

Expressions of L1 Literacy in L2 Writing

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Abstract

In many rhetorical traditions, such as Anglo-American or Confucian, a writer is expected to demonstrate his or her knowledge of relevant literature and other sources of knowledge. Such references often have the purpose of establishing the writer's credibility with the reader and serve as a persuasion device. To accomplish this goal, in Anglo-American written academic discourse, writers usually refer to earlier research and/or study findings, while in the Confucian rhetorical traditions, writers are frequently required to draw on the writing of Confucius and other classics. In their L2 academic writing, NNSs often rely on their knowledge of Confucian and classical philosophical tenets to demonstrate their advanced academic literacy and support their ideas. However, in the Anglo-American academic community, the writing of Confucius and the classics is relatively unknown, and the NNSs' references to these sources are seldom recognized as demonstrations of literacy. This paper examines the demonstrations of advanced L1 literacy brought by NNS writers and students into the arena of the Anglo-American academic discourse and focuses on its impact on expressing ideas in L2 writing. Because Anglo-American readers are often vested with the power to evaluate the quality of NNS writing, the mismatch in the NS and NNS accessible knowledge places L2 writers in a bind that cannot be easily overcome. Specifically, NNS writers have limited access to L2 literate knowledge and classical sources, such as the work of Aristotle, Socrates, and Greek mythology, while their L1-based advanced literacy is devalued.

Introduction

In many rhetorical traditions, writers are expected to provide support for their observations, assertions, generalizations, and facts with references to external sources of information and/or authority. In Anglo-American academic writing, such references are expected to be made to the domain of research to which the writer seeks to contribute (Swales and Feak, 1994). The writer can choose from a variety of formats in which references can be presented, e.g. summaries of earlier work, research, and/or study findings. However, referring to published materials usually requires a mention of the author's name and the publication information.

In rhetorical traditions other than Anglo-American, references to external sources and citations from them also appear to be common; however, they often undertake formats different from those widely accepted in Anglo-American academic writing. References to current publications do not appear to be essential to provide support for the writer's claims. For example, proverbs and sayings that represent common knowledge are also accepted as authoritative sources (Matalene, 1985; Scollon, 1994), as well as allusions and references to fundamental philosophical works familiar to most literate members of a particular language community. The purpose of references to sources of knowledge and authority largely remains the same in the Anglo-American academic and other discourse and language communities, i.e. to "persuade readers of the credibility or believability of the piece of writing" (Smoke, 1999, p. 198). However, what represents an appropriate source of knowledge or authoritative information intended to lend credence to claims and observations in writing (Scollon, 1994) differs a great deal among language and discourse communities. Matalene (1985) reports that educated Chinese often cite maxims and folklore to establish their credibility with the reader and demonstrate their familiarity with these sources. Quotations from and references to the work of prominent Chinese philosophers and writers, such as Confucius, often represent unquestioned support for assertions and are intended to demonstrate the writer's familiarity with the classical thought.

Although the usage of classical sources does not represent a rhetorical strategy widely accepted in Anglo-American academic writing (Leki, 1999), it is ubiquitous in Chinese, Korean, Japanese, and Vietnamese academic and scholarly texts when authors feel that they need to strengthen their position by referring to classical knowledge. Demonstrations of literacy skills acquired in L1, such as references to philosophical and folk sources may not be transferable from L1 to L2 (Gilbert, 1991; Young, 1994) and may be perceived as incoherent in L2 writing (Johns, 1990), despite their shared purposes of persuasion. As McKay (1993, p. 8) notes "what literacy is cannot be separated from how literacy is used by individuals within their community and how it is valued." However, L2 learners who no longer live in their L1 communities may encounter situations in which their literate skills are not recognized and, possibly, devalued. For example, the sentence *If a student doesn't study hard, he is a frog under the earth enjoying the mud and darkness* included in a Chinese student's composition and referring to a proverb from the works of Chuang Tzu (translated by Legge (1971)) might seem strange to Anglo-American readers with different backgrounds of literacy and discourse paradigms associated with academic writing. Similarly, the sentence *Getting education is like learning the song and the ritual because only after you get education you can become a refined person who loves other people* will probably be more meaningful to an audience familiar with the philosophical precepts of Confucius (Hall & Ames, 1987).

