

**A study of multilingual Extended Degree Programme (EDP)
students: The construction of voice through metadiscourse
markers in written texts**

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in Second Language Studies in the department of General Linguistics, Faculty
of Arts and Social Science at Stellenbosch University*



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Declaration

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own original work, that I am the authorship owner thereof (unless to the extent explicitly otherwise stated) and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

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Abstract

Higher Education has become increasingly diverse, and this is especially true in South Africa where universities have adapted to allow for more equitable access. To facilitate student success in this changing environment, South African Higher Education institutions have put several strategies in place, among which foundational programmes. These programmes are targeted towards students who can stand to benefit from a more thorough introduction to the academic practices of universities. At Stellenbosch University, such foundational programmes are called Extended Degree Programmes (EDP), and they usually extend degrees by a year. Research is increasingly being done on foundational programmes to determine pedagogical best practices and continually improve the nature of such courses; however, ‘voice’ as a contributor to academic writing success among such foundational programme students has rarely been investigated. This study thus undertook to investigate said voice among a group of EDP students at Stellenbosch University, by analysing their use of metadiscourse markers. Hyland and Tse’s (2004) model for metadiscourse markers was utilised for these analyses, since this model expressly approaches metadiscourse from an interpersonal standpoint. In other words, this model considers metadiscourse to be a resource used by students to make their presence felt within their writing, thus using it to craft their voices.

Essays from a first-year EDP class in the Arts and Social Sciences faculty were analysed, of which some had been written at the start of the students’ academic career, and the remaining written after 5 months of instruction. The research participants were from varied backgrounds, more than half of them being second-language (L2) students; as such their sociolinguistic contexts were considered a valuable resource, both to the students in question and for this research. First and second-language students’ (L1 and L2) uses of metadiscourse were compared with each other and measured over time. It was found that L1 and L2 students do approach academic writing with different resources, and that after five months of instruction they still show some differences, particularly in how they build coherence and self-reference into their essays. However, both L1 and L2 students tended to apply more standardised academic norms in their essays after some exposure to academic writing, particularly incorporating frame markers and evidentials. Nonetheless, from these students’ often irregular use of metadiscourse it was clear that they had yet to perfect an authoritative academic voice for themselves.

Opsomming

Hoër-Onderwys word toenemend divers, 'n verskynsel wat veral sigbaar is in Suid-Afrika waar universiteite hulleself aangepas het om meer billike toegang te verleen. Om studentesukses binne hierdie veranderende omgewing te fasiliteer, het Suid-Afrikaanse Hoër-Onderwysinstellings 'n verskeidenheid strategieë in plek gestel, onder meer fondasieprogramme. Dié programme is gemik op studente wat kan baat vind by 'n meer deeglike inleiding tot universiteite se akademiese praktyke. By Stellenbosch Universiteit word sulke programme Verlengde Graadprogramme (VGP) genoem, en hulle verleng tipies graadstudies met 'n verdere jaar. Navorsing word toenemend gedoen oor hierdie fondasieprogramme om die beste pedagogiese praktyke te bepaal en deurlopend die aard van hierdie kursusse te verbeter; 'stem' as 'n bydraer tot akademiese skryfsukses onder sulke fondasieprogram- studente word egter selde ondersoek. Hierdie studie het dus onderneem om stem onder 'n groep VGP studente by Stellenbosch Universiteit te ondersoek, by wyse van hulle gebruik van metadiskoersmerkers. Hyland en Tse se 2004 model vir metadiskoersanalise is hiervoor gebruik, aangesien hierdie model metadiskoers uitdruklik vanuit 'n interpersoonlike hoek benader. Met ander woorde, hierdie model beskou metadiskoers as 'n hulpbron wat deur studente benut word om hulle teenwoordigheid te laat geld binne hulle skryfwerk, en dit dus gebruik om hulle eie stemme te skeep.

