for each research question as follows: discourse analysis, thematic analysis, metadiscourse corpus study, and L1 and L2 discourse comparative study. I provide triangulation and validity that strengthen the qualitative case study. Table 2 summarizes the data collection and data analysis methods that I use as means of exploring each research question.

Table 2

Data Collection and Data Analysis Methods by Research Question

Research Question	Data Collection	Data Analysis
1. How do Korean ESL students construct their identities as writers in English academic discourse community based on their previous L1 writing practices and the current L2 writing practice?	Retrospective and semi- structured interview Process logs Maps of social influences Supplementary documentations	Thematic analysis
2. How do Korean ESL students use metadiscourse in order to develop academic writer identity in their English papers in terms of the interrelation with the readers?	Text-based stimulated elicitation interviews Three academic papers and drafts	Metadiscourse corpus analysis
3. How do Korean ESL students use L1 Korean discourse in their L2 English academic writing? In other words, what are the L1 discourse features that Korean students rely on in English academic papers? What traces of the discourse remain in their L2 writing?	Retrospective and semi- structured interview Text-based stimulated elicitation interviews Three academic papers and drafts	L1 and L2 comparative discourse analysis Discourse analysis

Research Design

Qualitative Case Study

The major objectives of this study have been to describe how Korean ESL students construct their writer identities in L1 and L2 writing practices; to find out what metadiscourse features they utilize in order to develop an authoritative, academic writer identity in L2 writing; and to understand what L1 Korean discourse they rely on in L2 writing. In order to carry out these objectives, qualitative research has been used.

Qualitative research has been highlighted with the following characteristics: a natural setting as the source of data; the researcher as the key instrument of data collection; data collected as words or pictures; the outcome as a process rather than a product; inductive analysis of data; attention to particulars; and a focus on participants' perspectives (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Eisner, 1991; Merriam, 1988, 2002). Denzin and Lincoln (1994) concisely defined qualitative research as follows:

Qualitative research is multimethod in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials-case study, personal experience, introspective, life story, interview, observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts that describe routine and problematic moments and meaning in individuals' lives. (p. 2)

My study has several rationales for using a qualitative approach due to the nature of my research questions. They need to be explored by asking "how" and "why." First of all, writer identity is a very significant phenomenon in developing writing skills and growing oneself as a writer in L2 writing research. Importantly, qualitative research seeks understanding of phenomena with consideration of all possible influences and focuses on "understanding the particular context within which the participants act, and the influence that this context has on their actions" (Maxwell, 1996, p. 17). Second, my goal has been to study student writers' construction of writer identity in a natural setting, which involves gaining access, gathering multiple materials, presenting a detailed view of the topic, and understanding social phenomena holistically and systematically. Qualitative research does not attempt to control conditions of the research environments (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Third, qualitative research is suitable in my study because it explores the complex nature of various contexts including personal, institutional, and political influences. Finally, qualitative research allows me to be an interpretive character who discovers the meanings that individuals experience in particular context and helps me to be an active learner by presenting the story of the participants' views rather than an expert's view (Creswell, 1998).

Specifically, in order to explore how the individual participants construct their writer identities, case study was used. Yin (2003) technically defined a case study as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (p. 13). Case studies are "particularistic, descriptive, and heuristic and rely heavily on inductive reason in handling multiple sources" (Merriam, 1988, p. 16).

Qualitative case study has been used to explore the writing experiences of students in the field of second language writing (Camp, 2007; Fernsten, 2002; Hartmann, 2002; Ortmeier-Hooper, 2007; Takagaki, 1999). Also, Casanave (2004) has emphasized the importance of the qualitative case study in L2 writing research: "more in-depth case studies are needed in individual L2 writers. . . . that examine writing processes from a sociopolitical perspectives" (p. 93). Therefore, I have used a qualitative case study, which is defined as "an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a single entity, phenomena, or social unit" (Merriam, 1988, p. 16).

The Context of the Study

Research Setting

The site for the study was a semi-urban/rural setting in western Pennsylvania. This institute is the only state-run university that offers doctoral programs within the Pennsylvania State System of Higher Education (PASSHE). It offers 145 undergraduate programs, 61 master's programs, and 10 doctoral programs. In fall 2008, 14,310 undergraduate and graduate students were enrolled, and the majority of the students are Caucasians while 13 % of students (a total of 1,852) are minorities. The number of international students is small (about 4-5%) and varies each year. There were about 700 international students in the 2004-2005 academic year, 551 international students during 2006-2007, and 626 students in the fall of 2007 ("At a glance"). In fall 2008, 668 international students (5%) were enrolled from more than 75 countries ("Facts about IUP"). The top six countries are Taiwan, Malaysia, South Korea, Japan, China, and India. During fall 2008, nearly 30 Korean students (0.2%) were enrolled in the university.

There is an ESL institute at the university where international students prepare their English skills before taking credit courses in other universities. The Korean Student Association (KSA) in the university holds meetings twice a year around New Year's Day and Korean Thanksgiving Day. It provides information and helps new students and their families in finding housing, making arrangements for rides, and adjusting to American life.

Selection of Participants

The participants in this study were Koreans who were born in Korea, grew up and were educated at least until secondary school in Korea, and have already acquired their primary L1 Korean language and Korean literacy and developed an L1 sociocultural identity. With an F-1 student visa, they had come to the U.S. for the purpose of studying as undergraduate or graduate students. Their stay in the U.S. had lasted more than four months (one semester) before they participated in this study. The participants were bilingual or multilingual writers who were able to write English comfortably as well as speak it in academic and social settings. The age range of the participants was from 18 to 50 years old. There were no restrictions as to the sex and the discipline of the participants.

Gaining access and the consent of the participants involved several steps. To recruit participants for this study, I drew upon a vast network of contacts I had built for the past few years at the university. The participants were selected based on the researcher's estimate of the above mentioned qualifications (Schwandt, 1997). Once I had a list of initial contacts for my research, I contacted some Korean students who were eligible to take part in the study through email and/or phone calls. In the initial contact,

10 Korean students showed their interest in participating in this study. From that point, I set up appointments for the first contact visit by asking a time and location. At the first contact visit, I introduced myself and gave information about my background and the goals, procedures, ethical issues, and benefits of the study to them. The potential participants reviewed the informed consent form (Appendix A), and I addressed any questions or concerns they had prior to participation in the study. Once I assured them that their participation was voluntary, they all provided the informed consent form with their signature. They were anonymous as participants in the study. The first contact visit was helpful to both as it allowed us to become familiar with each other.

However, four potential participants could not continue to participate in this study due to personal circumstances. Because they had to go to Korea after graduation or for their vacation, one male and two female students did not have enough time to meet with me and thus could not complete the follow-up interviews. Another female participant could not complete the second interview because of her wedding in Korea.

As it turned out, six Korean students participated in this study, and Table 3 lists the Korean participants by pseudonym, gender, age, major, and duration of living in the U.S. when I collected the data for this study.

Table3

Participants for This Study

Participants' Pseudonyms	Gender/Age	Pursuing Degree	Duration in the U.S. as of 05/2009
Minji	F/ 20	B.A. in English Education	9 months
Junho	M/ 30	B.A. in English	4 years 9 months
Nayeon	F/ 26	M.A. in Criminology	1 year 9 months
Sunhee	F/ 40	Ph.D in Criminology	7 years 5 months
Yeonhee	F/31	Ph.D in TESOL	4 year 1 month
Chulsu	M/ 39	Ph.D in TESOL	4 years 9 months

The Researcher

As a Korean ESL researcher, I believe that it was beneficial for me to conduct this study with Korean participants. Because I shared the same linguistic, ethnic, cultural, and educational backgrounds with my participants, I had a higher chance of accessing them easily and developing rapport more quickly than other researchers with different cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

My status as a graduate student and a composition instructor in mainstream college level and ESL program was helpful to understand the participants' scholastic writing. I have a B.A. in English from Korea and a M.A. in TESOL and am currently completing a Ph.D. in Composition and TESOL in the U.S. Even though I did not study in an undergraduate program in the U.S.A., my concurrent experiences as a graduate student and a writing teacher elicited more personal level of experiences related to L2

writing practices. Several years of teaching writing experiences to ESL and NES students at the college level have helped me to understand my students' backgrounds and different writing styles. Also, it was helpful that I was familiar with the university where I collected data and my participants' life in the academic environment.

Being from Korea, I share the same ethnic and linguistic background as the participants. This means using Korean language was advantageous because the participants had the option switching between Korean and English in order for them to express their ideas specifically. Also, before conducting this research, I have developed personal relationships with many Koreans in this institute. This made it easy to gain access and maintain interpersonal relationships. Moreover, I could be sensitive toward the participants' response when they felt uncomfortable and rejected so that I could reserve their right to meet their ethical expectations.

Therefore, my various roles were an asset in this research. Due to rapport and familiarity with the participants' backgrounds, language, culture, and L1 educational experience, there was a great deal of mutual academic and personal respect, and the level of satisfaction in interviews was high.

My personal experience moving from being an ESL student, to an English graduate student, and on to an English instructor in the academic community increased my interest in the field of second language writing and inspired this research. Being a Korean bilingual writer myself, I could understand my participants well and did not have communication problems during data collection.

However, I had to be cautious as I am the researcher in this study. Due to having the same cultural and educational background in Korea, my preconceptions of Korean

student writers and my experiences could influence them with my opinions or exceed my limits as a researcher. My biases were that Korean ESL students had limited writing literacy practices in Korea, that they faced problems with language and social skills in gaining access to resources and help, and that they were challenged in establishing their academic writer identities and authoritative voices due to a lack of academic writing practices.

Yin (2003) reminded case study researchers of desired research skills.

Researchers should be able to ask good questions and interpret the answers; they should be good listeners, not trapped by their own ideologies or preconceptions; they should be adaptive and flexible; they should have a firm grasp of the issues being studied; and they should be unbiased by preconceived notions and sensitive and responsive to contradictory evidence (p. 59).

I believe that conducting this research was advantageous for me because of my personal ESL learning and teaching experiences as well as my background common with that of the participants. I hoped to bring Korean ESL students' experiences and understandings in the construction of writer identity to the field of second language writing.

Ethical Issue

According to the Belmont Report (1979), the basic ethical principles for research (i.e., respect for persons, beneficence, and justice) and guidelines have been adopted by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) to assist in resolving (un)expected ethical problems in research involving human subjects for the protection of the human subject. The Institutional Review Board at the research site, which is the university where I was

enrolled, approved my proposal, which followed guidelines expressing the risks and benefits and required an informed consent form.

Based on the ethical concerns in a qualitative study, privacy and confidentiality with use of pseudonyms as the primary safeguard had to be assured for my participants; I ensured that my participants fully understood the purpose of the study and that they were comfortable in participating in this research; their written materials and recorded; interviews were kept confidential; professional etiquette was followed because all participants should be protected from harm and embarrassment (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). I was aware of the importance of ethical issues in different stages of the research process. Those included ethical issues in the research problem statement, in the purpose statement and research questions, in data collection, in the data analysis and interpretation, and in writing and disseminating the research (Creswell, 2003).

Data Collection

Interviews

In contrast to surveys or questionnaires, interviewing is useful in understanding participants' beliefs, attitudes, inner experiences, and historical information, and it allows a researcher to maintain control over the line of questioning. Interview is a dialogic and interactive place where meanings, interpretations, and narratives are co-constructed (Creswell, 2003). There were two collections of interview data. English was used during the interviews; however, the Korean language was used when it was more understandable to the interviewer and interviewees, for easier expression of feelings and ideas.

The first interview attempted to answer the first research question about identity construction as writers, so it focused on the "autobiographic aspect of writer identity" that

reveals their life history related to writing experiences, based on the past and present literacy practices and the sense of their writer identity (Ivanič, 1998). I followed a narrative approach because it can help to see how all "researchers, teachers, and students deal with conflicts and find meaning in the events and actions that make up the activities of studying, teaching, and engaging in writing" (Casanave, 2002, p. 17). In other words, I listened to their narratives of how they understood their various literacy experiences, how one writing event influenced another, and how they viewed themselves as writers (Yasuko, 2003).

Instead of using structured interview questions, I decided that inviting them to tell their own story as writers would be more natural and make sense in understanding how they dealt with conflicts and managed problems and how they took action in the development of writing skills. As I hoped to get cohesive stories of their writing experiences, providing retrospective and semi-structured interview questions helped my participants to focus on expressing/articulating their ideas with more details and more reflections on their experiences (Atkinson, 1997). Therefore, the retrospective and semistructured interview questions (see Appendix B) were an attempt to understand how participants' past and current literacy practices had shaped them as writers in L1 and L2 (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). The scope of the questionnaires was wide and various--birth to the present literacy practices in L1 and L2, family background, and sociocultural life in the academic and social communities--because its aim was to see their lives as student writers. As the participants felt comfortable in sharing their experiences with me, the first interviews were fairly long (over 100 minutes), and I had to arrange second appointments to finish the first interview for some participants. Throughout the

interviews, I was the listener providing support and encouragement and using verbal and non-verbal feedback in order to make the interviews productive and smooth (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). I thanked the participants for their cooperation and provided more information for the second interview.

Before conducting the second interview, I had to collect their papers and read them to prepare questions to stimulate their responses based on their written expressions and ideas. The second interview was a text-based stimulated elicitation interview (see Appendix C), which drew richer responses with external stimuli, mainly from their three academic papers (Prior, 2004). The purpose of the text-based interview was to capture the aspects of "discoursal self" and "self as author" in sociocultural and institutional contexts (Ivanič, 1998; Prior, 2004). I collected their papers, carefully read them, and underlined passages, phrases, and words that were linguistic markers of textual and interpersonal metadiscourse.

I also underlined passages where distinctive writing features and ideas were revealed because I looked for an institutional/academic voice, as desired by the academic community, and a native/primary voice, influenced by native and primary literacy practice. Gee (1990) explained the close relationship between identity and discourse, and between discourse and literacy. As an identity kit, a discourse is a gatekeeper to give membership in a particular social group. Student writers are expected to meet English academic discourse in their academic papers to be members of the community, but also it is assumed that voice influenced by Korean discourse may remain in their texts.

Table 4

Each Participant's Three Papers Collected for This Study

Parti cipa nts	Type of Paper (Date when written)	"Title of paper": Content
	Position paper (Fall, 2008)	Untitled: How Prostitutes are Represented in
	1 osition paper (1 an, 2000)	Lyrics of Lady Marmalade
	Position paper (Spring, 2009)	Untitled: Writing Analysis of Her Own
	roman puper (spring, 2007)	Response Writing
Minji	Position paper (Spring, 2009)	Untitled: Korean Cultural Rhetoric
\geq		Influence on EFL/ESL Korean Students
	Compare/contrast (Fall, 2006)	"Linkage between the Text and Theories"
0	Compare/contrast (Fall, 2007)	"The Flea" vs. "To His Coy Mistress"
Junho	Compare/contrast (Spring, 2008)	"If Tarzan Wrote Tradition and the
Jr		Individual Talent"
_	Article Review (Fall, 2008)	Untitled: Two Articles Review
901	Article Review (Spring, 2009)	Article Review #1: The Fourth Amendment
Nayeon	Article Review (Spring, 2009)	Article Review #5: Sentence
Z		
	Research paper (Fall, 2004)	"How Can Probation Reduce Prison
Sunhee		Overcrowding?"
nul	Research paper (Fall, 2006)	"Reintegration of Incarcerated Mothers"
\sim	Research paper (Spring, 2007)	"Faith-based prison programs"
	Research paper (Fall, 2003)	"Improve Intonations Using Film:
		Intonations of Advanced Korean EFL
ee		Learners."
huo	Research paper (Fall, 2005)	"Teaching Writing in English of K-12
Yeonhee	P 1 (G 2006)	Education in South Korea"
	Research paper (Summer, 2006)	"Teasing and ESL Speakers"
	Research paper (Spring, 2006)	"The Contrastive Analysis between English
		Preposition "on" and Related Korean
=	Degearch neper (Eall 2000)	Expression and Pedagogical Implication,"
Chulsu	Research paper (Fall, 2008)	"An Explanation of NNET Issues,"
Chi	Research paper (Fall, 2008)	"Parental Involvement in children Literacy:
		A case study of two Korean parents"

Therefore, the second interview examined how they positioned themselves as writers between institutional and native voices in their papers (Ivanič, 1998; Starfield, 2002). In the interview, I began to ask how they wrote each paper, and I identified the highlighted texts to find out why they used specific metadiscourse markers and how they utilized L1

and L2 discourse features (e.g., topic choice, expressions, and organization) in their papers. The second interview typically lasted from 100 to 120 minutes per person.

All interviews were recorded with permission. Since some of participants used the Korean language in the interviews, I transcribed the data in Korean and then in English. After I wrote each participant's description in chapter 4, I provided the participants with opportunities to clarify or omit any statement or segment with which they were uncomfortable.

Textual Data

I collected several different texts from each participant. First, I collected three completed academic papers (see Table 4) and drafts (if available) that they had written for classes at different points in their academic program: the beginning, the middle, and the latest periods in their course of study at the university.

When using students' papers submitted for class as part of data collection in research, it is important to acknowledge some linguistic level influences by tutors and professors. Participants differed in the amount that they revised their papers. I believe that this qualitative study emphasizes data collection in natural settings. The participants' papers submitted for grades were collected in this study, in order to reflect their writing proficiency, writing practices, and writer identities.

Second, my participants wrote process logs (see Appendix D) that kept track of any writing that they finished and discussions they had with professors and peers. They kept these process logs during the data collection period. Additionally, the logs recorded their memories, reactions, and writing strategies. The logs helped me see their reflection

upon their struggles and strategies related to their writing experiences and encounters—things the participants might not share in the interviews.

Third, in the beginning of the first interview, I asked them to fill out a form on which they could indicate that they had experienced various writing practices in L1 and L2, such as different writing processes and genres of writing. They recalled their writing experiences in Korea and the U.S., and I could see the various writing experiences among individuals and the characteristics of L1 and L2 writing practices. Also, at the end of the second interview, I asked them to draw a map of social influences, a technique that I borrowed from Ortmeier-Hooper (2007, p. 74). This map helped me match my understanding of their social networks with the ways they defined the social influences involved in the construction of their writer identity. I asked the participants to write the name of each influence on a series of icons; this is a visual way to map out what they perceive as the influences relevant to L1 and L2 writing experiences. I provided pieces of paper with a series of visual icons (see Figure 1), and they worked for five to ten minutes on identifying the influences by drawing icons and writing the name of each influence. Then I asked them questions about the map, and they explained the relationship among the various elements on the map.

In addition to the textual data, I collected supplementary documentation available to serve as evidence of their writing practices:

- 1. Any syllabi from classes they have taken;
- 2. Any other assignments or papers written for classes;
- 3. Any drafts and revisions along with assignments or papers;
- 4. Any other writings composed for purposes other than academic ones;

5. Any other writings composed in Korean for academic or other purposes.

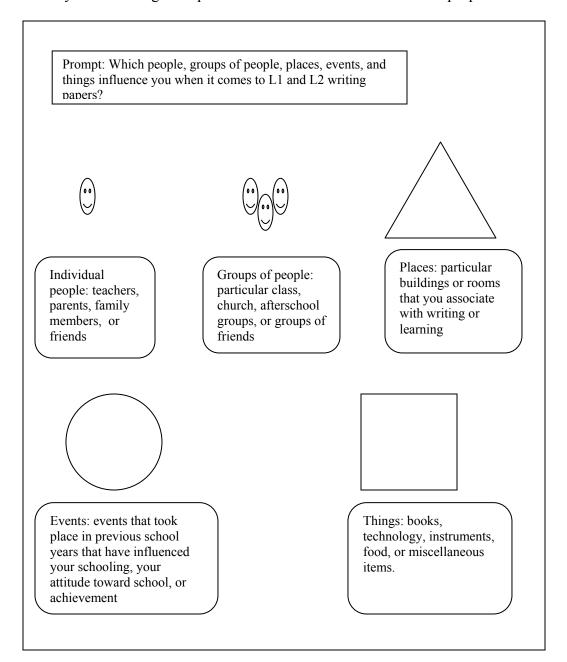


Figure 1. Social influence map.

Note. Adapted from "Social influence map," by Ortmeier-Hooper (2007, p. 74).

Finally, in order to get a sense of myself as a qualitative researcher and my participants as being writers, I recorded my thoughts and research procedures throughout my study. For example, I reflected on each interview in two aspects: my role as an

interviewer and as a researcher. I looked back on how I conducted each interview and how I preceded with the qualitative research by asking the following questions to myself: How did the interview go? How did I treat my participants? Did I get what I looked for according to the research questions? What shared information surprised me? In the notes, I also recorded my observations when I encountered my participants casually. I kept on track with their views of current writing practices as well as my initial reactions on their stories and their views of writing.

Data Analysis

In order to attempt to answer each research question, different data analyses were used. For the first research question, I used the data from the first interview, the process logs, the writing practices in L1 and L2 form, and the social influences map. Thematic analysis was used to answer the first research question, asking how the participants constructed their identities as writers in L1 and L2 through literacy practices.

Metadiscourse corpus analysis was used (Hyland, 2004a, 2005a) for the second research question, asking what metadiscourse feature they used in terms of interrelationships with the readers. Finally, L1 and L2 comparative discourse analysis and discourse analysis were used for the third research question related to the influence of L1 Korean discourse in L2 English texts.

Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis, "a process for encoding qualitative information" (Boyatzis, 1998) was used to identify themes within the data in order to explore how my participants understood their new experiences of academic discourse community, academic writing, and their construction of writer identity.

I adopted open coding for thematic analysis. Open coding consisted of several procedures: explore the data; identify the units of analysis; code for meanings, feelings, and actions; make metaphors for data; experiment with codes; compare and contrast events, actions, and feelings; break codes into subcategories; integrate codes into more inclusive codes; and identify the properties of codes (Boyatzis, 1998, p. 93). The phrases, sentences, and stanzas identified helped me to inductively sort categories and identify themes from the data. I was able to generate different themes (concerns, characteristics, or issue) emerged from my Korean participants' construction of identity as writers.

Toward the end of the final data analysis, I reviewed all the data again and later these categories were compared and contrasted with preexisting categories and theory from the previous study of ESL writer identity (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

First, once I finished collecting the textual data and transcribing interview data, I uncovered and began to develop concepts. To accomplish this, I read the entire transcripts at least three times and interpreted their thoughts and writing-related meanings. Under this analytic task, I followed the three sub-procedures: naming concepts, defining categories, and developing categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 103). In this initial labeling stage, I broke down the data into several segments (concerns, characteristics, or issues) and named several concepts which were taken from the words of the participants and the key words that I created to evoke visual meanings. I placed the same names into segments where similar characteristics with a happening or reaction were presented. I used the broad words based on the participants' actions and meanings because they expressed their evaluative and affective responses. This was based on their writing

experiences within phrases, sentences, and stanzas (e.g., "I am good at writing," "I do not like writing," "I feel shame," and "I had to do it").

Second, after the initial naming, in which I used the key words, "positive and negative" and "strong and less desire," I asked myself what I could discover further by asking, "What is a particular passage about? What category or categories will properly represent that passage? What context should be coded there?" (Richards, 2009, p. 103). I sought further analysis to look for more meanings in different contexts and for creating concepts that would express new ideas from the particular data that I had. Therefore, I reviewed my notes to determine whether I used any words that brought some insights that seemed to explain the features of identity construction of writers. I also conducted microanalysis (discourse analysis or textual analysis) to gain greater understanding. As Marshall and Rossman explained, "research focusing on language and communication typically involves microanalysis or textual analysis through which speech events, including text, and subtle interactions are recorded and then analyzed" (2006, p. 55). By digging into deeper meanings and the contexts, I could see a number of ways that the Korean students positioned their identities as writers. Beyond the initial findings on positive and negative writer identities, I searched for more contextual factors, such as their strategies, beliefs, and attitudes, which caused them to construct multiple identities as writers in given contexts.

Third, under the section for discovering and developing categories, microanalysis was helpful in creating more concepts for the first research question. After finishing microanalysis, I grouped some concepts into a larger or more abstract higher order concept to eliminate unimportant and redundant concepts. To develop wording for each

category, I identified several similarities within the participants' data. I compared and contrasted the selected quotations with preexisting categories from the previous studies of ESL writer identity (Abasi et al, 2006; Casanave, 2002; Cox, Jordan, Ortmeier-Hooper, Schwartz, 2010; Fernsten, 2008). Finally, I revised the names for categories as I consulted with my dissertation adviser and readers to make more appropriate key terms and I borrowed a term, "intertextually knowledgeable" from the published article (Abasi, 2006 et al., p. 105) for a sub-category.

Metadiscourse Corpus Study

The second research question asked how Korean ESL writers used metadiscourse in developing academic writer identity in relationship with the readers. Academic writing is a complex social act that requires use of various discourses that meet academic expectations, and one of the most important things in academic writing is to show academic authority. The devices presented below are very important in academic writing because the collective and social practice reflects disciplinary culture, and its discourses using these devices helps writers show their awareness of social negotiation of knowledge and their efforts to pursue their claims and gains in the community's acceptance in the disciplines (Hyland, 2004a, p. 89). Table 5 presents a modified model of metadiscourse for this study containing the names of categories, functions, and examples of linguistic makers.

Table 5

A Model of Metadiscourse for This Study

Metadis coure	Categories	Functions	Markers
Textual	Transitions	Express semantic relationships between discourse stretches	Next, then, now, however, so, furthermore, in addition, to conclude
	Frame markers	Include sequencers Mark particular positions in a series	First, finally, in sum, in short
	Code glosses	Explain, rephrase, or exemplify textual material	That is, in other words, is called, target language (TL), for example, such as
	Endophoric markers	Refer to explanatory or related material in the text	The following paragraph The previous section Table 1 see/noted/discussed below
	Evidentials	Refer to the source of information	(Name)/(date), according to, said
ge t	Writer-oriented markers	Explicitly refer to author(s)	I, we, our, us, my, me
Engage ment	Reader-oriented	Explicitly refer to reader(s)	You, the reader,
En	inclusive markers	Explicitly refer to or build relationship with readers	We, our, us, you can see
Evaluative	Hedges	Withhold writer's full commitment to statements Include epidemic uncertainty signals	Downtoners: fairly, almost, partly, Frequency adverbs: usually, sometimes, often Hedges: probably, perhaps, may
	Boosters	Emphasize force or writer's certainty in message Include certainty markers	Emphatics: certainly, really, demonstrate, believe Amplifying adverbs: totally, always
	Attitude markers	Express writer's affective values towards readers and the content Include affective signals	Important, interesting, even, unfortunately, I agree

Note. Modified from Hyland (2004a, p. 111; 2005a, p.49)

As I explained the blurry boundaries and definitions of metadiscourse created by researchers in chapter 2, I have carefully selected the typologies and the categorizations and created a model of metadiscourse in order to reduce confusion by remaining the main categories and functions with the same typologies. Basically, I adopted Hyland's models of metadiscourse (2004a; 2005a) and kept the two main dimensions: textual and interpersonal (Crismore at el, 1993; Hyland, 2004a). I divided interpersonal

metadiscourse, however, into two different categories--engagement and evaluative--while Hyland integrated engagement makers under the interpersonal dimensions.

In my modified model of metadiscourse, there are three main metadiscourse dimensions, which can be easily narrowed down to two (textual and interpersonal). The three aspects include: (a) textual metadiscourse (writer's presence in organizing and directing texts); (b) engagement metadiscourse (writer's engagement with themselves and readers); (c) evaluative metadiscourse (writer's attitude toward propositional ideas or readers in convincing or denying his or her argument).

Textual metadiscourse is mainly used to organize propositions to emphasize coherence with conjunctions, such as connectors and adverbial phrases; frame markers; endophoric markers; code glosses; and evidentials. This reveals writers' cognitive ability in organizing propositional information with logical connections and frame markers. Under interpersonal metadiscourse, I divided it into two different aspects: engagement and evaluative. They concern writers' stances toward the content and the reader: relation and effect, intimacy and remoteness, expression of attitude, commitment to claims and extent of reader involvement.

Engagement metadiscourse contains two categories of writer-oriented and reader-oriented markers. Writer-oriented markers show writers' presence by using first person pronouns (e.g., *I*, *we*, *our*, *my*). Reader-oriented markers (e.g., consider, find, imagine, let's, notice, our, you, think about) focus "more on reader participation and include second person pronouns, imperatives, question forms, and asides that interrupt the ongoing discourse" (Hyland, 2004a, p. 113) to draw attention or invite readers' participation in text.

Under interpersonal metadiscourse, evaluative metadiscourse helps to explore writers' stances in shaping academic authoritative writer identity in their text. Hedges and boosters are devices for communicative strategies to carry writers' degree of confidence or their perspective towards both propositional information and readers. These indicators reflect writers' attitudes in expressing their commitment to statements and negotiating claims with their readers. When writers make knowledge but protect themselves from interpersonal criticism, they use hedges or markers of uncertainty (e.g., possible, might) by accommodating readers' expectations and establishing rapports. Hedges are used to indicate relative uncertainty of writers' claims and writers' willingness to negotiate a claim; they are also used to reduce commitment and responsibility and convey respect for alternative views. On the other hand, boosters (e.g., evidently, highly, surely) are used when writers present claims with certainty. Boosters can create solidarity in text and engagement with readers and construct an authoritative persona. Attitude markers (e.g., admittedly, amazingly, curiously, remarkably, proffered) show writers' affective attitudes including emotions, perspective, and beliefs. These are attitude verbs (e.g., agree, like, prefer), necessity modals (e.g., should, must), sentence adverbs (i.e., interestingly, surprisingly, unfortunately), and adjectives (e.g., appropriate, logical, hopeful, important).

More examples of metadiscourse markers can be found in Hyland's investigated items (2004a, pp.190-193; 2005a, pp. 218-224). While analyzing each item (word or phrase) of metadiscourse with his exemplary metadiscourse items, I faced difficulties in counting them and sorting them into the categories. In an email exchange with Hyland, he advised me that "the appendices are just a guide to how we might understand a word

and how it might mainly be used in a particular set of texts. . . . What this means is that [we] have to look at all items in context and not read them off a list" (Personal communication, January 29, 2010). I was careful to examine each metadiscourse item within its sentential context because a marker can be interpreted as one or more categories. I read the papers and marked linguistic items as metadisocurse markers for each paper at least four times in order to categorize items appropriately.

L1 and L2 Comparative Discourse Analysis

As a bilingual writer, I constantly ask myself to choose certain discourse features because two different L1 and L2 discourses are available. People may use L1 discourse features because they are more familiar with them (Connor, 1996; Hinkel, 1997, 2002; Norton, 1987), or they may resist using L1 discourse to show their L2 academic writer identity.

Since Korean students have been accustomed to their L1 discourse, how do they control or rely on L1 discourse features when writing L2 academic papers? In the second text-based stimulated elicitation interview, I pointed out some Korean discourse features in the participants' text. The third research question in this study focuses on the traces of L1 discourse features and the reasons they employed them in their English academic papers.

As I discussed the features of written Korean discourses in chapter 2, I tried to identify the L1 Korean discourse influences in terms of values, ideas, rhetoric, and textual features. I broke textual data into various parts that seemed to be influenced by Korean discourse and searched for patterns in which certain features were linguistically and textually evident.

For the unit of the analysis, I looked at two structures: global discourse organization and local discourse organization. Global discourse organization includes the form of an academic paper with introduction, body, and conclusion as well as title, layout, and length. The local discourse organization includes order, pattern, a variety of discourse structure, L1 and L2 rhetoric conventions, argumentation strategies, elaboration, and so on (Ivanič, 1998, pp. 274-279). Additional traces that I searched for were lexical and syntactic choices, first person references, and evaluative lexis, all of which have been found in contrastive rhetoric research. Not only textual features, but also ideational features that are influenced from L1 and L2 literacy practices were examined, as well.

However, in the discourse analysis, there were more than just Korean discourse features embodied in their papers. Therefore, I expanded my findings from not only Korean discourse but also from other discourses (traditional academic discourse, process writing discourse, etc) which were embedded in their constructions of writer identities (Fernsten 2002; Hollander, 2005).

All in all, the L1 and L2 comparative discourse analysis as a tool of inquiry helped me to see my participants' knowledge, values and preferences, and attitudes and beliefs according to L1 and L2 writing experiences, cognitive achievements, interactional achievements, and inter-textual achievements. Textual analysis of their L2 academic papers demonstrated how they represented their own academic writer identities while they made choices about which discourse features were preferred, respected, and practiced between L1 and L2 writing context.

Triangulation

Triangulation means the use of multiple data sources and research methods to provide corroborating evidence and explore the research questions from different angles (Crewswell, 1998; Davies, 2007). Triangulation is important in a qualitative study because this can minimize the possible threats from a researcher's bias and add more perspectives. I carried out data triangulation, theory triangulation, and methodological triangulation to strengthen my study by using multiple data collection, analysis methods, and theoretical perspectives that bring deeper insights into my study. First, I adopted several theoretical perspectives: poststructuralism, social constructionism, linguistic theory, and discourse theory. Second, in data collection I collected at least five different types of text data: three academic papers, process logs, interview transcripts, maps of social influences, and other artifacts; hence, various aspects of writer identity in writing contexts (textual and social interactional levels) could be revealed. Third, I used different methods for data analysis: thematic analysis, metadiscourse corpus study (Hyland, 2004a, 2005a), and comparative discourse analysis. The multiple types of data collected, the various analysis methods, and the theoretical perspectives secured the data triangulation in my study.

Validity

In connection with validity in research, qualitative research can appear weak because the concept of validity was developed in the positivist science that emphasizes that validity should be measured with quantifiable data. Thus, qualitative researchers have faced validity critiques over the past 15 years (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Hesse-Biber, 2006). The methods used in qualitative research have been criticized for a lack of

validity. However, Denzin and Lincoln have suggested the use of multiple methods to avoid this problem and to see how multiple methods interact with each other:

[T]he use of multiple methods, or triangulation, reflects an attempt to secure an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question. Objective reality can never be captured. Triangulation is not a tool or a strategy of validation, but an alternative to validation. . . . The combination of multiple methods, empirical materials, perspectives and observers in a single study is best understood, then, as a strategy that adds rigor, breadth, and depth to any investigation. (p. 2)

Gee (1999) also expressed concern with validity in qualitative research but argued that some analyses could be more or less valid than others and that valid is "social" (p. 96) and never "once and for all" (p. 95). Gee presented validity for discourse analysis based on four elements: explained convergence, agreement, coverage, and linguistic details to support the validity of discourse analysis with data even though all questions cannot be asked to get all possible answers (p. 95).

Limitations of the Study

This study has limitations in terms of its research design and generalization of findings. First, even though being a Korean researcher has allowed me to develop a closer relationship and better access to Korean participants, the role of the researcher in qualitative research as the primary tool may affect data collection, analysis, and representation. Second, this qualitative case study cannot attempt to generalize its findings because it has dealt with such a small number of participants; there were many variables among the six Korean ESL students, and they could not represent all Korean ESL students in all U.S. universities. Also, Fox (1994) has cautioned researchers not to

oversimplify the sharing of traits by students in the same cultural group with "distinctive, culturally based writing styles" (p. xx) because students' writing styles are too complex to be grouped by culture and everyone has his or her own experiences of L1 and L2 literacy practices.

Third, the period of data collection covered less than a year. If a longitudinal case study were applied to this study, it would show a more complex and detailed understanding of the construction of writer identity as part of the acquisition of academic literacy (Fox, 1994; Spack, 1997a). However, this qualitative study would provide an indepth understanding of each participant's construction of identity as a writer in their papers and the academic community.

CHAPTER 4: KOREAN STUDENTS' CONSTRUCTION OF WRITER IDENTITIES Overview

Chapter 4 presents the life stories and literacy practices of the six Korean students

I interviewed and discusses the significant findings of their construction of writer

identities. This chapter consists of two sections to respond to the first research question,

as follows:

How do Korean ESL students construct their identities as writers in the English academic discourse community based on their previous L1 writing practices and the current L2 writing practices?

Section I, I focus on the Korean participants' literacy practices in Korea and the U.S. Kucer (2001) explained that literacy events have a bearing on many aspects of practices at the cognitive, linguistic, sociocultural, and political levels. I present not only the students' literacy practices that were literally related to reading and writing experiences in Korean and English in school and non-school settings, but also their understanding of cognitive, social, cultural, and political aspects of those literacy practices. Section II presents seven major themes when they constructed their multiple writer identities that were influenced by several factors including their previous Korean writing practices, the privileged academic discourse, personal resistance, and marginalized ESL social and linguistic identity.

Life History and Literacy Practices

This first section consists of three parts for each participant: the life history, the literacy practices in Korea, and those in the U.S. In the life history, I began with their family background; their parents' attitudes toward education; and their personal goals,

interests, and work experiences, as well as their experiences and attitudes in schools. Additionally, I asked them to remember writing experiences in schools or in private institutes and their non-academic literacy practices. Finally, I asked about their experiences in writing papers in the U.S.--their understanding of academic papers, the writing process, and the importance of writing cognitively, socially, and politically.

The Korean participants had different life stories and literacy practices and developed various attitudes toward writing and writer identities as time passed. I illustrated my participants' academic experiences. They shared their various literacy events, such as reading books in their disciplines, writing various types of papers for class, and reflecting on their participation as members of the academic discourse community in terms of social and political perspectives.

Minji's Story

Life Story

On the second day after her arrival in the U.S., I met Minji because I was assigned to help a new Korean student check into the campus dormitory at her American university. My first impression of her was that she was very tired but excited, was respectful to elders, and was as curious about me as I was about her. Since she met me immediately before the semester began, she occasionally had come to me and asked many questions about her classes, assignments, and other issues, and we learned each other and she opened her honest thoughts and reactions to me easily. Thus, I felt that she considered me as a sister and senior rather than merely a researcher who was collecting data.

Minji was born in Kyungsang province, where she believed that a conservative, male-centered idea was deeply rooted in Korea. Her family consisted of a civil servant

father, a retired civil servant mother, and her younger brother. Minji was raised to follow her family's expectations and fulfill her responsibilities, so she matured quickly. When she was young, she was raised by her grandmother because both parents worked. Minji learned a lot about housework (cleaning and cooking), and she had to help her grandmother and her younger brother. Additionally, high academic achievements were expected of her, and she was a hard-working student. Her relatives were public school teachers and civil servants; therefore, she was expected to be a good, well-behaved girl and, in the future, to be an English teacher.