The L2 writing of speakers of Chinese, Korean, and Japanese frequently includes culturally-derived points of literate reference and notional frameworks (Matalene, 1985;

Park, 1988). Although the purposes of their uses and the ideas they convey in L1 can be approximated in L2 academic discourse conventions, the conceptual constructs and notions that they express appear to be derived from the accessible and/or socialized domains of L1 cultural knowledge and, therefore, can be misconstrued in the L2 academic discourse community. Furthermore, it appears that the more literate and culture-specific the demonstrations of L1 literacy and points of reference are, the greater the chance of their being misunderstood by an audience primarily accustomed to Anglo-American discourse paradigms. Although many researchers have noted that the language production and writing of even advanced NNSs often lacks fluency and can be perceived to be non-idiomatic and flawed (Owen, 1993), non-idiomaticity in NNS discourse may reflect issues far more complex than lexical variety or familiarity with the acceptable L2 written discourse formulae (Weinert, 1995).

This purpose of this paper is to examine the demonstrations of advanced L1 literacy brought by NNS writers and students into the arena of the Anglo-American academic discourse and to focus on its impact on expressing ideas in L2 writing. Because NNSs rely on their detailed knowledge of philosophical and literate sources considered foundational in their L1 communities but little known in Anglo-American academic communities, the readers of texts produced by L2 writers may not be familiar with their L1 socialized conceptual knowledge and cannot recognize their demonstration of advanced literacy usually expected in the academic discourse community.

The NNS Writing Samples and the Writers

All presented examples of NNS writing were obtained from a pool of 300 written academic assignments and term papers gathered during three years. Their authors had obtained TOEFL scores between 520 and 603 and were admitted to an American university and had been enrolled for at least two quarters. They pursued their studies in such disciplines as corporate legal studies, education (elementary, secondary, foreign language, higher education administration, and music), business (advertising, finance, marketing, organizational management, and retail management), fine, applied, and performing arts, health administration management, human resources management, political science, sociology, and rhetorical studies. The students who wrote the assignments and papers included 156 speakers of Chinese, 82--Korean, 57--Japanese, and 5--Vietnamese. Given that allusions are often difficult to identify, of the 300 pieces of writing, at least 104 included allusions to Confucian or related philosophy and literature. It is important to note that in the student assignments and papers, some of the allusions and references to classical Chinese sources appeared more than once and, hence, were relatively easy to identify.

Paradigms of Literacy and Written Discourse

In his discussion of academic writing, Swales (1990) notes that it is not always clear why genre texts acquire certain features. He points out that in academic papers, citations of sources of knowledge and research may have to do with ethics and the protection of intellectual property rights of others, a particular convention, an acknowledgement of earlier work, or even a "cooperative reward system" (p. 7). Swales mentions that some analysts of academic texts also view citations and references as tools for persuasion and imparting authority to claims, as well as documentary evidence that the writer is familiar with the current trends in a particular field of inquiry and, thus, can be accepted as a member of a particular discourse community. He indicates that when developing an academic text, the writer often needs to make a series of discourse moves that are usually expected in a

research paper. Among other paradigmatic rhetorical constructs, references to a body of knowledge relevant to a specific area of inquiry is frequently considered requisite.

Bhatia (1993, p. 82) points out that in academic writing, the author needs to create a context for the presented findings by referring to existing background knowledge and to "assume" reader familiarity "with relevant literature." In his view, another purpose of referring to earlier work in a particular field is to "establish credentials" by demonstrating the writer's experience with a particular domain of literature.