Opstelle vanuit 'n eerstejaar-VGP klas in die Lettere en Sosiale Wetenskappe-fakulteit is geanaliseer, waarvan sommige met die aanvang van hierdie studente se akademiese jaar geskryf is, en die oorblywende na verloop van vyf maande se onderrig. Die betrokke studente was afkomstig vanuit 'n verskeidenheid agtergronde, meer as die helfte van hulle was tweedetaalsprekers (T2); as sulks is hulle sosiolinguistiese kontekste as 'n waardevolle hulpbron beskou, beide vir die studente self en vir hierdie navorsing. Eerste- en tweedetaalstudente (T1 en T2) se gebruik van metadiskoersmerkers is teen mekaar vergelyk, asook oor die verloop van tyd. Daar is gevind dat T1 en T2 studente inderdaad akademiese skryfwerk met verskillende hulpbronne nader, en dat verskille tussen dié twee groep steeds na vyf maande se onderrig waargeneem kon word, spesifiek in hoe hulle samehang en selfverwysing in hulle skryfwerk inbou. Beide T1 en T2 studente het egter geneig daartoe om meer gestandaardiseerde akademiese norme in hulle opstelle toe te pas na verdere blootstelling aan akademiese skrywe, spesifiek deur raammerkers en bewyse te inkorporeer. Desnieteenstaande kan daar uit hierdie studente se soms onreëlmatige gebruik van metadiskoers afgelei word dat gesaghebbende akademiese stemme nog by hierdie studente ontbreek.

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Dedication

This study is dedicated to my 2015 Scientific Communication (SciComm) 116 students, who taught me as much as I taught them, and who inspired this study.

Table of Contents

Declaration	ii
Abstract	iii
Opsomming	iv
Acknowledgements	v
Dedication	vi
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1 Background and situational context	1
1.2 Problem statement	3
1.3 Research hypothesis	4
1.4 Key concepts	4
1.4.1 Multilingualism	4
1.4.2 Second language (L2)	5
1.4.3 Voice	5
1.5 Methodology	6
1.5.1 Approach to participant and textual selection	6
1.5.2 Approach to textual analysis	7
1.6 Chapter outline	8
Chapter 2: Literature study	9
2.1 Discourse analysis	9
2.2 Academic discourse	15
2.2.1 History and development of academic discourse	15
2.2.2 Approaches to the study of academic discourse	17
2.3 The development of English as a second language in academic writing	19
2.4 Characteristics of L2 academic writers	21
2.5 Contextual aspects in L2 and multilingual academic writing	22
2.5.1 The role of culture in academic discourse	24
2.5.2 Identity in academic discourse	27
2.6 Voice in academic discourse	28

2.6.1	Dimensions of voice	30
2.6.2	Approaches to the study of voice	33
2.6.3	The analysis of voice across different cultures and languages	34
2.7	Metadiscourse as an indicator of voice	36
2.7.1	History and development of metadiscourse.....	36
2.7.2	Hyland and Tse’s metadiscourse model	39
2.8	Conclusion	41
 Chapter 3: Research design and methodology		42
3.1	Introduction.....	42
3.2	Research questions and variables	43
3.3	Methodology	45
3.4	The participants	47
3.5	Research instruments.....	48
3.5.1	Questionnaires.....	48
3.5.2	Text analysis.....	50
3.6	Chapter summary.....	58
 Chapter 4: Presentation of data and findings		59
4.1	Introduction	59
4.2	Questionnaires.....	59
4.2.1	Language background.....	59
4.2.3	Academic language skills.....	63
4.3	Essay results	65
4.3.1	Essays 1 and 2: Results overview	65
4.3.2	Interactive markers.....	70
4.3.3	Interactional markers.....	93
4.3.4	Summary of essays 1 and 2.....	109
4.4	Summary of findings from essays 1 and 2.....	111
4.4.1	Interactive markers.....	111
4.4.2	Interactional markers.....	113
4.5	Chapter summary	113
Chapter 5.....		115

5.1	Overview	115
5.2	Discussion of the findings from text analyses and questionnaires	115
5.2.1	Results from questionnaires	115
5.2.2	Interactive markers in essays 1 and 2	117
5.2.3	Interactional markers in essays 1 and 2	120
5.3	Answering the research questions	122
5.3.1.	What linguistic resources did the students bring to the academic environment?	122
5.3.2	What linguistic devices did they employ in writing these essays?	123
5.3.3	What was the change in these devices and resources over six months?	124
5.3.4	What was the difference between the L1 and L2 writers?	125
5.4	Metadiscourse as evidence of voice.....	125
5.4.1	Factors that influence students' authorial voice	125
5.4.2	What the metadiscourse use in this study indicated.....	127
5.5	Limitations to the study	128
5.6	Conclusion.....	129
	References	131
	Addendum A: Language profile questionnaire.....	141
	Addendum B: Essay 1 assignment	142
	Addendum C: Essay 2 assignment	145
	Addendum D: Hyland's (2005) list of metadiscourse items for investigation.....	148