Her parents expected Minji to perform excellently in school, so they sent her to a private high school, despite its being far from her home, in order to better prepare her for college admission. For many Korean parents, college implicitly means a better future life for their children. When deciding on her major, Minji wanted to be an elementary school teacher. However, due to her mother being hospitalized, the latter convinced Minji to be an English teacher at the secondary level, so she could commute from home and support her brother. Due to the locations of available schools, if she had chosen to be an elementary teacher, she would have had to leave her family, which would have caused burdens to other family members.

Her college life for the first year and half went smoothly but not pleasantly. She did not attend any clubs or department events but studied hard so that she could keep her scholarship. She had to take care of her younger brother in high school and take on a motherly role for him so that he could focus on studying for the college admission exam, *Suneung*.

Since her parents were very conservative, she would not ordinarily have come abroad to study in the U.S. But her NES teacher convinced them, so Minji applied for the exchange program. She looked forward to coming here because she wanted to get out of her current life cycle as a Korean college student and a motherly sister in the family.

Once she got their permission, she felt relieved to be free from her family obligations.

On her second day in the U.S., Minji checked into the dormitory and was very disappointed that she had to share such a small room with two others. Also she was afraid of living with African Americans at first. She faced several problems with her roommates and unforgettable experiences in her co-ed dormitory life. On the other hand, except for living in the dorm, she had experienced many pleasant memories. She participated widely in many cultural events on campus, such as African Night, Chinese New Year Day, Unity Day, the Asian club, the French club, a French dinner, and a book signing. Also, she went to Thanksgiving dinner with an American family, did volunteer work during spring break, and took trips during the winter break and in May before she left.

Her purpose in the exchange program was not just to study, but to gain new experiences. She wanted to be a different person and forget about her Korean life, which had become a burden to her. Mentally and physically she was free from her family obligations. Since her grades from this university would not be reflected in her Korean transcripts, she did not worry much about them.

As the time neared for her return to Korea, toward the end of the spring semester, she had reflected upon her crazy college life in the U.S. Even though she was happy to think of eating homemade Korean food, she felt nervous and started putting herself back

into a Korean context where her responsibilities and family expectations were high.

Before she left, she thanked me. Once she arrived in Korea, she emailed one more time and thanked me again.

Literacy Practices in Korea

During her preschool, Minji had helped her grandmother and her brother, and she did not write or read much as her traditionally conservative grandmother would not put much effort into literacy education for her granddaughter. Once in school, she practiced penmanship; read folk stories, fairy tales, and biographies; and wrote reflective essays. During 5th and 6th grades, she received awards several times in different writing contests on particular topics, such as Parents' Day, Hangul's (Korean language) Day, and Children's Day. She liked writing contests because of the rewards, viewing the certificates as reinforcements.

In her senior year, she was in an honors group and was placed in the top 4% of gifted students, who were exclusively given extra instructions on several subjects-Korean, English, mathematics, and science--for better preparation for *Suneung*. This training was intended to help the students go to the most prestigious university in Korea.

Minji felt privileged but did not enjoy the instruction because it was only for the *Suneung* exam and the training was seen as a crash course.

Minji had learned several elements and tricks for the argumentative writing test, nonsul, which was required by some universities. In order to get higher scores on the argumentative writing test, she read many writing samples, analyzed them, found weaknesses in the sample writings, learned grammar rules, and developed ideas into three parts: introduction, body, and conclusion. Further, she learned to put famous proverbs or

statistics in her essays to attract readers in the introduction, and she memorized such information. Even though she did not like it much, she felt more confident in knowing how to write argumentative writing for college admission. In college, Minji experienced different writing expectations. Writing papers of five to six singled-spaced pages was difficult for her without clear writing instructions, so she wrote three-part papers based on her previous instruction in high school. She did not plagiarize because most papers were written about real life and personal reflection or observation of subjects.

She started to learn English when in the first grade, but she did not study any English before school. She enjoyed learning English with English singing, role playing, and writing short lists (e.g., self introductions, favorite things). Her 8th grade EFL teachers asked students to memorize every paragraph in each chapter from one English textbook during one semester and to fill out blanks for testing. Although many students did not like to do that, Minji confessed that this memorization of an English textbook was helpful later when speaking and writing. In high school, Minji prepared for English exams for *Suneung*, but there was no English writing practice at all.

In college in Korea, Minji met an NES teacher who motivated her to learn "real" English, and with his help, she was allowed to come to the U.S. as an exchange student. She had written only two compositions in English. One paper was in her English literature class, in which she had to explain her feelings about English short novels. That assignment was difficult for her. Second, she wrote one statement of purpose when applying to the American university for the exchange program. Her American friend helped edit the statement of purpose.

Outside of school, her literacy practice was not extensive. However, her parents helped their children to focus on study, so they got rid of their television and made them read more books. When she was an elementary school student, Minji read a series of 10 Korean novels, *Taebaek Mountain*, and this helped her later when she studied the Korean language and Korean literature, as well as on the *Suneung* exam. In addition, she was encouraged to go to English private institutes to study for English exams, for which she was not prepared as well. To help her in the subject, she had to continue to go to private English institutes for extra English instruction.

In conclusion, she took the same route as many other Korean students. Even though she liked to write and express herself, she began to lose her interest in writing because she was expected to follow writing conventions, such as writing parts and strategies. Also it was amazing to see that she came to take English major courses in the U.S. with little practice of writing, having completed only two essays in English in Korea. *Literacy Practices in the U.S.*

Minji was a two-semester exchange student in 2008-2009. In the first semester, she took four English courses, which provided her with some new experiences. There were several international (ESL) students in three of the courses, so she participated comfortably and particularly enjoyed one course, Language, Gender, and Society, because discussing cultural and gender differences in communication was fun for her; she actively took a representative role as a Korean in the class. In her Humanities Literature course, reading classics, watching movies, and writing short responses were enjoyable, too.

However, she faced many challenges and anxieties. In College Writing, she felt isolated strongly from all the American students and realized American popular culture was an unfamiliar writing topic for her. In addition, her professor suggested her to move to another writing course, and Minji chose a different professor in a computer-equipped writing class. Again she was the only international student and rarely participated in class discussions but hid behind the computer screen. The professor put her on a special schedule that required her to go to the Writing Center to get help for her writing.

Meanwhile, she voluntarily took the free academic writing course offered by MA TESOL students in the English department. She felt more comfortable with international students and learned MLA style, MS word, and English expressions for the four essays she wrote.

Toward the end of the semester, Minji was challenged with writing a research paper. Writing an 8-10 page research paper related to gender and language was totally new for her. Writing a long research paper and selecting a topic and participants was difficult. She had never experienced writing a research paper or conducting any research, even a short interview, and did not know how to organize her study and present her findings. Meanwhile she was busy planning for winter vacation trips to Florida, New York, and Boston. As a result, her paper was out of focus.

Her GPA in the first semester was surprisingly good and gave her confidence.

Ambitiously, she took five courses, with high expectations that she could learn a lot for her teaching for the future in the second semester. However, she faced more unexpected challenges and uneasiness in most of the courses. It was quite different from her first semester. She was very frustrated by the fact that the poetry class activities were very creative because students had to present their understanding of poetry with performances,

such as playing a music instrument, rapping, acting, or creating a new poem, all of which were too demanding for her. She believed that she did not learn how to analyze and interpret poetry as she had done in Korea. She was very disappointed with the approach and the creative activities that the professor chose.

Similarly, Minji expected to learn a lot about teaching English writing, but

Teaching and Evaluating Writing course was designed to help English majors teach in

mainstream classes of NES students. She could not do a good job on many requirements:

class discussion, observation of a class, the observation report, writing a teaching

philosophy, keeping a learning log and portfolio, and mini-teaching in a College Writing

course. Once she lost interest, she felt overwhelmed and fearful and missed those

particular classes several times.

In her other courses, she did not feel as bad as she did in the first two. She liked Structure of English and ESL Methods and Materials course better than the other courses. There were a few international students in these classes, so she felt that she could more comfortably speak in class and she had fun as she participated in every class discussion and was paired with an NES graduate student to interview each other for learning the other's second language acquisition and to do partnership projects. She said, "I like the Structure of English class because it was a Korean way" because there were lectures and exams, and she learned English syntax and analyzed English sentences. In the Literary Analysis course, she felt that the requirements were too much for her. In every class, she had to read, discuss, write response papers, make portfolios, and go to conference meetings. However, she reflected, "My overall English ability was quite improved. . . . It

was too much, . . . But in general, I learned. I feel I grow as a fluent writer" (Interview 3, May 4, 2009).

The second semester was rough for Minji. During the semester, her goal changed from producing well-written papers to merely completing her writing assignments. She was challenged cognitively, socially, linguistically, and politically through working with NES classmates and professors, participating in observation, mini-teaching, and completing a large number of reading and writing requirements. She had to write new types of academic papers in the five classes, although she hardly knew how to write different genres of paper. The requirements were overwhelming to her. Despite the directions given, she did not have a clear picture of how to organize and how to focus in each required assignment. She did not seek help from professors or classmates, and she barely kept up with the requirements, even with occasional extensions. Once Minji realized the difficulties of the requirements and got behind schedule in doing homework, the work began to pile up, and eventually she almost lost control. She did not have time to go to the Writing Center to revise her papers but barely finished them before each class began. She was tardy for morning classes due to staying up late doing homework.

In conclusion, Minji had experienced many ups and downs through her academic literacy practices. Socially and politically she realized that she was a disadvantaged minority among NES classmates while she was somewhat privileged as the only Korean female student among her NNES group. Cognitively and linguistically, course requirements and teaching approaches in class designed for NES majors were challenging to her because they were new and demanding compared to her familiar teacher-centered and lecture-oriented classes in Korea.

Junho was a male undergraduate student majoring in English at an American university. Before I conducted this study, I had personally known him through Korean community activities from the Korean Student Association. Also, he was the participant for my pilot study prior to my dissertation study because he had been very interested in learning English and sharing his language learning experiences with me.

Junho has a father, a mother, and one older sister. He was 30 years old and has had several unusual life experiences that other students had not had. During his childhood, he confessed that he was not a good, studious student. He did not study hard while in junior and senior high school because he wanted to play music and did not want to go to college. He was a construction worker and created his own rock music band with his friends after high school graduation. Junho had many problems in the band, and he realized that his college friends were working toward their future, but he had nothing for his future.

This intriguing inspiration eventually led him to pursue a college degree. He went to a special academic institute that taught many school subjects intensively to high school graduates interested in college admission. Due to his poor study habits during high school, he could not improve a great deal on the *Suneung* exam and had only one choice for a university, one that was far from his home. Interestingly, his decision on his major was not based on his interest; his sister recommended him to study English so that in the future he could do a better job on English tests in case he wanted to transfer to another university. After one year of study in college, he spent two years in the military service, which is a mandatory for Korean men. Then, he worked in a bank and met a coworker

who seemed to speak English very well. He was envious of his coworker's English proficiency. This motivated Junho to take English tests, such as TOEIC and TOEFL, to evaluate his English proficiency.

Junho spent 10 months in the Philippines studying English. Eighteen months after he came back to Korea from the Philippines, he went to this university through an exchange program. Since an American degree is valued in Korea, he decided to earn the degree from the university. When I had the final interview with Junho, he was expecting to graduate at the end of the semester. He wanted to continue to study English, but first he planned to go back to Korea. Hence, his specific plans were not certain for the next year.

Literacy Practices in Korea

Junho's first reaction to his Korean writing experience was neither memorable nor pleasant. Most of the writing practices were dictation tests and written reflections on books, such as Korean fairy tales, world classics-literature books, or biographies. He had never won any writing contests held in schools. He had no interest in and put no effort into writing. His role as a student was to listen to teachers and take notes from them for tests.

Once he entered a college in Korea, he took one Korean composition course, but he did not learn much from the course. He began to copy and paste some passages from sources or books and put them into his papers, and no one accused him of plagiarism.

Junho believed writing papers meant to copy and paste. In Korean, the word *report* is used instead of *paper* or *essay*, as in American universities, so he literarily believed that a report meant that students should find information from sources and put them into their

paper. That led him to think that copying and pasting was not wrong. According to his belief, it was acceptable as long as students found correct information and reported it, even if the information was directly copied or merely rephrased by students.

Despite having little writing experience, Junho has developed his interest in reading fiction, comic books, and especially martial arts and hero-fiction (*Muhyupji* * * *), such as *The Three Kingdoms* from the Internet or in a comic book reading store. During high school and college, he enjoyed reading this genre of hero fiction, and he still reads for pleasure from the Internet.

I also asked him about his English practice in Korea. He started to get English tutoring at home when he was in 4thgrade, while he began to learn English in 7th grade in public school. English education emphasized grammar translation and audio-lingual methods. English writing exercises focused on learning English grammar. As an English major in Korea, however, he never wrote any English papers. In his college, native English speaking professors taught English communicative skills rather than writing.

However, when he went to the Philippines to study English for 10 months, he started to keep a diary in English and learned more English expressions from Filipino English teachers. For those 10 months, he felt that he got rid of some anxiety over speaking English and learned many English expressions. He realized that he needed to study more because his confidence in reading and writing was not high.

Literacy Practices in the U.S.

In his first semester, Junho reduced his university coursework, taking some noncredit courses from an ESL program because the first semester was difficult for him. After that semester, he usually took four courses each term. As an English literature major, in the first few years he had difficulty reading lengthy stories and distinguishing among conversation, flashback, and monologue in literary texts. He spent a great amount of time reading and comprehending stories. As time went on, he sometimes did not finish reading stories but went to online resources, such as http://www.enotes.com/ and http://www.sparknotes.com/ for a better understanding, and read summaries and analyses of literary works. That saved time and helped him do better work on tests and papers in class.

Junho liked writing-intensive courses because they gave him practice in reading, speaking, and writing in English. He had written several genres of papers: essays, research papers, and critiques. He learned how to use quotation marks, quote original texts, and make his claim with supporting ideas. In his major courses, he liked reading literary works and discussing them. He said that he might continue to study English literature through a master's and a doctoral program in the future. However, he had difficulty in making a clear claim with appropriate supporting ideas and quotations, and in taking a clear position. He felt challenged by the critical and logical aspects of writing.

Since fall 2004, his speaking ability has improved. When I first met Junho five years ago, he asked me many questions about English expressions. He worked intensively to memorize English idioms, living with five American roommates in a house for one year and having a non-Korean girlfriend. If he knew the answers, he tried to participate in class and somewhat overcame his fear of speaking in front of NES students. Usually, others have seen him as a quiet person, but over time people recognized that he spoke English very well. In connection with this, he jokingly said, "God came to me"--meaning that God was helping him in his speaking.

Junho developed his own ways of communicating with NES students, not only verbally, but also non-verbally. He raised his hand, or he shook or nodded his head to express his ideas in class discussion and to get the notice of his professors. Also, he learned not to ask certain questions, such as "What did you say?" or "Pardon me?" because they would block ongoing conversations with others. He borrowed the Korean communication strategy *nunchi*, which is an ability to read the context in a situation, pretending to understand others' speaking and avoiding showing his poor English fluency to others.

Even though he felt comfortable in speaking English, he did not want to be a group leader. He faced problems in finding appropriate words quickly and communicating in an American style in English because a Korean style of thought dominated his mind at first. He said:

I think that one [word] in Korean and pour over that into the mold. Then I shake it and find a good word and then I say [the word in English]. Sometime, I cannot say something in an American style. . . . Mine is just a Korean style. Even though I want to get rid of Korean style, I cannot because everything is based on Korean. I know the American style, but still Korean style and language have a more big influence than English on my head and mind." (Interview 2, May 22, 2009)

One of the interesting points he made was that, not only his limited English ability, but also different cultural and personal differences between him and American students caused him not to be active in communicating with Americans. In class discussion, he had several experiences in which a majority of American students understood ongoing topics and agreed in their discussion, but he could not understand the topics clearly

enough to disagree with their opinions. Junho interpreted this phenomenon as possibly due to his own different cultural views and attitudes toward certain topics. Junho sometimes took advantage of being a non-native speaking student. If he could not finish a paper on time due to his laziness and time limitations, he excused himself. He explained his situation to his professors in order to get extensions for his papers.

Even though he had practiced writing many term papers, I observed that Junho was under greater stress during his last semester due to his large number of writing assignments. He expressed this pressure: "I am tired of writing papers. I am out of ideas. I do not know what to put" (Interview 2, May 22, 2009). While under this stress, he was struggling cognitively in writing the papers, which caused him to become isolated socially and culturally from NES and Korean people alike.

As time went on in his academic discourse community, he received more discouraging comments from his professors, compared to the earlier years when they had been more encouraging. When he became a senior, he was expected to do a good job, unlike his year as a foreign freshmen college student who could get a professor's sympathy and support in the academic performance. Even though his literacy skills had improved significantly, he was not very confident in leading discussions, writing, and comprehending literature texts. He still struggled to find appropriate English words in speaking and writing due to the Korean language influence. Outside of class, Junho kept a diary in English and sometimes exchanged emails in English with foreign or American students, but these out-of-class literacy practices in English were very limited, while he continued to go to Korean websites to know current issues in Korea.

Nayeon's Story

Life History

Nayeon is a 27-year-old female Korean student. She was raised in a traditional Korean family with a conservative and strict father, a supportive mother, one older sister, and one younger brother. She was a fine student during her school years in Korea. Despite her father's wish, she chose communication media as her major in order to study social science and write reports with the goal of working in a broadcasting company. During and after college, she worked as a Korean language teacher in a private institute for elementary and secondary students for a year and a half and as a reporter in a newspaper company for 6 months, as well as an intern in the Korean Broadcast System for another 6 months. In order to continue to study, she decided to come to the U.S. without her parents' support.

I met Nayeon when she was a student in my ESL writing class at an ESL program in fall 2007. During the first semester, I observed that she had a low proficiency in English and usually used an electronic dictionary in class. Meanwhile, she sought to study in a master's program. On the advice of her Korean seniors, she was admitted to the MA Criminology program at her university in fall 2008. I first interviewed her at the end of her first semester. She showed a strong interest and passion in studying criminology while facing communication problems due to her English language proficiency. Gaining a half graduate assistantship in the second year of her master's program, she had already decided to pursue a doctoral degree in criminology.

Literacy Practices in Korea

Nayeon was interested in Korean writing because her teachers encouraged her and she felt confident writing in Korean. Because of this, she remembered her writing practices in Korea well. As a student in Korea, her writing practices in schools had been similar to those of other participants. In elementary school, as might be expected, she kept a diary, wrote reflective essays, and attended writing contests on particular topics, such as Parents' Day or Children's Day. She earned several awards in writing contests and was in charge of writing activities in class, like a writing leader. During high school she learned spelling and spacing in specially formatted sheets (*Dokhugam younggi*) for Korean writing and wrote a couple of reviews and personal essays after watching documentary videos and going on a field trip. She was not given any special writing tutoring in argumentative writing for college admission.

In college, Nayeon learned to write news reports and news articles in her major courses. She was encouraged by her professors several times to submit her writings to newspapers. In order to improve her Korean writing, she read news articles online and thought about her writing thoroughly. As an interesting note, Nayeon was warned not to put her personal voice and argument in her article (it is called *journal* in Korea) that would be published in a newspaper because she did not have an authority to bring her ideas since she was a student according to her director.

Nayeon began to learn English when she was 13 years old. She was taught English through a typical grammar-translation approach, with emphasis on grammar and reading and only practiced English writing by filling in words to complete English sentences. By the time she entered college, she had never written in English. During her

senior year in high school, she had studied English for its usefulness in the future because TOEIC or TOEFL scores, English composition, and an English interview were all required when applying for a job in Korea. She did not go to a *hagwon*, but read a lot of sample writings in English for TWE (Test of Written English).

Literacy Practice in the U.S.

During her first year in the English language program, Nayeon spent time to practice writing in English with the help of her electronic dictionary. Her greatest difficulty was finding appropriate English expressions or terms that were equivalent to Korean words. At first, she wrote outlines or her ideas in Korean and translated them into English. She realized that English writing style was quite different from Korean style, so she became careful in her choice of vocabulary and sentence structure. Because she was more used to writing argumentation and reports in Korea, she experienced difficulty in English composition when ESL writing courses emphasized more personal reactions and feelings.

Nayeon openly expressed her lack of communicative skills--listening, speaking, and writing. Fortunately, a female Korean student who was working on her doctoral dissertation in criminology helped Nayeon in many ways. She gave Nayeon a list of ways to prepare before taking graduate courses. During the summer of 2008, Nayeon read the required books that would be used in the fall semester and took notes so that she could increase her knowledge in this field because she was not sufficiently familiar with criminology content.

During her first semester in the master's program, she took four criminology courses. The number and types of writing assignments overwhelmed her, as might be

expected. Nayeon learned to write article reviews, response journals, document reviews, written exams, concept papers (proposals), and research papers. Most of the writing assignments were new for her, and she always felt a lack of time during the steps of the writing process, which included understanding writing assignments, searching online articles, reading the articles, selecting citations, outlining, drafting, revising, and editing. At one point in the beginning of her first semester, Nayeon asked me to look at one of her article reviews. She relied heavily on her older and more experienced Korean friend in writing her research paper. Writing in English was very time consuming work for her. For example, she spent at least 15 hours to write two to three pages in English. Sometimes she went to the Writing Center twice a week to edit papers. She even confessed that she could not finish reading assignments because she spent a great deal of time on the writing assignments and she relied on her notes when she prepared herself during the summer break.

Nayeon was shocked by her poor writing and comprehension skills in the first inclass writing activity. She could not write more than three sentences in class and could not understand the writing prompts. She visited her professor to ask for special consideration for in-class writing. The professor agreed to send her an email detailing the in-class writing topic two or three hours prior to the class so that Nayeon could prepare herself within the time limit. The in-class written exam for midterm and the posting of writing on WebCT were also difficult for her. She was uncomfortable speaking in class. She was very disappointed by the fact that she could not actively participate in verbal discussions but could only show her notes to her group members. Interestingly, she could

verbally participate more in the research methods class taught by a Korean professor since she felt more comfortable in that classroom.

During her second semester, I had a third interview with Nayeon and found that she felt more comfortable by that time. She was able to write phrases and terminology that were used repeatedly, and she had begun to develop her writing strategies, as follows: First when reading articles, she underlined useful expressions or sentences and copied and pasted them in her draft. Then she divided long sentences into short ones. At that time, she could not write sentences freely but borrowed others' sentences and changed them a bit without appropriate paraphrasing and citation. As she was aware of plagiarism in her department, she tried to avoid it by changing the original sentences into simpler sentences and substituting simple words, so they would look like sentences written by students rather than professionals.

In the final follow-up interview at the end of her fourth semester, she shared a surprising experience she had had with an American classmate. In a recent collaborative writing project, Nayeon was disappointed with her American partner because the latter's writing was disorganized and unfocused. She thought that her own writing was not quite as good as that of American graduate students. Her partner did not put an effort into writing papers and had many writing flaws. This made Nayeon wonder how well other classmates wrote their academic papers. After that experience, she did not feel bad about herself as a graduate student and a writer.

Sunhee's Story

Life History

Sunhee was a 40-year-old female student studying criminology at her American university. She finally earned a doctoral degree shortly after I had finished collecting her

data, and then she returned to Korea. She was raised in a strict family with one older sister and one older brother. Like other Koreans, her parents' expectations were high for their children. They have a strong faith in education, so her mother supported Sunhee financially while the latter pursued master's and doctoral degrees in the United States.

At school in Korea, she was an average student but particularly liked reading and writing. She was encouraged to go to one of the prestigious women's colleges by her mother, who believed that educational background was very important for her future marriage or career. In order to enter the university, she chose French as her major because she did not get a high enough score on the Korean SAT test for admission to other majors; different majors require different scores.

Unlike her performance in middle and high school, she said she was not a hard working college student because she had more freedom and French was not her preferred major. She confessed that she lost faith in herself. She did not study diligently because her real interest was in criminology. She had the ideal of justice firmly in her mind.

After her college graduation, she got married and had a daughter, and for 7 years she served as an English teacher in a private institute for Korean middle and high school students. Because of her desire to study criminology, she took an ESL program for 3 months and in January 2003, she started the MA Criminology program at a university in North Carolina.

While Sunhee studied her doctorate at the university, she had to work on campus to support her daughter, even though her mother was supporting her financially from Korea. Also, she was voluntarily involved in a prison ministry in a local correctional facility. She had a very busy schedule: she studied in the library, worked on campus,

served in the Korean church and other volunteer work, and raised her daughter. For a time she considered staying and teaching in the U.S. after graduation, but health concerns about her mother caused her to return to Korea. Currently, she is a criminology researcher for the Korean government.

Literacy Practices in Korea

During her elementary schooling, students were encouraged to read classic books, write short compositions, and keep diaries, which were checked by their homeroom teachers. Sunhee enjoyed these reading and writing assignments and said, "Actually, I love writing. So from elementary school, I wrote lots of poems and stories. . . . My writing is good" (Interview 1, December 28, 2008). However, in middle and high school, like many other participants in this study, she stopped reading for pleasure and stopped doing creative writing. Her writing practices in school became less frequent for many reasons. Preparation for exams was emphasized, at the expense of writing. She was very disappointed with her classmates' poor writing and lack of interest in it. Her writing teacher put few comments on student writings. Sunhee wrote a few compositions and earned good grades on her essays, so she thought that she was an adequate writer. She did not feel that she needed to practice writing because it was not included on most exams.

During her early college years, she did not have much Korean writing practice, which led her to lose her interest in studying. One shocking experience was her first inclass midterm exam, which required both knowledge and writing skill. She was accustomed to taking multiple choice exams in high school. She was very disappointed and did not know how to answer in written exams. In Korean literature and language

class, she had read many Korean classic books and wrote a couple of essays and reports (similar to research papers in the U.S.) in a semester. Her professor's comments had been simple and general. Without preparation for college, she developed a strategy for writing papers by reading seniors' papers as sample writing. For the first 2 years, her grades were primarily C's and D's because the different curriculum and different test measurements caused her frustration. She studied hard, however, in her junior and senior years in order to raise her GPA.

In her French literature courses, she wrote some papers. Sunhee also wrote a thesis in Korean related to French literature. Professors commented that her writing was filled with many instances of figurative language and personal voice, which she enjoyed using. However, she did not compose in French and did not see French as her second or foreign language. She was not confident speaking French but liked to read and study French literature. After graduation, she submitted some drama scripts, but they were rejected; she still has plans to submit scripts in the future that deliver hope and justice to people.

Her English education focused on reading and grammar in Korea. Sunhee did not compose in English except for a few writing exercises, such as translating one or two sentences and filling out English words to complete sentences. Some of her English teachers required students to keep a diary in English, but it was never checked nor strongly encouraged. In college, her friends advised her to study English for a future job, but she did not study much English. After graduation, she studied in order to teach English reading and grammar to Korean students. Once she decided to come to the U.S. to study, she spent about a year preparing for the TOEFL test in order to earn admission.

She had never practiced writing in English before and bought a couple of TWE (Test of Written English) books for self-study. She learned some important English writing strategies from the books, such as being specific in using examples and topics, and using transitional signals and introductory phrases when citing sources. Before she came to the U.S., she practiced writing about 100 different TWE writing topics, comparing them with the sample TWE writings in the books.

Literacy Practices in the U.S.

In 2002, even though Sunhee had her TOEFL score for admission to the master's program in criminology, she decided to take an ESL program in order to improve her English. She felt she was still not qualified to take graduate courses. She was assigned to a high intermediate level (4/5 level) in the ESL program, and it was worth taking because she was highly motivated, studied hard, and met an excellent ESL writing teacher. Sunhee learned how to make English sentences and how to write a research paper during her 3 months in the ESL program. She said:

In three months, I was busy and stressful. My English writing skill was dramatically improved. Thanks to her. . . . So if I had not taken that class, I would have many troubles in graduate course. That means that that class was very helpful for me to prepare for graduate study. (Interview 1, December 28, 2008)

Her first semester in the master's program was tough on her. She was "worried, afraid, and nervous" because she was not familiar with the subject and the writing assignments were overwhelming. She took several actions to improve her literacy practices. First, when she did not know how to write a journal or she had questions, she directly asked her professors as there was no Korean classmate she could rely on in her

department. She clearly explained her situation as an international student who needed help and support in language. In addition, she studied incessantly. Sunhee read numerous academic journal articles, not only to increase her subject knowledge, but also to improve her English writing. She took notes on English sentences, expressions, and phrases, and memorized them for her papers. She did not read many journal articles in Korean, which would have quickly improved her subject knowledge. Instead, she wanted to learn English usages and expressions commonly used in criminology. Due to her language barrier, she could not actively participate in class discussions, and as she described herself, "My mind is active but my mouth is very slow" (Interview 1, December 28, 2008). However, she impressed her professors as a hard working student by asking many questions after class. She also had an internship in a probation office for a few months during her master's program.

During her doctoral program, she continued to face similar situations with her language difficulty, her disciplinary writing, and her particular situation as a working mother. Also, Sunhee felt that criminology professors did not have a lot of experience with international students. She faced a hard time with various forms of writing in her discipline. On her very first writing assignment, one professor told her that she should improve her writing. Journal articles, research papers, proposals for conferences, and inclass writing were new for her, but memorizing phrases and sentence structures tremendously helped her writing practice.

Compared to her participation in her master's program, she became more comfortable in class discussion. She believed that she was an active student and made a connection with her classmates. However, as a working mother, Sunhee did not have the

opportunity to socialize a great deal with her colleagues. The biggest difference in writing practice between the master's and doctoral programs was her use of the Korean language in her academic papers in English. During the master's program, she usually made outlines and drafts in Korean and then translated them into English. One Korean friend warned her that using the Korean language would not improve her English writing, so she started using only English in taking notes, outlining, and drafting when she started her doctoral program. Sunhee's writing process was similar to Nayeon's. Once she had a topic, she searched articles, read and selected more related articles for her papers, made outlines, and underlined useful expressions and key ideas to include in her writing.

On one occasion, Sunhee's method of writing papers caused her to be accused of plagiarism. When paraphrasing, she usually copied whole sentences from an article and then changed the sentence structure with a few different words. One day her professor warned her that even copying five to seven consecutive words was plagiarism. This warning made her stop using this paraphrase strategy.

A peer review occurred only one time in one of her doctoral classes. She was very nervous about showing her paper to her American classmates, who might criticize her writing ability, but they focused on her arguments and ideas. Because of her insecurity with English grammar in writing, she had utilized the Writing Center on campus since her master's program and reported her Writing Center visit note to her professors.

The most beneficial and reliable help with her writing came from the Writing

Center. She never asked any Korean or American friends for help. She was not

comfortable showing her draft to anyone unless she consulted with Writing Center tutors

"No. I do not want it. My writing is not good. It is a shame" (Interview 1, December 28, 2008). She emphasized that she spent numerous hours reading journal articles as sources and models and memorizing expressions for her writing improvement.

During the interview, I personally observed that she went through many revisions for her dissertation. During summer 2008, she visited the Writing Center almost every day until she felt sorry for the tutors and eventually hired two editors. Even after the numerous revisions, her dissertation advisor asked her to omit her figurative language and vague ideas and shorten her introduction. With her advisor's editing help, Sunhee learned to change phrases and work on sentence structure, which improved the quality of her writing.

Sunhee wanted to develop a more academic style. She presented her papers in three different conferences and wanted to publish an academic article, but her professors told her to finish her dissertation first. She plans to publish her academic papers in Korean because she is still not confident in writing English articles and also wants to publish non-academic writing.

In non-academic literacy practices, she created a blog in a Korean website and posted her reflections and informative articles in her interest areas of Christian, Criminology, and movies. She liked to keep her blog as a special space where she created multiple writer roles and increased her confidence as a writer. I will discuss more in the next section.

In short, Sunhee enjoys reading and writing and had become confident in Korean writing. Throughout this study, she expressed her mixed feeling of uncertainty and some degree of confidence toward her English writing. She had learned much about English

academic writing, but she was not quite confident to seek publication in scholarly journal in English and to seek a teaching position. She said:

I have many ideas but my English skill cannot express my critical and brilliant ideas fluently. . . . I did not apply for a teaching position because of my English. This is one reason that I want to go and teach in Korea. (Interview 1, December 28, 2008)

Yeonhee's Story

Life History

Yeonhee was a doctoral student in composition and TESOL in the English department at her American university. She was currently working on her dissertation. She has very supportive and well educated parents. Her father is a principal with a master's degree, and her mother is a nurse in junior high school. Her younger sister studied in Japan and has majored in Asian arts. Yeonhee was not taught English in her early life but liked several English teachers in school, and this encouraged her to be an English teacher. She has a B.A. in English literature and linguistics and a M.A. in English linguistics from schools in Korea.

After her wedding, she and her husband came to study TESOL in the U.S. in fall 2003, and later they earned M.A. degrees in TESOL. She taught one Korean language course to non-native Korean students at the university; after her coursework, she and her husband went back to Korea to teach English in colleges. During 2007-2008, she taught English courses to non- English majors and English majors at two Korean universities, and she came back to the U.S. to write her dissertation in fall 2008. Before conducting my study, we conversed occasionally as friends about academic and non-academic issues.

She was an ambitious doctoral student who wants to be a TESOL professor and is expressive about her ideas and pedagogical issues in TESOL.

Literacy Practices in Korea

Her childhood life was very typical but ideal in terms of literacy practices as she was encouraged to write and read by her parents and enjoyed most literacy activities. She competed with her sister in reading and writing so that she could get books for her birthday gift. Before primary schooling, she went to a Korean and Chinese calligraphy institute that taught Chinese and Korean letters in order to improve her penmanship and her knowledge in both languages and to enhance her self-discipline. Like other participants, she did not remember much writing instruction from elementary school although she got awards from many writing contests. She read many books and imitated the writing style of authors like Anne Frank from books or short essays. She also liked to write letters to her close friends and her teachers.

Yeonhee lost her interest in writing since writing activities were mostly absent from her classes. She did not take a serious role in writing contests during her middle school. For example, she sometimes put the lyrics from Korean pop songs into her poems and essays. She was under a great deal of stress over grades and exams. In high school, she was engaged in reading and memorizing for the *Suneung* exam. She read many recommended classical literary works and newspapers and wrote many reflections. During her 11th and 12th grade years, she was enrolled in a private institute to learn to read editorials in newspapers and improve her argumentative writing for *nonsul* as part of college entrance exams. For instance, she learned to use strategies for introductions in writing; using proverbs, sayings, or intriguing statistics in order to attract readers. She

memorized some verses and factual information to demonstrate her knowledge, just as another of my participants, Minji, had done. Yeonhee also learned logical fallacies in order to criticize others' argumentation, and she studied inductive and deductive writing.

After high school graduation, she was involved in more literacy activities at the personal and academic levels. She had a strong desire to read bestseller books. At that time, several Japanese authors (i.e., Haruki Murakami) were popular in Korea. She continued to keep a diary and write sentimental letters to her friends and used pagers as a communication tool and a code of abbreviated numbers as a form of text messaging (e.g., 8282 means hurry up; 1004 means I am your angel).

In one Korean writing course in college, she remembered submitting a 50-page personal essay without revision. Due to the wealth of material readily available on the Internet, she began to copy and paste for her reports in her non-major courses. In contrast, she took a different, more serious attitude in her English major; she avoided copying and pasting strategies in writing papers in her those major courses and continued to get A's on all her papers. In her junior year, she was involved in a study group conducting a case study on the best listening materials for Korean college students and received an award for it.

Yeonhee continued to experience more academic writing practice in her master's program. In Korea, writing a thesis or dissertation could mean that a student would spend an extensive amount of time with the advisor. She clearly remembered the days she worked with her advisor and even stayed at her professor's house for a few weeks. Because of this thesis writing experience, she was confident in academic writing and brought this writing skill when she began to study TESOL in the U.S.

Yeonhee did not learn any English when she was young because of her parents' policy of mastering the Korean language first. This gave her a difficult time in catching up with English instruction. She went to an English private institute and practiced vocabulary and grammar quizzes for school exams. She was very interactive with her English teachers and began to like watching American movies. She learned English words from watching the movies. Similar to other participants' experiences, she did not compose anything directly in English but filled in English words to complete existing sentences or translated English into Korean.

In college, Yeonhee liked her English major courses but did not write papers in English at all, except writing abstracts of her B.A. and M.A. theses. She translated an English website into the Korean language, but it was a very unpleasant experience for her. English writing was not emphasized in her program, so she did not practice any English composition with native English speakers after that. However, since she had decided to study abroad, she went to a private English institute to study the GRE (Graduate Record Examinations) and TOEFL. Her TWE (Test of Written English) score was high (5 out of 6), and she was confident as she read many sample writings and practiced writing, routinely using several TWE strategies.

Yeonhee has liked reading and writing since she was a child. According to her, some people have commented that her language was very figurative and have called her a "literature girl." Even though there were times when she temporarily lost her interest in writing, her desire to read and write continued, for the most part, and her efforts were rewarded most of the time. Her writing skills were developed by studying at private Korean writing institutes and TWE institutes as well as by working with her advisor for

her MA thesis. During the interview, she stated that she was a confident writer, at least in the Korean language.

Literacy Practices in the U.S.

Her English literacy practices in the U.S. began with troubles in her master's program. The first bad experience was in journal writing. She confused journal with editorial because terms such as *journal* and *column* were used in Korea to refer to editorials in newspapers and magazines. Her first journal was written as an editorial in her master's course. Her second journal was written as a summary of reading. One day her professor indicated that she needed to put her own reactions and ideas into her journal. After that, she had a better understanding of how to write journals for classes by including a summary and connecting her ideas with the reading.

The second bad experience she faced was a problem with research writing. She did not know how to organize a research paper and missed several elements, such as the literature review. Yeonhee's first year in the U.S. was a dark period because she was depressed about her poor English writing, even though she had high confidence in her Korean writing. Most of her professors' comments were negative, and she had to revise a great deal as she worked her way through writing a research paper and a response journal. Later she realized that reading articles from academic journals would help her to write better research papers and began to imitate headings from published articles. She also asked for help from Korean doctoral students in TESOL.