Allusions to classical works and citations from them were widely employed in the writing of Confucius, who selected classical and historical materials on which he based his own work (Jingpan, 1990). Taylor (1995, p. 147) indicates in that in the mid-18th century, Confucian scholars "rejected" speculative studies and adopted a method of inquiry called *kaozheng* ("evidential research") that "searched for evidence in books" and other classical sources. Taylor also states that the Confucian approach to research and promulgation of knowledge became the basis for Chinese and Korean methods of teaching and acquiring knowledge and education. For centuries, an allusion to and/or a citation from Confucius or the classics has been requisite for a writer's demonstrations of knowledge, access to literate discourse, implicit rhetorical persuasion, and authoritative support.

The requisite demonstrations of familiarity with authoritative sources of knowledge underlie the Chinese rhetorical tradition today. Young (1994, p. 152) indicates that in Chinese writing, the author often seeks to "endow a communication with legitimacy and status." To accomplish this goal, as well as to remove personal responsibility for the truthfulness of an assertion and/or knowledge claim, authors frequently employ allusions to sources of authority and references to the classical works. Scollon (1994) argues that in Chinese academic writing, the author's factual reliability depends on giving the appearance of citing uncontestable facts, and the system of quotation and attribution of knowledge imparts authority to information. He further notes that Confucian education relies on the practice of direct (but not necessarily marked) quotation. In his view, one of the key differences between the Anglo-American and the classical Chinese forms of citation from authoritative texts lies in the Anglo-American referential use and the Chinese attribution of responsibility for the truthfulness or applicability of the information.

Demonstrations of Literacy in Academic Writing

The many definitions of advanced literacy often include "knowing particular content ..., and practices" and strategic knowledge that deals with understanding, organizing, and producing text (Johns, 1997, p. 2). The social context in which literacy skills are demonstrated and text is produced play a crucial role in how these skills are evaluated. However, the evaluation of these skills is closely bound up with the historical and socio-cultural expectations of reader and writer roles, and the common assumptions specific to a particular language community. The normative discourse paradigms and reader expectations often determine the degree of literacy demonstrated in a text.

In the L2 writing of NNSs, allusions and references to the works of Confucius and the classics may take on a form that would not be recognized as demonstrations of advanced literacy by NSs of English who belong in a different language community. For example, in (1) a Chinese student refers to the value of education and its social importance in a way that NSs of English may find somewhat extreme:

(1) *A human can be a human being only through education. Education is the teaching of a human, for he or she can be adapted to the society, participate in the society, and*

contribute to the development of the society's organization. Without education, a human cannot be a right human being who is needed in the society.

The writer's reference to the value of education for the society and its development represents an allusion to *The Analects of Confucius* that discusses the fundamental qualities of "becoming a person" (Hall and Ames, 1987, p. 73). The writer's demonstration of his familiarity with the work of Confucius does not follow the format commonly expected in Anglo-American academic writing. Specifically, the writer does not employ an appropriate form of reference and does not even indicate that the excerpt was an allusion. In this sense, the writer's indirect reference to *The Analects* cannot be considered a citation because it lacks the overt markers expected of a cited references in Anglo-American academic texts, i.e. the name of the author and the published source. In this form, the allusion is also unlikely to be recognized as a reference to "what everybody knows" (Grabe and Kaplan, 1987, p. 272).