List of tables and figures

TABLE 2.1. THE BROAD APPROACH TO METADISOURSE (ADEL, 204:168).	38
FIGURE 2.1. METADISOURSE ANALYSIS MODELS	39
FIGURE 3.1. RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS PROVINCE OF ORIGIN.	48
TABLE 3.1. MODEL FOR METADISOURSE MARKERS (HYLAND & TSE, 2004:169).	51
TABLE 3.2. SUMMARY OF MARKERS INCLUDED AND EXCLUDED FROM ANALYSIS.	57
FIGURE 4.1. L1 OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS	60
FIGURE 4.2. L2 OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS.	61
FIGURE 4.3. RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS' LANGUAGE OF PREFERENCE.	62
FIGURE 4.4. RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS' SOCIAL USE OF LANGUAGE	63
FIGURE 4.5. RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS' SELF-IDENTIFIED AREAS OF FUTURE ACADEMIC GROWTH.	64
TABLE 4.1. OVERVIEW OF METADISOURSE MARKERS FOUND IN ESSAY 1	66
FIGURE 4.6. METADISOURSE MARKERS USED IN ESSAY 1.	67
TABLE 4.2. OVERVIEW OF METADISOURSE MARKERS FOUND IN ESSAY 2.	68
FIGURE 4.7. METADISOURSE MARKERS FOUND IN ESSAY 2	70
FIGURE 4.8. STUDENTS' INDIVIDUAL USE OF INTERACTIVE MARKERS IN ESSAY 1.	71
FIGURE 4.9. STUDENTS' INDIVIDUAL USE OF INTERACTIVE MARKERS IN ESSAY 2.	72
FIGURE 4.10. STUDENTS' INDIVIDUAL USE OF INTERACTIONAL MARKERS IN ESSAY 1.	94
FIGURE 4.11. STUDENTS' INDIVIDUAL USE OF INTERACTIONAL MARKERS IN ESSAY 2.	95
FIGURE 4.12. STUDENTS' CHANGING USE OF INTERACTIVE MARKERS FROM ESSAY 1 TO 2	112
FIGURE 4.13. STUDENTS' CHANGING USE OF INTERACTIONAL MARKERS FROM ESSAY 1 TO 2	113

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background and situational context

As the influence of globalisation increases, the global student body in Higher Education (HE) is becoming increasingly diverse and multicultural. South Africa faces a set of unique challenges due to both its apartheid history, and to the diversity inherent to its population in terms of language and social background (Van Schalkwyk, 2008). To meet these challenges, the Higher Education Act 101 of 1997 states in its preamble that it aims to “restructure and transform programmes and institutions to respond better to the (...) development needs of the Republic; [to] redress past discrimination and ensure representivity and equal access, [and to] provide optimal opportunities for learning and the creation of knowledge” (RSA, 1997:preamble).

Accordingly, South African Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) have been tasked to “provide opportunities for social mobility while strengthening equity, social justice and democracy (...)” (Dept. of Higher Education and Training, 2016:5), whilst continuing to provide appropriate workforce training and knowledge. To that end, HEIs have greatly adapted their approach and scope over the past few decades (Eybers, 2015; Young, 2015, King, 2017).

However, statistics show that significant progress can still be made in many areas of Higher Education. For instance, in 2014 the average national graduation rate (percentage of enrolled students who complete their first attempt at a degree within 150% of the prescribed time) at public HEIs stood at 16% for undergraduate students. Furthermore, whilst Black African, Coloured and Indian/Asian (BCI) students together comprised 80% of the contact student population in South Africa, pointing towards the growing representivity and diversity of HEIs, BCI students still had a roughly 8% lower success rate than did White students (DHET, 2016). This implies that though access has increased, more can still be done to adapt curricula to its students’ needs, so that this access is also translated into academic success (Scott, 2017).