Yeonhee continued to develop her positive student identity with speaking. She liked to speak and was not afraid of making mistakes in discussions in class. Her friendly and interactive personality won her many friends, who saw her as a non-typical quiet

female Asian student. Her fearless attitude made her raise questions in class and visit professors' offices. These interactions saved her from a dark period. Talking with her professors made her feel that they listened to her problems, cared for her, and respected her ideas. One professor treated her as a little scholar and taught her to focus on ideas and research questions rather than linguistic and written forms, once she shared her research interests.

Not only did talking with people help her, but reading articles written by nonnative TESOL professionals, such as Matusda and Canagarajah, also encouraged her to continue to study. Yeonhee was inspired by their scholarly works and minds, which helped her change her view of herself from a poor student to a future TESOL scholar who needed to work hard and focus on ideas rather than the writing skill itself.

Because she has spent more time in reading and writing in the doctoral program, she has a clear self image as a writer and English teacher. She has begun to expand her academic literacy practices outside the school as well. She has participated in several presentations and has a strong desire to publish her papers in the future and to be known as a good writer. She has continued to expand her social network and motivate herself by approaching and talking to TESOL professionals whom she had met at TESOL conferences. Ideas were important in her writing, but she began to realize the importance of using academic vocabulary as well. Her English writing strategy was to read articles, mark useful expressions (e.g., words, phrases, reporting verbs), and collect them in an Excel file. Sometimes she has repeatedly written them in her notes to memorize them and use them in her papers.

In her view of herself as a writer, Yeonhee wanted to be considered as a good writer as well as a TESOL professional in her field. However, she knew her writing in English was not as good as she hoped it would become. She also acknowledged that she would never write like a native English speaker and that she would be a lifelong learner of writing in English in order to contribute her ideas in her field by publishing articles.

Chulsu's Story

Life History

Chulsu was a doctoral student in composition and TESOL at his American university. He was 39 years old, with a wife and one son, and was working on his dissertation. He has his parents and two sisters, the latter being elementary school teachers. His parents did not expect their children to earn higher education degrees, but he decided to pursue a doctoral degree because he has liked to study English since he was a college student in Korea.

He earned B.A. and M.A. degrees in English linguistics in Korea. He had many years of teaching experience; he taught the Korean language to foreigners for 2 years and basic English courses in universities for 1 year. Also he taught Korean adults many different English courses, including listening, speaking, grammar, TOEIC, and TOEFL in private English institutes over 5 years. In his mid-30's, he decided to come to the U.S. to get a doctoral degree. In fall 2004 he began a master's degree program in TESOL at a Midwestern university, wrote a master's thesis, and started his doctoral program in fall 2007 at another university.

Literacy Practices in Korea

Chulsu had the usual and limited experience with literacy practices in Korean during his elementary and middle school. He remembered few specific writing practices

except keeping a diary and reflective writing. At that time, he did not like writing, so he sometimes used summaries or copied parts of articles from children's magazines. During high school, he read editorials in newspapers and studied Chinese-Korean words because Chinese characters (*Hanja*) played a significant role in the Korean language and they were in Korean language tests. He did not read and write much because those skills were not in school exams and he did not have any personal interest in or need for reading and writing. In college, he started reading a lot of classic books, such as *The Tae Baek Mountains* and *The Three Kingdoms*, and was inspired by many great authors including Seok-Young Hwang, Arthur Schopenhauer, Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. One time, he wrote a report by plagiarizing other books in his Korean college composition course when there was no computer or Internet available. In short, he did not read and write much throughout his education in Korean except in his English major.

In his generation, English was taught as a subject for the examination for graduation from middle school. The main focus was reading and grammar without any English writing instruction. In his English linguistics major, Chulsu mostly studied English grammar using *Quirk's English Grammar*. In his English speaking class, he wrote a formal resume and presented his resume verbally. English writing was not emphasized, but he did some English writing practices by himself during his master's program. He translated Korean into English and practiced making summaries in English by reading five English articles every week. His summaries of English articles were not reviewed nor revised by anyone.

He learned a lot about academic writing through the writing of his master's thesis in Korea. In the beginning, he was not instructed how to write a thesis and had to learn how to do it by going through a number of steps. According to Chulsu, writing a master's thesis in Korean was an unforgettable and painful experience, and he lived with his advisor for 2 months while doing it. First, after he wrote a single-spaced 100-page draft, his advisor's comment was to reduce the number of pages and delete repeated and unnecessary ideas. The draft was shortened to 28 pages, which made him worry about how he could expand it to the required 80-page thesis as a final work. He revised his drafts 10 times during the period. Chulsu described several stages he went through during the writing process of his thesis, as follows: (1) deleting unnecessary ideas and paragraphs; (2) paraphrasing by switching borrowed words and ideas into his own words; (3) defining terminologies for his study; (4) using the same terminologies consistently throughout the paper; (5) making sure the terminologies used were standard language that could be found in Korean and English language dictionaries; (6) doing peer review with other graduate students; (7) editing and polishing; (8) more editing and polishing; (9) even more editing and polishing; (10) receiving his advisor's comments and preparing a final draft. Through this journey, he realized that he had learned how to write an academic paper, which was more closely related to English academic writing because his advisor was also educated in the U.S. and taught the thesis format of English research papers to him.

Chulsu was not highly confident in his Korean writing because he had not been taught systematically and did not need this practice since his major was English, and he never worked in a company requiring Korean writing skills. He also expressed concern

about Korean writing education, which led Korean students to accept two erroneous ideas. The first was that writing was not important in school since students rarely had to practice it. The second was that writing skills could be quickly developed with several strategies if they took intensive writing courses from private writing institutes.

Fortunately, he learned the importance of writing through composing his master's thesis and gained some confidence in academic writing, but he did not know what challenges waited for him in the U.S.

Literacy Practices in the U.S.

English writing practices during his first 2 years in his master's program helped Chulsu to develop his English writing skills. In the first semester, he faced difficulties in writing similar to those of the other graduate participants in this study. His first problem was putting his own ideas in his journal. Due to his lack of practice in expressing individual ideas, writing personal opinions was not an easy task. The second difficulty was English grammar. As an ESL writer, articles, tenses, styles, and words were problematic for him.

In order to improve his English writing, he voluntarily participated in free writing workshops for ESL students for two semesters and learned how to write a research paper with appropriate English grammar. In both graduate programs, he engaged in several types of writing practices: reading responses, in-class writing, research papers, conference proposals, and peer reviews.

From Chulsu's experiences of writing a thesis in Korea and in the U.S., he gained much confidence in writing academic papers. He was familiar with academic writing formats and academic writing conventions. However, he found out that there was a

significant difference in academic writing between the two languages. In Korean academic writing, summary, organization, and support from sources are the hallmarks of good writing. English academic writing, on the other hand, requires the writer's own arguments along with supporting ideas from sources. In other words, lack of a writer's own opinion was acceptable in Korean academic papers, as long as there was a well-organized summary of other sources' ideas, while English academic writing required writers to present their distinctive ideas or at least well-synthesized and well-informed ideas from sources or their own research. Since he understood the importance of adding to the body of knowledge in one's field in the academy in the U.S., he criticized some Korean scholars' lack of effort in their academic papers when they simply combined previous findings and repeated the same discussion and implications as published elsewhere. This meant that academic writing in English required more endeavor by the writer and in-depth discussion.

Chulsu had experienced power relation in his academic community. Even though originality is expected, as a student he could not argue his own ideas contrary to his professors' beliefs. It is ironic that the writer's voice was expected in academic writing but his personal opinions would not accepted by his professor. He also acknowledged the political and social power of his professors, saying "it is wise to follow the professors with power in order get a doctoral degree" (Interview 2, June 26, 2009). Chulsu thought he might acquire his voice through his academic writing after he would have earned a doctoral degree.

As time passed, his knowledge and confidence level in his literacy practices increased, which led him to be a more active participant in class. As compared to the

time when he was a quiet student in the master's program, he recently felt more comfortable enough to argue with his professors in class. Along with his comfort in writing and speaking, he enjoyed studying in the university as the curriculum focuses on teaching practice, not theoretical and linguistic aspects.

One of his efforts to improve his English writing was to go to the Writing Center for assistance in revising his papers. However, he did not want to rely on help from NNES tutors when his professors criticized his papers for lack of revision and editing. Personally, Chulsu preferred NES tutors, whether or not they were familiar with his subject matter, for they could at least correct minor grammatical errors and work on the flow of his writing.

He explained that as an NNES writer and reader, he could not compete with NES writers because they had a much broader knowledge of English vocabulary and usage than NNES writers. For that reason, he has usually read articles very carefully and analyzed how each word was used with other words, and collected new phrases and expressions. He believed that reading was the most important factor in helping writers to make a better paper because reading helped them increase their knowledge in vocabulary, ideas, organization, fluency, and other areas.

It should be noted that Chulsu's views on peer review had positively changed. In Korean culture, sharing papers was usually not a comfortable practice, even among friends. Also, there was a lack of appreciation among Korean scholars for constructive comments from colleagues. In the beginning of his doctoral coursework, he felt that the effectiveness of peer review would depend on reviewers (native vs. non-native or skillful vs. unskillful). Now, however, he became more open to sharing his papers and accepting

comments as he realized the important role of peer reviewers in the academic discourse community. For example, he became closer to two female Korean colleagues in his same program and engaged in peer review activities when they wrote papers for the portfolio evaluation in the doctoral program. He found that comments from those female readers were very detailed, and he softened his tone in his writing accordingly. He saw that having colleagues in the department brought benefits; not only did he get advantages from peer review with them, but also they shared their dissertation topics and information, discussed readings and scholars' ideas, encouraged one another to submit proposals to conferences, and studied together in the library.

Since Chulsu has studied English for over 25 years and written academic papers in English for 6 years, he now feels more comfortable with academic writing in English than in Korean. He confessed that he would not write academic or non-academic papers comfortably in Korean. English academic writing features had become embedded in his Korean writing. In a non-academic setting, his Korean friends made a comment that his emails sounded very academic and impersonal, which made them feel awkward. In summary, he was not encouraged to read and write extensively in Korea. Chulsu did not know much about Korean writing due to lack of practice. In contrast, he practiced more academic writing in English because of his major in English and writing two theses in Korean and English. Even though he enjoyed reading Korean novels for fun, he was very critical of Korean writing education, and in the future he would like to bring an American academic approach to his teaching of Korean students because of his familiarity with English academic writing.

Korean Students' Construction of Writer Identities

This section II discusses the Korean students' construction of writer identities in order to answer the first research question: How do Korean ESL students construct their identities as writers in the English academic discourse community based on their previous L1 writing practices and the current L2 writing practices? First, the findings from their writing experiences have supported my theoretical assumption that writer identities were multiple and socially constructed, and several themes emerged. Multiple writer identities meant that they were constantly shifted, conflicted, and developed according to different writing contexts.

Writer Identities Constructed from Previous Writing Practices

Writers are reminded of their autobiographical selves when writing. As their previous experience influences their social and cultural identities, they construct their writer identities based on "the identity of the writer-as-performer: the person who sets about the processes of producing the texts" (Bourdieu, 1977), something that they had built previously. I found that L2 academic writer identities are constructed based on their L1 writing practices or previous writing practices. When writing in English, the Korean students tended to look back at what they had done before and to apply Korean writing skills and ideas about writing in their English academic writing. Relying on previous writing practices could be advantageous for writers, but it could also cause them to take action to overcome negative experiences.

First, the Korean students believed that L1 writing skills and strategies could be transferred to L2 writing. Hence, their writing skills and writer identities in the English academic discourse community tended to be the same as what they had in Korea. Ellis

(2008) explained this phenomenon as *facilitation* when language students look for similarities between L1 and L2 and view similarity as basic (p. 355). It means that cross linguistic similarity and other skills can be transferred for them to learn the target language as it is positive transfer. For example, Nayeon' favorite formal writing style, in which she learned to write news reports in Korea, was used in her English academic writing in criminology. Yeonhee and Minji used the introduction-body-conclusion model that they had learned in Korea in various genres of English papers. Unless they received negative comments or poor grades, they thought their writing was fine, and their writer identities seemed to remain as they had been in Korea.

In Junho's case, his Korean writing style was transferred into his English writing, and his writer identity was transferred as well. He used the same apathetic attitude that he had in Korea in his English writing. His idea that he was a powerless student who wrote only for a grade was clear in his English writing. By taking the same attitude and actions, he positioned himself as a reluctant writer, just as he had been in Korea. On a more detailed level, his style of writing an introduction was the same in both Korean and English writing. In his interview, he indicated his reluctance toward writing assignments in Korea and said:

I remember that I used to write like this. In introduction, this time I read. Actually I did not want to read, but I read because it is homework and I have to. In body, I wrote the story of the book, what I felt, and what I have to do as lesson. In conclusion, I sum up everything. (Interview 1, January 5, 2009)

Not surprisingly, this resistant feeling was shown in the following introductions in his English academic papers 1 (1) and 3 (2).

- (1) I feel as if it [writing this paper] is unnecessary to divide the text into fragments using many theories, But even though it goes like the way, the thing unchangeable is they are helping us understand literature unproblematic, . . . experience the gift the artist offers us (Junho's paper 1, p. 5).
- (2) Because each work has different genre and subject from the other, I think it is impossible to compare them equally with each other. . . . However, I suppose that following the flows of the essay, . . . I have found, into it is one of the good and best methods for me to build my thought in this paper (Junho's paper 3, p.1).

He saw these writing assignments as unnecessary or impossible works for him, but soon after that, he changed his attitude, saying that he started to agree to work on the papers or to agree that it was beneficial for him to write the papers. This change indicated that his lukewarm attitude toward writing assignments in Korea influenced his English writer identities.

Second, transferring writers' previous writing style and beliefs, which had been developed in Korea, into L2 writing could have a negative impact on L2 writer identities. The Korean students learned how to write an introduction in Korean with the use of stories and statistics, inductive style, and a funnel approach. Minji, Junho, Yeonhee, and Sunhee employed these introduction strategies in their L2 writing, but they realized their strategies did not effectively work in English academic writing when they faced negative experiences. As they said, "I know I tend to write long in introduction; in dissertation, my advisor took 2/3 of my introduction" (Sunhee); "I spent a lot of time making an

introduction and my professor did not give any credit or recognition. It is not worth spending a lot of time in it. Next time, I will write it short" (Junho); or "I know how I write my introduction. Very broad" (Yeonhee). These negative experiences caused them to think about their ways of composing introductions, and they eventually had learned to adjust their strategies, to determine that their English introductions should be more focused, narrow, and clear. When negative experiences threaten their writer identities, in this case, they had accommodated the strategies and fit themselves into the target audience.

In addition, Sunhee liked a figurative writing style, which she had enjoyed in her French literature critiques and informal writing in Korea. When a non-academic writing style using figurative language was evident in her English academic papers, her professor taught her not to use that style, and Sunhee lost confidence in her writing ability. This negative experience created poor and depressed social and writer identities in Sunhee. Yeonhee constructed a negative writer identity as she reflected upon her experiences during the first year in the U.S. She did not know how to write journals, papers, and research papers in English, and she assumed that writing a journal in English would be the same as an article for a newspaper since the term *journal* was used to refer to a news article in Korea. Therefore, her first assignment in writing a journal was challenging as she explained:

In the first semester of my master program, I had to write a journal. I thought it was to write a news article, since journal in Korea refers to newspaper article. I spent overnight and made one-page journal. My professor said that I needed to put

my personal thoughts and experience. It took me a long time to figure out how to write a journal. (Interview 1, December 16, 2008)

Her unawareness of differences in terms and features between various types of writing in Korean and English forced her to rewrite extensively and made her writer identity suffer through bitter experiences, as Yeonhee reflected:

During the first year, I learned a lot about English writing but I was depressed, too. I wanted to do well as I did in Korea. This writing experience was a shocking because I evaluated myself based on my writing performance. I thought I was good at writing in Korea. This time was my dark era in the U.S. (Interview 2, January 22, 2008)

Conversely, some mentioned that they would have liked to apply the English writing skills they had learned in the U.S. to their Korean writing when they got back to Korea. This indicated that their writer identities could be transferred in both directions. As Sunhee said, "I can write better in the Korean language because I can use what I have learned from the English writing here."

ESL students tend to rely on their previous writing experiences as performers in processing writing, and they seemed to construct similar writer identities in English as similar as their previously developed writer identities in Korea because they believed that L1 writing skills, genres, and attitudes can be transferred into L2 writing and writer identities. Also, previous writing practices caused them to face problems and sometimes they negatively influenced their writer identities. However, with adjustment with English style writing, their writing skills were developed and their writer identities were positively constructed in most cases.

Writer Identities Constructed by Privileged Academic Discourse

The second characteristic of writer identity construction was quite evident among the Korean graduate students. Since they studied in universities in the U.S., they realized the power of academic writing and utilized academic writing styles. In this case, they took an "accommodation" strategy, defined by Chase (1988) as "the process by which students learn to accept conventions without necessarily questioning how these conventions privilege some forms of knowledge at the expense of others (as cited in Ivanič, 1998, p. 92).

First, Korean students constructed their writer identities by understanding the privileged discourse and power relationship. They were conscious of their professors' preferences in research topics and perspectives (see Abasi et al, 2006). Nayeon, Sunhee, and Yeonhee tried to choose topics in which their professors were interested when writing papers. They also collected vocabulary and phrases used by their professors or in scholarly journal articles. By understanding what was privileged, they saw the power imbalance and felt an obligation to respect those who had power. This caused them to create less powerful writer identities. For example, Chulsu felt inferior compared with his professors when imagining his position as a student writer, as he said:

I know one professor does not like words, such as colonization, colonialism, and whiteness. . . . I know my ideas may not be appealed by my professors because they would not take my arguments because I am still a student. When I become a professor, then I can argue more freely in the future. (Interview 1, December 17, 2008)

In addition, they felt limited in acquiring the English language skills. Junho always seemed to be bothered with his native Korean language influence when trying to construct his English identity as he said, "I cannot express my ideas clearly because of my vocabulary, the way I speak and my writing structure." (Interview 1, January 9, 2009). Sunhee also did not see herself as a legitimate writer and speaker in the U.S. academy because she thought that her passion and effort would make her a fine doctoral student "but still I am not good enough to write a dissertation. . . . I want to teach here, but I can't. So I am going to go to Korea and teach and publish" (Interview 1, December 28, 2008). Their view of limit in accessing linguistic resources and acquiring the language ability, such as academic writing skill, stimulated their thoughts that they would not be powerful legitimate academic writers.

Second, the Korean students began to embed ideology behind the dominant academic discourse and developed critical writer identities. They were equipped with the world view and the epistemology and began to align themselves with the academic discourse. They learned that reasoning, claiming, asserting, and providing evidence were important intellectual skills and helped them to develop strong academic writer identities.

Therefore, they followed academic writing expectation by narrowing down introductions, using topic sentences carefully, taking positions, providing reasons and examples, and considering readers' background knowledge and reader-oriented writing. They attempted to bring critical views on the topics, discuss strengths and weaknesses of sources, and join the conversation in their fields.

In addition, they understood why plagiarism was not tolerated in the academy and why knowledge-making was the ultimate goal among academic writers. The graduate

students tried to project themselves as academic writers to some degree, but as not quite authoritative in terms of knowledge-making. Nayeon shared her idea of authoritative academic writers by defining that "they are very knowledgeable in the discipline and can persuade their ideas and prove or disprove theory with their own collected data. They can argue distinctively from other students or academic writers" (Interview 2, January 20, 2009). Again, because of this high expectation, they felt uneasy in constructing their own academic writer identities.

Third, in spite of their discouraging emotion, they tried to construct their English writer identities to be "intertextually knowledgeable" (Abasi et al., 2006, p. 105). They believed that they were expected to present "knowledge" according to the generally accepted practices of academic writing. Therefore, they used numerous in-text citations and references and tried to show themselves as knowledgeable about their topics and as hard working students. In order to create a positive, diligent writer identity, Sunhee used almost 100 in-text citations in her paper 3. She believed that providing quotations and citations was the way she could develop her powerful and knowledgeable writer identity in her papers. Most importantly, they heavily relied on their resources including textbooks, journal articles, syllabi, sample writings, and notes from class when writing, in order to demonstrate their knowledge, which is "general characteristics and requirements of the writing task" (Lee, 2009, p. 123).

Writer Identities Constructed with Resistance

While the Korean student writers strove to construct positive writer identities by attempting to use their previous L1 writing style or adopting academic discourse, some writer identities were constructed with a resistant attitude toward the target discourse.

Particularly, Junho appeared to be resistant to the dominant English academic discourse because of negative writing experiences. He was a hard-working student in improving his English skills when he first came to the U.S. In the first few years, he tried to get as much help as possible.

However, he eventually realized that going to the Writing Center was not working for him. It was too time-consuming to explain his topics, sentences, and ideas to the tutors, and his papers did not come back to him error-free, as grammar errors were found by his professors. Junho also did not like peer review. Whether he took all the feedback from classmates and revised papers or not, his professors always judged with their professional eyes. Therefore, instead of seeking help from other people, he relied heavily on his own grammar notes, which contained grammatically corrected sentences models. This clearly exhibits that Junho constructed his writer identities by resisting some dominant writing practices, and keeping his writing style, as he said:

I feel like I already know enough English grammar. My job is to arrange everything. Without organization, it is a mess. . . . I do not use new grammar. I use two English grammar books, so I can make sure my grammar is correct. . . . I think my paper is not grammatically wrong. Grammar is fine. But the way I talk is Korean style. So I just use my way. (Interview 1, January 9, 2009)

Through the difficult times, he began to use his vernacular discourse (ethnic, linguistic, and cultural background) to resist the academic English discourse. He explained why he resisted English discourse, saying, "I know myself. Even though I try to follow their style, I cannot do it. So I keep my style." He showed a strong resistance to following expectations as long as his ideas were understood in papers, as indicated:

my paper is still understandable. I do not need to follow their style. If they understand, that is fine. If they do not understand, they will ask me. Then I can explain. That is my attitude in speaking and writing. (Interview 1, January 9, 2009) In my opinion, Junho wanted to show his presence and authentic self as an ESL writer. He did not want to simply give up his non-native linguistic and social identities; he rather wanted to express ideas (contents) in his own way whether or not this clearly and effectively conveyed meaning to American readers. Pursuing his presence with vernacular discourse influenced by his Korean culture became his way of presenting his identity as Korean ESL student writer.

Between them, I make some negotiation. Even though my paper is Korean style,

Junho was not totally against English academic discourse. He continued to use what he learned from class, such as citations, logical organizations, and some content knowledge discussed in classes, but as shown above, his resistance to using targeted English discourse was clear. It could be said that he did not attach to both English discourse and Korean discourse. In *transposition*, writers construct third textual identities that favor none of the preferred discourses in two different communities. For instance, Xiao-Ming Li constructed "a critically informed subjectivity" by detaching from both Chinese and American identities. Suseemdirarajah combined an objective tone and a narrative structure, which creates a hybrid text that challenges readers with unconventional ways of approaching writers' intentional ideas (Canagarajah, 2003, pp. 274-278). Yet, I believe that Junho did not intend to be against both Korean and English discourse.

Junho's resistance toward one discourse might also be understood as *appropriation*, referring to a strategy in which writers are "taking over dominant discourses and using them for one's own agendas" (Canagarajah, 2003, p. 281), which is different from transposition, which does not involve both discourses. He wanted to get his points across to his audiences and to share his values and ideas with them. He tried to interject his ideas by using citations and creating his arguments in a different way. However, his writing did not appeal to his professors because they did not fully understand his ideas due to awkward expressions. In some extreme cases of resistance, when writers refuse to follow the dominant discourse, they could show their sense of alienation, disown the language, or reject identity within the target discourse (Ivanič, 1998, p. 228).

In short, while most of the participants pursued the dominant academic discourse without much resistance, Junho was struggling because he wanted to write like an American college student, but he faced negative experiences in English writing. He resisted the academic English discourse (opposition) or created a new voice and a hybrid text that had not been established in both discourses, Korean and English (transposition). This creation of unfamiliar text still brought concern to his professors and reflected negatively on him.

Writer Identities Constructed with Marginalized Social and Linguistic Identities

Since Korean students' social and linguistic identities were marked, they could

not avoid these critical factors in the construction of writer identities. Even though these

marginalized ESL identities usually influenced the students negatively, marking them as

inferior writers, some made use of these identities for their own benefit, and this eventually helped them to build distinctive and positive writer identities.

First, some of the Korean students drew on their social identities as NNES students. It might not have been pleasant to ask for help from professors, but this strategy benefited their academic performance. Junho excused himself from submitting papers on time, saying, "If I cannot finish paper today, I go to professors and explain my situation of English. I say, 'Because of my lack of English' when I pretended to speak English poorly. Sometimes I get an extension for my paper" (Interview 1, January 9, 2009).

Sunhee and Nayeon asked for help by exposing their weakness to their professors. Sunhee intentionally expressed her status as an NNES student. With a friendly and exaggerated tone, she sent emails, saying, "First of all, I like your class so much. It is so interesting; however, as an international student, I still have language barrier, but I will do my best," and she visited her professors during their office hours to ask questions and to show her interest in learning. She said this strategy worked well because professors changed their attitudes, paid more attention to her, and even helped her find articles.

Nayeon also followed this strategy due to the difficulty she had in English writing. She visited her professor to ask special permission for in-class writing. Generously, the professor agreed to send her an email about the in-class writing prompts two or three hours prior to the class so that Nayeon could prepare herself within the time limit, and she earned an A in the class.

Their marginalized social and linguistic identities sometimes caused the students to carry conflicting writer identities, but they tried to overcome the negativity and developed positive writer identities through their distinctiveness from the NES students.

Nayeon and Sunhee found that their own self image (hard-working graduate student) and their image in the minds of others (marginalized Korean NNES female student) did not match. In order to overcome these conflicting writer identities, they resisted the unwelcome writer identities and strove to gain the desired writer identity. Nayeon said of her experience:

I do not want to be viewed as a Korean student or a female student. But my professors and classmates asked me about the situations in Korea or Korean criminology system. Even my professor asked me to write a criminal issue that happened in Korea. This is not my interest. I want to study juvenile crime. (Interview 1, December 19, 2008)

Sunhee also faced conflicting social identities when she was viewed as a busy working mother rather than as a graduate student. In order to overcome the negative view of the busy working mother identity, she worked hard to prove that she was devoted to her studies, not just a mother. She spent much time searching articles and writing research papers that were strongly supported by previous findings. Also she wanted to be distinctive from other students by adopting her cultural or religious aspects when selecting a topic or arguing her ideas as she said, "I find uniqueness from the article. When I criticize, I find good things; I find creative and unique things like contents and ideas, not writing styles in the article. I tried new things" (Interview 1, December 28, 2008).

Writer Identities Constructed by the Program Level (Undergraduate vs. Graduate)

The Korean student writers experienced continual changes in their writer identity construction in different writing contexts. From time to time, they enjoyed or struggled

with their writing due to positive or negative writing experiences. Notably, their various degrees of writer identities were constructed based on their academic status and their views of writing, which were embedded in the program level (undergraduate vs. graduate). Their perspectives on writing were shaped according to current writing practices and their attitudes were affected by their disciplines. Predominantly, this study has shown a clear distinction between the undergraduates and the graduates in perceiving what English academic writing meant to them and how they had integrated themselves into English academic writing community.

I will discuss many possible reasons why undergraduate students had less developed writer identities in comparison to graduate students in my study. Writer identities can be influenced by a student's view of writing, adjust time, epistemology, coherency, and challenges from social, political, and linguistic aspects.

First, while the undergraduate students generally had a traditional view of writing, the graduate students began to take a broader, more critical view of academic writing.

The two groups seemed to have different views of writing as Canagarajah (2002) has articulated a critical view of writing compared with a traditional view of writing as follows:

From writing as autonomous to writing as situated

From writing as individualistic to writing as social

From writing as formal to writing as ideological

From writing as spatial to writing as historical (pp. 4-6)

As a general expectation, undergraduates are not expected to already possess a great depth of academic knowledge, but rather to learn gradually. During the early

semesters in their English major, Minji and Junho were expected to learn and apply correct grammar and to focus on personal topics rather than serious academic subjects. Since their English major may hold a traditional writing approach--basically, a "product approach" of composing various school-based written genres (e.g., description, narration, and comparison/contrast) and prototypical models of writing-- the undergraduate students seemed to be primarily concerned with narrowed aspects of writing. Under the "process approach," on the other hand, they were encouraged to express their inner selves, or cultural and personal voice, and to develop their mental processes through writing by applying writing strategies and the writing process (Ferris & Hedgcock, 1998).

Related to the narrow and traditional view of writing, the Korean undergraduate students strongly believed that writer identity is constructed based on a writer's cognitive ability in language use. Junho, as an English literature major, evaluated two writers who have written books for children and made quite distinctive judgments. He harshly criticized a NNES Japanese author as a poor writer, who repeatedly used the same simple vocabulary, while he praised Harry Potter's author, J. K. Rowling's writing talent in using imagination and wide-ranging vocabulary. Focusing on language use and producing grammatically corrected sentences seemed their priority while they meet the required page numbers in writing assignments. They assumed that their ideas would be clearly understood as long as they focused on grammar, structure, and a few examples to support their main ideas. They also strove to extend the length of their compositions by adding redundant expressions (*I think* or *I believe*) and unnecessary ideas, and they were quite satisfied with the simple fact that they finished writing assignments.

A second reason why undergraduate students had less developed writer identities than graduates students relates to the epistemological differences, including curricula, requirements, concepts, policies, course materials, and social interaction within the academy, between Korean and American writing culture. These differences created barriers for Korean undergraduate students and further discouraged them to overcome visible and invisible challenges in the academic community (Yancey, 1998). For example, Korean students are accustomed to passively communicate without critical questioning or employing *nunchi* – a communication strategy used in Korean culture to avoid embarrassment. As a result, a majority of Korean students may not be used to clarifying their positions or asking for clarification. In addition, students in Korea learn that the relationship between students and professors should be distant. Because this is often the opposite belief in the United States, Korean students may be reluctant to interact with an American professor or in an American classroom.

Another epistemological challenge for Korean students in American communities relates to the degree of learning contemplative practice. Contemplative writing practices, such as critical thinking, reflection, originality, and borrowing ideas, are neither strongly emphasized nor clearly taught in Korea as they are obviously practiced in the U.S. (Zawacki & Habib, 2010). In Korea, elementary school students are required to employ reflective writing with classic or fairy tale stories and to simply draw a conclusion that reaches a moral lesson. This exemplified in this study with Junho caring little for reflection and Chulsu coping some reflective ideas from published children's magazines. However, elementary students in the U.S. are demanded to reflect their opinions in-depth throughout their writing. As a result, the discrepancy in carrying out contemplative

practices between the two countries could have caused the Korean students to struggle. In other words, these students could not draw distinctive or sophisticated ideas in their papers because they were not explicitly taught. Thus, they had not fully developed these kinds of skills required in the American academy.

Third, undergraduate students tend to have more difficulties in understanding concepts and using dense vocabulary in writing (Casanave, 2002), and they may fail to see the rationale behind written assignments—what professors hoped to teach to students. When Minji was asked to write an analysis of her own social, linguistic, and cultural identities in a Language, Gender, and Society course, she did not clearly understand the assignment and did not satisfy her professor with her unfocused paper. Junho complained about having to imagine how an author would change characters and themes in a story if the author took a different perspective. He made his analysis and critiqued simple, without significant discussion as he used to do in Korea without much care. In other words, they could not draw distinctive or sophisticated ideas or vocabulary in their papers because they had not developed these kinds of skills through literacy practice in Korea.

Third, the undergraduate Korean students in this study struggled more with academic writing practices possible due to a lack of adequate transition time in the academic setting, familiarity with genres of papers, and language proficiency. For example, even though Junho had spent 9 months in the Philippines for English and Minji scored highly on the TOEFL test, these students had not particularly practiced English writing and did not spend enough time in an American academic setting to achieve full genre familiarity. Literally, writing conventions, such as American citation and

formatting were new. Even Minji had to write a research paper without fully knowing how because she was from Korea where research writing was not taught to college students. This lack of knowledge, as well as accompanied frustration, caused her to feel that writing was a burden and demanding.

Fourth, having a low proficiency in English speaking and writing prevented Korean undergraduate students to be active and perceive oneself as *good* students in classroom. This lack of participation in social settings presents themselves as marginalized and unvoiced. Due to a lack of time and interest in given assignments, as well as the difficulty in understanding terms and assignments and implementing writing projects, the undergraduate students had a difficult time associating themselves as good college students. I observed that Minji often spent a night to write a paper, struggling to find appropriate English words. Junho continually drank coffee and smoked as if he was under great mental stress and grumbled that he was out of ideas and that he had a headache. They did not like peer review, as they were afraid of showing their weaknesses in grammar and having their ideas misunderstood by NES readers. Minji had not finished her interview for her final research paper and did not get enough data from her interviewee, so she borrowed an example of a gender joke from the Internet, a shortcut that made her research data inauthentic. They excused themselves as NNES students to extend deadline for papers and failures of submitting papers on time caused them to be distressed and not to blend well into their academic communities with the reality that they are viewed as somewhat behind or struggled compared to American college students. As language proficiency, mental processes, and creativity are all

involved in writing, these students experienced weariness from writing and believed it to be a very energy-consuming activity.

A fifth reason why undergraduate students had less developed writer identities than graduates students relates to degree of course involvement or investment. The Korean undergraduate students occasionally thought that they just wanted to survive the courses by completing requirements and to move up to the next level. Because undergraduate students are usually not required to complete long-term projects, such as a research paper, they might hold less ownership or authorship in implementing small writing assignments, such as journal responses and short papers.

Finally, these factors presented above, as a whole, could have influenced undergraduate students to possess a low sense of writer identity in the academic setting. In a short period of adjusting time as college students, these students faced a cultural shock and many intellectual challenges. That is, their lack of a serious attitude toward academic work could be characterized as failure to pursue a true academic identity. Their lack of a sense of belonging in the academic setting prevented them from pursuing a prominent identity as an academic writer. Sometimes these students did not try hard to integrate themselves into their discipline because they did not envision themselves as an academic, which conflicts with their personal identities as essentially non-academic individuals. They wanted to present their cultural, national, and individual identities in their academic papers. The presence of multiple but incongruent identities could have hindered them from holding onto an academic identity, which may further lead to frustration and struggle when they are expected to play the role of a serious student in the academic community.

In short, the Korean undergraduate students did not view themselves as vital members within their respective academic and intellectual communities or as capable of expressing themselves academically through verbal and written interaction due to many barriers. They developed a little sense of authorship by contributing few authentic ideas in writing and failing to construct a coherent writing identity.

In contrast to the undergraduate students, there were many factors that helped Korean graduate students develop a strong sense of an academic writer identity. First, in contrast to the undergraduate view of writing that nearly focuses on sentence structure and grammar, graduate students had expanded their view of writing beyond a linguistic-or sentence-level and began to internalize a critical view of writing (Casanave, 2002). Emphasizing content over form in academic writing encouraged graduate students to abandon negativity with their writing skill and search out their interest in topics. For example, Sunhee understood that "writing is important, but not so important in criminology. Ideas and argument are the most important. Writing is second important." As one of her strategies, Sunhee's uses of abundant sources made her argument stronger in her papers, and she felt more confident as a credential academic writer.

The graduate students had considered the social context of writing--such as purpose, audience, and genre--and the importance of the academic discourse community. Sometimes they consulted with Korean colleagues or the professors about their topics, and they constantly viewed their writing from multiple perspectives--writer, professor, and reader. Before and after submitting their papers, they reflected upon how they could improve their papers, how their ideas could be made to fit better into current perspectives in the discipline, and how they as writers would be seen by their professors.

Second, the graduate students in the study experienced an adequate period of adjustment time to the American academic community. Similar to the undergraduate students, all the graduate students had experienced a difficult transition in their undergraduate study or when beginning their master's programs in the U.S. However, once they finished and began to pursue a higher degree, these students began to feel more confident and familiar with the academic setting and curriculum. These students were already familiar with academic writing conventions and the Western value and epistemology embedded in writing practices. Through their former experiences, they struggled and were frustrated less, more understood writing practices (i.e., originality, voice, reflective journal), and were able to effectively conduct various academic performances, such as presentation and research. With previous academic experience in another American institution, the three doctoral students had developed learning skills and strategies for success. For example, Sunhee became familiar with the academic literacy practice of writing in English as she said:

In my master's program, I tried to translate words by words. But now I try to bring meanings in English, not from Korean words. Now I can write journal more comfortably. I no longer translate Korean sentences, which I did during my master's program. I focus on my ideas. Now I know what is expected by professors. (Interview 3, May 29, 2010)

A third factor that helped the Korean graduate students develop a strong sense of an academic writer identity was that the graduate programs and students were mutually influencing each other by establishing prestige and ample professional opportunities were given to students. Due to the depth of study in graduate programs, graduate students had

serious attitudes toward their writing and engaged in a great number of academic literacy practices.

On one hand, the graduate programs and the professors provided students with opportunities of professional and academic work. Beyond the coursework, the graduate students were encouraged to write proposals and present papers in local, regional, and international conferences; to involve themselves in research with professors; and teach college students in the departments as teaching associates. For example, with professors' support, Yeonhee had a tutoring experience in an ESL composition class for a semester and Chulsu wrote an article for publication.

On the other hand, the Korean doctoral students wanted to be challenged and to gain more professional experiences in the academic discourse community. After their coursework, these students had a strong desire to grow in the academy. Sunhee, Yeonhee, and Chulsu all had considered developing professional experiences through publication, teaching, and research. They thought about applying for teaching positions at the institute so that they could develop their pedagogical ability, but they did not apply in order to finish their dissertation first. They also planned to attempt to publish in their fields; nevertheless, they were advised to complete their dissertation work and then publish.

It seems to be evident that graduate students have their strong desire to learn more and to grow more in writing as well. Sunhee shared her view on working on dissertation which requires demanding effort and time:

Dissertation is different from term papers. I am learning a new genre. Different from a term paper, I can take more time to ask, think, and review. Whether I

would pass my first three chapter defense or not, I would still reorganize my paper and learn more. So, I feel more comfortable as many other doctoral students do. Learning how to write a dissertation is a new thing, and it takes time. Even though it is hard, it is different from what I had before. (Interview 3, May 29, 2009)

Yeonhee ruminated on her learning experience in writing various genres and viewed writing not as a work or object, but as "a situated, mediated, dynamic social activity" (Canagarajah, 2002, p. 6). She did not blame herself for being a poor writer because she would revise her writing constantly and could become a more experienced writer ultimately. Their positive attitude toward tedious and demanding academic work was helpful for them to possess willingness and energy to keep growing in their academic community.