Similarly, in (2), the writer's references to a precept of Hsun Tzu may be difficult for the Anglo-American reader to recognize:

(2) *Parents should teach their children how to develop good habits. But teachers have an important job. Teachers have to show students how to gain knowledge because young people are lazy and cannot improve without the teacher who is strict and who instructs them to obey the important principles in the society, to follow the path of respect and humility and to achieve order. Young people can train and improve their mind from the goodness in the experience of life and the knowledge from the teacher and from the book.*

References to L1 conceptual constructs can sometimes be misunderstood within the paradigms of L2 socio-cultural knowledge because they deal with different notions that can appear to be similarly represented. For example, the excerpt in (3) does not call for a competition between the teacher and the student but rather invokes a Confucian definition of a good students and effective learning, as is noted in *The Analects*. A good student is the one whose knowledge and skill exceed that of the teacher, instead of merely "copying" what the teacher knows:

(3) *What students do is study to pass an exam and get a grade they can show their parents. They don't have time to think independently and do the research themselves. The result is that our schools become a copy machine. The students know whatever the professors know, no better than them.*

In political science, a discussion of leadership and the role of the leader may also involve conceptual frameworks that would find few parallels in the Anglo-American cultural reference. In (4), the NNS writer makes an allusion to the *Analects* that ascribes leaders authoritative humanity, humility, and an unimposing stance. In particular, to be effective, leaders need to promote others in order to establish themselves in their position:

(4) *Political leaders cannot just make speeches to make themselves powerful, but they have to be humble. They need to treat the public as important guests because their job is to serve the public. To lead people to their desired goal, the leader needs to listen to what the people say they want to achieve and to figure out what they want, even if he has the power to make them do something. Leadership means that you cannot tell people what they have to do when the leader himself doesn't want to do it. In this way, the leader will gain the respect of the people because he puts the public above himself and serves them well.*

The NNS writers of excerpts (1-4) assumed a greater knowledge of Confucian writings and the Chinese classics than most NSs in the Anglo-American academic

environments usually have, or the writers may have believed that the notions expressed in them are sufficiently transparent to be understood by Anglo-American readers. Grabe and Kaplan (1989) question the extent of responsibility that the writer assumes for the intelligibility of his or her text to Anglo-American readers and the kinds of shared knowledge that the writer can be expected to have when composing in a language that is not his or her own.

In light of the conceptual constructs expressed in (1-4), few direct equivalents may be found in the demonstrations of literate knowledge in Anglo-American academic texts, although mentions of *Herculean tasks*, *the Greeks*, *narcissism*, and *nemeses* appear to be common. Therefore, in addition to the questions posed by Grabe and Kaplan (1989), it may be necessary to ask whether NNSs can find conventional, cultural, lexical, and other means to convey or approximate the meanings often seen as foundations of knowledge in Confucian societies and the attendant literate and cultural milieu.

If the writings of Aristotle, Plato, and Socrates can be referred to and discussed in academic writing in such disciplines as law, education, philosophy, art, and social sciences, it may be difficult to reason that the work of Confucius, Chuang Tzu, and Lao Tzu cannot. In contemporary academic texts, cited references to the work of Aristotle, Plato, and Cicero, as well as Confucius and the Chinese classics, cannot be used as evidential sources. However, allusions to their philosophical precepts are common and may be readily recognized by academic readers.

Furthermore, if the NNS writers of (1-4) provided citation markers according to the conventions commonly accepted in academic L2 writing, e.g. (*Chuang Tzu (translated by Legge, (1971))*), it seems unlikely that the excerpts (1-4) would appear more acceptable to readers in L2 academic environments, who may simply not be familiar with the sources to which references are made. Grabe and Kaplan (1996, p. 162) point out that academic writing "reflects a deeply embedded cultural and rhetorical assumption about what materials may be presented, how those materials are to be organized, and how they may be represented in a maximally acceptable way--not necessarily in a way that is objectively most transparent." They also note that discourse communities define the "notions of what may be construed as part of the knowledge canon and of what may be construed as writable." Johns (1997, p. 68) similarly mentions that to "receive a good grade . . . , writers must often work within the rules." She explains that in academic communities, implicit and explicit rules not only govern the materials that can serve as appropriate sources of knowledge, but also prescribe what represents an "authoritative text" (p. 67). Johns also calls for educating students about these factors that affect their ability to produce and comprehend texts that rely on authority in academic contexts.