At Stellenbosch University the student success was 86% in 2015. However, its student body is comprised of only 37,8% BCI students, indicating that there is still a need for strategies to promote inclusivity at the university. The reasons for this are manifold, but include the language offering of the university, which is currently only English and Afrikaans. Academic isiXhosa (the Western Cape’s third official language) is still underdeveloped (Stellenbosch University, 2016(a); King, 2017). Students who come from a historically disadvantaged

background, or who have an African language as a mother tongue, may therefore be at a disadvantage when studying in English or Afrikaans. In a report on cultural barriers preventing all students from studying with equal success, Mzileni (2017) mentions five main problems, namely language, educational background, social factors, discrimination and practical factors. If these problems are not addressed in a sustainable manner, the challenges that many students face in HEIs will continue hindering their progress.

One mechanism which has been developed to foster access to HE is foundational programmes. Foundational programmes or extended curriculum programmes (ECPs) are a type of academic support aimed at widening access to university for students who have been previously excluded from it, and bridging the increasing gap between high school and tertiary education. Most first-year students are unfamiliar with the demands and process of academic writing, and many may have also faced barriers to learning throughout their basic education phase due to a variety of socio-economic factors. Upon realising this, some South African universities initiated the development of support courses, after which the Department of Higher Education and Training (DoHET) began funding such programmes, leading to the consolidation and further development of programmes aimed at overcoming these challenges (Leibowitz & Bozalek, 2015; Maree, 2015; Walton, Bowman & Osman, 2015). As such, these programmes typically extend a student degree by one academic year, and include a strong focus on the development of academic skills, specifically numeracy and literacy skills.

Stellenbosch University offers extended development programmes (EDP) courses in six of its faculties, stating the intention of these courses as being “to broaden access by creating alternative routes for students who, due to disadvantaged educational backgrounds, have failed to meet the faculty specific entry requirements”, and to offer integrated support through the use of foundation modules (Extended Degree Programmes, 2016; Enrolled Students, 2017). Given the fact that EDP courses are meant to foster inclusivity and increase access, it is safe to assume that a percentage of EDP students similar to or larger than the rest of the university’s demographics would be comprised of students who speak English as a second language. These students may speak Afrikaans or isiXhosa as a first language (L1), another national language, or possibly a foreign language. Altogether, this means that a significant percentage of EDP students would be studying in their second language (L2) or even in a third or fourth.

Education, specifically Higher Education, is one of the key ways in which a country such as South Africa may achieve social justice and equality (Van Schalkwyk, 2008; Scott, 2017). Thus

it stands to reason that further research into this area is relevant for the attainment of these goals. A focus on students, specifically on the growing corpus of students functioning in an additional language at university level, would contribute to a greater understanding of the reasons for students' success and the types of challenges they face.

1.2 Problem statement

Pedagogical approaches to and research on academic literacy development in a HE context is vast (Charles, Pecorari & Hunston, 2009; Eybers, 2015; Hyland, 2002; Van Schalkwyk, 2008). A significant amount of this research has been targeted towards multicultural and multilingual students (Canagarajah, 2004; Leki, Cumming & Silva, 2008; Siepmann, 2006), some of which has been directed at the L2 student body in South Africa. However, little research is available which focuses on functioning in an additional language whilst acquiring academic literacy skills in English. Since the number of both L2 and foundational programme students in South Africa has been increasing, research and practice could stand to benefit from further investigation into this area.

Since discourse is significantly influenced by matters of identity and context, mastering academic discourse is subject to matters of identity as well (Canagarajah, 2004; Corbett, 2011; Mzileni, 2017). For multilingual students, who function from within several contexts, it follows that students' grasp of academic literacy would be strongly affected by identity and context. One of the ways in which the link between academic literacy development, multilingualism and identity may be investigated, is through studying 'voice'. 'Voice' is a means of expressing authorial identity and speaks of writers' command over a discourse, and as such it reveals the identities that writers build for themselves within the given discourse. It also provides insight into the level of authority with which writers communicate, their perception of the type of text expected, and their perception of the reader (Hyland, 2002; Hyland & Sancho Guinda, 2012). Thus analysing voice could inform the researcher of how these factors affect writers' acquisition of the academic discourse expected of them. This could play an important part in leading to a greater understanding of academic literacy development in a multilingual context (Matsuda & Jeffery, 2012).