Finally, academic literacy practices in graduate programs helped students develop a more coherent identity as academic professionals in their disciplines. Graduate students are being led by a community of practice in which the desired discourse is practiced (Wenger, 1997). They took a "social-contextual approach" that "demystifies the institutional structure of knowledge" and tried to master the conventions of academic discourse (Bizzell, 1982, p. 196). Accordingly, they had become more capable of being the target member by internalizing the ways of believing, saying, writing, and doing (Gee, 1999).

In writing, they began to realize that academic writing was a place where they could negotiate their identities because writing was viewed as social and situational.

They took writing very seriously since it was a gateway to present their social,

intellectual, and academic identities and predominantly, they wanted to show their academic identities rather than any other kinds. Their thoughts and knowledge were developed within their discipline's culture and the particular perspectives currently favored in their disciplines. For example, two TESOL doctoral students were very sensitive about labeling themselves as ESL or NNES and preferred to be called multilingual writers. They also created their own community of practice with another Korean student and played multiple roles, such as peer reviewers, novice scholars, and conference presenters by engaging in various academic literacy practices.

In sum, a range of writer identities were constructed based on the level of disciplinary program, which influenced various factors including writers' views of writing, transitional period of time, levels of member's commitment and attitudes, and challenge from the department. The undergraduates' narrow view of writing as a cognitive task or a linguistic and grammatical work resulted in a belief that they were mediocre writers because they compared themselves with NES writers who had great advantages in English language experience. Conversely, the graduate students primarily emphasized ideas and arguments in their papers and on various social and contextual factors in academic writing. Significantly, this critical and broad view of writing, along with persistent writing practice, helped Korean graduate students to develop more positive and potential academic writer identities.

Writer Identities Constructed through Blogging

The Korean students constructed their writer identities not only in the established academic communities, such as the department or the fields of the disciplines (i.e., conferences), but also in personal space through blog. Sunhee and Yeonhee had created

their own blogs on Korean websites as a place where their ideas on academic and non-academic topics could be explored and shared by Korean people. Even though this writing practice did not occur within the English academic discourse community, their act of using blogs became a significant factor in the construction of positive writer identity. While the other participants did not engage much in informal or non-academic writing practices, Sunhee and Yeonhee, who were considered to be good readers and writers in Korea, continued to develop their positive writer identities in a non-academic setting, the online blog.

In non-academic literacy practices, Sunhee sometimes took time to watch movies, read books for pleasure, and write her reflections. Since late 2006, she had created a blog and posted her writings, which became popular and attracted several readers. In the blog, her interest areas are divided into four sections, including the Yellow Ribbon program, the Criminal file, Jesus Christ, and miscellaneous. She was an advocate for the Yellow Ribbon program which supports ex-convicts. She presented criminal cases and information, and shared her interest in Christian books, messages, and music, and personal thoughts on movies or current issues in the world. She wanted to share her thoughts and to be seen as criminology professional and to be heard her voice on non-criminology topics. As a result, Sunhee had gained confidence in her Korean writings because several readers asked her permission to use her writing and left positive comments on them.

Yeonhee simply began to post her writings on her blog, telling no one and using pseudonyms for privacy. In her mind, she had the idea that her major, TESOL, had been treated without much respect as a non-traditional discipline and an easy major compared

with other English majors, such as English literature or linguistics. She understood this on the fact that TESOL did not have a long history as a discipline. She explained the following reasons why she created her blog:

TESOL has been established for about 30 years. I want to write excuses for TESOLers. Though it is anonymous, they may know my status who studies TESOL in the U.S. Since my mentors studied in the U.S., I feel that I am the second generation to study abroad [in my metaphoric academic family]; I also want to express my ideas, and criticize society in my blog. Also nowadays Korean professors have begun to utilize their own blog as a communication tool with students. So, I created it and hopefully I can make use of it for my teaching in the future, too. (Interview 2, January 22, 2009)

She developed her strong desire to defend TESOL as a legitimate discipline in the academy. As a TESOLer, Yeonhee wanted to justify the discipline to non-TESOLers who might have had negative stereotypical views on TESOL. She planned to criticize education and society in the blog, making it a place where her students could read and respond, and thus to use the blog as an educational online tool in the future.

Blogs served useful functions for writer identity construction. First, blogging could be a positive influence for them in affirming that they were confident in writing in Korean because writing for the public requires courage and confidence against criticism. Sunhee explained how readers responded to her in the blog and how she gained confidence from it:

I have a good image myself. I have my own website, specifically, blog. In that blog, I write casual thing, and sometimes academic. It is Korean. A lot of people

say that you are an excellent, good writer. . . . So from their comments, I get confidence from them. From the elementary student, I got awards. When I was 20 years old, I submitted my writing and failed, but I have a good image of myself as a writer. Someday, I want to publish, really plan to publish my academic writing and personal writing. (Interview 1, December 28, 2008)

These writers' favorite expressive writing style was not preferred in their discipline, so Yeonhee and Sunhee found a way to continue to develop this favorite style in an online blog.

A second useful function of blogs was that, when students faced difficulties and access problems in academic writing, they created their own blogs as their "legitimate peripheral participation" (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Due to their status as students and the difficulties of contributing knowledge, they might have had a limited view of themselves in the discipline. However, they did not ignore the fact that they were good writers and doctoral students. Hence, they positioned themselves as experts in their academic areas, to give themselves confidence that they were legitimate writers in this particular writing context. Even though the blogs were not set up for academic purposes, their roles as active contributors strengthened their identities as experts in the communities of writing. According to the community of practice, such participations and practices help novices to become more legitimate members in the community. Engaging in legitimate peripheral participation through blogging increased their confidence and authority level as writers in both academic and non-academic settings.

Third, blogging helped them to experience multiple writer identities (e.g., informer, translator, voiced writer, critic, editor, and webmaster). When writing in their

Korean blogs, they felt more freedom in terms of writing style, format, or structure as well as content and the argument aspect. Their roles became varied. Generally, their postings were informative. They informed readers by introducing knowledge that they had learned in class or textbooks, or by translating English articles for Korean readers. Additionally, their individual voices were heard. For instance, Sunhee put several postings under the "criminal file" section and explained how each crime happened, with detailed information, and led her readers to understand the issues as she did. As shown in the titles of postings, such as "When white police officer met an African American man," "Juveniles' death penalty and life in prison without possibility of parole," and "Cho Seung Hee, the tragedy in Virginia Tech," she provided opportunities for her readers to reconsider the causes of such crimes by criticizing injustice in American society, including ignorance on minorities and racism. Furthermore, their responsibilities as webmasters and web designers were important as well. Since both visuals and updating of websites attract public readers, Yeonhee and Sunhee had engaged in multiple writers' roles in keeping up with their blog websites. Because the blogs were written in Korean, they felt confident in editing them and enjoyed interacting with their Korean readers in responding to the replies. The interactions with the audience also increased their sense of audience and authorship in the authentic writing setting.

Fourth, not only did they develop their strong sense of writer identities, but they also extended their multiple identities, which belonged to different social communities, through blogging. As Yi (2010) argued that blogging functioned as the nexus of membership, especially for adolescent multilingual writers' identity construction in different kinds of communities in the U.S., Yeonhee and Sunhee used blogs as a place to

negotiate their multiple identities related to social, linguistic, gender, and educational aspects. When discussing issues as critics, their beliefs and ideology along with their social identities could be revealed. For example, Sunhee's social and personal identities as a Christian, a mother of a teenage daughter, a criminology expert, a movie lover, and a cat lover were all presented throughout her blogs. While these multiple identities were presented, it seemed that Sunhee and Yeonhee hoped to establish a more coherent identity as academic professionals in criminology and TESOL and increase their credibility by providing more knowledge and information to the readers.

I also examined whether transnational and transcultural identities emerged in their Korean blogs. In Yi's (2010) study, Korean multilingual adolescent students who had lived in two different countries and had high proficiency in both the Korean and English languages strongly showed their sense of belonging and their social relationship with both Korean and American peers through online writing with their dual cultural or national identities. However, in my study, there is not much clear evidence of transnational bilingual writer identities since Yeonhee and Sunhee had not immigrated and experienced intensive transnational life. They studied abroad in the U.S. after they earned bachelor's degrees in Korea, and their national identity as Koreans was apparent. Due to their strong sense of Korean cultural, linguistic, and national identity, they did not play a role as "a bridge builder between two cultures" or "a negotiator between America and Korea" (p. 317). They rather represented themselves as professionals or as Korean scholars delivering knowledge they learned in the U.S. into the fields of TESOL or Criminology to Korean readers.

All in all, blogs played a significant role for Yeonhee and Sunhee in continuing to develop their confidence as writers, to experience writers' responsibilities, and to explore multiple individual identities as a nexus of membership in different social communities.

Online writing practice outside the school writing context made them feel free to pursue their interest in writing, express their unspoken voice, practice various writers' roles, negotiate their multiple identities, and finally claim who they were as writers and experts in their disciplines.

Writers Identities Constructed: Shifted, Conflicted, Negotiated, and Developed

I have discussed how the Korean students constructed their writer identities based on L1 and L2 literacy practices. Here, I present some features of writer identities emerged from this study that students' writer identities are shifted, conflicted, negotiated, and developed depending on time and context.

First, writer identities are continually changing. The Korean students no longer took a single fixed identity in different contexts. Rather, they were flexible in identifying themselves with various labels, such as ordinary Korean writer, ESL writer, graduate student writer, poor writer, confident female doctoral student, and so on. Even though their habits, attitude, and strategies when writing in Korean influenced when writing in English, they constructed new writer identities that they did not have earlier in Korea. In the beginning of her master's program, Yeonhee experienced negative writer identity with English academic writing. However, she eventually overcame the image and built a more confident writer identity in English when writing her dissertation in her doctoral program. This shows that concurrently students construct multiple writer identities and continually negotiate for better writer identities throughout L1 and L2 writing practices.

Second, multiple writer identities conflict with one another in different layers of writing contexts. As students have multiple writer identities, sometimes these identities in different writing contexts, such as genre and language, conflict (Fernstern, 2002). For example, Nayeon held a positive and a negative writer identity in Korean writing because she was good at impersonal writing but poor at personal and creative writing.

Interestingly, I found that there is some discrepancy in presenting academic writer identity between their papers (textual identity) and the community (socio-academic identity). When students want to be seen as serious academic students, they prefer to use academic vocabulary and sophisticated expressions in their writing. Yet, they may be concerned of being afraid of plagiarism if they use higher-level vocabulary and long and complex sentences. Paradoxically, Nayeon decided not to use the vocabulary and sentence structures to avoid plagiarism. Junho was usually conscious about learning new expressions and academic vocabulary, but sometimes he did not use various forms or synonyms in his paper as he kept using the verb "say" instead of using other reporting verbs. These examples show that Junho and Nayeon's desired writer identities in their socio-academic communities were not matched with their textual identity with linguistic features in papers.

Ivanič (1998) indicated that student writers entering a new community experience more ambivalence with heterogeneous and complex self-representation in their writing. That is, because they are forced to impress readers with knowledge and academic tone, they tend to fail to incorporate their true personal identities, such as funny and caring. In this case, students can have "contradictory feelings" about the identity they project because they are changing the way they present their ideas (p. 237). Instead of pursuing

their true writing identity, they sometimes chose to present what would be accepted in the academy and easily recognized by their professors.

Furthermore, self-representation as a writer can sometimes conflict with the writer's image recognized by others. For example, Nayeon was concerned that she was not a good English writer, but I was personally impressed with her improvement in English academic writing in a short of time. As mentioned earlier, their self-image as serious graduate student writers did not match with the image of average or mediocre NNES student writers that others would see. Also, the graduate students understood writing as social interaction with readers; however, their critical view of writing was not realized in their papers.

Third, from among many writer identities, writers reconstruct their desired writer identities by routinizing literacy practices (e.g., mastering citation and reading scholarly articles), controlling themselves in using expected conventions, and achieving a sense of coherence as academic writers (Casanave, 2002). The Korean students tried to overcome negative influences as ESL writers and endeavor to achieve positive and confident self-images as legitimate academic writers. The process of negotiation among many possible writer identities cost their time and efforts to develop affective and cognitive empathy as academic writers. Sometimes they were challenged emotionally and intellectually and went through a recurring cycle of depression and recovery.

While writing caused them to suffer, sometimes writing became an outlet to convey their authentic ideas, which were not shared verbally in class, or a gateway to reveal their true identities. For example, Nayeon could express her ideas in her papers when she lost the chance in expressing her ideas in class. Consequently, writing provides

students with a momentous space in constructing multiple identities, whether particular identities are true, desired, or faked.

Finally, whether they had positive or negative experiences through this complicated identity construction, I strongly believe that all the students eventually developed their writer identities and expanded their views on writing. Writing practices in the academic community helped them grow as writers, and they ultimately developed identities as writers with different degrees of expertise. Even though ESL students would feel hindered by many factors, it was observed that the Korean students increased their knowledge in Korean and English writing because they continued to compare different writing features and learn their weaknesses and strengths in writing. Especially, the undergraduate student, Minji confessed that she felt much more comfortable and she learned a lot about writing in English during the two semesters. They put an enormous effort into their writing process, and they grew as more experienced writers. They gradually advanced their understanding of academic writing as well as their own writer identities. They became more confident in evaluating academic writing and more familiar with the writing convention, with which they aligned themselves as they reflected their writing practices and confidence: Nayeon said, "I gained confidence in writing English academic papers, and I can write quicker and better than before. I take less time," and Sunhee also said, "In my master's program, I felt I was stupid. Now, I feel more comfortable and confident. And I think I am ok as a doctoral student."

Summary

This chapter focused on the six Korean students' L1 and L2 writing experiences in order to understand how they constructed their writer identities in the academic

discourse community. I presented the individuals' life histories and literacy practices, and several themes of the writer identity construction that emerged, which were supported by my theoretical assumption that writer identities are multifaceted and socially constructed. The various external factors that can influence writing identities include students' previous writing practices, privilege academic discourse, and program level of study; influential internal factors include their attitudes (resistance or accommodation), marginalized cultural identities, and desire to grow more through blogging.

My study also supported prior research that has found characteristics of writer identities to be conflicting and negotiating (Abasi et al., 2006; Camp, 2007; Fernstern, 2002; Hollander, 2005; Kim et al., 2006). By adopting various strategies (e.g., appropriation, apposition, transposition), the participants in my study created multiple writer identities that are shifting, conflicting, and developing according to their beliefs, previous writing experiences, and other social, linguistic, and personal influences. While the undergraduate students seemed to experience ambivalence with academic writer identities, the graduate students sought to accommodate themselves in the dominant academic discourse in order to be accepted as members of the targeted discourse community. Another important finding that emerged from this analysis is that social, cultural, and personal identities are inseparable from writer identities.

It was observed that the majority of Korean student writers sought to accommodate themselves to their discipline despite positive and negative experiences or the program level. These students all showed that they had increased knowledge in writing skills and genres, became sensitive with writing contexts, and gained confidence.

In the following chapter, I discuss how Korean writer identities were constructed based on their use of linguistic source - metadiscourse, and present the features of their textual identities as writers.

CHAPTER 5: METADISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF

KOREAN STUDENTS' ENGLISH ACADEMIC PAPERS

Overview

This chapter presents findings from the Korean students' use of metadiscourse markers in their English papers and discusses their use of metadiscourse features related to their academic writer identities. Metadiscourse is a term that refers to self-reflective linguistic resources that writers and speakers use to mark their purpose in a text and their presence strategically in communication. Employing metadiscourse markers can clearly indicate writers' intentions, opinions, and subject positions in text. While metadiscourse markers, such as boosters and hedges, may not be easily acquired by less experienced writers or NNES writers, these markers are expected to be used as important linguistic resources in academic writing interactions. Since writer identity is established through linguistic resources in text, I have posed the second research question related to metadiscourse use for this study, as follows:

How do Korean ESL students use metadiscourse in order to develop academic writer identity in their English papers in terms of the interrelations with the readers?

As I mentioned in the textual data in chapter 3, it needs to be recognized that some of the Korean students had consulted with tutors or professors when writing the papers, which were given to this study. According to time available, desire, and effort, some participants went through various degrees of the revision process. In the interviews, some students went through intensive revision by visiting the Writing Center several

times or consulting with their professors, while one student composed his writing by himself without help from other people.

In section I, I present each participant's use of metadiscourse markers, based on each individual's three academic papers (see Table 4), according to the frequency of each category of metadiscourse per 1,000 words. I also show selected excerpts in their papers. In section II, I discuss the Korean students' characteristics of metadiscourse use in terms of three metadiscourse dimensions (**textual**, **engagement**, and **evaluative**). In addition, I compare the findings from previous studies (Hyland, 2005a; Hyland & Tse, 2004) to observe how various metadiscourse categories can be used in different genres and disciplines and how the participants utilized metadiscourse markers effectively to meet the expectations of the target audience and their disciplines. As a result, most Korean students used a high number of transitions throughout their papers. However, their use of engagement markers, hedges, and boosters varied by individual, and the numbers of engagement and evaluative metadiscourse markers were much lower compared with the findings from the previous research.

Six Korean Students' Metadiscourse Use

Minii

Minji provided me with many papers and all her syllabi for the academic year 2008-2009. Since she took English courses from her freshmen through senior years, she had written various types of papers, including scripts for public speech, journals, personal stories, take-home exams, group and individual research papers, reflections on writing, and response papers for literary works. I carefully chose three papers from different classes. They were written as argumentative or position papers, with her own choice of

topics, and in them she put her analysis of problems and her arguments with textual evidence. The three papers were neither personal nor research papers. Even though I had wanted to collect her research papers, she did not write three research papers over the two semesters; she was not comfortable sharing her first research paper because she did not have much experience with that and she did a poor job in writing it.

First, in her favorite class, ENGL 336 Language, Gender, and Society, she had a group presentation, and individual members wrote their own argumentative paper on a topic related to gender and sexuality. Her group decided on how women's sexuality was represented through music. Minji wrote a paper about how the lives of prostitutes were attractively expressed in the song, "Lady Marmalade," and argued that the unrealistic messages about sexy and luxurious prostitutes' lives gave the wrong impression about women to a young generation. In ENGL 122 Literary Analysis, she wrote several response papers, and the paper chosen for this study was a writing analysis of her own response paper to a short story, "The Necklace," by Guy de Maupassant. In the analysis, she took her position as a reader of her own writing and criticized how her response paper was written, from a reader's point of view. In the third argumentative paper, she explained how writing in Korean and English were culturally and rhetorically different.

Minji's three papers contained a total of 207 metadiscourse items out of 2,887 corpus words (see Appendix E). This means that her frequency of metadiscourse use per 1,000 words was 71.7. As Table 6 shows, the frequently used categories of metadiscourse were transitions, hedges, and writer-oriented markers. The most frequently used metadiscourse category was transitions (15.2 per 1,000 words), constituting 21 % of all categories of metadiscourse; transitions lead the reader to follow

the writer's ideas. The second most frequently used category in her corpus was hedges, one of the important strategies of expressing a writer's opinions with a cautious attitude.

Table 6

Proportion of Metadiscourse Features in Minji's Papers (per 1,000 words)

Category	Paper 1 "Lady Marmalade"	Paper 2 "Writing Analysis"	Paper 3 "Cultural Rhetoric"	Total	
Textual	20.7	18.9	27.4	22.5	
Transitions	14.7	13.4	17.2	15.2	
Frame mkrs	2.6	0	1	1.4	
Code glosses	2.6	4.0	7.1	4.5	
Endophoric mkrs	1	0	2	1	
Evidentials	0	1.3	0	0.3	
Engagement	25.1	21.5	7.1	18.0	
Writer-oriented mkrs	18.2	17.5	2.0	12.5	
Reader-oriented mkrs	6.9	4.0	5.0	5.6	
Evaluative	25	43.1	29.4	31.2	
Hedges	7.8	20.2	18.3	14.6	
Boosters	10.4	12.1	4.1	8.7	
Attitude mkrs	6.9	10.8	7.1	8.1	
Interpersonal	50.2	64.6	36.5	49.2	
Total	70.9	83.3	63.9	71.7	

However, Minji's favorite hedges, *somewhat* and *would*, were overused, compared with other hedges in her papers. When using *somewhat*, she did not provide explanations with supporting evidence. In these cases, her use of hedges made her claims weaker and unclear instead of making her position more secure or wise, as in (1).

(1) In case of third paragraph, I think that the analysis in this part is *somewhat* hard to catch the main point. . . . When I read the conclusion part once again, *somewhat* I agree and *somewhat* disagreed. If I did explain specifically and if I clearly fit it on my analysis, it *would* really work out. (Minji's paper 2, p. 2)

In the following excerpt (2), Minji should not have used *would* because the differences between Korean and English language obviously exist. Therefore, her use of the hedges made her claim weak:

(2) Absolutely Korean and English language have quite different linguistic systems. . . . So characters (letters) *would be* different. Accents, intonations, pronunciations *would be* different. Even voice tone *would be* different. (Minji's paper 3, p. 2)

The third most frequently used category of metadiscourse was writer-oriented markers (i.e., *I*, *my*, *our*, and *we*) to present the writer's presence as well as the writer's opinions. Her frequency (12.5 per 1,000 words) was considerably higher than the result from other studies (Hyland, 2004a, 2004b, and 2005a) as the average number of personal markers is 2.7 per 1,000 words. In (3) and (4) below, she employed many writer-oriented engagement markers:

- (3) *I* needed to choose one music [song] that shows my topic well. . . . *I* found that many pop songs have stories about women's sexuality behind their lyrics. *I* tried to watch music video as much as *I* could. And finally *I* got one of the most adaptable songs to my topic . . . When *I* found its music video, *I* thought that visual effects describing lives of prostitutes are beyond my imagination. *I* was sure that it would work to support my presentation. (Minji's paper 1, p. 1)
- (4) By reading my response as a reader, *I* also could find another problem on the writing. While making the paper, *I* thought that *I* already understood the story. . . But *I* made the response and *I* believed that the story is well-analyzed

in the response. As a reader, as *I* read whole response again, *I* found that some of the parts are not proper. (Minji's paper 2, p. 1)

Among the many functions of the personal marker *I*, her use of it is mostly limited to showing her ownership of the papers and the writing process, rather than as a claimer or knowledge contributor. She simply explained how she started papers, what steps she went through, or what she found from sources. Even though this shows her presence as a writer, it does not convey her own personal perspective and stance towards the topic she discussed. In other words, it does not convey an authoritative academic voice in her papers. Rather, it simply implies that she used *I* too many times without editing her papers.

In contrast to her ineffective use of the writer-oriented marker (*I*) and the hedge markers (*would* and *somewhat*) mentioned above, she used other evaluative markers appropriately as they assisted to show her point of view. Evaluative markers were used as means of her assessment of materials and her assertiveness because they show her conclusive ideas or her ideas to readers with her subjective attitude shown in (5) to (8).

- (5) *I found* that this song express a totally wrong concept of prostitutes' lives in reality. In the video, people *never* see the negative aspects of their lives in their everyday lives. (Minji's paper 1, pp. 2-3)
- (6) Although, *I think* the voice in the writing is confirmed about its own idea, to make it clear, the specific sources *should be* mentioned and used to support what I wanted to say in the paragraph. (Minji's paper 2, p. 2)
- (7) Actually, it's almost *impossible* for Koreans to write and speak like American. (Minji's paper 3, p. 2)

(8) As they are non-native speakers, they *must* keep reading and writing in English. (Minji's paper 3, p. 2)

In short, the most frequent markers used in Minji's papers were transitions, writer-oriented markers, hedges, boosters, and attitude markers. Particularly, her use of writer-oriented markers was quite frequent, but it was not helpful to establish her unique voice or writerly authority. Even though she used metadiscourse to help readers to follow her texts and involve them in her argument, some hedges and writer-oriented markers were used inefficiently in a number of cases as they weakened her writer's position due to overuse or inappropriate use.

Junho

I collected five papers written for Junho's classes from 2005 to 2008 and chose three papers that shared a similar purpose—comparison and contrast of two literary texts or ideas, which were written for English literature courses. The first paper, "Linkage between the Text and Theories," was written to contrast features of two theories, New Criticism and Reader-Response criticism, and to give an analysis of Langston Hughes's poem, "Theme for English B," according to those two theories. The second paper was written for comparing and contrasting two poems, "To His Coy Mistress" and "The Flea," and was to come to a conclusion as to which one was superior to the other. He showed his preference for "To His Coy Mistress," based on his judgment that it had the superior symbolism of the two poems. The third paper was titled, "If Tarzan Wrote Tradition and Individual Talent," and theorized how Edgar Rice Burroughs, the author of *Tarzan*, might have been influenced by T.S. Eliot's theory.

There are 384 items of metadiscourse used out of 4,837 corpus words, which means an average of 79.4 metadiscourse items were used per 1,000 words in Junho's papers. Except hedges and transitions, frequencies in other categories of metadiscourse continually increased, but varied from paper 1 to papers 2 and 3. The greatest frequency of use (99.3 per 1,000 words) was in paper 2, and in general, transition markers and engagement metadiscourse were used most frequently, as shown in Table 7.

Table 7

Proportion of Metadiscourse Features in Junho's Papers (per 1,000 words)

Category	Paper 1	Paper 2	Paper 3	Total
O ,	"Linkage"	"Two Poems"	"Tarzan"	
Textual	33.1	32.2	38.2	35.8
Transitions	13.8	13.4	25.0	19.8
Frame mkrs	2.1	0	3.0	2.3
Code glosses	9.6	2.7	4.9	6.1
Endophoric mkrs	1.4	4.0	1.5	1.9
Evidentials	6.2	12.1	3.8	5.8
Engagement	22.1	39.0	22.3	24.8
Writer-oriented	2.1	26.8	16.7	14.0
mkrs				
Reader-oriented	20.1	12.1	5.7	11.0
mkrs				
Evaluative	6.9	28.2	22.7	18.8
Hedges	1.4	2.7	5.3	3.7
Boosters	4.1	16.1	10.2	9.3
Attitude mkrs	1.4	9.4	7.2	5.8
Interpersonal	29.0	67.0	45.0	43.6
Totals	62.0	99.0	83.0	79.4

In his use of textual metadiscourse, the frequency of transition use increased with each paper, and the number of different types of transitions increased as well. In paper 1, a total of 20 transitions were used, comprised of 6 different types, while in paper 3 a total of 66 transitions were used of 15 different types. In contrast, the frequencies of use of other textual metadiscourse categories were not increased across the papers.

Junho used a number of engagement markers with several different purposes in his papers. In papers 1 and 2, he used many reader-oriented inclusive markers, such as we to share the assumption that his readers would naturally follow his ideas. This indicates that he created a common ground with his audience. For example, he discussed how people use language and grammar rules before introducing literature theories, so he brought a general view of language and grammar, and time that most readers would agree with, as in (1) and (2):

- (1) In this world, there are lots of rules which have given a convenience for *us* to freely live, . . . In the language, there are grammars by which *we* can talk and express about what *we* want and think far neatly. (Junho's paper 1, p. 1)
- (2) I think this one posits that everyone knows that the control of time is *important* in *our* lives. (Junho's paper 2, p. 2)

In addition, he showed his presence and personal connection by using first person pronouns for writer-oriented markers, such as *I*, *myself*, *me*, and *my*. In paper 3 (3), he mentioned that he was very familiar with the *Tarzan* story from Korea:

(3) The story of "Tarzan" is too much famous to everyone, and even to *myself* who is from South Korea, . . . *I* read the book in Korea, . . . when *I* was a teenager. (Junho's paper 3, p. 1)

He also positioned himself with a writer's voice toward commenting on a topic and a character based on his knowledge and experience, as in (4) below.

(3) Because in reality, it is impossible for a human being to act like Tarzan. *I* have not heard that a single man hunted . . . without a pistol or gun, . . . (Junho's paper 3, p. 2)

His use of evaluative metadiscourse of hedges and boosters increased over two years in his papers. Thus, he used significantly more evaluative metadiscourse markers in paper 2 and 3. It seems that he began to feel more comfortable expressing his opinions since the purposes of his papers were to evaluate literary works and convey his point of view. In paper 2, because he had to position himself by explaining which poem was better, he expressed his feeling with various attitude words (i.e., *weird*, *brilliantly*, *important*, *good*, and *best*) toward the literary works and the writers, as in (5) below:

(5) The writer *brilliantly* uses the infinite time in. . . . [I]t is written so *well* and very persuasive to his lover. The two poems I have introduced above are truly written *well* and touching me a lot, . . . (Junho's paper 3, p. 2)

He fearlessly expressed his feelings toward subjects. He used very strong attitude words, such as *ridiculous*, *hard*, and *cool* so that he established his personality and his presence as a voice-writer. In addition, Junho employed many writer-oriented markers (*I*) and boosters (*think*) with attitude markers to show his firm opinion toward the topic and the literary works, as in (6) and (7).

- (6) They are *surprisingly important* things to understand the poems, and *I found* they are covering so many parts of them. Nevertheless, the reason why *I think* that poem, "To His Coy Mistress," is *better* than the other poem, "The Flea" (Junho's paper 2, p. 3)
- (7) That's why *I think* it was [an] *indeed interesting* work and makes me think about new things which I have never imagined before (Junho's paper 3, p. 7)

When I asked about his awareness of metadiscourse, he did not know its definition, its functions, or any examples. Instead, he just used them to signal his opinion,

without any intention of establishing an authoritative position as a writer. I asked why he intensively used the particular items, *I think* (18 times) and *should* (10 times) in paper 3; he responded that the phrases were his way of expressing his ideas, not because he did not know any other expressions to replace them; he felt safe in using these expressions because the phrase *I think* had an appropriate function of indicating his thought or argument. Instead of taking a risk by using substitute words, such as *suppose*, *believe*, or *assume*, which need to be utilized suitably within the context, he used *I think* in order to show that his idea was coming as a signal phrase.

However, he used *I think* excessively as a combination of a writer-oriented marker and booster. In some cases, it did not work as an indicator of his upcoming idea. Rather, as (8) and (9) show, he would use it in speaking or as an unnecessary expression:

- (8) Because each work has different genre and subject from the other, *I think* it is impossible to compare them equally with each other. Besides, imagining like the title of this paper, *I think*, means that I have to make or create a new work which I have never ever tried so far, . . . (Junho's paper 3, p. 1)
- (9) If Tarzan were like what Eliot states in the essay, *I think* the black people would be depicted like the way the white people were depicted, and there would be no fight among them. Because of these aspects *I think* he is a white supremacist and . . . (Junho's paper 3, p. 5)

In short, Junho's metadiscourse features in three papers written in different periods of time did not change except for transitions and hedges. This means that it is uncertain whether he will continue to use an increasing number of metadiscourse markers in future papers, but he did increase his knowledge about transitions and evaluative

metadiscourse. He practiced (a) his writer's role in responding to literary works and communicating his ideas clearly and (b) his solidarity with his readers with boosters and attitude markers. However, lower use of hedges indicates that he showed less consideration for accommodation and acknowledgement with other opposing ideas (Hyland, 2005b) and he was not aware of the importance of hedges in academic writing. Thus, Junho's excessive use of writer-oriented markers showed his various positions and stances as he would comment, argue, guide, and express his student status, but the phrase, *I think* was overused unnecessarily, indicating a lack of proper editing on his part.

Nayeon

Nayeon wrote in several genres of academic paper during the first year of her master's program. The papers were in-class exams, writing assignments on WebCT, article reviews, journals, article summaries, and research papers. Among the papers provided to me, she had written only two research papers, so article reviews were the best choice for the textual analysis. Fortunately, she had kept several article reviews written for two different courses over the year 2008-2009, and the assignments shared the same purpose and a similar format. In Criminology 400: Theoretical Criminology, in article reviews, students were asked to identify a recent article, a definition, measurement(s) for criminal behavior, and possible causes and prevention strategies; review it by articulating their understanding; and present a reasonable argument or position supporting the validity of their understanding. According to the Criminology 600: Criminology Theory syllabus, an article review should include (1) a good summary of the article, (2) the research question, the data source and unit of analysis, and the conclusions, (3) a critique of the article with any possible strengths or weaknesses; and possibly (4) any alternate

conclusions. With these definitive criteria in view, I chose her three article reviews for metadiscourse analysis in this study.

Her first paper, written in the first fall semester in fall 2008, was a review of three articles to evaluate how each one proved general strain theory using various measurements and variables. In Criminology 600, among five research articles, the first article review (Paper 2) about the Fourth Amendment and the fifth article review (Paper 3) about Sentences were selected. All three papers were organized with main research or philosophical questions, research methods, main findings, limitations, and policy and practical limitations. Table 8 shows Nayeon's metadiscourse features used in her papers.

Table 8

Proportion of Metadiscourse Features in Nayeon's Papers (per 1,000 words)

Category	Paper 1 Untitled	Paper 2 "The Fourth Amendment"	Paper 3 "Sentence"	Total
Textual	21.8	25.6	32.5	26.1
Transitions	12.2	16.3	16.2	14.4
Frame mkrs	1.3	1.2	5.7	2.5
Code glosses	4.5	2.3	3.8	3.8
Endophoric mkrs	0	1.2	2	0.9
Evidentials	3.9	4.6	4.8	4.3
Engagement	0	0	0	0
Writer-oriented mkrs	0	0	0	0
Reader-oriented mkrs	0	0	0	0
Evaluative	14.1	26.7	22.9	20.0
Hedges	7.0	12.8	10.5	9.5
Boosters	1.3	5.8	8.6	4.6
Attitude mkrs	5.8	8.1	3.8	5.8
Interpersonal	14.1	26.7	22.9	20.0
Totals	36.0	52.3	55.4	46.0

The total metadiscourse markers were 159 out of 3,410 corpus words, and the average frequency of metadiscourse was 46 per 1,000 words. According to the analysis, her

overall uses of metadiscourse increased from 36.0 to 52.3 to 55.4 per 1,000 words in papers 1, 2 and 3.

Regarding textual metadiscourse, Nayeon's use of transitions, frame markers, endophoric markers, and evidentials had increased slightly from paper 1 to papers 2 and 3. The frequencies of transitions were increased from 12.2 to 16.2 per 1,000 words between paper 1 and paper 3. She utilized an increasing number of types of transitions as time passed: 7 different types in paper 1, 8 in paper 2, and 10 in paper 3, while her favorite item of transition was *however*. During the second interview for textual analysis, she mentioned that she learned to use various transitions and frame markers by reading many criminology articles:

I use them [textual metadiscourse] to help my readers to predict what is coming next. If I present the organization of my paper, I use these like this, 'in this essay, three different research will be reviewed' in the beginning of my paper and here like this 'Based on previous research, this research attempts to examine the police conformity' in this paper. I use transitions and others to clarify and emphasize my meaning. (Interview 2, January 20, 2009)

Her use of evidentials slightly increased from 3.9 to 4.8 per 1,000 words, but she used a greater variety of reporting verbs in paper 1 than in paper 3. It is noticeable that Nayeon never used engagement markers in her article reviews, perhaps because her professors did not encourage students to use personal pronouns in writing and she did not observe this use in the scholarly journal articles in her discipline, either.

Since her papers were article reviews, the majority of the papers consisted of two parts: summary and evaluation. Nayeon used a mix of active and passive voice verbs to

plainly describe researchers' hypotheses or methodology used in the articles. In evaluation, writers tend to use more evaluative metadiscourse items, so it was not surprising that Nayeon used them in the sections discussing limitations, policy, and practical limitations. As shown in Table 8, her uses of boosters significantly increased from paper to paper.

On the contrary, the frequencies of hedges and attitude markers were inconsistent. For instance, she used 8.1 attitude markers per 1,000 words in paper 2, compared to 3.8 per 1,000 words in paper 3. She used attitude markers fewer and less diverse in paper 3: an attitude marker, *significant(ly)* 6 times and 4 times in papers 1 and 2, respectively, but none in paper 3. She explained that she was aware of using this attitude marker intensively but tried to use different types of markers, such as *strongly* and *important* in paper 3.

I present excerpts below from papers 2 and 3 to show how she approached her critiques of two articles with different evaluative metadiscourse. In paper 2, she used a mix of hedges and attitude markers to evaluate the methodology in the article and presented her concern with the methodology used in the study as in (1).

(1) The direct observation measurement is *appropriate* to study behavior or attitudes of subjects. . . . In addition, because of observers' presence, there is a *possibility* that patrol officers *would* change their behavior. (Nayeon's paper 2, p. 4).

When discussing limitations in paper 3, she used only one attitude marker, *important*; in that paper, she primarily summarized what the researchers had already said in their studies. She simply listed weaknesses of method used in each study without any attitude

markers. In order to make personal reaction stronger, she could have added more attitude markers, such as *clearly*, *carefully*, or *significantly* in the excerpt (2). This indicates a lack of her subjective voice, but it retains her objective position as an article reviewer.

(2) As the researchers mentioned, there are several limitations of data. First, the data encompassed only convicted and noncapital defendants. Thus, the present study cannot address the effects of race, gender, or age in earlier case processing stages, and in capital cases. Second, the data did not take into account other factors that *may* affect sentencing outcomes, such as pretrial release or type of defense counsel. . . . Third, this study lacked information on the victim-offender relationship. In addition, there is a limitation of the sample group. . . . Thus, future study *should* examine the interaction of race, gender, and age in criminal sentencing by including various states. (Nayeon's paper 3, p. 4)

Nayeon intensively used a strong evaluative metadiscourse marker, *should*, which can be a booster or attitude marker when directing future research, mostly in the conclusion of her papers as in (3).

(3) Future research *should* therefore continue to examine the interaction of race, gender, and age in criminal sentencing by using interactive models. In addition, with regard to the changing racial makeup of the United States more categories *should* be taken into account in future research such as Hispanic. On the whole, as the U.S. Constitution emphasizes, the defendant's characteristics such as race, gender, and age *should* not be factors that affect

the criminal processing outcomes. It *should* disappear in the criminal justice system. (Nayeon's paper 3, pp. 4-5)

In conclusion, Nayeon's use of metadiscourse can be understood as emphasizing her objective and impersonal voice. Her use of transitions, which showed the highest frequency of all features (14.4 per 1,000 words), indicates that she guided her readers to predict ideas and organization about her writing. No use of engagement markers was observed because she simply avoided her subjective or personal presence. The evaluative metadiscourse features were used variously in the three papers, but they were mostly located in the conclusions.