Reference to Aristotelian and Socratic writing may not appear particularly odd because most readers of academic texts in various disciplines (e.g. rhetoric and composition, sociology, political science, philosophy, biology, and others) are likely to be familiar with the conceptual frameworks developed by Aristotle, Plato, Cicero, Aesop, and others. In (5), the authors of a text on discourse analysis assume reader familiarity with Western foundational works and do not elaborate on the context of their allusions and references beyond the mere mention:

(5) *Earlier in this century, critics used the classical rhetorical theories as frames for analysis of historically important political texts. Thus, they looked for the ways in which texts used the Ciceronian canons, the Aristotelian modes of proof, and other concepts from theories about rhetorical composition. Contemporary criticism still*

draws from classical conceptions of rhetoric, but the texts appropriate for study and the frames used by critics have expanded significantly. (Gill and Whedbee, 1997, p. 159). Similarly, in (6), a text on biology and evolution makes a passing allusion to Aesop's fables, assuming that the reader is likely to know who Aesop was and the contents of his writing: (6) *So far, his [S.J. Gould's] declarations of revolution have all been false alarms, but he has kept trying, defying the moral of Aesop's fable about the boy who cried wolf.* (Dennett, 1995, p. 265)

Without familiarity with the fable, the point of the sentence may be lost, and the reader may miss the author's surprise that the public continues to take seriously S.J. Gould's claims of revolution in evolutionary biology.

Advanced Literacy and "Un"-shared Knowledge

Because NNS writers may have had little exposure to the background (and fundamental) knowledge considered common in the L2 academic discourse community, they may find themselves in a situation where the L2 shared knowledge is not accessible to them and their L1 background and literate knowledge is not recognized. Such a dilemma does not appear to have an easy solution when NNS writers are expected to demonstrate their skills within the parameters of Anglo-American academic discourse and be evaluated according to its norms.

Although much has been written about the NNSs' need to have knowledge of L2 composition strategies, the grammatical structures and syntax of the target language, and rhetorical organization and development, it is not clear whether the knowledge of these features of academic written discourse can provide NNS writers access to the shared and advanced knowledge of L2 literate discourse. In addition, the L2 conceptual constructs rooted in the foundations of philosophical presuppositions may not be accessible to them until they attain highly advanced academic literacy in L2. Holland and Quinn (1987, p. 11) indicate that "culturally acquired knowledge need not be purely representational, as the term *cultural knowledge* connotes, but may draw on socialized-in motivation as well," and as a directive force that compels an individual to do something in a particular way. They further observe that in the course of socialization, this directive force usually becomes attached to the meanings of such complex conceptual constructs as an understanding of one's social and ideological roles and models, and the organization, applications, and demonstrations of knowledge. For example, in (7), the NNS writer presents his view of the goals for learning that closely adhere to the Confucian *Analects* and are based on the social model of behavior and an understanding of what is socially expected of him in this role:

(7) *The first reason to study is honor. Everybody wants honor. If he can study hard, he will get honor for himself and his family. Certainly, you can read a book for interest only, but I keep reminding myself that I need to think of virtue, how to discover the truth, and follow the righteousness. Studying can help me fulfill my goals.*

In music studies and education, allusions to Mencius refer to music as a source of enjoyment within the sociopolitical milieu that can have the goal of bringing together powerful political figures and the people. It would be difficult to argue that in Anglo-American societies and political structures, music is rarely seen as a means of uniting social forces:

(8) *Music has to give enjoyment to all people, those who are important and powerful in the society and those who are not. If they listen to music together and enjoy it together, they can understand one another better and decrease the conflict in the society. Because musical compositions have an important role to play in the society, I think that*

they need to appeal to different types of people. If they do not, how can they be enjoyed by people together and make them understand one another?