This study aims to help address the shortcomings in the literature regarding academic literacy development in a multilingual HE classroom. It considers students forming part of an ECP course to be of specific interest, since these courses are of growing importance in the HE context in South Africa. In the case of Stellenbosch University, EDP students will also likely

be from diverse linguistic and educational backgrounds, adding complexity to their development of academic literacy. Therefore, this study aims to focus on voice and the linguistic resources used by multicultural and multilingual EDP students, in order to contribute to the body of research on academic discourse within South Africa.

1.3 Research hypothesis

While it is often taken for granted that first-year students enter the HE classroom with the same linguistic resources, this study hypothesises that in a multicultural classroom, students draw on – and may therefore be either restricted or enriched by – the linguistic resources available to them from their first languages (L1), specifically when constructing a self-identity. The research questions are formulated as follows:

1.3.1 What are the linguistic resources, used by first-year EDP students in order to construct their self-identities and voices?

1.3.2 What are the linguistic devices, specifically metadiscourse markers, used by these same students for the purpose self-identity construction and the realisation of voice?

1.3.3 Do these resources and devices differ amongst students with different linguistic and cultural backgrounds?

1.3.4 To what extent does exposure to, and formal training in, academic writing affect the students' linguistic selection of linguistic resources and devices, as well as the construction of their self-identities and 'voices'?

1.4 Key concepts

In light of the above research questions, and given the context within which these EDP students' writing is investigated, several concepts are salient to this research. 'Multilingualism' is a word often used to encompass varying ideas and even embody certain ideals; as such its intended meaning within this research must be stipulated. Similarly, the concept of 'second-language speakers' is often used in South Africa and elsewhere to describe a variety of people, thus its meaning has at times become vague. Finally, 'voice', as the pivot around which this research revolves, requires firm definition to be successfully identified and investigated. It is described here and expanded upon in Chapter 2.

1.4.1 Multilingualism

In both literature and common usage, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the terms 'bilingualism' and 'multilingualism' (Dantile, 2015; Hill, 2009). As a point in case,

Stellenbosch University may be termed a bilingual university since it functions fully in two languages (Afrikaans and English), on both academic and administrative levels. However, SU's 2016 Language Policy commits itself expressly to multilingualism, which in this case infers the use, where possible, of Afrikaans, English, and isiXhosa (Stellenbosch University, 2016 (b)). It is therefore a chiefly bilingual institution which houses and welcomes multilingual practices.

It has already been pointed out that Stellenbosch University students come from a variety of linguistic backgrounds. Furthermore, since all South African learners are compelled to take both a first and additional language as a school subject (Ollerhead & Oosthuizen, 2005), it can be assumed that most university students are to some degree bilingual. The result is a group of students, who, between them, may function in a large amount of national and international languages, though only a few individuals might be functionally multilingual. Since creating a constant distinction between bilingual and multilingual students is beyond the scope of this research, the term 'multilingual' is used throughout this study.

1.4.2 Second language (L2)

The term 'second language' is used throughout this study as a synonym for 'additional language' or 'non-native language'. This is in keeping with much of the literature on the subject (Leki, Cumming & Silva, 2008). In this case it is also because many students learn English as their third or fourth language, but it is difficult to determine their level of fluency in each language and label each accordingly. Furthermore, the term 'non-native language' implies nationality, which brings about complications in the South African context due to its inherent multilingualism. As with multilingualism, the abbreviation 'L2' is therefore used as a general description. It encompasses wide ranges of proficiency and operates from the general definition of 'a language learned additionally to the home/first language'.

1.4.3 Voice

Voice is defined by Canagarajah (2004:267) as "the manifestation of one's agency in discourse through the means of language", a manifestation which is influenced by "identity, role and subjectivity", yet provides the opportunity for a writer to negotiate these above influences and constraints, and craft an identity therein by use of language. Hyland (2002, 2012) maintains that voice is crafted from the functions of stance and engagement. This study approaches voice mainly from this theoretical perspective, therefore analysing voice as the determinable result of writers' involvement and identities within the academic context.

As such, voice must be distinguished from academic literacy. While voice may indeed be influenced by academic literacy, the analysis of said literacy is not the aim of this research. However, in investigating voice, this study aims to contribute to a better understanding of the tools available to students when developing an authorial identity. This may hold pedagogical implications, specifically in the teaching of academic discourse.