Sunhee

I collected three different research papers written in different periods of time. The first 15-page research paper was written in the last semester of her master's program. Through her internship in a probation office, she studied ways to reduce prison overcrowding and make the probation system effective, wrote the research paper, and submitted it to her professor and the director of the probation office. The second and third papers that I collected were written during her doctoral program. The second 20-page research paper was "Reintegration of Incarcerated Mothers." As she is a mother, she wondered about the impact on children when their mothers were incarcerated. The third 20-page research paper was written to explain reasons why faith-based prison programs could be helpful.

Sunhee's total metadiscourse markers were 505 out of 12,149 corpus words, and the average frequency of metadiscourse items was 41.6 per 1,000 words. Her uses of metadiscourse in most categories increased gradually over the four years. Compared

with the findings from other Korean participants, Sunhee presented a different result in her use of metadiscourse. Her most frequently used metadiscourse categories were evidentials, transitions, and boosters: Evidentials (14.6 per 1,000 words) were followed by transitions (8.3 per 1,000 words), then boosters (5.7 per 1,000 words) as shown in Table 9.

Table 9

Proportion of Metadiscourse Features in Sunhee's Papers (per 1,000 words)

Category	Paper 1 "Prison Probation"	Paper 2 "Incarcerated Mothers"	Paper 3 "Faith-Based Organizations"	Total
Textual	22.4	30.0	34.8	27.2
Transitions	7.7	10.4	7.0	8.3
Frame mkrs	1.1.	2.5	3.4	2.4
Code glosses	2.7	2.2	3.8.	3.0
Endophoric mkrs	1.6	0.74	1.1	1.2
Evidentials	9.3	13.8	19.5	14.6
Engagement	0	1.0	0.7	0.6
Writer-oriented mkrs	0	0.5	0.5	0.3
Reader-oriented mkrs	0	0.5	0.2	0.2
Evaluative	10.1	14.0	16.4	13.7
Hedges	3.6	5.0	2.0	3.5
Boosters	3.3	4.7	8.5	5.7
Attitude mkrs	3.3	4.5	5.8	4.6
Interpersonal	10.1	15.1	17.1	14.3
Totals	25.4	44.8	52.0	41.6

Sunhee's uses of textual metadiscourse increased, specifically with frame markers and evidentials. She used frame markers, such as *first*, *second*, and *third*, in all three papers, but in paper 3, she used different types of frame markers intensively in the introduction, as in (1).

(1) *The purpose of this research paper* is to investigate current faith-based prison program. . . . *In this research*, the history and development of faith-based programs *will be briefly discussed*. The current situation of faith-based

programs will be presented, . . . Two theoretical foundations . . . will be discussed. . . . Last of all, the benefits and limitations of faith-based programs, and recommendations will be presented based on research evidences.

(Sunhee's paper 3, p. 2)

Sunhee purposely incorporated several features in her papers. First, she used many frame markers (i.e., *first*, *second*, or *finally*) as visible guidance for readers. Second, she did not use difficult intellectual words because she realized that good writing does not have to be complicated, but simple and clear. Third, she wanted to be distinctive and critical. This means that when adding articles as sources, she presented them with a neutral point of view, but brought her interpretations with a critical view and led readers to understand how each source fit into her research papers. Therefore, she used many evaluative metadiscourse markers. Also, careful reading of scholarly journal articles and her professors' written feedback helped her realize the importance of attitude markers, and she intentionally memorized some attitude markers to make her papers professional and meet their expectations.

Sunhee gradually used more boosters and attitude markers in the three papers. Her use of boosters consistently increased in frequency per 1,000 words from 3.3 to 4.7 to 8.5, respectively. Mainly, she used more evaluative metadiscourse markers in conclusions because she believed that the conclusion was the only safe place to put her own point of view. The following excerpts (2), (3), and (4) show her use of evaluative markers from her conclusions in each paper:

(2) [P]robation will *greatly* contribute to reducing crime and relieving prison overcrowding. Probation departments *need to* test new and innovative service

- delivery strategies to *play a significant role* in easing prison overcrowding. (Sunhee's paper 1, p. 18).
- (3) To address women's high incarceration rates and recidivism rates, as well as *negative impact* on their children, *it is time to listen to the voice of* the incarcerated mothers. (Sunhee's paper 2, p. 15)
- (4) First, under unique prison situation, religion can *strongly* appeal to inmates. . . . Second, faith-based organizations can provide sufficient resource for rehabilitation programs. . . . Third, faith-based programs can provide more education for the inmates, which is an *important* factor for controlling crime propensity. . . (Sunhee's paper 3, pp. 17-18)

In paper 3, Sunhee continued to make more recommendations on how to develop the faith-based programs effectively; therefore, she used boosters and attitude markers (i.e., *must* and *should*) significantly when making claims involving the future direction of programs and when discussing the effectiveness and usefulness of faith-based organizations, as shown in (5):

(5) First, more research *must be conducted* on the effectiveness of faith-based prison programs. . . . Second, faith-based programs *must* target at reducing recidivism. . . . Third, legal issues *should be* addressed for developing effective faith-based programs. (Sunhee's paper 3, pp. 19-20)

Also, her use of attitude markers became more varied. In paper 1, she used *effective*, *important*, *greatly*, and *significant*, but in papers 2 and 3, she not only used the markers from paper 1, but also included a variety of attitude markers, such as *not surprisingly*, *critical*, *negative*, *essential*, *strongly*, *crucially*, *unfortunately*, and *positively*.

In addition to her belief in academic writing, other factors influenced her academic writing practice. One factor was her professors' emphasis on passive voice and non-human agents. The second influence was from her approach-- rich uses of citations. Sunhee wanted to show her hard-working attitude by reading many articles and adding many citations to make her arguments stronger. Therefore, she used citations a great deal. Her uses of evidential gradually and dramatically increased from 9.3 to 13.8 to 19.5 per 1,000 words in each paper. On average, she used almost three parenthetical citations as evidentials in each paragraph.

In the category of writer's engagement, Sunhee rarely used writer-oriented markers, inclusive markers, and reader-oriented markers in her papers. She never used *you* and used *we* only once in papers 2 and 3. She kept in mind that her professors had told her not to use personal voice and first person pronouns in criminology. In short, the findings of her use of metadiscourse show her frequent use of evidentials, increasing use of boosters and attitude markers, and rare use of writer's engagement. This indicates the influences of her reading and writing practices within her discipline. It also shows that her realization of being a hard-working doctoral student and her passion for her academic papers implicitly led her to learn to use evaluative and textual metadiscourse properly, as expected in her discipline.

Yeonhee

Yeonhee provided me with her three research papers. Paper 1, "English Intonation Acquisition of Advanced Korean EFL Learners through Films," was written as her first research paper in her MA TESOL program, when she did not know how to write a research paper in English. In paper 2, as her first research paper in her doctoral

program, she focused on finding current situations of EFL writing instruction in Korea and tried to be neutral in presenting different views from the curriculum, NES teachers, Korean NNES teachers, and English textbooks. She wanted to write a better research paper in terms of organization in the research and academic vocabulary. For example, she used the word *researcher* instead of *I*, inserted a number of direct quotations from the interview, and gave detailed descriptions of the participants. Her professor's articles about teasing and humor inspired Yeonhee to study teasing used by NNES students in paper 3. She made an effort to make this paper more academic in its research. Linguistically, she imitated some sentence structures and borrowed words from her professor's articles. Textually, not only did she work hard on literature review by explaining definitions of teasing and humor, but she also provided several themes in discussion of her findings. She adopted conversation analysis and thematic analysis for her qualitative research.

The total metadiscourse markers were 437 out of 11,212 corpus words, and the average frequency of metadiscourse was 39.0 per 1,000 words. Transitions were used most frequently (11.8 per 1,000 words), and no inclusive reader-oriented marker was used. Among the three papers, a greater frequency of metadiscourse markers occurred in paper 3, particularly with textual metadiscourse including transitions and endophoric markers, while frame markers, code glosses, writer-oriented markers, boosters, and attitude markers were used most in paper 2, as shown in Table 10.

Table 10

Proportion of Metadiscourse Features in Yeonhee's Papers (per 1,000 words)

Category	Paper 1 "Intonations"	Paper 2 "Teaching EFL Writing in Korea"	Paper 3 "Teasing"	Total
Textual	18.2	23.0	32.8	26.6
Transitions	8.1	8.9	15.8	11.8
Frame mkrs	1.4	3.8	2.7	3.0
Code glosses	0	2.8	2.5	2.3
Endophoric mkrs	1.4	0.8	5.4	2.9
Evidentials	7.4	6.7	6.3	6.6
Engagement	10.8	5.1	0.4	3.8
Writer-oriented	10.8	5.1	0.4	3.8
mkrs				
Reader-oriented	0	0	0	0
mkrs				
Evaluative	10.1	8.9	7.8	8.6
Hedges	6.7	2.6	4.2	4.2
Boosters	1.4	3.2	1.7	2.1
Attitude mkrs	2.0	3.0	1.9	2.3
Interpersonal	21.0	14.0	8.2	12.4
Total	39.0	37.0	41.0	39.0

The average rate of textual metadiscourse features in all three papers is 26.6 per 1,000 words. Her use of transitions dramatically increased in paper 3, which was written after 2006. It is noteworthy that she used particular transitional markers in different papers. She used *and* 7 times out of a total of 12 transitions in paper 1, and *also* 16 times in paper 2. In paper 3, three particular transitions were used extensively: *however* (18 times), *also* (23 times), and *so* (18 times) out of a total of 76 transitions. She overused these transitions: *and*, *also*, *however*, and *so*; and the transitional functions lost their effectiveness. In many cases, they were used unnecessarily and repeated meaninglessly.

In her paper 3, her use of *so* 16 times shows redundancy, and this was possibly influenced by her speaking habits in Korean because Yeonhee used the word *so* many

times in her speaking in both Korean and English, based on my personal observation.

The excerpt (1) is a typical case demonstrating how she used *so* in her paper 3:

(1) In picture 1, . . . G did not have any arrows for being teased. So, among the six people, G did not get any face-threatened act from anyone. . . . Straehle (1993) said, . . . (p. 228). So, teasing is used in close relationship and Many other researchers also explained the reason why teasing is used . . . So, others avoided the possible face-threatening moment by not teasing G. . . . (Yeonhee's paper 3, p. 9-10)

When I asked why she used the word *so* frequently, she said, "I use *so* generally for the function of summary. English *so* is translated in Korean as *as a result, thus*, or *therefore* most of time, and I think there are more than one function in *so* in English writing" (Interview 3, July 15, 2009). As she explained, in most cases, the transition *so* functioned as *therefore* or *as a result* to draw a result from or summary of the ideas previously presented, or as a signal of her interpretation from previous sentences. As shown in (2) and (3) with *so generally* or *so naturally*, Yeonhee used double transitions of consequence to summarize or generalize ideas from previous sentences.

- (2) Merolla (2006) defined humor as "the creation and the use of messages that are considered funny and evoke laughter" (p. 175). *So*, *generally*, humor is some funny and interesting message from verbal and nonverbal frequently followed by laughter. (Yeonhee's paper 3, p. 1)
- (3) Then, sometimes, the exposed weaknesses and stupidity behind the teasing can threaten their face or life later. *So naturally*, it is not surprising to find

self-directed teasing from a close relationship rather than less intimate relationship. (Yeonhee's paper 3, p. 13)

In other cases, the word *so*, in the examples (4) and (5) below, worked as a cause and effect relational signal, or a time transitional signal explaining how one thing happened after another (e.g., *then*).

- (4) Since her statement was not clear enough, it led many questions and assumptions in line 6 and 7. *So* in line 8 she explained what she meant by the statement. In the following line 9 and 11, people finally understood what she was saying and laughed together. (Yeonhee's paper 3, p. 16)
- (5) His teasing is accepted by S with her language. *So* K kept teasing S in line 15 and people enjoyed the moment with laughter. (Yeonhee's paper 3, p. 16)

Yeonhee used writer-oriented markers in engagement metadiscourse, such as *I* and *me*, 16 times in paper 1. The writer-oriented markers had a twofold function. They positioned her as a researcher explaining her research procedure in (6) and as an academic writer providing findings and suggestions from her research in (7).

- (6) I interviewed 10 Korean students. . . . *I* used the structured interview method. . . . *I* used these six categories. *I* tried to find out which intonations are hard for the students. (Yeonhee's paper 1, p. 2)
- (7) From the interview result, *I* found out that Korean advanced students feel the most difficulties with intonation in declarative sentence. *I* suggest using films to teach intonations for EFL students, especially to Korean advanced students. (Yeonhee's paper 1, pp. 6-7)

On the other hand, Yeonhee used no first person pronouns, but the noun researcher 25 times in paper 2, in attempting to show her objective position. In paper 3, she used both researcher and I only once. In a comparison of her use of writer-oriented markers between papers, it is possible that she understood the traditional academic convention that using first person pronouns was not strongly preferred. Consequently, she did not use the first person pronoun but used the third person noun, researcher, in paper 2.

Her uses of evaluative metadiscourse slightly decreased in the three papers. Her use of hedges increased, and her favorite hedges were *indicate*, *suggest*, *may*, and *usually*. The frequencies of boosters and attitude markers were low and varied among the papers. Probably, she did not know about hedges, which explains why she did not use them persistently. Her first use of hedges in paper 1 was made by her NES peer who told her to use it in the second sentence in (8):

(8) Intonations are a very complicated part of English. In English, syntactic differences *may be shown* by a different intonation. (Yeonhee's paper 1, p. 1)

In short, the high frequency of transitions shows her guidance in her text, but her overuse of transitions was not efficient. Her use of interpersonal metadiscourse, including engagement and evaluative metadiscourse, slowly decreased across the papers. Even though she became aware of academic writing conventions using impersonal voice, she could not skillfully employ other categories of metadiscourse markers.

Chulsu

I collected three research papers from this student for the study. The first research paper, "The Contrastive Analysis between English Preposition on and Related Korean Expressions and Pedagogical Implication," was the final paper that he wrote in his master's program. Because he was interested in cognitive linguistics, he explained differences in understanding the preposition on in English and Korean and provided many comparative and contrastive sentence examples of on in English and Korean. It took about three months for him to write this paper, and he intensively revised it by going to the Writing Center approximately twenty times in order to make the paper understandable to his professor. In his second paper, "An Explanation of NNET Issues," he interviewed two female EFL Korean teachers and analyzed their ideology, ambivalent attitudes, and experiences, concluding that Korean-American teachers, rather than native English speaking teachers, are more desirable in teaching EFL Korean students. Finally, he wrote another research paper, "Parental Involvement in Children Literacy: A Case Study of Two Korean Parents" and discussed how Korean parents encouraged their children's literacy development in the Korean language and the English language in the U.S.

The total metadiscourse markers were 900 out of 19,337 corpus words. The average frequency of metadiscourse use was 46.5 per 1,000 words. Chulsu used textual metadiscourse markers a great deal (33.0 per 1,000 words), and the three most frequently used metadiscourse categories were transitions, evidentials, and code glosses.

Specifically, Chulsu used 14 to 20 types of transitions, and the average number of transition occurrence per 1,000 words was 13.5; the most frequently used transitions were *thus* and *however*. He used transitions in his paper 3, as shown in (1):

(1) In terms of many studies, it is clear that parents engage their children in various literacy activities and behaviors (August and Shanahan, 2006).

However, the family literacy practices which parents involve in can vary in their form, quality, and quantity as a result of sociocultural contexts and various attributes. Thus, Hess and Hollow (1984) identify five areas of home environment that may play a role in children's literacy development . . . (Chulsu's paper 3, p. 5).

During the second interview, I asked why he used so many transitions, and he gave several reasons. First, he put his emphasis on the following elements: content, coherence, and cohesion as his writing criteria. He wanted to bring out content knowledge to fulfill academic expectations, but as a novice researcher and a doctoral student, he felt that he was not in the position to contribute knowledge. Therefore, he focused on the next criteria for his writing--coherence and cohesion. To do that, he made sure that sentences were efficiently connected to each other, and he consciously used transitions to make smooth connections between ideas. Even though his overuse of transitions was mentioned by his American professors and tutors, he still strongly believed that his job was to relate ideas clearly with transitions. In many cases, his paragraphs consisted of several sentences which were connected with a few different transitions, such as *also*, *furthermore*, *thus*, *meanwhile*, and *even though*, and occasionally with a few frame markers (*first* or *finally*). Along with transitions, he used a

lot of code glosses including *in other words*, *for example*, *such as*, and *specifically* to explain his statements as clearly as possible with related sentence examples in his papers.

However, it is possible to conclude that his frequent use of the transitions *by the way* and *however* could have been influenced by Korean spoken and written discourse markers. According to a study by Cem and Nam (2005) on Korean discourse markers, the Korean words *kulentey* (• • •) or *kuntey* (• • •), which are possibly equivalent to the English words *by the way, though*, or *but*, have two functions. First, they serve as contrastive connectives between the preceding and the following sentences. Second, they work as markers that indicate that foreground information is to follow. That is, they function as "an interactive resource which signals (a) turn continuation, (b) a move to interrupt a turn during someome else's turn, or (c) a move to self-select to take a turn at turn transition (as cited in Choi, 2007, p. 17).

It should be noted that Chulsu used a large number of endophoric markers and evidentials in paper 1 due to the purpose of that paper. He had to refer to many sentence examples and figures with endophoric markers as he compared and contrasted the use of *on* in the Korean and English languages. He used many evidentials of text-citations when explaining how other linguistic scholars would explain the preposition *on*. As time passed, Chulsu's use of textual metadiscourse declined. In terms of evidentials, in paper 1, he used the phrase, *according to* 15 times, but none in his paper 2, and only twice in paper 3. Similarly, he consistently reduced the use of certain types of code glosses but used other types of code glosses. He used *in other words* 18 times in paper 1, 13 times in paper 2, and 7 times in paper 3. When he used a large number of transitions, code glosses, and frame markers in all three papers over the three years, this showed that he

strongly believed in textual metadiscourse markers as devices for the writer's authority to help readers to predict ideas with transitions and to understand his ideas with many supporting examples.

He did not use any reader-oriented markers in engagement metadiscourse except once (*we*) in paper 1, while he used two particular writer-oriented markers (*I* and *my participants*) noticeably in papers 2 and 3. By using these markers, he intended to show his presence as the researcher who conducted the studies and explicitly signify his sources or direct quotations that were from his participants, as in (2) and (3):

- (2) In this study, the primary means of data collection was an open-ended and indepth conversational interview with *my participants*. . . *I* wrote interesting things, and *I* asked them additionally on spot because *I* did not have the time to ask them about the follow-up questions. (Chulsu's paper 2, p. 10)
- (3) *My participants* describe themselves as helpers to keep their children's identity, that is Korean identity. . . . When they were asked as to what they were most concerned about their children's English learning, they answered as follows: (Chulsu's paper 3, p. 15)

As shown in Table 11, a few distinctions in the use of evaluative metadiscourse appear in different papers written during his master's and doctoral programs. In paper 1 written in his master's program, Chulsu used more hedges (6.2 per 1,000 words) and fewer boosters (1.7 per 1,000 words), as well as fewer attitude markers (1.8 per 1,000 words), while in papers 2 and 3 during his doctoral program, he used fewer hedges (4.3 and 3.5 per 1,000 words) and boosters (3.8 and 3.7 per 1,000 words), and more attitude markers (2.7 and 4.0 per 1,000 words).

Table 11

Proportion of Metadiscourse Features in Chulsu's Papers (per 1,000 words)

Category	Paper 1 "The Contrastive Analysis of 'on'"	Paper 2 "NNES Issues"	Paper 3 "Parental Involvement"	Total
Textual	37.0	31.5	29.4	33.0
Transitions	13.6	15.0	12.2	13.5
Frame mkrs	2.0	2.4	1.4	2.0
Code glosses	6.5	6.0	7.6	6.7
Endophoric mkrs	5.8	0.5	0.47	2.6
Evidentials	9.0	7.6	7.6	8.2
Engagement	0.53	5.1	4.3	3.1
Writer-oriented	0.4	5.1	4.3	3.0
Mkrs				
Reader-oriented	0.13	0	0	0.1
Mkr				
Evaluative	9.8	10.9	11.1	10.5
Hedges	6.2	4.4	3.5	4.8
Boosters	1.7	3.8	3.7	3.0
Attitude mkrs	1.8	2.7	4.0	2.8
Interpersonal	10.4	16.0	15.4	13.6
Total	47.3	47.5	44.8	46.5

Chulsu explained that the higher use of hedges in paper 1 occurred because he consulted with tutors in the Writing Center about to revise the paper. The NES tutors encouraged him to use more hedges. During his doctoral program, he went to the Writing Center once or twice to revise each paper, so there was not much input by NES readers in papers 2 and 3. Chulsu wished he could have had more time to revise the papers with them, so he could have put in more hedges, as many NES writers would have done. Toward the end of his doctoral coursework, he realized the importance of hedges in academic writing, but he thought that it would take more time to use them competently because sometimes he could not detect subtle distinctions between hedge and non-hedge words in English.

In section I, I have reported the frequencies and textual examples of the six writers' use of textual, engagement and evaluative metadiscourse markers in their

academic papers. Table 12 summarizes the proportion of metadiscourse features by the six Korean students.

Table 12

Proportion of Metadiscourse Features in the Six Korean Students' Academic Papers (per 1,000 words)

Category	Minji	Junho	Nayeon	Sunhee	Yeonhee	Chulsu
Textual	22.5	35.8	26.1	27.2	26.6	33.0
Transitions	15.2	19.8	14.4	8.3	11.8	13.5
Frame mkrs	1.4	2.3	2.5	2.4	3.0	2.0
Code glosses	4.5	6.1	3.8	3.0	2.3	6.7
Endophoric	1	1.9	0.9	1.2	2.9	2.6
mkrs						
Evidentials	0.3	5.8	4.3	14.6	6.6	8.2
Engagement	18.0	24.8	0	0.6	3.8	3.1
Writer-oriented	12.5	14.0	0	0.3	3.8	3.0
mkrs						
Reader-oriented	5.6	11.0	0	0.2	0	0.1
mkrs						
Evaluative	31.2	18.8	20.0	13.7	8.6	10.5
Hedges	14.6	3.7	9.5	3.5	3.8	4.8
Boosters	8.7	9.3	4.6	5.7	2.3	3.0
Attitude mkrs	8.1	5.8	5.8	4.6	2.4	2.8
Interpersonal	49.2	43.6	20.0	14.3	12.4	13.6
Totals	71.7	79.4	46.0	41.6	39.0	46.5

Transitions are the most frequently used markers by all the participants, except Sunhee. However, the second most used metadiscourse category cannot be generalized because various categories, such as evidential, writer-oriented markers, hedges, and attitude markers were used by different writers. First, this data shows that the frequency of use of metadiscourse feature varies as a function of textual, engagement, and evaluative.

Occasionally, certain metadiscourse markers were intensively used for the purpose of a paper. For example, Chulsu had to make use of a great number of code glosses in his paper 1 in order to bring in many sentence examples. Second, as time passed, most of the participants significantly increased their use of textual metadiscourse, particularly with transitions, while they continued to employ more evaluative metadiscourse markers. In

the next section, several characteristics of metadiscourse use by the Korean students and their understanding of authoritative writer identities will be discussed.

Metadiscourse Use: Undergraduate vs. Graduate

This section II discusses the relationship between the Korean students' use of the three dimensions of metadiscourse (*textual*, *engagement*, and *evaluative*) and authoritative writer identities, based on the descriptive findings presented previously. I identify distinctive features of metadiscourse use by the two groups: the Korean undergraduate and the Korean graduate students. Therefore, I present how similarly and differently the groups used metadiscourse in their texts and how their uses of metadiscourse indicated their authoritative writer identities in the relationship with the readers.

Textual Metadiscourse Use

Among the Korean students, textual metadiscourse showed the highest frequency of use of the three dimensions of metadiscourse. In turn, the most frequently used category of textual metadiscourse was transitions, as shown in figure 2. Except for Sunhee, all the participants used transitions most, compared with the other categories (see Table 12). The most popular transitions were *and*, *also*, *but*, *however*, *thus*, and *in addition*. For example, Minji's favorite transitions were *and* and *also*; Junho's most used transition was *but*. The frequently used transition markers can be divided into the following two major types: first, additive markers including *and*, *also*, *thus*, and *in addition*; and second, adversative markers including *but* and *however*. The additive markers can indicate linkage ideas while adversative markers are for constructing arguments (Dafouz-Milne, 2008).

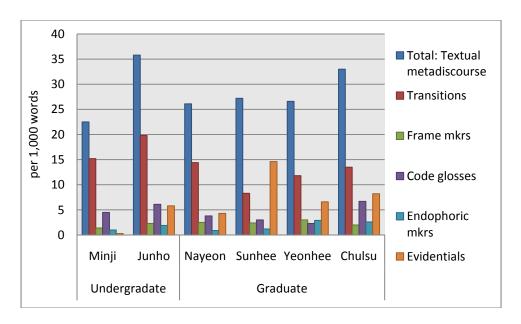


Figure 2. Comparison of textual metadiscourse use among the six Koreans in their English academic papers.

A detailed look at Junho's papers shows that he used many adversative markers when he presented his perspective or attitude toward the previous statements or switched his focus from previous ideas in (1) and (2):

- (1) This flow is literacy experiences mentioned in Transactional Reader-Response Theory, *but* in New Criticism it is thought wrong and said as affective fallacy. (Junho's paper 1, p. 3)
- (2) [t]hey made me think that it was just cool. *But* this time, reading the book, I have thought that it is not just cool, *but* Tarzan is that first, he is an ideal model of the writer, second, he is a white supremacist and third, he is lucky and has too many contingencies. (Junho's paper 3, p. 1)

There are some differences in degree when examining a particular metadiscourse marker in context. Transitions or logical connectives can be divided into two dimensions:

(a) experimental/propositional/ideational orientation, and (b) interpersonal/interactional orientation. The first dimension functions as a logical device to connect, signal, extend,

and elaborate propositional meaning, while the second one works as a communicative signal for making the writers' views explicit, sensing readers' understanding, involving readers in the discussion, and constructing writers' and readers' roles. This interpersonally oriented transition can represent writers' overt performance rather than simply connecting ideas (Hyland, 2005a, pp. 41-44).

As explained above, the graduate students employed adversative markers for interpersonal purpose for argumentation, refutation, or criticism rather than simply to contrast ideas, as in (3) and (4):

- (3) As this research was conducted by Agnew himself, he well measured what he wanted to measure in general strain theory. *However*, the survey items were not constructed by Agnew. (Nayeon's paper 1, p. 2)
- (4) To address the prison overcrowding, states have introduced and adopted a variety of strategies. First, the most prevalent response is construction.

 However, funding for the additional prison space is not enough and the public is reluctant to fund new construction. It is the simplest but least effective and most expensive approach. (Sunhee's paper 1, p. 4)

Possibly, the undergraduates did not sense transitions as a tool of writers' authoritative identity while the graduate students were consciously aware of the importance of transitions. Chulsu believed that he could establish his authoritative position by imaging his audience, so he tried to write as understandably as possible by adding transitions that helped readers to predict the relationship between previous ideas and upcoming ideas. Also, he used many transitional markers to introduce additional

information and opposing ideas to discuss the issues fully with various perspectives that needed to be considered in his papers.

Second, code glosses were the second most commonly used textual markers by the undergraduates while evidentials were second among the graduates (see Figure 2). The function of code glosses was to explain terms or ideas clearly to clarify meaning and instruct writers' intended meaning. They could be interpreted as writers' predictions about readers' knowledge and writers' guidance to lead readers into the intended knowledge. Both male students, Junho and Chulsu, used many code glosses but with different intentions. In Junho's case, after giving direct quotations from books, he tried to explain the quotation with code glosses, such as *it means*. On the other hand, Chulsu used the most varied code gloss markers (e.g., *in other words, such as, particularly, is called, that is, mean,* and *for instance*) to discuss one idea fully as well as to explain a term, a phrase, or a long quotation in his papers.

In my observation, Chulsu used a similar pattern in writing paragraphs. He usually began by putting one general statement as a topic sentence and then added a second sentence starting with a code gloss to elaborate the meaning of the first sentence. Then, he continued with a third sentence with an adversative transition, such as *even though* or *however*, in order to present other findings and different ideas. Chulsu explained that his numerous uses of code glosses were intended to express his authoritativeness in the papers, as he did with transitions. He used code glosses because he wanted to provide clearer examples or explanations to help readers understand ideas. Due to his limited power as a student writer, he believed that he might not contribute new knowledge, but he could use varied vocabulary by restating the idea from the previous

sentence in the second sentence, followed by the phrase *in other words*. The particular example in (5) shows how he discussed the topic, English language and dominant ideology, with code glosses and additive transitions as follows:

(5) The spread of English influences language ideologies, more specifically, dominant ideologies. *In other words*, although the purpose of language teaching is up to the individual language teacher, the context *also* heavily influences whether and what language someone teaches. *Thus*, Baquedano-Lopez (2002) argues that. . . . (Chulsu's paper 2, pp. 5-6)

Third, the frequencies of other categories of textual metadiscourse, including frame markers, endophoric makers, and evidentials, varied with each participant. The reason was because the papers examined were written by Korean students who had different academic levels and purposes for their writing. A small number of frame markers were used by all the participants while the frequency of endophoric markers and evidentials varied with the individual. Endophoric markers were used to refer to parts of texts, figures, and tables and most of the participants in this study did not use figures and tables because they were not required in most papers. The exceptions were Sunhee and Chulsu, who used several tables, figures, and excerpts in their research papers. In evidentials, Minji did not use many citations in her argumentative paper, report, and response paper due to the features of undergraduate papers other than research papers.

Considerably, the graduate students made far more use of evidential markers because citations in research papers provide reasonable justification in argument and demonstrate the writers' knowledge on topics and provide a strong ethos for writers (Hyland, 2004b). Particularly, Sunhee used evidentials substantially. Using nearly 100

evidential markers in paper 3 seems overwhelming, but she insisted that quotations and in-text citations made her papers stronger as she could provide her knowledge and evidence in them. This was her way of showing her academic authoritativeness.

The Korean graduate students clearly understood that the functions of evidentials as "central to the social context of persuasion" as follows:

[Evidentials] provide justification for arguments and demonstrates the novelty of the writer's position, but it also allows students to display an allegiance to a particular community and establish a credible writer identity, displaying familiarity with the texts and with an ethos that values a disciplinary research tradition. (Hyland & Tse, 2004, p. 171)

All the doctoral students in the interviews mentioned that they spent much time finding articles relevant to their topics and tried to use as many as possible in citations to indicate their hard-working and knowledgeable writer identities. However, this practice with transitions and evidentials might not be sufficient to make them authoritative academic writers if they did not utilize other categories of metadiscourse, as well.

In summary, guiding readers logically and informatively with transitions, predicting the readers' background knowledge, and providing clarification and additional explanation were ways of showing Korean student writers' authoritativeness in their academic papers. However, compared to the undergraduates who excessively employed many transitions to increase content ideas, the graduates made great use of evidentials and transitions in terms of both propositional and interpersonal levels to enhance their authoritative academic writer identities.

Engagement Metadiscourse Use

One of the most interesting findings from the metadiscourse corpus analysis is the use of engagement metadiscourse. Both undergraduate participants used a large number of first person pronouns (*I*, *my*, *me*) in their papers; in opposition, the four graduate students tried to avoid using first person pronouns in Figure 3 below.

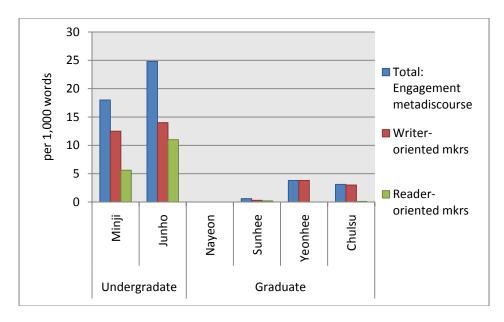


Figure 3. Comparison of engagement metadiscourse use among the six Koreans in their English academic papers.

Writer-oriented markers (self-mentions) play an important role in presenting the writers' voice and expressing their points of view on issues that they discuss. However, a close look can bring a different understanding of self-mentions. According to Ellen Barton, the use of "uncredentialed 'I'" is prevalent in students' texts (as cited in Morgan, 1997, p. 85). She explained that students tend to use *I* when presenting personal experience and generalized examples. This use of *I* does not necessarily present writers' unique or authoritative voice. It rather functions as "marking transitions between steps of moves in the text and, in that sense, they are more interactive than interactional resources" (Lafuente et al., 2006, p. 205).

Similar to what the researchers above criticized in the use of self-mention markers, the Korean undergraduate students used writer-oriented markers by simply adding the phrase *I think* without presenting further discussion or opinionated ideas. Or they used the phrase to describe what they did as "architect of the text and recounter of the research" (Tang and John, 1999), as shown in (1) and (2).

- (1) In conclusion part, the title of the story, the Diamond necklace reminds *me* of the historical affair by one French Queen. When *I* read the conclusion part once again, somewhat *I* agreed and somewhat *I* disagreed. If *I* did explain specifically and If *I* clearly fit it on my analysis, it would really work out, *I* believe that the idea is really nice, but somewhat distinct from what *I* analyzed in the overall part of the response. That's what *I* disappointed in the conclusion part. (Minji's paper 2, p.2)
- (2) In this paper, *I* would like to say about a text, . . . , which are briefly summarized below, and comparing the two theories with each other *I* will graft the text into them. (Junho's paper 1, p.1)

Hinkel (2002) studied ESL undergraduate students' writing in regard to high use of self-mention and found that Asian students tended to use significantly more first person pronouns than NES student writers did. The findings from my study with the undergraduates also supported this interactional feature of self-mention. Hinkel explained that this was based on cultural preferences or inexperience with English academic writing. It is not known whether the students were encouraged or discouraged in using first person pronouns in writing papers in their L1 writing education, but it is possible to assume that undergraduate students might not have been exposed to serious

academic writing contexts in which they are required to use writer-oriented markers appropriately. Also, their professors might not have brought attention to this writing convention in the classroom. Therefore, the students might not have even been conscious of using first person pronouns. Second, they intentionally used them extensively to make papers longer, as Junho and Minji said in the interviews. In addition, their excessive use of *I* could simply have come from a lack of sufficient editing. Repeated use of *I* could have been eliminated or reduced, but apparently the students did not care.

In contrast, the criminology graduate students rarely used engagement markers in their papers. They had a strong belief that writer-oriented markers and active voice were not preferred in the discipline. For the doctoral students in TESOL, Yeonhee used first person pronouns 16 times in paper 1 because it was her first research paper. In noticeable contrast, she did not use the first person pronoun I at all in paper 2. Instead, she used another writer-oriented marker, researcher, 25 times. In paper 3, she used each word, I and researcher, only once. As Yeonhee realized that overuse of I was not preferred, she retained her presence in the text by using the word researcher in paper 2. This strongly showed her awareness of self-mentions as writer's presence and her attempt to make her writing more objective in her papers 2 and 3. Similarly, Chulsu reduced the use of the first person pronoun I from 16 times to 6 times from paper 2 to paper 3. Nevertheless, both of them mentioned that they would not totally avoid using I but would continue to show their presence with the writer-oriented markers researcher or I in their future papers because they believed that writer's presence and subjective position are important in their discipline.

Inclusive reader-oriented markers include first person plural pronouns (*we*) and second person pronouns (*you*), rhetorical questions, necessity modals, and presupposition markers, which reflect writers' invitation of readers into the discussion and their negotiation with readers (Hyland, 2005a). The markers can be understood as writers' confidence in target readers' cognitive and cultural knowledge, the discipline, and importantly the materials on the topics. For example, the graduate students used almost none of reader-oriented marker *you*, but both Minji and Junho used inclusive *we* in their papers to show their acknowledgement of readers' background knowledge and to attract them to convey common ground for the topics of ESL students in an American class and a negative view on a flea as in (3) and (4):

- (3) Actually, it is almost impossible for Koreans to write and speak just like American. When we look at college writing class students, this seems to be clear. (Minji's paper 3, p. 2)
- (4) In the work of John Donne, he uses a concrete object we can see around *us*, a flea, which is indeed tiny and small like the way described in the first paragraph and treated so bad by *us* in our lives, . . . (Junho's paper 2, p. 1)

Another reader-oriented device is a question, a device mostly confined to the soft fields (Hyland, 2004a). Many of the students did not use questions in their papers. Except for research questions, they employed very few questions in introductions or as subheadings. Questions allow writers to introduce topics, to address readers, or to set up answers, rather than inviting readers, as shown in (5) and (6):

(5) Why do they [Koreans] have hard times to study English and can't not do well on English especially, on speaking and writing? Then how and what do we

- need to write well In English? What about teacher? What they have to do? (Minji's paper 3)
- (6) Why does humor matter? Then, what is the function of humor in a person's life and why do people consider humor seriously? What are humor functions for bilingual speakers of English? (Yeonhee's paper 3)

Questions prompt readers to think about topics, but Minji formulated the questions informally as she would speak, while Yeonhee appropriately created her questions to introduce the topic and narrow down the focus for her readers. Nevertheless, the questions carried more content and constructed organization for papers. As soon as they posed questions, they answered them. Thus, the questions were used more for propositional orientation than for interpersonal orientation through which writers' attitudes toward readers and topics are revealed.

In short, two undergraduate participants used engagement markers visibly, while the graduate participants rarely or never used them in their research papers (see Figure 3). The closer textual exam revealed the undergraduate students excessively used writeroriented markers of "uncredentialed 'I'", which does not reveal an authoritative position in writing. On the other hand, underuse of reader-oriented markers by student writers can be understood that the writers arre not aware of the importance of audience, writer-reader interaction, and engaging devices (Burneikaite, 2008). As a result, the graduate students were reluctant to engage with readers. Or, they might have believed that academic writing had to be formal and impersonal (Hyland, 2005c), as Sunhee and Nayeon felt uncomfortable using reader-oriented markers in their discipline. All in all, the Korean

did not engage themselves with the use of engagement metadiscourse to present the authorial voice in their papers.

Evaluative Metadiscourse

Hedge devices are difficult for novice student writers to acquire and use in their papers. Surprisingly, however, the less experienced undergraduate writers used more evaluative metadiscourse than the graduates in my study (see Figure 4).