In Anglo-American academic environments, literacy practices and demonstrations do not merely prescribe the forms in which references to earlier work can be cited. It appears that they also delineate the types of literate and/or philosophical sources that can or cannot be considered acceptable to an audience that is also vested with the power to evaluate them. For example, Leki (1999) notes that appropriate literature to cite in academic writing includes "references to recognized authority or experts on the subject" (p. 106). She also points out that when referring to authority, the writer needs to "make sure that it is a legitimate authority," i.e. "someone who has education, training, or experience in the subject" (p. 257). NNS writers who possess the necessary familiarity with work considered classical and requisite in the L1 community and who have been socialized into a system of values and constructs distinct from those in the L2 language community appear to have a considerable disadvantage. That is, what they often consider to be legitimate and widely recognized authority on many aspects of human development and behaviors may not be known in the L2 academic community.

Baynham (1995) states that acquiring discourse conventions in a different language community, particularly when issues of power and authority are involved, concerns issues of identity. The author further points out that when there is some degree of distance between learners and the discourse community, the dichotomy created between their socialized norms of discourse and those of L2 creates an uncomfortable choice between possibly abandoning the L1 socio-cultural constructs and discourse conventions and acquiring the background knowledge and the skills requisite in L2. In academic writing that requires NNSs to follow the paradigms of L2 academic discourse, NNSs need to learn to express ideas in a way that is acceptable to readers who occupy a position of power. In his analysis, Prior (1994) observes that in U.S. academic communities, language, beliefs, and values are institutionally controlled by means of rewards, such as grades, degrees, funding, and inclusions and exclusions in discussions, projects, and proposals. The use of literary allusions to unfamiliar sources and culturally-determined conceptual constructs that are distinct from those accepted in the academic discourse community may not be readily accepted.

In the Anglo-American academy, in the teaching of ESL and the disciplines alike, typical approaches to the dilemma is to deal with L2 discourse and conceptual knowledge as additive (Baynham, 1995). NNSs are taught how to demonstrate their access to L2 literacy and relevant research, and subsequently their writing is evaluated, in part, based on how well they have learned to apply L2 discourse conventions to their writing. Because in the Anglo-American academic environments the reader is also vested with the power to evaluate the writer's literate skills, NNSs are often faced with the need to make their literate and conceptual L1 knowledge subtractive. Specifically, NNSs' expression of ideas and their support may need to accommodate the shortfalls in the reader's background knowledge by avoiding references to L1 literate sources.

Reader Accommodation Strategies

To enable NNS writers to attain the skills necessary to accommodate the expectations of the L2 academic audience, the methodologies for teaching L2 writing and the appropriate demonstrations of access to "relevant" knowledge (Bhatia, 1993, p. 189) have developed a variety of reader accommodation strategies. However, it is not always clear whether learners have the ability to achieve reader accommodation. L1 conceptual

constructs may not always be simply translated to L2 and presented according to Anglo-American rhetorical paradigms. If NNS writers construct their representations of meaning around L1 "cultural knowledge" (Holland and Quinn, 1987), their ideas may not be easy to express in L2 simply because L2 may have few similar conceptual constructs.

In (9) and (10), the excerpts from two analyses of organizational behavior and marketing strategies prepared as a part of a course in business may appear to their NNS authors as applicable and relevant. However, as has been mentioned, NNSs present socio-cultural constructs and demonstrations of literacy that are not likely to meet the reader expectations of L2 academic discourse:

(9) *In management, if you want to win, you need to know yourself and the other. In ancient China, there were many wars, and this is the first principle for any general to master if they want soldiers to listen to them and obey their orders. This is what the study of organizational behavior also attempts to do. Managers need to understand their employees and then they can control them and have them achieve the company goals. Managers should dedicate time and work in order to understand their employees' thinking and systematically study organizational behaviors because self-knowledge alone is not enough for success.*

The author of this excerpt bases her approach to organizational behavior and management on Sun Tzu's classical work *The Art of Strategy* (translated by R.L. Wing (1988)) and refers to its famous quotation, "Know the other and know yourself: One hundred challenges without danger. Know not the other and yet know yourself: One triumph for one defeat. Know not the other and know not yourself: Every challenge is certain peril" (p. 51). In her analysis of tasks in employee management, the NNS draws on parallels between the strategies that can be used by military commanders and managers alike. However, the writer seems to be aware that the reader may not be familiar with the quotation from Sun Tzu's work and provides background information to explain her reasoning and the relevance of military strategy to management and the characteristics of a successful manager.