1.5 Methodology

This research adopted Hyland and Tse's (2004) model for metadiscourse in academic writing, which has been used in the analysis of voice in other multilingual contexts (Abdi, 2009; Gholami, Tajalli & Shokrpour, 2014). By using a pre-existing model the analysis was rooted within measurable parameters and comparable results. A higher level of reliability was thus obtainable.

Hyland and Tse's model depends on three key principles, namely:

- 1) that metadiscourse is distinct from propositional aspects of discourse;
- 2) that the term 'metadiscourse' refers to those aspects of the text that embody writer-reader interactions;
- 3) that metadiscourse distinguishes relations which are external to the text from those that are internal (Hyland & Tse, 2004:159).

The above model focuses on how writers use techniques to create coherence and convey meaning, by use of words and phrases that do not discuss the contents of the text itself. Instead, these metadiscourse markers supply context and nuance, and convey the writer's own approach to and feeling towards a text, thereby enabling the analyst to witness the writers' preferred manner of organising and interpreting content. It furthermore provides insight into the assumptions about the reader made by the writer, as "all metadiscourse is interpersonal in that it takes account of the reader's knowledge, textual experiences, and processing needs [...]" (Hyland & Tse, 2004:161).

1.5.1 Approach to participant and textual selection

This research took place in a first-year support module of an EDP in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at Stellenbosch University. The module, Texts in the Humanities 113, aims to provide students with "the knowledge, capacities and skills to read and write about academic texts at an introductory level" (Stellenbosch University, 2016 (c):310) As such it studies rhetorical structure, argument patterns, and other key aspects of academic texts. This subject

was chosen since students in the faculty of Arts and Social Sciences tend to write longer and more regular essays, especially in a subject such as the above, thereby facilitating text analysis.

Texts in the Humanities 113 is presented in both Afrikaans and English (it is a parallel-medium course). The English group was selected for the purposes of this study, since it is comprised of both students whose L1 is English and students whose L1s are various South African (or other) indigenous languages. To determine the linguistic and cultural resources of the students, and thereby draw more accurate and specific conclusions, a language demographics questionnaire was filled in by each participant before the textual analyses began. This also enabled further comparison of each student's voice, as determined from the use of metadiscourse markers and the respective student's linguistic backgrounds.

As part of the course students are asked to complete a variety of written assessments. This study analysed two of these written assessments from each student – one conducted at the end of the third week of their first year, and one required for the end of the semester.. The researcher investigated whether students' own linguistic resources change during the course of the programme, and how this differs amongst students.

1.5.2 Approach to textual analysis

The main objective of this study was to compare and contrast the use of metadiscourse markers by L2 and L1 English writers taken from the same academic group, as well as to compare their use of these markers before and after a semester of having been taught on and exposed to academic writing. The purpose of this study was therefore twofold: to identify the differences in the use of metadiscourse markers (and by implication in voice) between two language groups, and to determine the evolution of both groups' voices after a semester's training.

To that end, 64 texts were analysed – two from 32 students. Hyland and Tse's (2004) model of academic discourse served as the framework for analysis. Focus was therefore placed on those aspects which are "writer-responsible" (Figuieredo-Silva, 2007). Hyland and Tse (2004) make a distinction between 'interactive' and 'interactional' categories, which was of importance as research has found a difference in the use of these two categories (Abdi, 2009; Gholami *et al*, 2014).

Interactive resources are defined as "help[ing] to guide the reader through the text", and contain categories such as transitions and frame markers which lead an argument from one thought to

another, for instance. In turn, interactional resources “involve the reader in the argument” (Hyland & Tse, 2004:169), meaning that this category betrays the author’s opinions, conveys attitude, and also includes self-mentions. It could arguably be stated that this category is more strongly linked to voice, since it conveys direct stance and engagement. As such, this textual analysis not only took note of each instance of metadiscourse in the relevant texts, but also kept track of whether these fell under interactive or interactional resources, so as to be able to draw further conclusions.

1.6 Chapter outline

Chapter 1 explains the context within which this research is situated, provides a motivation for the study, and defines some key concepts. It thereafter lays out its research questions and objectives, as well as the methodology used to reach these objectives. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the main literature relevant to this study. As such it explains the analysis of academic discourse as a subfield of genre analysis. It also covers the literature and research on voice and its influencers, such as culture and identity.