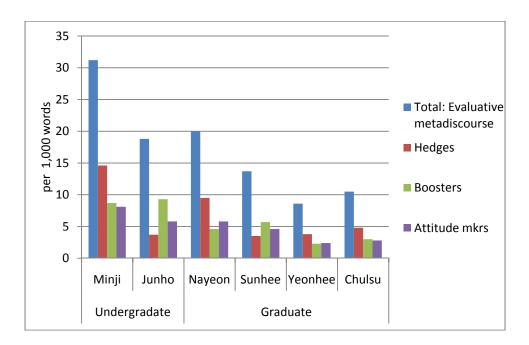


Figure 4. Comparison of evaluative metadiscourse use among the six Koreans in their English academic papers.

First, the findings on the use of hedges show different results among individuals. While others used hedge markers an average of 3.5 to 4.8 per 1,000 words, Minji and Nayeon used them more frequently, 14.6 and 9.5 per 1,000 words, respectively. Nonetheless, their use of hedges appears to be ineffective. Minji employed mainly modal auxiliary (would, could, might) and seem, somewhat, and maybe for hedges when expressing her opinions cautiously and indirectly. As mentioned before, in Minji's case, she tended to soften her arguments with hedges, but her overuse of a modal auxiliary would caused her

ideas to appear as weak and made her position less confident as in (1) below. It was possible that she expressed her ideas in that manner due to the Korean rhetoric strategy of indirectness (Eggington, 1987; Hinds, 1987; Kim, 1995; Scollon and Scollon, 1995; Park, Dillon, & Mitchell, 1998; Kim, 2003).

(1) I thought that it *would* be important to look at lyrics as well as music video. . . . For example, in the lyrics, the prostitutes call themselves as independent persons. It *seems* that being prostitutes is being independent person misleads your children to think independent women and sell their body for luxurious lives. (Minji's paper 1, p. 2)

In contrast, for her part, Nayeon cautiously avoided making an obvious generalization from results in studies and carefully concluded them with hedges. She used mostly adverbs (*possibly*, *partially*, *likely*, and *frequently*) along with some verbs (i.e., *might*, *may*, and *tend to*) in hedges as in (2) and (3):

- (2) However, the researchers noted that due to the reports relying on observers' achievements, there is *a possibility* that the observers' personal perspective *would* affect the reports. In addition, because of observers' presence, there is *a possibility* that patrol officers *would* change their behavior. (Nayeon's paper 2, p. 4)
- (3) Among males, black defendants were *more likely* to be sentenced harshly than white defendants. (Nayeon's paper 3, p. 3).

I believe that the influenced of hedges is rooted in different aspects from Korean and English language and discipline. Minji seemed to be more influenced by the Korean rhetoric of indirectness and the inductive style in argument. However, just as the other

graduate students noticed the importance of hedges in academic writing, Nayeon learned to use them from reading scholarly articles in her classes and memorizing phrases, such as *it is possible to* or *there is a possibility*, in order to make her papers look more academic.

In *Hedging in Scientific Research Articles*, Hyland (1998a) carefully discussed the pragmatic analysis of hedge and explained that hedge devices could be interpreted with content-oriented hedges, writer-oriented hedges, and reader-oriented hedges. First, content-oriented hedges help show "writers' interest in stating propositional accord with reality" (p. 162). That is, this type of hedge "addresses writers' concern with the relationship between propositions, or propositional elements, and reality (p. 163)." For example, the doctoral students carefully summarize or generalize findings from sources with devices such as *possible*, *predictable*, *more or less*, or *approximately*. They also can give a signal that their knowledge could be uncertain and questionable in terms of the reliability and the validity of a claim by using such expressions as *the opposite is also possible*, *could*, *alternatively*, or *almost nothing is known about* (pp. 165-169). For instance, Sunhee used *may* intensively in (4) to reduce her certainty in understanding the male model as well as the view of women in reality:

(4) Under the male model of justice, the ideal *may* be fair treatment. However, Haidensohn (1986) points out equal treatment *may* not be fair treatment, since the social reality is that women *may* have different economic needs, *may* have been victimized, and *may* in other ways be in different situations than male defendants. (Sunhee's paper 2, p. 7)

Second, writer-oriented hedges are related to writers' claims when they introduce wide relevance and generality, which weaken arguments or certainty of knowledge. Hence, writers need to seek "self-protection from the negative consequences of poor judgment" (p. 162) and "shield" themselves from "the possible consequences of negatability by limiting personal commitment" (Hyland, 1998a, p. 170) with the following examples: *It is assumed that, indicate, suggest, imply, appear, seem,* or *viewed in this way* (pp. 170-175). This pragmatic function helps writers to make a great claim while limiting the damage of being wrong, as done by Yeonhee, as shown in (5).

(5) The results appeared to indicate that the declarative sentences are difficult for Korean advanced students. Films have great language resources (Jane King, 2002). I suggest that the abundant language resources of films can help teachers to teach these intonations. (Yeonhee's paper 1, p. 9)

Third, writers use reader-oriented hedges to focus on writers' social relationships with readers by avoiding face-threats to readers, referring to a general audience, creating a particular persona as an accepted member of the community, and using epistemic lexical verbs and verbs of judgments, such as we propose, I believe, we infer, my analysis, or our investigations. . . can be seen in a different light (pp. 180-183), as shown in (6).

(6) If we consider current huge numbers of inmates in correctional facilities, reducing high recidivism rates through prison-based rehabilitation program should be the most pressing issues in each state's correction department.

(Sunhee's paper 3, p. 1)

Another finding should be noted. Even though writers can negotiate and persuade their readers by softening interpersonal criticism, signaling their own claim, and creating

an alternative view as mentioned above, I suspect that the Korean participants did not use enough reader-oriented hedges in relation to their professors as readers. Most hedges used were more likely to function as content-oriented hedges in their papers. This might have been caused by a lack of academic writing practices in their discipline. Without this knowledge, they merely presented information from many sources and generalized some findings with hedges.

Another close examination suggests that the graduate students used hedges impersonally. While hedges can be used for indicating or signaling writers' claims with the phrase *I* (*we*) *believe*, *suppose*, *suspect*, and *infer*, most hedges used were expressed impersonally. That is, instead of cognitive verbs like *think*, *believe*, and *suspect*, which could show writers' subjective positions, discourse-oriented verbs, such as *show*, *indicate*, *suggest*, and *imply*, were used more with inanimate subjects (Hyland, 2004a, p. 94) in their papers. This was due to their tendency to avoid using first person pronouns as well as their strong belief of academic writers as content knowledge providers. Therefore, they rarely used the combination of writer's subject position and cognitive verbs, such as *I suppose* or *I think* in their academic papers.

It is expected that advanced writers tend to employ far more metadiscourse, especially with engagement and evaluative metadiscourse. However, in this study, more boosters were used by the undergraduate students (8.7 and 9.3 per 1,000 words) than the graduate students (4.6, 5.7, 2.3, and 3.0 per 1,000 words) (see Table 12). Under closer scrutiny, it is clear that the boosters *think*, *should*, and *found* were used by the undergraduates the most, but in ways different from the graduates. In many cases, Junho's overuse of the phrase *I think*, as in (7), brought a mix of his personal opinion and

a stereotypical idea, and his use of *I think* did not necessarily establish his authoritative voice (Tang and John, 1999).

(7) But the weird object [flea] is used by the poet in this poem, thus, it made me *think* that it is ridiculous. Nevertheless . . . than the normal meaning which is that we *think* in the stereotype that the flea is dirty and infecting us with a disease. (Junho's paper 2, pp.1-2)

Minji also used boosters with content-oriented aspects by adding more information rather than carrying a distinctive personal opinion, as in (8) below. Some uses of *I think* function as unnecessary insertions or spoken influences, and those boosters mark the writer as a novice:

(8) By reading my response as a reader, *I* also could *find* another problem on the writing. While making the paper, *I thought* that I already understood the story in views by Marxism and Feminism. . . . As a reader, as I read whole response again, *I found* that some of the parts are not proper. . . . *I thought* this sentence explained my intended meaning on analysis by Marxism. (Minji's paper 1, pp.1-2)

On the other hand, even though the frequency of boosters was not higher than among the undergraduates, the graduate students used various forms of booster markers (i.e., *argue*, *reveal*, *think*, *found*, and *should*) with a different purpose. Since they used sources or their own research, they wanted to show their clear understanding of the sources as follows, in (9) and (10):

- (9) Many studies *show* that parental involvement and home environment play a significant role in fostering children's overall educational success. (Chulsu's paper 3, p. 2)
- (10) The content analysis results *show* that all six textbooks reflect the goals and objectives of writing in English in the 7th national curriculum successfully. (Yeonhee's paper 2, p. 11)

Similar to the impersonal and objective hedges, many boosters used in the papers were also discourse-focused and impersonal-oriented with devices such as *show*, *demonstrate*, *find*, and *reveal*. This indicates that the graduate students tended to use "agentless textual representations claiming an appearance of objectivity and neutrality" (Hyland, 2004a, p. 95) without using first person pronouns.

In addition, the word *should* was significantly employed in the discussion or conclusion sections in the papers in order to express their suggestions for future research and implications, as in (11) and (12). I feel that the students lacked knowledge of other linguistic resources that they could have used for suggestions and arguments in their conclusions.

- (11) Most of all, teachers *should* participate in reforming the education policy and writing text books. . . . The government *should* encourage teachers to propose their opinions and suggestions. (Yeonhee's paper 2, p. 18)
- (12) Third, legal issues *should be* addressed for developing effective faith-based programs. To address this problem, the participant in the faith-based programs *must be* voluntary, and the operating fund *must be* donated by the faith-based organizations instead of using federal and state funds. (Sunhee's paper 3, p. 20)

Finally, attitude markers convey writers' attitudes toward content information and explain their affective aspect with surprise, agreement, obligation, importance, and so on. Similar to the findings on other categories of interpersonal metadiscourse, the undergraduate students used a greater number of attitude markers with fewer individual markers like *hard* and *important*, but the graduate students used a lesser overall number of attitude markers but a greater variety of them, such as *significantly*, *important*, *effectively*, and *strongly*.

Underuse of evaluative discourse markers yields a less authoritative voice and less personal involvement because it indicates that writers have a "lack of confidence, reluctance to express opinion, poor/no tradition of critical evaluation" (Burneikaite, 2008). The graduate students did not feel comfortable using some affective attitude markers (*surprisingly*) that might have interfered with establishing their objective voice in their papers. However, they began to learn to use more; the criminology graduate students used more attitude markers. As they said, Nayeon and Sunhee learned this usage by reading many articles, receiving written feedback, having conferences with their professors, and imitating them. While TESOL students used them slightly less frequently, I noticed in the interviews that they did not get much input from their professors regarding attitude markers. Instead, they had to learn the significance of attitude markers functioning as their voice through textual academic interactions for themselves by carefully examining journal articles and textbooks.

In conclusion, I compared the use of metadiscourse markers between the Korean undergraduate and graduate students' academic papers. The undergraduates made far greater use of engagement markers and used slightly more evaluative markers than the

However, closer textual analysis found that despite the undergraduate students' high frequency of metadiscourse use, their writer identities were not as strong as they could have been in their papers. That is, the undergraduate students repeatedly used the same markers and this overuse made their writing authoritativeness and papers overall weak. In many cases, the metadiscourse markers were inappropriate and meaningless. Korean undergraduate students used more number of evaluative markers because it is possible to assume that it was easier for them to express their feelings (i.e., *surprised*, *dislike*, or *boring*) in relation to non-academic topics, such as prostitutes, fleas, and love in their papers. Also, the frequent use of interpersonal metadiscourse markers, which would increase sensitivity and stronger authority, was also more likely to function as a recounting of their writing process and the organization of papers or adding propositional content.

Another finding that emerged from the metadiscourse analysis was that the Korean graduate students made more use of context-oriented hedges for argument, refutation, or criticism of propositional purpose than undergraduate students. At the same time, however, graduate students rarely used engagement markers and reader-oriented or writer-oriented hedges for interpersonal purpose, which are related to writer's knowledge of readers and writer's strategy in their subject position.

Metadiscourse Use: Korean Graduate Students vs. Postgraduate Writers

Even though the graduates' research papers were lengthy and they had more space
for both propositional and interpersonal metadiscourse, they did not use many
metadiscourse markers, even compared with the undergraduates in this study. Because

the findings in this study could not be compared due to the fact the papers were in different genres (undergraduate response journal or comparison versus graduate research paper), it would be useful to compare these findings with previous studies on metadiscourse analysis, which used similar genres of papers.

Many studies on metadiscourse analysis have used a large number of corpora from professional writers' texts, such as abstracts, science letters, newspaper articles, textbooks, or scholarly articles (Crismore & Farnsworth, 1990; Dafouz-Milne, 2008; Lafuente et al., 2006; Mauranen, 1993; Le, 2004; Hyland, 1996, 1998a, 1998b, 2004a, 2005a, 2005b). However, there have only been a few studies with graduate student writers' texts, such as doctoral dissertations and master's theses (Burneikaite, 2008; Hyland, 2004b; Hyland & Tse, 2004). In addition, there was only one study found that explored less experienced NNES Chinese undergraduate students' papers written for classes (Hyland, 2005c). Hence, only few studies exist in the literature that are similar and results can be compared to this study (Hyland, 2004b, 2005a, 2005c; Hyland & Tse, 2004).

Comparing metadiscourse analyses was not an easy task, much due to how prior researchers analyzed and presented their findings. In Hyland's (2005c) research on NNES Hong Kong undergraduates' papers as senior projects, he focused only on engagement metadiscourse with five different categories, including questions, reader references, directives, shared knowledge, and asides. However, in my study, I combined all engagement markers with writer-oriented and reader-oriented markers. In another study with 240 doctoral dissertations and master's theses in Hong Kong (2004b), Hyland examined the use of interactive (textual) and interactional (interpersonal: engagement and

evaluative) metadiscourse, as I did in this study, but he presented his findings by six disciplines and degrees (master's and doctoral). As a result, it was difficult to compare his findings with the results from this study due to the differing categories and focus.

Due to this difficulty, I tried to compare the results of this study with other studies using similar genres of academic papers (e.g., research articles and dissertations), in which writers can contribute academic knowledge, present their relevance and membership to the target audience, and finally establish their authority through academic interaction. Even though the papers are different in terms of length, depth of study, and process, they are somewhat comparable due to the similar purpose and organization, including introduction, literature review, research methods, findings, and discussion sections. Because only the master's degree student (Nayeon) wrote article reviews, I did not include her papers in this comparison.

Therefore, I used Hyland's two studies that analyzed 120 doctoral dissertations (Hyland & Tse, 2004) and 28 academic research articles (Hyland, 2005a) to compare metadiscourse features with my study. In order to compare metadiscourse features in academic papers written in English by different groups of postgraduate students, I have presented the results of metadiscourse corpus analysis from the three studies in Table 13.

As expected, metadiscourse markers in the all categories were far more used in the published research articles, except evidentials and reader-markers categories. In particular, the postgraduate researchers made greater use of textual and evaluative metadiscourse; evaluative markers (23.0 per 1,000 words) were used four times more frequently than engagement markers (6.1 per 1,000 words) in the research articles.

Table 13
Comparison of Metadiscourse Use in Academic Papers among Postgraduates (per 1,000 words)

Category	Korean Research Papers* (N=9)	Chinese Doctoral Dissertations* (N=120)	Published Research Articles* (N=28)
Textual	29.0	26.7	35.8
Transitions	11.0	9.6	12.8
Frame markers	2.5	3.0	5.0
Code glosses	4.0	4.1	7.1
Endophoric markers	2.2	2.4	4.0
Evidentials	9.8	7.6	6.9
Engagement	2.5	9.2	6.1
Writer- oriented markers	2.3	4.0	3.9
Reader- oriented markers	0.1	5.2	2.2
Evaluative	11.0	15.0	23.0
Hedge	4.0	9.6	15.1
Boosters	3.6	3.5	3.9
Attitude markers	3.3	1.9	4.0
Interpersonal	18.4	24.2	29.1
Totals	42.4	50.9	64.0

Note. (1) Adapted from the Korean graduate students' research papers by this study; (2) Adapted from Chinese doctoral students' dissertations by Hyland & Tse (2004); and (3) Adapted from published research articles by Hyland (2005a, p. 92).

Chinese doctoral students used metadiscourse markers slightly more than the Korean students in this study, perhaps because they wanted to present themselves with "more concerted and sophisticated attempts to engage with readers and present their authors as competent and credible academics immersed in the ideologies and practices of their disciplines" in their doctoral dissertation (Hyland & Tse, 2004, p. 171). Specifically, the Chinese writers employed far more reader-oriented markers in their dissertation. However, the Chinese students used slightly less metadiscourse markers than the postgraduate researchers in the most categories.

Although this comparison among postgraduates' research papers, doctoral dissertations, and published research articles is not truly comparable due to different genres, the length of texts, the time spent, depth of study, ESL language barrier, and so on, there are still obvious differences and similarities between ESL students' research papers and professional academic writers' research articles. Three findings in particular are Korean students' belief of writer identity with transitions, evidentials, and their lack of skill in using hedges in text.

In this study, the Korean graduate students made a somewhat greater use of textual metadiscourse, particularly with transitions and evidentials, along with boosters and attitude markers. Evidently, it is assumed that Korean students presented their authoritative writer identities through more frequent use of transitions and evidentials. This indicates that they had believed that appropriate use of textual metadiscourse, particularly with transitions, could bring writers' interpersonal knowledge, as writers provide readers with signals for better understanding and guiding to follow texts. Hyland also argued that "all metadiscourse is interpersonal" (2005a, p. 41) because academic writers consider their interpersonal relationship with their readers by focusing on "how to shape their propositions to create convincing, coherent discourse in particular social and institutional contexts" (2004b, p. 138).

In addition, the Korean graduate students surprisingly made far more use of evidentials among other types of papers. For example, Sunhee emphasized the importance of citation, which helps not only to "provide justification for arguments and demonstrates the novelty of the writer's position but also to display their knowledge of

the field's literature" and "establish a credible ethos that values a disciplinary research tradition" (Hyland, 2004b, pp. 141-142).

However, except transitions and evidentials, the Korean graduate students employed significantly far less engagement and evaluative metadiscourse features. Their rare use of writer-oriented markers (*I*) indicates that they held a strong view of objectivity and formality in academic writing. Even though they employed boosters and attitude markers as many as postgraduate researchers did, they used hedges four times less often than in the research articles. Hedges can be used most in positioning in which writers need to tone down their threatening criticism and provide affective consideration to readers. However, little use of hedges (4 hedges in 1000 words) implies that the Korean graduate students were not aware of the functions of hedges and not involved in criticism, or did not cautiously consider the impact of their criticism to readers.

It was questionable whether they were truly aware of the importance of metadiscourse including the functions of all markers and the hidden rules of academic interaction through linguistic resources. It is possible to think that the Korean graduate students did not know the importance of writer's presence with writer-oriented markers and evaluative metadiscourse markers. Their lack of use of evaluative metadiscourse could probably be answered from the interview. Even though the two TESOL graduate students, Yeonhee and Chulsu, indicated their increasing awareness, as time went by, of the importance of expressing their subjectivity and opinions, they still faced problems in employing the devices properly. Chulsu said that he began seeing the significance of metadiscourse and academic interaction in published research articles, yet he faced difficulty in controlling the use of metadiscourse markers, as he said:

As I see, we [Koreans] are not good at using hedges. When I used it, it seemed to bring a strong tone even though I wanted to bring a soft tone. This is a hard part. It seems there are not many words for hedge in the Korean language. One day, my professor pointed out that the word "claim" that I used in my paper was strong. I did not know that this can be a booster at that time. I just translated a Korean word into an English word, "claim." I did not know subtle differences or nuances that embedded in the word. I am weak in this skill. I see that NES writers use hedges and boosters well. They use them a lot and I am actually jealous of their sensibility in using them and presenting their opinion flexibly. I mean control their position with the language. In my paper 1, I used a lot of hedges because I went to the writing center so many times and NES writing tutors helped me to use more hedges. (Interview 2, June 26, 2009)

Although the graduates were exposed to the expectations of academic writers' roles and many examples from reading in some degree, using interpersonal metadiscourse strategically was challenging to them for different "cross-cultural pragmatic" reasons. Most importantly, NNES writers can have problems of sociolinguistic miscommunication. As Chulsu experienced with the word *claim*, this can be "cross-cultural pragmatic failure which can result from either violations of the social conditions on language use, or to different interpretations of equivalent speech acts" (Hyland, 1998a, p. 219). There are variations among different languages in claiming certainty and making arguments. For example, some Asian cultures prefer an indirect and cautious style with concern over the extent of reader involvement (Hind, 1987).

Another reason that the Korean graduate students did not use enough interpersonal metadiscourse markers would be based on their strong view of formal academic discourse and their rhetorical preference for impersonalization with passives, nominalization, and objective voices. As Sunhee said:

I do not put my opinion except in conclusion. Claims and ideas should be based on sources; I mean other research, not from my ideas. I present a lot of findings from sources in body, and then I put my opinion in conclusion. (Interview 2, May 29, 2009).

This explains that the discipline of criminology prefers drawing inferences and arguments from sources without the writers' presence or the writers' personal ideas and experiences. In addition, dominance of impersonal voice in criminology could be seen as a discipline preference based on their ideology. Similarly, readers in psychology consider the use of I as a troublesome style and view it with a negative attitude as they believe that personal accounts are not reliable sources for claims (Morgan, 1997). Hence, avoidance of I could be understood as being based on institutional and disciplinary influences, just as when their professors prohibits the use of first person pronouns in criminology papers.

Differences in Disciplines: Humanities and Social Science

The 18 papers analyzed in this study were written by Korean students from English literature, English education, Criminology, and TESOL disciplines. If categorized broader, English literature (Junho and Minji) is subsumed under humanities, and criminology (Nayeon and Sunhee) and TESOL (Yeonhee and Culsu) are under social science and applied linguistics, respectively, but all of them are considered to be *soft* disciplines. In the last part of section II, I focus on understanding what metadiscourse

features are in different disciplines and how closely the Korean students used metadiscourse features within their targeted disciplines.

Metadiscourse features in the Korean students' papers written in the soft fields can be understood by comparing them to the categories used in previous research. Hyland (2005a) studied metadiscourse features from published academic research articles across eight disciplines (philosophy, sociology, applied linguistics, marketing, physics, biology, mechanical engineering, and electronic engineering). To find Korean students' use of interpersonal (engagement and evaluative) metadiscourse features, I paired the Korean participants' academic papers in this study with published research articles from Hyland's study within three similar disciplines: (1) for humanities, I compared English undergraduates' papers with philosophy research articles, (2) for sociology, I compared criminology graduates' papers with sociology research articles, and (3) for applied linguistics, I compared TESOL graduates' papers with applied linguistics research articles. These comparisons are shown in Figure 5. Again, it should be kept in mind that there are obvious gaps between the Korean ESL students' research papers and professional academic writers' research articles. The variations could be rooted from writers' experiences of academic writing, the depths of revision process with specialized editor's help, and native and non-native language skill.

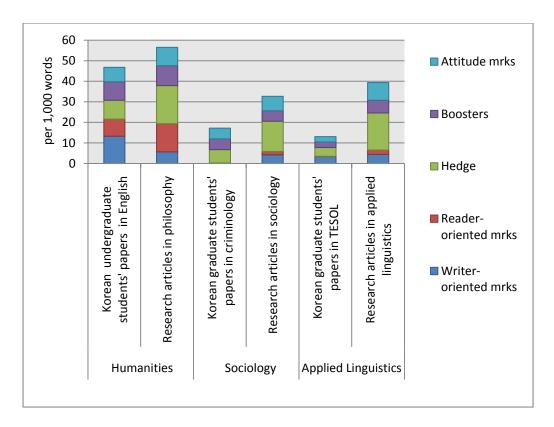


Figure 5. Comparison of interpersonal metadiscourse use by different disciplines.

Note. Adapted from the Korean undergraduates' and graduates' academic papers in this study; Adapted from metadiscourse analysis of research articles in philosophy, sociology, and applied linguistics by Hyland (2005a).

Even though soft fields employ more metadiscourse overall than in hard fields (Hyland, 2004b), there are still some variations across disciplines. Apparently, philosophy contains the highest proportion of interpersonal markers (an average of 54.5 per 1,000 words), with hedges and reader-oriented markers. In a similar vein, the Korean undergraduate students in English demonstrated a high frequency of using interpersonal markers (an average of 46.0 per 1,000 words). However, they used far more writer-oriented markers and fewer reader-oriented markers opposed to those in philosophy. As discussed before, the undergraduate students overused uncredentialed "I" to present their personal examples and unnecessarily added the phrase "I think" without providing their opinions.

While a few reader-oriented markers (1.6 and 2.2 per 1,000 words) and writer-oriented markers (4.3 and 4.4 per 1,000 words) were used in research articles in sociology and applied linguistics, the Korean students in criminology and TESOL used almost none (0.1 and 0.1 per 1,000 words) or few (0.2 and 3.4 per 1,000 words). Considerably, this comparison reveals that some doctoral students are not aware of the metadiscourse materials and do not actively utilize them in their academic papers.

This investigation also indicates that attitude markers, boosters, hedges, and writer-oriented markers were very much used in professional research articles in the soft disciplines, whereas the Korean graduates used far less metadiscourse categories. They used significantly less interpersonal metadiscourse, particularly with hedges and engagement markers despite the fact that hedges and self-mentions (writer-oriented markers) play a distinctive role in academic writing in soft fields (Hyland, 2004b). For example, the TESOL doctoral students used the least number of interpersonal metadiscourse markers. Particularly, their total frequencies of the interpersonal markers (13.1 per 1,000 words) and particularly with hedges (3.4 per 1,000 words) were employed four to five times less than in the applied linguistic discipline (39.4 per 1,000 words; 18 per 1,000 words) within the soft fields. These findings are a concern, especially with doctoral students in TESOL, who, as future English language teachers, are expected to be knowledgeable in linguistic resources and to be excellent language users in speaking and writing.

Summary

In chapter 5, I investigated Korean students' use of metadiscourse markers in order to understand how they developed their academic writer identities in their papers,

as well as studied use of metadiscourse features across disciplines and the program level. Within these investigations, I also compared these metadiscourse findings with results from prior research (Hyland, 2005a; Hyland & Tse, 2004).

Based on these explorations and results, three issues need to be further discussed: (1) Korean students' use of metadiscourse features, (2) Korean students' beliefs of writer identity, and (3) development and generalization issues. First, the data in this study showed dichotomous results in the use of metadiscourse feature between the Korean undergraduate and graduate students' academic papers. Overall, the Korean undergraduate students used metadiscourse items (i.e., transitions, code glosses, writer and reader-oriented markers, hedges, boosters, attitude markers) more frequently in all the textual, engagement, and evaluative categories (see Table 12) than the Korean graduate students.

However, upon closer examination, the undergraduate students' frequent use of metadiscourse markers did not mean that they were authoritative academic writers. Most transitional items used by Korean undergraduate students functioned as propositional/ideational purposes to connect, signal, and extend propositional meaning rather than as interpersonal functions to show writers' explicit views. In engagement metadiscourse, the undergraduates excessively used the self-mention marker "I" as uncredentialed "I" and recounter of the text, which are two indicators of inexperienced writers and do not reflect an authoritative writer position. In addition, their frequent use of hedges (would) and boosters (I think) did not establish their identities with authoritative voice because these items were used meaninglessly or influenced by an indirect, Korean, communicative style.

On the other hand, even though the Korean graduate students utilized less metadiscourse markers, these students used more various markers related to interpersonal/interactional aspects, which function as effective signals of writers' position and awareness of a rhetorical movement. Therefore, in comparison to the undergraduate students, the Korean graduate students' uses of metadiscourse were more interpersonal and showed their advanced writing skill. As expected, they showed their development in using various forms of markers and better performance in their academic papers, whether or not knowing much about metadiscourse.

Yet, when I compared their metadiscourse features with postgraduate writing (Hyland, 2005a; Hyland & Tse, 2004), the Korean graduate students were still not using enough metadiscourse markers in all the categories, except transitions and evidentials. Their writing was characterized with content-oriented hedge, writer-oriented hedge, discourse-oriented verb, and impersonal and passive oriented markers, which all increase content knowledge in comparison to reader-oriented hedges or cognitive verbs, which bring more authoritative and subjective position as writers.

In short, the Korean graduate students performed a better job compared to the Korean undergraduates; they can be seen as emerging and developing writers because they could use a variety of metadiscourse items more strategically. However, not only did they lack authoritative writing skills in presenting their voices and positions and managing interpersonal relationships with their readers, but they also were weak in balancing the use of metadiscourse features in their academic English papers. This leads to question their understanding of authoritative writers in text.

From the interviews, graduate students' beliefs of academic writers were more likely to be knowledge providers rather than knowledge contributors when using transitions and evidentials. They expressed concern that their knowledge making would not be heard by their professors, who had more credentials in making judgment. As a result, they did not attempt their knowledge making, realize the importance of the criticism by putting less weight on their papers, or follow writing features preferred (impersonal voice) in the discipline.

A final consideration from this chapter is that generalization from this study to other settings or populations should be avoided for a handful of reasons. First, the corpus of the Korean students' papers was very small so that I could manually examine how each marker was effectively used in context. Second, because this was a qualitative study, I could not purposely collect the same genres of academic papers. Variations within the collected papers for this study should be considered in the natural setting. Third, even though features of metadiscourse use were found in this study, the comparisons between my findings and the previous research on metadiscourse analysis (Hyland, 2005a; Hyland & Tse, 2004) should not be generalized to other studies due to the small corpus in this study and the mismatch genres of comparing papers. Except transitions as the most frequently used markers by Korean students, each category of metadiscourse was used variously depending on the purpose of writing, genres of papers, and other individual factors.

CHAPTER 6: DISCOURSE INFLUENCES ON KOREANS' ENGLISH ACADEMIC WRITING

Overview

This chapter presents the influence of Korean discourse relevant to ideational, interactional, and textual aspects on the English academic papers of each participant (see Table 1). Discussion of this influence on L2 writing addresses my third research question: How do Korean ESL students use L1 Korean discourse in their L2 English academic writing? In other words, what are the L1 discourse features that Korean students rely on in their English academic papers? What traces of discourse remain in their L2 writing? In the first section, a few features of Korean discourse and the textual evidence are presented as findings.

Section I presents textual examples and cases when Korean discourse influenced their English writing and their writing process. However, it is important to note that in this discourse analysis, little clear textual evidence closely related to Korean discourse was found. Thus, in section II, I expand the scope of discourse, no longer limiting it to Korean discourse alone, but adding other discourses in order to answer the sub-question, "What traces of discourse remain in their L2 writing?" The other discourses that I have adopted for this analysis are traditional formal discourse, expressivist discourse, process writing discourse, liberal humanist discourse, conservative discourse, and academic literacy discourse (Fernsten, 2002, 2008; Hollander, 2005). These discourses will be discussed in detail in the second section of this chapter.

Six Korean Students' Use of Korean Discourse

Minji

Minji had the least experience writing in English of all the Korean participants in this study due to her young age and her status as a one-year exchange student. This meant that she was likely to be more aware of her native Korean discourse when writing. As a result, she showed some textual evidence that she brought more Korean expressions (translated) into her English writing which characterizes her as a less experienced ESL student writer.

It was surprising that Minji did not worry about grammar errors in her papers in English even though she had little experience, having written only two papers in English before coming to the U.S. As an exchange student, her goals were to pass classes and practice English with many international and NES friends. Even though she was a good, studious pupil in Korea, she faced numerous difficult class requirements and troubles with her roommates. I observed her being tired and worried about whether she could finish her papers on time once she got behind schedule on her homework. This led to her having too little time to revise her papers, which in turn caused her to care less about the quality of those papers. For one thing, her papers had many grammar mistakes that could easily have been corrected by simple editing.

Minji provided many linguistic example sentences that seemed to be strongly influenced by direct translation of Korean words into the English language. Less experienced Korean ESL/EFL writers often have a hard time distinguishing whether to use active or passive voice and human-agent or non-human agent with particular words,

such as *fluent*, *exist*, *consist*, or *remind*. The following excerpts (1) to (5) from her papers illustrate her misuse of words and her errors in English sentences.

- (1) Using music videos to show women's sexuality was remind me to the power of images. (Minji's paper 1, p. 3)
- (2) But in case of Indonesia, which *is consist of* thousands of islands so that more than two thousand languages *are existed*. (Minji's paper 3, p. 1)
- (3) According to research, children *who exposed* wrong images of women sexuality in their early age have more possibility that . . . (Minji's paper 1, p. 3)
- (4) So these facts can *give* [an] influence on writing and other communicative activity. (Minji's paper 3, p. 1)
- (5) Even if they [Koreans] know how to do [use English], it is not fluent. (Minji's paper 3, p. 1)

Sentences (1), (2), and (3) are grammatically incorrect because she did not know how to use the verbs correctly. It is common for Korean ESL/EFL students to have difficulty in distinguishing participial adjectives with – *ed* and constructing passive forms in English (see Lee, 2007). These can perhaps be influenced by Korean translation into English because some Korean verbs are interpreted as passive voice without a passive form, or vice versa. Some of English verbs can possibly be interpreted as passive voice without a passive form when Koreans interpret them in Korean (remind: 생각나게 하다; consist of, 이루어지다, 구성되다; exist: 실재하다, 존재하다; expose: ...을 드러내다, 를 경험 [체험] 시키다). Due to the passive meaning in Korean, Minji might have translated the words as passive voice in Korean and composed them with passive forms in English.

Sentence (4) is correct, but she could have omitted the verb *give* and simply used *influence* as a main verb. In the Korean language, the verb *influence* is literally translated as giving an influence (influence + give: 영향 + 주다), so for some Korean writers it would be easier to write *give an influence* rather than *influence*. Another example is *well*. She used *well* seven times in her paper 3, as follows: "cannot do well"; "well-educated people"; "write well in English"; "the story is well-analyzed in the response"; "this is well appeared"; and "work well to reader." Since *well* is interpreted *well-done* in Korean (잘, 좋게, 만족스럽게), the word conveys a positive meaning and a great achievement, and it is used in Korean expressions when alternative words cannot be found. She could have added alternative adverbs with specific meanings, such as *sophisticatedly*, *clearly*, or *academically*, but because she might have had too small vocabulary or too little time to come up with other words for each context, she may have just used the word *well*, which brings a general intention of positive meaning but lacks specificity.

The last sentence (5) should be corrected as *they are not fluent in English*. Without careful thought, it is easy for Koreans to compose as Minji did. In Korean this is literally translated as "it [his/her English] is not fluent" while it should be written in English as "he/she is not fluent in (using/speaking) English" or "their English is not proficient." This error in sentence (5) is caused by Korean grammar. The Korean language in particular uses double-subject sentence construction (Choi, 1986). In a Korean sentence, a topic particle, $\sim un$ (\rightleftharpoons) or $\sim nun$ (\rightleftharpoons), and a subject particle $\sim i$ (O) or $\sim ga$ (7) are used at the same time in one sentence. Even though the subject particle $\sim i$ or

 $\sim ga$ can be attached to a noun functioning as the subject of the sentence, in many cases, the subject is more likely omitted, and the topic particle, $\sim i$ or $\sim ga$, is more likely to replace the subject particle in Korean writing:

Ku-nun Younguh-ka Yuchanghagi-anta.

He (topic particle) English (subject particle) fluent not.

He is not fluent in English.

In that case, the topic *he* can be omitted, or it can be switched to a possessive form (*his*). When attached with the subject (*his English*), it can be written in Korean as follows:

(Ku-nun) Younguh-ka Yuchanghagi-anta.

He (topic particle) English (subject particle) fluent not.

His English (subject) fluent not.

His English is not fluent.

Of course, this double-subject sentence construction does not apply in English grammar. Therefore, Minji changed *English* from a subject to a topic in her clause, "It (His English) is not fluent." This was incorrect in English. Omitting a subject or a topic is common in spoken language in Korean, but Koreans can easily understand meanings of such a sentence according to the context.

Additionally, Minji gave another example of literally translating a Korean expression into English, one that NES would not understand clearly. While writing a paper, she did not know the English word that describes a prestigious or high-paying job. As she tried to translate the meaning (조건이 좋은 직업) into English, she came up with a word, well-conditioned, which would not be frequently used by NES speakers to describe a job. Minji also pointed out that she used an online dictionary provided by the

popular Korean website, naver.com, and found out that examples and usages of some English vocabulary were not quite correct. For example, she learned that usages of the words *expect* and *look forward* are different even though they seem to have the same meanings in Korean. In order to increase her knowledge of English vocabulary in her writing, Minji tried to ask her NES and NNES friends about expressions and usages.

As another textual aspect in writing, her introductions and thesis statements were examined because an inductive writing style is a feature of Korean writing. Minji had some characteristic features of less experienced writers and used inductive writing style in her introduction, although later she showed improved development in writing introductions. In paper 1, her introduction made up about 25% of her paper. The sentence, "My work was about the sexual issues of women in pop music. And I chose Lady Marmalade" was presented as a thesis, but she did not really elaborate on her main idea about the sexual issue in the song. Her thesis statement in paper 1 simply introduced what this writing project was about. In contrast, in paper 2, without immediately explaining the purpose of this response paper, she began to analyze her reading directly. I could not clearly understand her intention in this paper until I finished reading the last paragraph, as in (6), as she adopted an inductive approach in writing, which is, as mentioned above, common in Korean writing shown in the following example:

(6) By making reader-response about my own response, I could look at my writing in reader's view. Interestingly, as a reader, I could catch the problem in which I couldn't find as a writer. . . . It was [an] interesting work to be a reader upon my writing. (Minji's paper 2, p. 2)

In paper 3, she wrote in the beginning: "On this paper, I want to talk about importance of understanding cultural rhetoric in learning writing looking at the example of Korean students" as a thesis statement. This sentence was better written by showing the topic, her position, and the organization.

When I asked how she approached topics in writing papers, she explained that in her high school papers she had learned several strategies of writing an introduction that would attract readers--giving famous quotations, using striking statistics, forming personal connections, or approaching a topic in a broad way and then specifying the topic in the body. However, her introductions in the three papers showed that Minji did not always effectively utilize the introductory strategies that she learned in Korea. It is hard to say whether Minji was more likely to show some Korean written features in introductions or not, because her introductions became varied and better developed as time passed. It was obvious that Minji had tried many ways of writing introductions and had started to understand the importance of a clearly focused thesis statement in an introduction because she had been exposed to more reading and writing in English. In short, her textual identity in the evidence supports that Minji was quite influenced by Korean writing features in the linguistic level in her papers in English.