Similarly, in (10), the NNS writer relies on the work of Mencius who describes appropriate leadership behaviors (the concepts of "self-realization" and "disciplined ego" further elaborated by Confucius (Hall and Ames, 1988, p. 93)), and in (10), the writer also draws on the work by Sun Tzu to refer to market competition.

(10) *Employee group behavior does not represent the sum of employee personal behaviors and is far more complex because people behave differently if they are alone or outside the group. The manager has to work on self-realization and not be proud of his achievements if he wants employees to reach beyond personal behaviors to know themselves. If employees know themselves and study the consumer behavior in the field of social psychology, they can know the other and win the market competition for the success of the company.*

Unlike the NNS author of (10), the writer of the excerpt in (9) does provide the historical background for Sun Tzu's quotation. However, because neither (9) nor (10) conform to the format of directly referencing the classical sources in written academic discourse (see direct references to Cicero and Aristotle in (5)), both may appear to be equally inappropriate to the Anglo-American reader. In fact, because historical allusions are rarely considered acceptable in business writing, by attempting to accommodate the reader, in (9) the author may be seen as simply making an irrelevant reference to Chinese history. As Johns (1997, p. 66) observes, "full involvement or affiliation in academic discourse communities requires major cultural and linguistic trade-offs from many students. Faculty expect them to accept

the texts, roles, and contexts of the discipline, but acceptance requires much more sacrifice and change than faculty can imagine." The traditionally acceptable sources of authoritative knowledge in the academic discourse community usually consist of philosophical classics (such as Plato or Socrates), books, preferably published in English (and identified in the Library of Congress catalogue), periodicals, such as journals, magazines, and newspapers, and published reports (Bazerman, 1995). Grabe and Kaplan (1996) specify that students need to be taught to write within the genre structures valued in a particular discipline and that they are rarely put in the position to determine what represents legitimate knowledge.

Street (1994) notes that it may be simplistic to examine the effects of people on literacy, and another view to consider is how literacy affects people and socialization processes. In particular, the literate conceptual constructs in most cultures are inextricable from how culture is transmitted and received within the social conventions and concepts pertaining to communication and manifestations of knowledge. It may well be that the NNS writers of (9) and (10) see their models for employee management and marketing competition in terms of Sun Tzu's study of strategy that to them may seem to find logical applications in these two aspects of business.

In Anglo-American academic writing, authors often accommodate readers in undergraduate texts. In (11), an introductory text on sociology explains the nature of the Socratic method. This approach to reader accommodation seems cogent because in the view of most Anglo-American readers, it presents familiar conceptual constructs and socio-cultural values.

(11) *He [Socrates] refused to accept traditional, taken-for-granted explanations of religion, politics, and the rights of individuals in relation to the state. A precursor of scientific reasoning, his method of inquiry involved asking students a series of questions. The pursuit of answers to these questions always led to other, more complex questions. Some of your instructors may use the Socratic method to stimulate critical thinking and discussion in the classroom.* (Thompson and Hickey, 1994, pp. 11-12).