Junho

As an English major, Junho was very conscious of observing the development of his English skills and was interested in learning English expressions and differences between the Korean and English languages. Analysis of his papers indicates that his English writing features had been influenced by his Korean literacy practices and by East Asian rhetoric, along with other written features common among NNES writers.

First, ideationally, Junho had held a narrow view on writing and writers that he experienced in Korea. As I explained in chapter 4, he had a very lukewarm attitude about writing because he positioned himself as a reluctant writer with his resistant feelings toward his writing assignments. In particular, he expressed his disagreement with the rationale for writing papers through his reluctant attitude in his papers.

Second, not only did he show his reluctance toward writing, but also Junho had a negative view of himself as a writer. Even though I had known him about 5 years, and we had talked about writing in general, Junho had never said that he was a good writer. Rather, he said, "How could I be a writer? Maybe a baby writer?" He did not give much credit to himself because he believed that he was "just" a student. According to East Asian rhetoric, writers are judged by their inner character and their background of knowledge (Cho, 1999). This had to be an ideological factor that led him to think that he was not a good writer in his current social and academic status since he was neither a professor nor a professional writer. His unwilling attitude toward writing assignments in Korea influenced his L2 writing practices. Occasionally, I observed that most of the time he expressed unexcited and reluctant emotions about lengthy writing assignments. I believe that his uninterested view of writing and his unenthusiastic attitude toward writing assignments have existed since he was young and have not changed with the change of context.

Junho showed another ideational aspect as a Korean writer. He admitted that his writing in English was influenced by his Korean language and Korean style of communication because he still strongly believed that his mind worked in the Korean language. He used Korean examples, such as Korean proverbs, to make his ideas clear,

but his professors did not understand the examples nor appreciate his efforts. His attempts to show his ideas in Korean-translated English expressions and Korean proverbs did not work positively for him in the English academic community. Instead, he faced problems in using Korean discourse expressions or Korean writing strategies, and the problems weakened his writer identity over the period.

In terms of textual aspect, Junho showed that Korean written discourse influenced his writing of introductions. Initially, he believed that an introduction should have some good thinking and attract an audience. Hence, he spent a lot of time to make interesting introductions. For example, in paper 1 in comparing two literature theories and analyzing a poem, he began the introduction as follows in (1):

(1) In this world, there are lots of rules which have given a convenience for us to freely live, communicate, and mingle with many people and in many places or some special preserves. And in the language, there are grammars, . . . Like that, there are many theories related to the literature, and they help us understand easy about gap between the readers and the text. . . . In this paper, I would like to say about a text, Them for English B written by Langston Hughes, in the textbook, Acts of Reading, and two theories, New Criticism and Reader-Response Criticism, in the book, Critical Theory Today, which are briefly summarized below, and comparing the two theories with each other I will graft the text into them. (Junho's paper 1, p. 1)

Here two features can be identified. First, he approached his topic with a funnel strategy in the introduction, beginning broadly with the concept of rules and grammar in order to discuss literature theories. Second, in his thesis statement, he only indicated

what the paper was about and how the paper would be organized, without a clear claim, which he did not introduce until the end of the paper. This type of introduction was more prone to be inductive and not well developed. These features of vague and inductive introductions are characteristic of East Asian rhetoric and seem to be out of focus to NES readers (Eggington, 1987; Hinds, 1990).

In the introduction shown in (1) above, he thought he made a good connection from rules to grammar and on to literary theories. However, he realized that his effort in the introduction was not recognized nor rewarded by his professors. This experience made him decide not to waste his time on the introduction in the future but rather to "take a short cut to reach a topic." After that, he tried to make his introductions more straightforward and deductive. As shown in (2) and (3), he began his introductions with the names of the literary works, without bringing in ideas that were somewhat less related to the topic.

- (2) The two poems, "The Flea"... "To His Coy Mistress"..., are about a love happened between a couple. I think both are made so well and enough to persuade their lovers. However, if I have to pick up the only thing, which one I consider is better than the other one, between them, then I will go for Andrew Marvell's work without hesitating. There are some reasons which have made me think like above, but I am going to say just one thing such as symbols depicted in the two poems. (Junho's paper 2, p. 1)
- (3) The two famous works, such as "Tarzan" . . . and "Tradition and the Individual Talent". . . , have many different aspects from each other. . . . However, I suppose that following the flows of the essay, stemming some

characters, which the protagonist has in the novel and I have found, into it is one of the good and best methods for me to build my thought in this paper. (Junho's paper 3, p. 1)

He presented his position and claim clearly in paper 2 although he could have made a clearer thesis statement in paper 3.

Finally, there were several linguistic features that he repeatedly used throughout his papers. The word *like* was used 10 times, 5 times, and 30 times, respectively, in his papers 1, 2, and 3. I noticed that he often used metaphors and similes in his speaking; they were used to explain ideas in his writing. In many cases, however, the word *like* functioned as an unnecessary insertion, similar to *kind of* and *something like* used in spoken language. Also, he used double conjunctions at the same time, such as *and on the one hand*, and *but on the other hand*. The presence of these features does not mean that they were a direct product of Korean discourse, but they may have resulted from his careless practices in academic writing or his speaking habits in Korean and English.

In summary, Junho's textual evidence and interviews showed the possibility that they were influenced by his attitudes toward writing and by his L1 writing habits, which he constructed while learning how to write in Korea. Some were clearly shown as East Asian rhetoric in his writing while others were his personal writing features influenced by his speaking habits, which could be more or less distinct from Korean discourse features.

Nayeon

Due to Nayeon's experiences of writing as a communication and media major student in Korea, she had a positive image of herself as a good writer. However, writing in English was quite a different experience that seemed to lead her into frustration and

disappointment. As I was her ESL writing teacher in the ESL intensive program during her first year in the U.S., I observed her struggles with making sentences in English and correcting grammar in her writing. Therefore, she made a great effort not to disappoint herself as an L2 writer in her master's program. There was not much textual evidence related to Korean written or spoken discourse consequently.

Ideationally, she valued objective writing and viewed herself as an information deliverer, so she employed several discourse-oriented verbs (*show*, *suggest*, or *indicate*) rather than cognitive verbs with I (*I think*, or *I believe*), as discussed in chapter 5. In her interpersonal identity, she placed herself as a student writer who had limited power in claiming; therefore, she carefully avoided using first person references and criticized scholarly articles based on what she learned from class, such as research method, validity, and reliability.

In terms of textual identity, her views of writing that she learned by writing news reports in Korea were that writers needed to provide selected information, to write clearly, to persuade readers with precise sources, and to avoid writers' subjective voice. She applied these styles of writing in her academic papers in English. In her case, the ideational influences (her views and ways of approaching writing) from what she learned in Korea were helpful when writing her English papers. Her papers did not utilize any personal voice or first person pronouns, but rather an impersonal tone, an objective view with passive voice, and many reporting verbs. Compared to what Minji and Junho had experienced with Korean discourse interfering with their English writing, Nayeon's use of Korean discourse was more positive and beneficial to her.

Sunhee

Sunhee had enjoyed reading and writing since she was in elementary school, and she was confident about her Korean writing. Her Korean writing style was inclined to be indirect, symbolic, and emotional as she liked to read novels filled with figurative language through which people can imagine and implicitly catch writers' ideas.

Additionally, her figurative writing style was encouraged by her professors during her study of French literature as her undergraduate major. This means she had had a very positive writer identity with expressive discourse in Korean writing.

Her favorite writing style had to be abandoned, however, once she began to study criminology in the U.S. She realized that she would need to write more logically and clearly. It was difficult for her to change her writing habits and style. She had to force herself to be more logical and clear when writing. She gave an interesting example of her former vague language style in expressing her melancholy mood, as follows: "When I want to say that I am sad, I would say, 'I feel like I would like to drink a cup of tea in a rainy day.' If I say like that, [American] professors will say, 'what?'" (Interview 1, December 28, 2008).

When analyzing her papers, I looked for any vague or emotional expressions that seemed to be influenced by her preferred or symbolic Korean writing style. However, there was no clear evidence that might be related to her indirect, figurative writing style or to Korean written features. In terms of textual identity, her introductions were clearly focused; the body paragraphs were filled with citations and contained unity and logic; conclusions contained her strong stances and suggestions. Even at the sentence level, the structure was simple and made wide use of technical terminology from criminology. She presented summaries and critiques of sources objectively without much use of subjective

views. It is possible to say that there was no opportunity for her to put in any personal ideas or feelings because of the seriousness of the subject matter and the expectations of the discipline. Clearly, she consciously made herself not to use her Korean writing style as she had been clearly aware of the need to be explicit and logical and to use simple and clear sentence structure.

Even though she ignored the Korean writing style, her personal interest as part of her ideational identity influenced her when choosing topics for her academic papers. The influence of Sunhee's social, personal, and Korean identities was obvious in her choice of topics, as she said, "Whenever I pick my topic, my cultural thought influences the topic decision." For paper 2, because of her social identity as a mother and her voluntary involvement in fundraising for incarcerated mothers' children, she was interested in studying the impact of mothers' incarceration on their children and rehabilitation programs for their reintegration. She also wrote about the benefits of faith-based organizations in reducing recidivism, in paper 3, because she was a Christian involved in a local prison ministry. However, she did not spell out her personal or social identity in her papers. She was very neutral in presenting and organizing sources, but in conclusions, she argued her opinions based on evidence and support from sources, not her personal beliefs. Also, she explained that her cultural thought and curiosity about Korean people's attitudes toward other people led her to shape her dissertation topic, which was about college students' attitudes toward prisoners:

Soyoung: How does Korean thought influence you?

Sunhee: Of course, because I am a Korean, whenever I pick up topics for papers, unconsciously my cultural background works because I compare other classmates'

topics. There is a little difference. My topic is more individual thing, personal relationship thing. My dissertation topic is college students' attitudes to the prisoners. It is people's relationship. In Korea, people's relationship is very important. So that's why unconsciously I picked up the topic. I believe that college students should have a good perception toward prisoners. In Korea, people are consciously concerned how other people see them. I feel I unconsciously picked up the topic because other's perceptions and relationship are important. (Interview 1, December 28, 2008)

An analysis of Korean discourse features in her research papers in English shows that Sunhee really switched her ideational and textual identity from that of a Korean writer to an English writer in order to make her English academic papers acceptable in her discipline. Meanwhile, she kept another writer identity in which she could connect her personal interest, voice, and world views to the topics in her papers.

All in all, Sunhee had a very positive writer identity in her expressive writing, but she had to learn to accommodate a new, traditional academic discourse in order to be the member of her discipline. She had to work hard to be an academic writer in terms of developing an interpersonal and textual writer identity with knowledge of academic writing conventions, while her ideology with her cultural, gender, and social identities still influenced her choice of topics in her papers.

Yeonhee

Yeonhee's ideational writer identity was shown through her choice of topics in her papers much like Sunhee. All three topics were related to NNES learners' practices in speaking, writing, and teasing. These topics literally reflect her social and language identity as a Korean EFL teacher and TESOL professional.

Yeonhee showed some textual evidence of the reasons English writing could be influenced by Korean written and spoken discourse. In the first research paper she wrote, some of her sentences looked like they were written by less experienced ESL/EFL writers or influenced by Korean thought patterns. The italicized parts in (1) were not clearly written.

(1) Films are invaluable teaching resources for many reasons. *They* present colloquial English in real life contexts rather than in artificial situations. And *they* expose students to *a wide range of native speakers' styles*. Films are more intrinsically motivating than videos made for EFL/ESL teaching because *they provide students with a film* to be enjoyed rather than a lesson that needs to be tested on. (Yeonhee's paper 1, pp. 1-2)

The phrase "a wide range of native speakers' styles" may not be clear without specifying what type of style means. Yeonhee intended to say the NES communication or speaking style. While the first and second uses of the word *they* refer to films, the last use of *they* refers to ESL/EFL teachers, which was not mentioned at all in the paragraph. These missing specific nouns could be understood from the context; nonetheless, these passages should be revised with careful editing. Due to a lack of English writing experience, Korean writers frequently employ their Korean writing style when composing English sentences. Also, since Korean people tend to eliminate parts of speech in sentences--such as a subject, a topic, an object, and even a specific verb--when speaking, these sentences in Korean can be easily understood among Korean readers without a communication

problem. As mentioned previously in metadiscourse analysis in chapter 5, her overuse of the particular transition *so* was influenced by her Korean speaking habits. In my observation, she used *so* frequently in casual conversation, and her Korean spoken habits influenced her writing in English.

I also examined her introductions for ideational and textual identity. Interestingly, her introductions varied in terms of length and focus. In paper 1, she introduced the topic, difficulties faced by Korean students in acquiring intonation, but she did not explain how she planned to conduct the study or what claims she would make. On the other hand, the introduction in paper 2 contains the topic, the organization, and the focus; in paper 3, Yeonhee explained about teasing and wrote the following thesis statement: "This paper will examine how and what these participants are doing by teasing" without further information or claim. Her introductions were direct and likely deductive, but again lacked focus and detailed thesis statements.

In short, Yeonhee showed some Korean discourse influences in her papers, due to her Korean writing and speaking habits, by omitting parts of speech or inserting unnecessary connectors. However, she continued to grow as a graduate student and began to learn better how to write a research paper because she attempted to imitate elements and academic writing features that she observed in scholarly research articles in TESOL. This meant that she was expanding her textual identity beyond the Korean writing style.

Chulsu

The findings of this study about Chulsu's use of Korean discourses, which included belief, attitude, interpersonal relation, and textual feature, were that he kept his

social and linguistic identity intact as a Korean NNES teacher interested in cognitive linguistics and teacher identity, and he was more inclined to be affected by his academic goals, which led him to be a serious doctoral student and a burgeoning scholar in his discipline. Also he doubted that Korean written discourse features influenced him much when writing his papers in English.

When Chulsu chose topics for his three research papers, he focused his interest on cognitive linguistics and his social and linguistic identity as a Korean NNES teacher and a researcher. He wanted to learn more about them and bring more findings from his studies. He already experienced difficulties in teaching the preposition *on* to Korean EFL students according to NES grammarians and linguistics' explanation, so he provided an alternative model to teach it for Korean students in paper 2. As shown in the title of paper 2, "Explanation of NNET Issues: We don't want to be native speakers, but Korean-Americans," his social identity as a Korean English teacher was implicitly presented and his belief toward NES teachers was discussed through his Korean participants. In other words, Chulsu used his interest in his papers to claim his ideas as well as his social identity.

In a discussion of Korean discourse influence on his English writing, Chulsu stated that his Korean writing did not influence his English writing. Rather, his English writing influenced his Korean writing skill. In the later part of the second interview, he stated that he had learned more about writing skills from English writing practice than from Korean writing practice: "I do not know much about features of Korean [academic] writing. For me, I learned English writing style first and I have more accustomed to writing in English" (Interview 2, June 26, 2009).

Chulsu acquired some features of American academic writing by writing his MA thesis in Korean because his Korean thesis advisor was educated in an American university and taught him how to write a thesis in the way English academic papers were written. He learned the format of a research paper, the way to paraphrase, and elements of the writing process, all of which were helpful to him. Due to his familiarity with English academic writing, he even began to use more English academic writing features in his informal Korean writing. For example, he used frame markers, such as *first* and *second*, in his friendly emails. His Korean friends pointed out that his writing in emails was very straightforward and dry, not in a friendly-voiced Korean letter style.

I asked Chulsu whether a few English phrases or transitions that he used often could be influenced by translating the Korean language in his English papers. He insisted that he had learned many English expressions, such as transitions, frame markers, and code glosses through English writing practices that emphasize reasoning and arguing, and not by writing in Korean.

Soyoung: Do you think some phrases, such as *in order to* or *therefore* are influenced by Korean expressions in your English writing?

Chulsu: I do not think so. I did not use this phrase *in order to* -하기 위해서 in Korean writing, but I learned this expression in English in the U.S. Also I learned *because* and *since* here, too. I did not use them because I did not know the importance of reasons in English writing. Later, I have realized that when I use the words, *claim* or *suggest*, I have to bring reasons with the causal connectives *because* and *since* Also when reading others' claim or suggestion in their

writing, I expect to see their reasons with this kind of phrases. (Interview 2, June 26, 2009)

As discussed in chapter 2, the concept of a paragraph is ambiguous in Korean writing because there is no clearly established Korean writing theory. Thus, Koreans tend to put more than one idea into a single paragraph, in contrast to English paragraphs. In Chulsu's case, he put several ideas into one paragraph by using conjunctions, and since this writing shows a lack of unity and focus in his English paragraphs, I asked:

Soyoung: As you use a lot of conjunctions and several ideas in one paragraph, would it be confusing in getting a point in one paragraph?

Culsu: It seems that I have some problems in making or dividing paragraphs. As I see, there is one main idea in one paragraph in English writing, but this is not the same concept that we [Koreans] have when writing a paragraph in Korean. That is, there are many ways of writing paragraphs by putting only one main idea or several ideas. And I think the way I write a paragraph is right. Because eventually my way will get the point, but not in English writing. . . . I do not think that there should be only one idea in one paragraph because there is some space for me to refute or disagree with the idea. This is my style. I do not mean to distract readers. I would like to show more information and my knowledge with opponents' ideas. Nowadays I have seen some American writers have used this way as I write, too. (Interview 2, June 26, 2009)

Here, Chulsu's explanation showed that he was aware of various types of paragraphs and that he preferred to use this way of constructing a paragraph, which included more than one main idea, not because he was accustomed to write this way, but because he believed

that this approach could show his authoritativeness by providing a complete discussion (claim, acknowledgement, and refutation) within one big topic.

As he claimed, Chulsu did not adopt any particular feature related to Korean written discourse, but through academic writing practices as a graduate student in TESOL. An analysis of Chulsu's introductions showed appropriate use of a narrow topic, purpose of study, research questions, and organization of the papers. The reason for this was that he had been writing academic papers in English for many years in the master's and doctoral programs and he had become very accustomed to the academic writing conventions of English. In short, Chulsu strongly showed his ideational identity with his social status and interest as a Korean EFL teacher by choosing topics for his papers, but at the same time, he developed textual identity through numerous academic writing practices in the U.S. Importantly, he was academically-oriented, and he wanted to contribute his findings and discussions on the issues.

Section II presents evidence of Korean discourse features in the Korean students' English academic writing. Since the mid-twentieth century, many studies have focused on how multilingual speakers' native languages influenced their use of English, as Weinreich's (1953) early study attempted to identity some L1 negative inference in L2 acquisition (Ellis, 2008). Since then, many researchers have questioned which particular features of L1 discourse could transfer to L2 writing. Among many possible influential factors (behavioral, cognitive, linguistic, or psychological aspects), I discuss L1 vocabulary, grammar, and L1 discourse could be factors influencing L2 writing since the

Korean Discourse Influences in the Koreans' English Academic Writing

undergraduate students provided a little textual evidence related to Korean lexical and

grammatical levels in their English writing. I mainly focus on the influence of L1 discourse beyond grammar and vocabulary in L2 writing.

Korean Discourse: Lexical Transfer

Some of Korean students showed some textual evidence of how the Korean language influenced their choices of vocabulary and sentence level. According to Gass and Lakshmanan (1991), L2 writers with low English proficiency were more likely to translate phrases or sentence structures directly from L1 into L2 writing because they initially looked for equivalents in meaning and form between the languages. For example, a Polish student used *discuss* with an inappropriate preposition *about* (as cited in Turgut, 2006, p. 89).

Minji's use of lexis choice in English seems to be affected by her Korean lexis. She formed the phrase *well-conditioned job* without knowing its existence as she attempted to translate the Korean lexical meaning into English. As she did not fail this trial, this is not an example of negative lexical transfer that "may derive not from the similarity of lexical forms but also from the availability of translation equivalents that allow for easy mapping of L2 forms onto L1 lemmas" (Ellis, 2008, p. 370). Even though there are more types of bi-directional lexical transfer, no other evidence of lexical influence was found in the other students' papers in this study.

Korean Discourse: Grammar Transfer

It has been stated that there is quantitative evidence of L1 effects on L2 grammar including the varieties of vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar (Ellis, 2008). Minji showed a few examples of this cross-linguistic effect in her papers, such as the misuse of verbs in the following, "Using music videos to show women's sexuality *was remind me*

to the power of images"; and confusion with the double-subject sentence construction in the Korean language as she wrote that "it is not fluent" in English to explain that Korean people are not fluent in English.

In contrast, other Korean participants carefully avoided it. If L1 did not have any apparent equivalent to phrasal verbs, L2 learners were more likely to avoid grammatical problems with verb tenses and aspect forms and the use of phrasal verbs, especially with figurative meaning rather than literal meaning. For example, five Puerto Rican ESL community college students were confused by their native Spanish Home Discourse and misused present tense in past narratives and progressive tense in their English speaking and writing (Rolon, 2004). As students gained confidence in a target language, they used more phrasal verbs. For example, Minji tried to use a phrasal verb, *consist of*, but under the Korean influence she failed to use it correctly, while the others used phrasal verbs correctly as long as they clearly understood the usage, or they avoided using them.

Korean Discourse: Discourse Transfer

In addition to her evidence influenced by L1 vocabulary and grammar, Minji provided more evidence of L1 influence at the level of discourse. Here discourse refers to broader aspects of language excluding pronunciation, words, and grammar. Among the evidence, they seemed to be influenced by what they were accustomed to doing in Korean writing, when approaching a topic with examples and developing an introduction. Some tried to use examples of Korean politics, history, culture, or proverbs, but professors and classmates were not familiar with the examples, and the Koreans stopped using them in papers.

In chapter 4, I provided several examples showing that Korean students were influenced by their previous writing practices when constructing their writer identities. Korean writing skills and personal writing styles that they learned in Korea were evident in their English papers. First, one transfer from L1 writing practice was the organization of papers. What they clearly remembered from writing in Korean schools was that most academic papers consisted of introduction, body, and conclusion. For example, many of them agreed with the idea, as Minji said, "I always think that there are three parts in writing in both languages." This could be a positive transfer as their papers consisted of at least three parts, but this strong belief prevented them from expanding their views of papers beyond having the three parts. In other words, some were satisfied with their work as long as they had three parts, and they did not acknowledge other important elements, such as refutation and diverse organization. This could hinder the development or organization of their writing, and this might weaken their writer identities as well.

Second, one of the prevalent examples of discourse transfer is "pseudo-passives." Chinese English-learners have produced examples, such as the following: (1) Most of food which is served in such restaurant have cooked already or (2) "The letter about graphics file has not received. ESL writers might not clearly understand the differences between active and passive usages, or this could be from Chinese topic-comment influence with function-form transfer, according to Schachter and Rutherford (1979) and Han (2000) (as cited in Ellis, pp. 374-375). Minji and Junho were confused in their use of verbs because they produced sentences as a function-form relation, as shown in the following examples: "But in case of Indonesia, which *is consist of* thousands of islands so

that more than two thousand languages *are existed*" (Minji's paper 3, p. 1), and "It means he should *be* also *supposed* to be killed by him" (Junho's paper 3, p. 5).

Third, the Korean thought process in connecting ideas was evident in their papers. The Koreans employed a number of transitions shown in the metadiscourse analysis in chapter 5, and this can be caused by their habits using filler words in speech. When conversing either in Korean or in English, some individuals used fillers words, such as *so*, *so generally*, or *like*. Some words were evidently transferred to their papers. Chulsu said he used fillers or connectors intentionally to make his idea logical, and Yeonhee used them without thinking. Thus, L1 Korean language transfer occurs both consciously and subconsciously.

Another Korean discourse transfer to English writing could be based on the use of speech acts at the pragmatic level. Junho always looked for better English expressions that were equivalent to Korean expressions. He was sometimes frustrated with the fact that there were no equivalent English counterparts for some Korean expressions. He was not satisfied with using certain English expressions that did not have the same nuance or weight as their Korean equivalents. Without asking right expressions to native English speakers, he attempted to create words and expressions, as Minji had done with the term well-conditioned job, and his examples in apology seem to show L1 discourse influencing L2 language. He directly translated the Korean expressions, "할말이 없습니다" or "면목이 없습니다" into English as "I have nothing to say," or "I cannot show my face to you," but NES speakers might not understand his intended meaning and tone with the Korean expressions translated into English. Korean students did not have

pleasant experiences with code-switching from Korean into English. None of the Korean participants used authentic Korean words in their English papers.

Using Korean words could be beneficial in emphasizing their cultural voices and authenticities in bringing ideas or concepts. Buell (2004) found a positive instance of using a native language in ESL student's writing. In his research, a Spanish-speaking ESL college student, Carmen, used Spanish words cautiously in his English papers and found out that using Spanish words could be advantageous as it encompassed special meanings, brought lived experiences and close connections to topics, and expressed powerful concepts. However, my participants did not use Korean words for the following reasons: (a) the choice of topics posed no need to introduce Korean words, (b) the use of Korean words in code-switching could interfere with NES readers' understanding without clear explanations, which would cause misunderstanding or ineffective use; (c) students wanted to present themselves as academic writers rather than as ESL writers. I believe that these negative experiences of code-switching or translation from Korean to English in their academic papers or use of Korean examples (i.e., Korean history) caused the participants to consider audience and target discourse community.

Discourses Embedded in the Korean Students' English Academic Writing

I encountered little evidence supporting the possibility that Korean students were
influenced by Korean discourse at the linguistic and grammatical levels. Meanwhile
other ideologies and discourses did impact their construction of texts and writer identity.
Hence, I drew on several discourses that influenced them when they wrote papers,
approached topics, and presented their views on the topics and writer identities, in order
to answer the sub-research question, "what traces of discourse remain in their L2 writing?"

In terms of discoursal selves (Ivanič, 1998), textual features can reveal writer's values, beliefs, and power relationships.

Since the idea that interrelationship between identities and discourses is prevalent through literacy practices (Gee, 1990), recent studies have examined how discourse has played a significant role when students construct identities and shape ideological stances based on their academic reading and writing. Fernsten (2002) and Hollander (2005) conducted qualitative studies and examined what particular discourse college students adapted and how this acceptance of the values or the ideas would affect their perspectives of identities as writers. They discovered various discourses embedded in course materials and class: liberal humanist discourse, cultural empowerment discourse, transcendental discourse, assimilation discourse, and so on. The most common discourses used by college students in academic discourse communities are traditional academic discourse, expressive discourse, process writing discourse, and social constructivist discourse. Therefore, in section III, the definitions of each discourse are provided, along with examples from the participants' writing and interviews. The relationship between the discourses and writer identity is discussed as well.

Traditional Academic Discourse

The most influential discourse was *traditional formal discourse*, which is privileged in the academy and is typically realized with academic writing conventions including "structured introductory paragraphs, thesis statements, topic sentences, tightly organized text blocks, and claims supported by detailed explanation" (Fernsten, 2002, p.46). This discourse could be called *academic literacy discourse*, which is associated

with academic writing conventions that students need to learn to use for their disciplines (Hollander, 2005). Here I use the term *traditional academic discourse*.

All the Korean graduate students drew on traditional academic discourse as they realized the power of academic discourse. They took a serious viewpoint that they should be equipped with the traditional academic discourse for their academic writing. Their papers contained the academic register, including a mix of objective and passive voices and non-human agent forms as well as academic vocabulary. As mentioned before in chapter 4, they began to understand the epistemology behind the academic discourse and used academic writing features in terms of organizing, arguing, supporting their ideas, and citing according to the hidden expectations. They also ensured that their papers were revised and edited with the help of tutors from the Writing Center.

Traditional formal discourse can affect writer identities negatively or positively. On the one hand, once they realized the importance of the unfamiliar writing convention, they expressed their concerns and admitted their incompetent attitudes toward academic writing (Fernsten, 2002). They were not confident sharing their drafts with even their close friends and this led them to feel dissatisfied and incompetent as writers. Sunhee and Junho even believed that they would never write like NES writers and planned to build their careers in Korea.

On the other hand, knowledge of academic writing made them gain confidence to some degree. The Korean students gained the ability to understand academic writing, to articulate important elements of good writing, and to evaluate texts from the writer's and reader's viewpoints. Minji learned to evaluate her own journal writing as a reader, even though it was not clearly articulated, as follows in (1):

(1) I feel that something is repeated and make me feel somewhat bored and monotonous. It would be better if I did not put summary in the introduction part. Rather I had to start the response directly with the selective passage and analysis of the story should be followed. (Minji's paper 2, p.1)

This implies that Minji had started to understand a deductive writing style and used many passive voices, which are features of academic writing present in paper 2. As a result, writer identity of discoursal self reflects their credibility and was realized through their choice of lexis, sentence structure, citation, and voice (Ivanič, 1998).

Process Writing Discourse

A few Korean graduate students also pursued *process writing discourse* (Fernster, 2002) which is relevant to students' attitude that hard work would help them to grow as writers and succeed through revising, drafting, and accepting criticism to improve their writing skills. Despite the fear of sharing their papers and a feeling of burden, they desired to develop their writing skills. They focused on the writing process, the learning process, and drafting, as well as the final product and the grade. This following excerpt explains Nayeon's adoption of process discourse:

I see myself as audience. I write a paper for me as audience. I do not care much for grades, but I have to be satisfied with my work. I focus on how hard I worked to write a paper clearly and confidently. In the beginning, I was very shy and not confident to show my paper to my professor because they evaluate my ability based on my papers. (Interview 3, May 27, 2009)

Chulsu also stated that his experiences in revising his thesis numerous times and receiving feedback were worthwhile in helping him realize the power of revision and the

route to gaining confidence in writing. He viewed the construction of knowledge as part of process writing and said:

I like to find something that was not discussed overly in the field. It takes a lot of time to look for a niche and the related articles, but it is worth doing it. I know academic writing is not to create things, but to negotiate the meanings and rediscover the significance" (Interview 2, June 26, 2009).

Expressivist Discourse

Expressivist discourse prefers an individual voice that is related to a sense of self and the true expression of self (Fernsten, 2002; 2008; Hollander, 2005). Writers might be encouraged to express their inner thoughts through personal writings. Students may find themselves and their true voices and observe their own growth as persons within the community (Thornton, 2003).

The English undergraduates expressed their feelings and ideas easily in their papers since they responded to stories and events. However, Yeonhee and Sunhee, who enjoyed personal writing in Korean, had to switch their focus to traditional academic discourse for academic writing where they felt expressivist discourse was not welcome. In order to practice expressivist discourse, they created their own web blogs where they had freedom to share their ideas about their interests.

When students write informal and response papers, they can easily depict their personal reactions and feelings. Meanwhile, if they write for academic research papers, they are encouraged to use impersonal academic voice rather than their personal voice.

This explains that discourses and subject positions writers take up are based on the genre of papers even within the realm of academic writing. Different tones and ways of making

claims can be compared in the two excerpts from the conclusions in Junho's critique paper (1) contains a personal argument while Sunhee (2) showed her control of sources for her argument:

- (1) Nevertheless, the reason why I think that the poem, "To His Coy Mistress," is better than the other poem, "The Flea," is that the abstract object is explained and decorated to persuade his lover a bit slowly but step by step more than the other one, and it does not disgust me unlike the poem, "The Flea."
- (2) Today, the most urgent challenge for correction is prisoner reentry (Travis & Petersilia, 2001). Many researchers and administrators begin to focus on the potential for faith-based prison programs as an effective crime prevention and reentry strategy (Camp et al., 2006). . . . With these new concepts and strengths discussed above, faith-based prison programs are expected to play important roles in preventing crimes and reducing crimes. (Sunhee's paper 3, p. 20)

Conservative Discourse

Conservative discourse is "a set of beliefs associated with political and social conservatism" and is "against progressive ideas and movements" (Hollander, 2005, p. 80). Minji used this conservative discourse especially in paper 1, when arguing that the song "Lady Marmalade" misrepresents prostitutes as happy and independent women with luxurious life styles. She critically responded to the lyrics that presented a progressive and liberal view on prostitutes because she held a strong set of views on women based on a traditional, conservative, and domestic perspective, which might have been influenced by her Korean traditional cultural view on women as in (1):

(1) I found that this song express totally wrong concept of prostitutes' lives in reality. . . .

However, real prostitutes are not happy. They are forced into this world of sexuality. . . . How come these prostitutes can be proud of themselves and the situations they are in? (Minji's paper 1, p. 2)

Other discourses, such as *humanist liberal discourse* or *transcendental discourse* that were found in other discourse study (Hollander, 2005) did not exist in the Korean students' papers or their ideology because of the limitations of genres and topics.

It is noteworthy that students drew on more than one discourse in the academic discourse community. When adopting them, they wisely select them according to their needs and purposes of writing. For example, Nayeon and Chulsu viewed positive aspects from traditional academic discourse and process writing discourse and took advantage of them to construct serious graduate student writer identities. They carried on their responsibility to write papers by valuing the process of writing and producing clearly written papers. Also Sunhee and Yeonhee carefully accommodated themselves with the dominant academic discourse over the other discourses. They kept traditional academic discourse in their mind when writing research papers, but they drew on expressive discourse in their personal and non-academic writing.

Summary

Chapter 6 presented how Korean discourse as well as other major types of discourses influences the construction of the Korean students' texts and their writer identities. Korean discourse has some degree of influence. As mentioned in section I in this chapter, less experienced undergraduate students still were affected by Korean lexical,

grammatical, and pragmatic levels. Sometimes, they also brought their social and linguistic identities into their papers. Also comporting with personal Korean communication styles, the habit of using fillers (so, therefore) was especially evident in their English writing as well. However, they were cautious not to use Korean cultural symbols, Korean historical events, or Korean words because the use of Korean examples might not appeal to American readers. Beyond Korean discourse features, the undergraduates used expressivist discourse and conservative discourse because they were allowed to present their personal thoughts and perspectives on the topics. In contrast, the graduate students were more academically oriented toward writing for class.

These findings seemed to contradict my assumption that Korean students might have felt a strong obligation to use Korean discourse, such as linguistic and cultural examples, in their papers. They rather avoided using them. As Nayeon, a criminology graduate student, showed in her diligent development of her academic writing skills in English, her struggle with Korean linguistic levels was not evident when I compared her first-year writing as an ESL student. I believe that once she was in her master's program, she took up her identity as a graduate student and an academic writer and became more familiar with traditional academic discourse. Therefore, the traditional academic discourse becomes dominant in shaping students' texts while other discourses were occasionally embedded in some papers.

CHAPTER 7: IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHING PRACTICE AND RESEARCH Overview

This study explored Korean students' writer identities according to three aspects of language: ideational, interpersonal, and textual aspects (Halliday, 1994). As I focused on each aspect of writer identity with the three research questions, writer identities can be realized in different layers of writing context. I present my arguments and conclusions about how the three research questions and the findings explain the features of the construction of ESL writer identities in section I. Then implications for the teaching of writing and for future research are presented in section II.

Ideational, Interpersonal, and Textual Writer Identities

In section I, I discuss how the three aspects of writer identities are related in the understanding of writer identities that shift and contradict. Ivanič & Camps (2001) studied three types of positioning that ESL writers took in order to understand how each student constructed various types of voice in their papers; the researchers did this by borrowing Halliday's (1985) macrofunctions of language. In my study, I borrowed Halliday's three aspects of language as ways of understanding three aspects of writer identities, so my focus was different because the purpose of my study was to understand how Korean students construct their identities as writers in three different aspects and how the three different dimensions of writer identities are related. My focuses were to find out (1) how Korean students viewed themselves as writers in the academic context and what strategies they took; (2) how their academic writer identities were realized with their use of particular linguistic resources (metadiscourse) to present their authoritative

writers' position; and (3) how they, as Korean ESL students, controlled in using Korean discourse and other types of discourses in their academic papers in English.

First, writer identities are shifted and conflicted in various writing contexts.

Despite Korean students' shared characteristics, such as epistemology and Korean literacy practices, various writer identities (mediocre, negative, academic, or confident) were constructed. The individuals' distinctive interests in writing and their experiences shaped different writer identities. A particular writing experience can shape quite opposite writer identities. Sometimes one writer identity does not match with another identity the person possesses at the same time. Within one person, multiple identities conflict with each other. In one case, a writer is strongly influenced by previous writing practices and believes that he or she is a competent writer. In another case, he or she constructs a poor writer image as the writer relates to himself or herself with a particular writing event. That is, in terms of ideational writer identities, students construct multiple writer identities with numerous contextual factors related to literacy practice and social, cultural, and linguistic identities.

Significantly, multiple writer identities not only exist within one individual in different writing contexts, but also multiple writer identities are realized in other writing contexts. I argue that ESL writer identity should not be understood within just one writing context or within one aspect of writer identity because writer identities are multiple and shifted concurrently in the various aspects, as shown in figure 6. There should be no single way of viewing an individual's identity as a writer, and this single, general, and stereotypical view of writer identity should be avoided. Several socio-

contextual factors and language skills and discourse knowledge all influence the construction of writer identity in the academic discourse community.

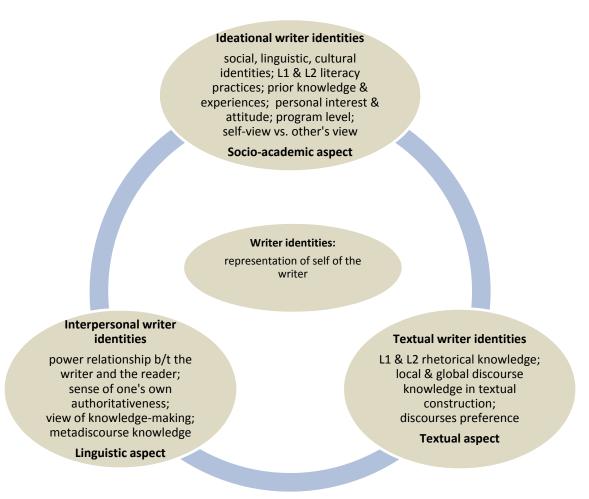


Figure 6. Three aspects of ESL writers' identities in the academic discourse community.