Literacy and Socialization

Sociologists have long noted the difficulty of distinguishing primary and secondary socialization processes, when the latter are closely tied to education. Scollon and Scollon (1996) observe that in Western cultures, an individual usually represents a basic social unit, and the socialization processes focus on individual learning and success. However, in Confucian Asian societies, socialization focuses on members of the group when the education of an individual is seen as an activity of a larger group, and the success is measured in terms of members' contributions for the benefit of the larger units. The authors characterize discourse systems as a requirement for membership in a cultural or social group. They note that in Confucian cultures, such as Chinese, Korean, and Japanese, the learning of discourse is included in the implicit processes of learning, as well as through explicit training and education. Gee (1994) also comments that the acquisition of language and literacy are forms of socialization into socially appropriate ways of using speech and writing, taking and imparting meaning, and applying earlier experiences to subsequent ones. He states that "[d]iscourse practices are always embedded in the particular world view of a particular social group, they are bound up with a set of values and norms." As an outcome, a student of new discourse practices "may be acquiring a new identity, one that at various points may conflict with the student's initial acculturation and socialization" (p. 189).

NNS writers who were socialized into a language community that closely associates advanced literacy with the philosophical works of Confucius and other classics may be

faced with different ideological representations of knowledge in discourse. Gee (1990) refers to discourse as "a sort of 'identity kit' which comes complete with the appropriate costume and instructions" on how to speak and write in order to take on a particular social role that can be recognized by others. Gee further comments that discourse is often seen as a way of manifesting membership in a particular social group by means of using language and expressing ideas according to the norms established by the community which employs an identifiable discourse paradigm. Those who do not follow the rules expected of members are often excluded.

Implications and Conclusions

As has been mentioned, literate writing in many language communities, including the Anglo-American, is expected to contain tacit or overt demonstrations of familiarity with literate sources. These demonstrations can range from allusions and references to sources of common and shared, and advanced literate knowledge, ranging from classical movies to Socrates, as well as extensive vocabulary (in which many words and meanings are derived from Greek and Roman mythology). In particular, the norms of written academic discourse specify not only the form in which references to sources of knowledge can be made, but also the types of sources that can be considered "relevant." There is little doubt that an academic piece of writing that describes research or study findings needs to include references and sources that have a direct connection and/or application to the particular work. As Swales (1990) and Bhatia (1993) mention, the author is expected to demonstrate familiarity with the existing work to be able to undertake a research project within a specific domain of study.

However, demonstrations of advanced literacy may not necessarily fall in the category of pertinent earlier research. As has been noted, allusions to philosophical and literate sources in NNS writing often appear to be woven into the text, as it commonly is in literate Anglo-American writing. One approach to helping NNS writers deal with the likelihood that their literate references may not be understood by Anglo-American readers is to mention that, for example, the work of Confucius is relatively unknown in Western academic communities. And for this reason, students who make allusion to *The Analects* or other classical sources need to scrupulously reference the text in which they occur or the refer to it directly. Another strategy is to include the allusion in the text in such a way that the content of the section is sufficiently transparent and does not rely on the meaning of the reference (as it does in (10)). In this case, NNS students need to be taught to paraphrase their ideas expressed in the allusions and provide detailed explanations of their reasoning. The teachers of ESL writing may need to point out to their students that references to *The Analects*, *The Art of Strategy*, and other philosophical works should be noted inasmuch as the work of Plato and Aristotle is often noted in academic discourse.

Similar to many other cultures, in the Western culture, most individuals who possess an advanced literacy are usually expected to recognize allusions to Greek mythology, the country's history, and the most important tenets of the Western thought. Few readers in Anglo-American academic settings would require mentions of Herculean tasks, the Trojan horse, Siren calls, and Odyssey to be followed by a citation of the author's work and a published source. However, students in U.S., British, and Australian universities have long ago ceased to represent the populations predominantly socialized according to Western values with common and shared Western assumptions and philosophical constructs. It may be that the time has come for the Anglo-American reader to expand the notion of advanced literacy to include, among others, the works of Confucius, Sun Tzu, and Lao Tzu.

However, the most important issue is whether the noted quotations from and allusions to these works are recognized on equal par with classical Western literature and philosophy and seen as foundational works that have had much to contribute to the development of human thought and experience.

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