More interestingly, when understanding one individual's writer identities, I found that writer identity in one aspect does not match with one in another aspect. For example, Junho viewed himself as "a baby writer" with low confidence in the academic context, but he said he was confident with English grammar while he showed many errors in sentence level and some textual and linguistic influences from the Korean language in his papers in English. Yeonhee and Chulsu believed that they were academic writers to some degree in the academic social context; however, their use of metadiscourse features

showed their interpersonal writer identities did not reach as high academically as they believed because they significantly did not employ metadiscourse markers as frequently as they should have, compared to other academic writers' use of metadiscourse features. This study clearly confirms that multiple writer identities are mismatched among various writing-related contexts.

Second, I argue that the construction of writer identities is a very complicated process to generalize and there is no clear-cut way of constructing a particular academic writer identity, especially for ESL students. This process of identity construction involves various strategies, such as accommodation, opposition, and resistance. Since the Korean students showed various writer identities (i.e., negative and positive, criminology graduate student writer) and their approaches in creating a particular identity were varied, numerous factors were impacting on the process and the results. Writer identities are contextually and dynamically constructed because students have to make a choice between conflicting ideas, identities, and so on. Sometimes students easily take a new desired role, or they may reject the expected role, which is different from previous roles that they possess. Writing practices may lead students in multiple directions in which they experience various roles of writer identities and construct different writer identities. For example, writing a research paper would help them to have both positive and negative writing experiences and to see how their writer identities are constructed textually, linguistically, and socially.

Third, this study surprised me to see the dichotomous approaches and characteristics in the construction of writer identity between Korean undergraduate and graduate students. Fortunately, both groups of students grew as writers who became

more comfortable and gained confidence in different degrees in writing in English because of numerous writing experiences since coming to study abroad in American universities. However, the distinctions are clear that Korean graduate students were more likely than undergraduates to possess positive and confident identities in the academic context. I believe that differences between positive/confident and negative/less confident writer identities lay particularly with the factors of goal and attitude. Recent studies with ESL student writers have also shared the characteristics of successful student writers in the academy. Kim, Baba, and Cumming (2006) compared two groups of advanced and less advanced ESL writers' identities to explore different strategies and positions they take in their academic writing. Especially, Soo-Sang was exemplified as a successful graduate student in a Canadian university as I described in chapter 2. Abasi, Akbari, and Graves (2006) found that ESL writers generally accommodated their writer identities by valuing the academic discourse, while they occasionally resisted accepting authoritative discourse or professors' feedback (see Gabrielle).

Cumming (2006) stated that ESL writers' personal goals, motivations, and actions play dynamic roles in the construction of writer identity and socialization in the academic community. Their desire to be accepted in their disciplines leads them to acquire a new voice as writers. Kim et al. (2006) also pointed out that their "maturity or cognitive/affective development as a social being may have also influenced their perceptions of and commitments to their discourse communities as well as their construction of relationship between themselves and their social environment" (p. 139). In terms of social and writer identity relations, because identity is "concerned with the social formation of the person" (Wenger, 1997, p. 13), the relationship between ESL

students' social identities and their writer identities are very close. Both identities are continually developed, negotiated, repositioned, and claimed through multiple interactions with other students, instructors, and acquaintances, along with the academic activities, which include attending classes and doing writing assignments. Another important factor in the construction of writer identity is taking action. Taking extra actions positively assist ESL writers to develop their writing skills and writer identities. Such actions include finding available resources and seeking assistance from classmates, friends, faculty, computers, or dictionaries for writing improvement (Zhou, Busch, Gentil, Eouanzoui, & Cumming, 2006).

Therefore, I argue that students' attitudes and actions to embrace personal and disciplinary goals are very important factors to develop more positive writer identities as shown in Figure 7

Stronger academic writer identities: Mediocre academic writer identities: holding critical views of writing and writer; being sensitive to current academic culture; Less stronger academic writer identities: focusing on target L2 writing experiences; adopting new writing styles; holding traditional views of writing and having serious attitude toward writing; writer: having specific goals and taking actions; relying on L1 language and cultural accommodating: imitating and internalizing influences & L1 writing experiences; new discourse; having unwillingness to accept new writing styles and less serious attitude understanding goals of writing practices in toward writing; the discipline; resisting to new discourse; embracing complex realities of multiple identities; misunderstand goals of writing practices in the disciplines; negotiating between their expectations and the expected roles; focusing on multiple, individual, and cultural identities constructing coherent, major academic identities

Figure 7. Development from negative to positive academic writer identities.

Undergraduate students were aware of the factors causing their confusion, frustration, and struggles that were rooted in language and writing instruction from their native culture, and they partially blamed the differences between writing in the Korean and English languages. Looking back at their pasts reveals that they showed less confidence and comfort in their writer identities. Without visualizing the goals of being in class and understanding the objectives of writing tasks, they were less motivated because of a language barrier and conflicts between their prior identities and academic writer identities.

Graduate students, in contrast, were more capable of negotiating their views and the positions in the academic settings due to their cognitive and affective development. They were not only aware of the differences in language and education, but also they were more willing to take the challenges and make a commitment. They realized that the challenges were beyond the linguistic or textual level but from their ideational aspects of concurrent writing practices. In other words, graduate students' views of writing and academic contexts they belong to became more critical. They began to see broader aspects of writing contexts and to develop their identities toward a more academic focus by exposing themselves in the target community. Among many factors that I found in this study, I believe that the academic discourse community (level of the program) seems to be the powerful influence that makes students feel that they must forge new academic identities even though pressure from the academic institutions brings conflicts which may lead to struggles and tension (Fernstern, 2002). Based on the seriousness and goals in disciplines, students can engage in more disciplinary discourse practices, and in a short period of time, their peripheral status can be changed to that of more legitimate members

of their disciplines (Casanave & Li, 2008). For example, Korean undergraduate students wanted to survive courses, but Korean graduate students tried to embrace the academic discourse and imitated the ways of believing, behaving, speaking, and writing that were preferred in the academy and even later internalized them as part of their identities, such as future professors in TESOL or criminology researchers. Thus, academic writing practice helps students to not only develop writing skills, but also create a new academic persona. The construction of writer identity relates not only to their writing ability in texts, but also to their social identities, which exist through their social status, social interaction, and social support groups in social aspects in academic settings.

Fourth, due to this complicated nature of identity construction, I argue that individuals need to explore better ways that work for them in given writing contexts. Academic writing requires students to perform in certain identities in papers and academic social contexts (Goffman, 1990). Thus, students need to learn the rules of "writing games" and to be the players in higher education (Casanave, 2002). As Brooke (1991) pointed out, "college students need to find their own way through the tangle of self-definition and social place which writing involves" (p. 7); students need to continue to search for the best ways to do act, not just to survive, but to perform their best. Especially, ESL student writers may struggle with the labels from their minority status as ESL international students in the U.S. (Ortmeier-Hooper, 2008; Park, 2009). Thus, they need to embrace critical roles within the academic context and negotiate the complex realities of linguistic, cultural, social, and national identity strategically (Vollmer, 2002).

In section II, I discuss implications for teaching and research. First, based on the findings and analysis in this study, I illustrate how writer educators can be led to consider

the causes of positive or negative results and what they could do to provide better learning environments in order for students to construct their writer identities positively and effectively and in order to inform meaningful pedagogy.

Implications for the Teaching of Writing

The Korean participants showed different degrees of ownership of academic discourse. This indicates that going on to higher education does not guarantee a student's success in developing epistemological beliefs and academic writing skills. It is known that different discourses exist when writing, and the cost of acquiring the target academic discourse is continuous effort, energy, and time. Despite negative images, such as helplessness, powerlessness, or laziness among ESL writers, the purpose in this section is to provide effective writing instructions through which students can develop their confidence in writing and eventually control in using various discourses appropriately in different writing contexts. We as writing educators (i.e., writing instructors or writing faculty) can ask ourselves the following questions:

- 1. How can we draw students' attention to academic discourse?
- 2. What can we teach that will equip students with the target discourse and an authoritative voice for their academic writing?
- 3. What are writing educators' roles in writing classes?

I argue that we need to bring our attention to making students understand what things are expected in academic writing so that students raise their consciousness about the dominant discourse for their writing and identity. First, at the beginning of a semester, an open-discussion and an explanation of academic discourse would be very helpful to both ESL and NES students. Without explicitly knowing what it means, students may

not be aware of the importance of academic discourse, and it would mislead them. Students need to identify themselves as members of the community by understanding "such socially accepted associations among ways of using language, of thinking, valuing, acting, and interacting" (Gee, 1999, p. 17) in their academic discourse community.

We can discuss with our students what is involved in academic writing and what epistemological framework is behind academic discourse. As shown in Lillis and Turner' study (2001) and my study, students lack "the perspective of a cultural-historical tradition of scientific rationality" when facing the problems of academic writing. Beyond the range of grammar or linguistic features, we need to broaden the discussion of academic discourse with beliefs, ideology, and culture. For example, textual plagiarism should be clearly understood why it is not acceptable in the academy.

Students may hold myths about academic discourse in class. If the myths about academic writing or academic discourse are not clarified among students and teachers who perpetuate these myths, they may be often discouraged to write. For instance, students believe the following myths: Student writers should not use "I" in academic writing; "but" cannot be used in the beginning of sentences; and all good essays have five paragraphs. Unfortunately, these myths cause students to resist to being open to other options and variations in the academic discourse.

We need to be aware of their initial beliefs about academic writing and to substitute appropriate understanding of academic writing for myths in class (Reid, 2008). Students need to understand dynamic aspects of academic writing. It is not just about having a formal and impersonal voice. Sharing our shared assumptions and diverse aspects of academic writing and discovering more about students' attitudes and beliefs

toward academic writing can bring more attention to students and they would expand their beliefs.

Response to the second question I posed, even though there is no clear set of writing conventions due to different writing convention in various disciplines, some of academic writing features need to be taught purposely and explicitly. Because their academic writer identity is discoursally constructed through literacy practices (Ivanič, 1998), students need to practice dominant academic writing features. First, students need to acknowledge what is expected in academic discourse and learn textual skills (Raimes, 1985). For example, they need to learn to cite properly as early as possible. Many basic college composition courses focus on personal writing and ignore the core of academic writing which involves augmenting, selecting ideas, and citing sources for support (Schuemann, 2008). Students can integrate sources in their papers to increase content knowledge as well as basic academic writing skills.

Beyond teaching how to cite, we need to teach how to use metadiscourse markers for academic writing. Rhetoric, pragmatic aspect, and knowledge of formality, nuance, and tone in language make various writing features in genres among different cultural groups. For example, American students are assumed to use more boosters for assertive argument writing. However, Chinese Hong Kong students used a more direct tone (Hyland & Milton, 1997); Japanese and Korean students often use more hedges (Hinkel, 2002). Hyland (2008) emphasized the importance of hedges in academic writing, because hedges function "to express precision, to protect the writer against being wrong, and to show the writer's modesty or respect for readers" (p. 76). However, as shown in my study, the Korean graduate students significantly made less use of hedges compared

with the results from other studies (Hinkel, 2002; Hyland, 2005a). It also may be caused by discipline preference, a lack of rhetorical confidence, or personal belief that they are knowledge providers. Metadiscourse markers should be explicitly taught so that students gain more control over their writing and understand social interaction in academic text.

In addition, we need to teach students various discourse types, rhetoric, and language usage. Different discourse (i.e., sports, newspapers, story, or politic) prefer particular grammar and vocabulary as well as ideology (Scollon, 1999). The possible approaches to teaching academic writing may be drawn from an academic literacy perspective and a genre approach. According to Lea and Stree (1998), an academic literacy perspective views "learning to write in academic settings as learning to acquire a repertoire of linguistic practices based on complex sets of values, viewpoints, beliefs, purposes, rules, and ways of using language" (as cited in Paltridge, Harbon, Hirsh, Shen, Stevenson, Phakiti, & Woodrow, 2009, p. 75). Most students who come to higher education without knowledge of the kinds of writing and the skills required will struggle and may fail without studying textual variety and disciplinary ideology (Johns, 2007). In class, teachers can deconstruct texts but also discover ideologies, values, and identities of the academy so that students can have critical perspectives in managing linguistic choices, understanding the institutional and audience expectations, and reflecting themselves as insiders or outsiders in the situations.

In order to prepare them to be more familiar with the target discourse in their discipline, writing teachers need to provide students with opportunities to practice language and rhetorical patterns that are represented in their academic discourse community (Ferris & Hedgcock, 1998; Grabe & Kaplan, 1996; Spack, 1988, 1997b).

The genre approach focuses on teaching particular types of texts and helps students to control their use of linguistic resources in their discipline. Textual analysis from model papers in different genres in terms of rhetorical structure as well as nouns, verbs, or mood can be very helpful for them to learn language variations and acceptable ranges of grammar choice in different writing contexts (Byrd & Bunting, 2008). In paper presentation in TESOL in Denver in 2009, Hyland (2009) suggested using the teaching-learning cycle to help students analyze the close relation between linguistic features and contexts in writing. This practice involves five steps: developing the context, modeling and deconstructing the text, jointly constructing the text, independently constructing the text, and linking related texts. Another way of increasing students' awareness of disciplinary differences in writing is to use a mixed genre portfolio that combines different genres of papers, including an argumentative essay, a research-based library project, a summary, a critique, and an overall reflection of the portfolio.

Last, I suggest that we should keep in mind the social theory of learning (Wegner, 1997) in class. In this theory, learning is viewed as social participation. We should acknowledge our role as facilitators to lead them to engage, imagine, and align themselves in the community of practice. This participation is not mere engagement with some activities; it is more about "being active participants in the practices of social communities and constructing identities in relation to these communities" (p. 4). For instance, those who struggled more in acquiring academic discourse, Junho and Minji, did not feel comfortable working with NES classmates and could not be active participants in the community of practice. Meanwhile, the TESOL students, Yeonhee and Chulsu, created a community of practice outside of class, defined as "groups of

people who share a concern or a passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly" (Wegner, 2006). They continued to involve themselves in various practices for "problem solving, seeking experience, requesting for information, reusing assets, discussing developments, and mapping knowledge and identifying gaps" (Wegner, 2006) as they helped each other to write papers for the culminating exams and proposals for conferences while discussing their interests and sharing their resources (books, articles, notes, and references). Even though this community of practice consisted of only three Korean TESOL doctoral students (one person was not my participant in this study), they could take advantage in many aspects: their active involvement helped them to be better performers in a supportive setting to construct their identity as TESOLers. If possible, we need to encourage students to build "response networks" inside and outside the classroom where they take on responsible authoritative roles and increase interpersonal relationships in the academic community (Buell, 2008). In practice, teachers can provide ways to help ESL students by "partnering up" with NES students in writing course (Rolon, 2004) so that they learn the target language and discourse through various communication modes.

Camp (2007) suggested that "faculty should help students draw from their personal interest and commitments as they learn to write in the discipline. . . help students in the ongoing work of constructing an ethos that binds self with audience" (p. 16). Many experiences in graduate programs need to go beyond class requirements and interactions with classmates, but expand to working with advisors and colleagues with authentic academic works (Casanave & Li, 2008; Gee, 1990; Vygostky, 1978).

We can also teach academic etiquette. Cavusgil (2008) noted that students were very casual in exchanging emails with her and realized that she needed to teach writing skills and strategies in the academy. Members of a discourse community are expected to play a role as members (Goffman, 1990). Students are expected to perform the desired roles and develop the identity in the community. Discussion of writing emails to faculty, academic courtesy, and plagiarism is important in the process of constructing their academic identities.

Often focusing on academic discourse in a writing class ignores the value of ESL writers' L1 discourse. As the academic community has become more diverse, there are many open and supportive attitudes towards L1 discourse (Bizzell, 1999; Okawa, 1997; Schroeder, Fox, & Bizzell, 2002) in English writing regarding culture, rhetoric, and value. The idea benefits students because it prepares them to communicate in multicultural settings, and it promotes respect and values from other cultures. Students may be allowed to consider using L1 discourse in order to see the effects, and this would encourage students' interest. We ask students to think critically about the impact of the use of L1 discourse and the effective ways of using it. Inappropriate adoption of L1 discourse in L2 text causes more problematic marks or hybrid texts for NES readers. I cautiously suggest that we can use L1 discourse under the following circumstances shown in the next paragraph.

When Canagarajah (2003) presented ESL students' strategies in L2 writing, we can think of an ideal strategy-- *appropriation* when students master dominant discourse and then utilize their preferred values to create a critical voice. Once they fully understand the target discourse and are able to manage using academic writing

conventions, they can present their voices more powerfully. Of course, this skill does not develop in a short period time. Thus, we should guide students towards an awareness of the options that academic writing offers (Hyland, 2002b; Jones, Turner, & Street, 1999). Teaching options for academic writer identities would empower students to be critical and voiced writers in constructing their own meaning.

Nevertheless, I argue that teaching English academic discourse should be the priority when students learn to write for their discipline in the U.S. We need to work for them to satisfy their needs which they see are a lack of English academic writing skills, and make them aware of what is expected from their academic audience. I agree with Spack's idea that writing teachers need to help students master the language and culture of the university and to initiate them into the community (1997). Therefore, allowing students to adopt their L1 discourse or written features is not a priority.

Finally, we should be emotional supporters and firm-believers in student writers. I suggest that teachers must realize the cost ESL students pay in accommodating themselves in their disciplines. Students appreciate teachers' recognition, patience, tolerance, and encouragement (Zamel, 1995). Some teachers may not realize how hard it can be for ESL students to write academic papers in English. Our understanding of ESL students needs to be increased by making our personal efforts with students pursuing their academic professionalism. Our attitudes toward ESL students should be more open and accepting. Also, we must carefully position ESL students as individuals, not members of a cultural group (Ortmeier-Hooper, 2008). Treating them individually, promoting their engagement in a community of practice, and supporting them in academic and personal level are important factors for them to construct their positive

writer identities. The teacher's roles as mentors would eventually contribute to students' academic growth and personal development as active and confident members of the community (Herrington & Curtis, 2000).

Implications for Future Research

In this final section of chapter 7, as I reflect upon the methodology and focus I used in this study, I present directions for future research in which researchers can further expand the understanding of students' construction of writers' identities.

First, as the construction of writer identities is individually oriented and contextually based, I still believe that qualitative study would provide richer understanding of this issue. Future research can adopt different naturalistic inquiries, including a longitudinal case study over one year, a narrative inquiry (Clandinin & Connelly, 2003), an intensive ethnographic observation (Cumming, 2006), or collaborative-action research (Qadir, 2009). Using multi-method qualitative inquiry and methods, such as observing the participants in classes and interviewing their instructors, may provide rich data with different perspectives on ESL writers' identities. For example, an in-depth longitudinal case study will allow writing educators to see student writers' trajectories through their interactions with texts, classrooms, and professors, and their growth and development at the personal and academic levels.

Second, as researchers, we should continue to expand our understanding of writer identities constructed by different groups of writers. This issue of writer identity is essential in the area of second language writing. Since Ivanič (1998) began to explore the issue of writing and identity, research on ESL writer identities has been growing (Carter, Lillis, & Parkin, 2009; Cox, Jordan, Ortmeier-Hooper, & Schwartz, 2010; Fernsten, 2002,

2008; Ivanič & Camps, 2001; Ortmeier-Hooper, 2007, 2008; Starfield, 2002). This study contributes the findings of more complex realities and some characteristics in the construction of writer identity in textual, discourse, and academic/social levels among Korean ESL students. More qualitative studies with student writers' identities can be conducted according to student nationality, discipline, age, gender, goals, and cultural, linguistic, and educational backgrounds. These studies are needed in order to confirm more features of writer identities of ESL students and bring more insights for a better understanding of how ESL student writers approach different literacy practices; why they take up a particular writer identity in relation to conflicting realities of political, sociocultural, and linguistic aspects; and what the pedagogical implications are for better assisting students to become confident academic writers.

Third, comparisons of the Koreans' metadiscourse use with findings from published articles (Hyland, 2005a; Hyland & Tse, 2004) in chapter 5 showed clear characteristics of the Koreans' use of metadiscourse in papers and their weakness in social interaction in academic papers. The findings cannot be generalized, however, because the data I collected in this study were not sufficient and the academic papers written by the Korean students and the postgraduate writers were not precisely comparable. In order to bring more reliability and credibility in comparing metadiscourse analysis, various methods and careful considerations should be employed to draw valid conclusions: quantitative and qualitative research, corpus-based approaches, data selection with a larger corpus, and non-computerized analysis (Hyland, 2004a, 2005d; Hyland & Tse, 2005).

In this study, my intention was not to examine the differences and similarities in Korean undergraduate and graduate students' texts. It was rather to understand how their use of metadiscourse markers served for their academic social interactions. Without contextual understanding and text-based interviews, it could wrongly present that Korean undergraduate students were understood as very active and authoritative writers in their papers due to greater numbers of such markers. The important finding in this qualitative study, however, was that Korean students significantly used far fewer markers, and this reflects that they had very limited control over using metadiscourse for interpersonal purposes due to a lack of rhetorical confidence or disciplinary preference.

This surprising finding leads us to further study in several directions. Because of the significant discrepancy in the use of metadiscourse features between Korean student groups and the postgraduate groups of writers, I would like to pose the following questions for future study: (1) What metadiscourse features are evident in students' texts according to different genres and level of the program? Since Hyland (1998a, 1998b, 1999, 2002a, 2004a, 2005a) analyzed published texts (research articles, book reviews, abstracts, and textbook chapter) written by professors and researchers, students' unpublished texts need to be examined more in order to find out the characteristics and the reasons behind why students approached them in a particular way. (2) To what extent do professional postgraduate writers and student writers engage in the writing process and editing process? It is assumed that professional writers must go through an extensive writing process for revision (2005c). If so, then what strategies do they adopt for achieving an authoritative position in social interaction in writing? The findings from future research would allow us to see the gap between different groups of writers'

perspectives on interpersonal level of writer identities and their strategies in employing metadiscourse markers (Le, 2004). We can benefit from future study in order to provide the contributing factors in growing more professionally and academically in textual interaction.

Along with further study on metadiscourse, there should be more research on genre analysis. Genre knowledge surely helps students and teachers to focus on how to write with rhetorical confidence and to understand a particular world view because "[k]ey channels of participation in academic literacy practices and tasks include *discourse* and *genre*" (Tardy, 2009, p. 11). John Swales introduced the significant role of genre analysis in understanding how rhetorical styles and discourse types are closely related in the academy two decades ago (1990). More research of genre knowledge has been explored. Swales (2004) focused on research genres and explored theoretical and methodological issues. Tardy's (2008) longitudinal case studies of four multilingual graduate students provided their journey of developing genre knowledge through the writers' texts, classroom practices, interviews, and the professors' views. Also, genre analysis of L2 texts could provide contrastive rhetorical knowledge (Kang, 2003, 2005). Like these studies by Swales and Tardy, more research on genre analysis should be needed to help students to develop their communicative competence in academic writing.

Finally, we should consider current situations where technological, economic, and social changes influence our ways of communication. With computer-based news media and the Internet, language and writing are no longer simply emphasized, but now multiliterate skills are demanded when writing (Lea, 2009). For example, Warschauer (2000) contended that specific skills were needed for reading and writing on the Internet. Along

with these differences, computer-mediated-communication (CMC) generates new genres of literacy. The basic structure of conversation follows the IRF rule (initiation, response, and feedback) as traditional classroom discourse, but the sequence does not occur in CMC linearly and synchronously. Therefore, it would be important to study how growth of new multi-literacy genres and skills influence the construction of writer identities when students negotiate their choice among various genres and registers (formality vs. informality) and when they are expected to appropriately use rhetoric in different writing contexts (Canagarajah, 2003). As my study did not consider these technology-related influences relevant to the students' literacy practices, this focus in future research would provide a new way of understanding the relationship between academic writer identities and literacy practice in the current academic discourse community.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed some characteristics of the construction of writer identities by Korean ESL undergraduate and graduate students. This study confirmed that writer identities are multiple, shifted, and conflicted. The process of the construction is dynamic and varies individually. Also, writer identities in social, textual, and discourse aspects do not always match with one another. Not only do their native language and culture influence, but also their attitude and goals in the level of the program become influential factors in constructing academic writer identities. Their strategic and discoursal positioning of academic identity and awareness of the academic writing game are also key elements in developing their academic writer identities.

I recommended that writing educators need to provide explicit discussion and teaching of academic discourse in class so that students who hold myths associated with

academic discourse or poor writer identities change their attitudes and become aware of a wide range of its characteristics. Writing teachers should help both ESL and NES students to be acculturated into the academic community and be participating members in their disciplines, with a broad understanding of academic discourse and with strong rhetorical confidence. These important writing teachers' support roles will offer more helpful learning environments for students to construct their writer identities positively.

Finally, I suggested that various natural inquires on qualitative approach and a large amount of corpus in qualitative and quantitative metadiscourse analysis would bring a rich understanding of students' construction of writer identities. Both students and teachers can benefit from genre analysis that provides more knowledge of discourse, rhetorical preferences, and a world view in a particular genre of writing. Consideration of diversity in participants' backgrounds and technologically infused education in the academic discourse community might expand our knowledge of students' writer identities in multicultural and multifaceted learning environments.

I believe that this case study has achieved a better understanding of Korean students' construction of writer identities in academic settings and texts. Their limited control of discourse and linguistic resources and mismatching identities in the academy prevented them from developing academic writer identities. I came to understand more about Korean ESL students as I tried to distance myself from them as the researcher, and this study expanded my limited view of Korean student writers in terms of their commitment and positive attitude. I hope that the findings and the insights from this case study inform ESL writing educators in order to improve their understanding of the complex nature of writer identities, to enlighten them in comprehending ESL student

writers' characteristics, to encourage ESL students to find their potentials, and to continue to grow as professional educators in the field of second language writing.

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APPENDIX A:

THE INFORMED CONSENT FORM

You are invited to participate in this research study entitle: "The Construction of Writer Identity in the Academic Writing of Korean ESL Students: A Qualitative Study of Six Korean Students in the U.S." The following information is provided in order to help you to make an informed decision whether or not to participate. If you have any questions please do not hesitate to ask.

The purpose of this study is to explore how Korean ESL students construct their identities as writers at a U.S. university and to examine their use of linguistic and discourse choices in their writings in the development of voice. I am asking for your participant in the following areas:

- (1) Participate in two interviews which will be no longer than 90 minutes per each. In the first retrospective and semi-structured interview, you will provide your demographic information and writing experiences in Korean and English in your native country and U.S. schools. For the second text-based stimulated elicitation interview, you will be asked how you use linguistic and discourse choices in your papers. If necessary, a follow-up interview will be arranged at your convenience and venue.
- (2) Provide copies of three academic papers written in different periods and/or if available, supplementary documents, such as any syllabi, other assignments, drafts, and any other writings written for purpose other than academic ones or in Korean.
- (3) Provide process logs by keeping an entry per week in relation to writing experiences and practices. Your participation in this study is <u>voluntary</u>. You are free to decide not to participate in this study or to withdraw at any time without adversely affecting your relationship with the investigators or the institution. Your decision will not result in any loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. Upon your request to withdraw, all information pertaining to you will be destroyed. If you choose to participate, all information will be held in strict confidence and will have no bearing on your academic standing or services you receive from the University. Any use of information you provide in this study will be considered in combination with those from other participants. The information obtained in the study may be published in academic journals or presented at scientific meetings, but your identity will be kept strictly confidential and your name remains anonymous. There is no known risk associated with this research.

If you are willing to participate in this study, please sign the statement below. Take the extra unsigned copy with you.

OR

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact the director of the study or me at the following addresses:

Project Director:
Dr. Dan J. Tannacito
Professor, English Department,
212 Eicher Hall,
Indiana University of Pennsylvania,
Indiana, PA 15705
Tel. (724) 357-6944
E-mail: dit@iup.edu

The Principle Investigator:
Soyoung Baek Burke
PhD. Candidate in Composition
and TESOL
111 Leonard Hall,
Indiana, PA 15705
Tel. (724) 467-2963
E-mail: gstj@iup.edu

This project has been approved by the Indiana

University of Pennsylvania Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (Phone: 724/357-7730).

Informed Consent Form (continued)

VOLUNTARY CONSENT FORM:

I have read and understand the information on the form and I consent to volunteer to be a subject in this study. I understand that my responses are completely confidential and that I have the right to withdraw at any time. I have received an unsigned copy of this informed Consent Form to keep in my possession.

Name (PLEASE PI	INT)				
Signature					
Date					
Phone number or lo	cation where you can be reached				
Best days and times	to reach you				
I certify that I have explained to the above individual the nature and purpose, the					
potential benefits, a	nd possible risks associated with participating in this research study,				
have answered any	questions that have been raised, and have witnessed the above				
signature.					
Date	Investigator's Signature				

APPENDIX B:

THE RETROSPECTIVE AND SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Personal background and Korean and English writing practices in Korea

- 1. Tell me your name, age, major, family background, experience living abroad, and plans after graduation.
- 2. Tell me about the names of the schools you attended in Korea and the names of writing courses you took in the schools.
- 3. What writing activities did you do regularly in the schools and/or for preparation for entrance exams when applying to universities?
- 4. What writing activities did you do when learning to write in English? (e.g., translating individual Korean sentences into English, combining short sentences into one longer-complex/compound-sentences, writing journal entries, etc)
- 5. Tell me the estimated amount of required writing (Korean/English writing) that you did while in the schools and/or the college in Korea? How many pages did you write per term? What kinds of writing have you done in Korea?
- 6. Tell me about your experiences with Korean/English writing instruction and your writing instructors from the schools and/or college in Korea.
- 7. What are your usual steps of writing in Korean/English? What do you do first, second, and so on (editing, revision)?
- 8. What efforts did you make to improve your Korean/English writing skills? Did you take writing instruction from outside the school (i.e., <u>hagwon</u> or <u>kwaye</u>)?
- 9. What tools (e.g., dictionaries, books, computer software, outlines) and who (e.g., classmates, friends, professors) helped you improve your writing skill in Korean/English in Korea? How and why?

English writing practices in the U.S. academic community

- 1. Tell me about time spent in the U.S. academic settings and writing courses enrolled in the U.S. college/university(s) and/or English intensive program(s).
- 2. Tell me about your experiences with English writing instruction and/or instructors in the U.S. college/university(s).
- 3. Tell me the estimated amount of required writing that you did while in the class. What kinds of writing have done in the U.S.?
- 4. Did (do) you like writing courses? Why or why not? What are (were) the good aspects of the classes?
- 5. Are you an active student in class? Describe your participations and feelings in classroom. How confident and comfortable are you when interacting with professors, classmates, and tutors?
- 6. Where do you get your information for writing (e.g., your own ideas, experiences, other people, books, etc.)? Are you trying to improve this? How? Why?
- 7. What are your usual steps of writing in English? What do you do first, second, and so on (e.g., editing, revision)?
- 8. What efforts did (do) you make to improve your English writing skill? What tools and

- who (e.g., classmates, friends, professors) have helped you improve your writing skill in English? How and why?
- 9. What aspects of your writing in your program have you found easy or difficult?

Construction of writer identity in the English academic discourse community

- 1. What is your definition of good writing in Korean and English? How important is writing in Korea and the U.S. and in your present program?
- 2. What is your understanding of the term academic writing? What similarities/differences exist between academic writing practices in Korean and the U.S academic settings? (e.g., assignment, teachers and students' roles)
- 3. What are the most challenging aspects of academic writing that you have?
- 4. Have you overcome prior academic writing challenges? If so, how did you overcome the challenges?
- 5. What do you attribute English academic writing success/failure to?
- 6. What criteria/rule do you use in evaluating academic writing in Korean and English? (e.g., clarity, originality, grammar, organization, exploration, fluency, content)
- 7. What specific strategies or coping skills do you use in your academic writing practice? What do you do when you have trouble writing?
- 8. Do you consider yourself as a successful academic writer in Korean and English? Why or why not?
- 9. Describe your writing routine when writing a paper. (time, effort, tools, processes)
- 10. Do you feel your writing practices and skills are constantly changing over time? What are the contributing factors?
- 11. How confident are you when writing in Korean and English? How difficult is it for you to write for academic/personal purposes in Korean and English?
- 12. What is your own image of yourself as a writer?
- 13. What does it mean to be an authoritative academic writer?
- 14. What are your strengths and weaknesses as a writer? What experiences have led you to believe that you have these strengths and weaknesses?
- 15. Have you ever been involved in other writing practices outside of writing class or school?
- 16. Describe one positive and negative writing experience you have had. What are some of the conditions that made you feel good and bad with the experience?
- 17. Do you have a specific identity that you want to present when writing English academic papers? Does it reflect who you are (your personal, social, or ethnic identity)? Is it different from your identity when you write in Korean? Are you trying to change the presentation of yourself in your writing depending on the purpose of writing? How? Why?
- 18. Looking back to your first semester or the beginning of the semester in your program, describe how you viewed yourself (as social, ethnic, student, writer, so professional identity), and how your view of yourself has changed? Do you feel you are still in the process of changing how you see yourself in the field? Where do you think you would like to end up (how do you eventually want to see yourself)?
- 19. Do you like writing in Korean and English? (Likert scale response)
- 20. How are you feeling about your writing recently and about yourself as a writer?

APPENDIX C:

THE TEXT-BASED STIMULATED ELICITATION INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Academic authoritative writer identity with the use of metadiscourse devices

- 1. What was your purpose for this academic paper? What were you trying to achieve? What was the purpose the professor had? Did you achieve these goals? How? Or why not? What would like to have done better?
- 2. Tell me about your writing process that you have gone through while writing your academic papers.
- 3. What strategies or specific skills did you use in the academic writing?
- 4. Did you have any access that helped your writing assignments? (e.g., friends, professors, or tutors from writing center)?
- 5. What criteria did you use in evaluating your academic papers?
- 6. What position did you put yourself as a writer while writing this academic paper? Who was your intended audience in this paper? What was your relationship with the audience?
- 7. How did you make an effort to show your academic voice in your paper? What are the content, linguistic, and textual features did you use?
- 8. Tell me about the academic writing conventions or characteristics in your discipline that you have learned so far. How did you use them in your paper?
- 9. Tell me why you chose this specific word and/or sentence structure in your paper.
- 10. Tell me what factors/sources have shaped your paper.

Following questions are general questions that are geared toward the understanding of your use of Korean discourse features in your English academic papers.

- 1. Can you tell me the characteristics of Korean and English writing?
- 2. Can you tell me if you applied your Korean writing features in your English academic papers?
- 3. Can you explain why you used this sentence/structure instead of an alternative?
- 4. When and how much do you use your Korean language or knowledge in each stage (plan, draft, revision, proofreading) of writing process in writing an English academic paper? For example, do you outline in Korean and then use it to generate the English text?
- 5. Have you received feedback concerning that your Korean writing style existed in your English papers? Did your Korean writing style make it difficult for your reader to understand?
- 6. How did you try to represent yourself as a writer in this paper? What strategies did you use?
- 7. Do you think Korean language/writing knowledge interferes with writing in English? Why or why not?
- 8. How do you control overuse of Korean written features in writing in Englis

APPENDIX D:

THE PROCESS LOGS

Instructions for a process log

A process log is a journal in which you discuss what you are writing, what you are reading in relation to your written work, and how writing relates to other writings you are doing or have done. I ask you to spend about 15 minutes once a week writing in your process log. Also I ask you to keep your notes and drafts that you have had for writing your academic papers, so I can collect them from you. Please use the following questions to share your reflection of your writing experiences and thoughts.

- 1. Keep track of any writing you have done or one of the three academic papers you submitted. For example, what did you write; how long did it take you to finish; when and where did you work on the paper; who helped you; and what practices were helpful?
- 2. Write what you think and how you feel about academic papers you have written for class in the U.S. academic settings.
- 3. What are your attitudes toward writing academic papers in Korean and English?
- 4. Do you switch your attitude/identity/strategy in writing with the use of different language?
- 5. How do you cope with academic writing challenges or constraints in the U.S. academic context?
- 6. Have you ever gotten extra help from outside of class for writing papers? What are they? What did you learn from the help?
- 7. How do you see yourself as a student writer in your academic community?
- 8. Do you like writing academic papers, why or why not?
- 9. What experience and practices shape you as a writer?
- 10. What are your thoughts of the roles and responsibilities of student writers in the academic setting?
- 11. What piece(s) of writing from any previous class stands out for you as memorable? Please describe the assignment and tell me why it was memorable. Include comments on what kinds of feedback you have gotten on the paper from your professors, and your response to this feedback.
- 12. Describe your writing routine in writing academic papers. What kinds of processes did you go through in preparing the paper? What kinds of feedback did you receive? What was your response to that feedback? Why was the paper easy or difficult to write? What is your personal opinion about each paper?
- 13. What kind of feedback do you usually receive on your papers? Did you actively seek out the feedback from other people?

APPENDIX E: METADISCOURSE FEATURES IN MINJI'S ACADEMIC PAPERS

Category	Paper 1 (1157 words) "Lady Marmalade"	Paper 2 (744 words) "Writing Analysis"	Paper 3 (986 words) "Cultural Rhetoric"	Total (2887 words)
Textual	24	14	27	65
Transitions	17: then (2), and (5), finally, however (2), but, also (3), while, so (2)	10: also (4), but (3), so, although, thus	17: although, but (3), while, so (3), whereas, however, also (4), even though (2), then	44
Frame mkrs	3: first(ly) (2), secondly	0	1: focus on	4
Code glosses	3: mean, for example, such as	3: in other words, for example (2)	7: for example (2), in one words, in other words (3), such as	13
Endophoric mkrs	1: in the first paragraph	0	2: above (2)	3
Evidentials	0	1: quote	0	1
Engagement	29	16	7	52
Writer-oriented mkrs	21: our (2), my (5), I (10), we (3), me (1)	13: I (13)	2: I (2)	36
Reader-oriented mkrs	8: we (3), our (3), us (2)	3: to be honest, readers (2),	5: we, reader (2), you (2)	16
Evaluative	29	32	29	90
Hedges	9: would (3), seem (2), perhaps, suggest, possible, could	15:somewhat (7), would (4), could (2), try, maybe, seem	18: common sense, would (8), could be (2), might, sometimes, almost, seem, maybe, somewhat (2)	42
Boosters	12: found (3), think/though (2), show (2), always, most(3), never,	9: think/thought (5), found (2), believe (2)	4: absolutely, impossible, must, no doubt	25
Attitude mkrs	8: hard, important, totally wrong, even (3), helpful (2)	8: hard (2), negative, well, interestingly (2), should (2)	7: even (2), ironically, hard, easily (2), important	23
Interpersonal (Engagement & Evaluative)	58	48	36	142
Totals	82	62	63	207