Chapter 3 covers the research design and methodology used in this study, providing a motivation for the use thereof and discussing the participants selected.

Chapter 4 provides an analysis of the results, discussing the findings from the textual analyses and the language questionnaires.

Chapter 5 concludes the study by laying out the findings and their implications. It also discusses the strengths and limitations of the study, and provides some suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2: Literature study

This chapter aims to provide an overview of the concepts most relevant to this study, by looking at discourse analysis in its entirety and then moving the focus specifically to genre analysis. Academic writing is considered such a genre and it has correspondingly been analysed in myriad ways. Student writing specifically comes into play, and as such aspects influencing student writer identity are also discussed in this chapter. Factors influencing multilingual students specifically are examined in a discussion on L2 writer characteristics and the influence of culture and context. The way students craft their identities from the above influences can be investigated through examining their use of metadiscourse markers; as such, theory surrounding metadiscourse analysis is also described in some detail. This chapter aims to provide insight into the theory and frameworks that combine aspects of metadiscourse, L2 writing and multilingualism in the crafting of voice as an important part of students' development as academic writers.

2.1 Discourse analysis

To situate and understand the proposed research, it is necessary to examine the theory and research that underpins its approach and objectives. A central field in which this research is situated is discourse analysis, which is discussed in the following section.

Hyland and Paltridge (2011:1) define the study of discourse, from an applied linguistics point of view, as “to study language in action, looking at texts in relation to the social context in which they are used.” However, the word ‘discourse’ itself is not easily defined, as it might entail a wide range of related meanings, and is often used to describe a variety of phenomena. Thus the study of discourse implies the study of texts (whether written, spoken, or visual), mainly in order to determine the bigger patterns underlying these texts. Though, the *raison d’etre* for such analysis may range from identifying a host of social phenomena and structures underlying language use, to criticising said structures, to better supporting or understanding the powers and identity politics at play in language use (Hyland & Paltridge, 2011; Wodak, 2011).

Charles *et al.* (2009) describe discourse analysis as following a ‘top-down’ approach, in the sense that whole texts are studied to provide insight into larger social and linguistic norms. They further identify two main themes in discourse analyses, specifically in terms of academic writing, namely firstly a concern within which text is produced – “not only the effect of the

text on its social role but also the role of the writer and the text in creating the contexts in which they occur” (Charles *et al.*, 2009:2), and secondly a focus on patterns, often called ‘moves’ – as found in texts of similar nature.

1. Since models for analysing and explaining discourse first originated mainly from fields such as linguistics and anthropology, these hold arguably the highest claim over it. However, other subjects such as cognitive psychology and philosophy have also both influenced and drawn from it (Tannen, Hamilton & Schiffrin, 2015). So too, the term “discourse analysis” may imply different meanings to different scholars. However, Tannen *et al.* (2015:1) point out that definitions for discourse all fall under three main categories, namely 1) “anything beyond the sentence, 2) language use, or 3) a broader range of social practice that includes non-linguistic and non-specific instances of language”. This is also explained by Gray and Biber (2011), who make use of the above categorisation, by explaining the three categories in further detail: discourse as *language in use*, which investigates variation in the use of linguistic form and traditional linguistic constructs
2. discourse as *language structure* above the sentence level, which focuses on the broader text structure, that is, on the systematic ways that texts are constructed; and
3. discourse as *social practices and ideologies* associated with language and/or communication, focusing on the general characteristics and participants of a particular discourse community (Gray & Biber, 2011:138).

The first two of these three points places strong focus on language as it finds expression within texts, and are by implication also more limited to this, though text itself may entail more than is traditionally considered to be such, and discourse analysis is increasingly moving into a multimodal realm (Hyland & Paltridge, 2011:2; O’Halloran, 2011).

With regards to the history of this field, development in the analysis of discourse became prominent in the 1960s (Hyland, 2011; Flowerdew, 2013), and scholars covered a wide span of disciplinary backgrounds and methods. Wodak (2011:38) explains that discourse analysis is often made up of various types of analyses, such as critical discourse analysis, ethnography of speaking, conversation analysis, semiotics, and other subdisciplines, which thus shows how enmeshed these fields have become. These often have seven dimensions in common:

1. An interest in the properties of ‘*naturally occurring*’ *language use* by real language users (instead of a study of abstract language systems and invented examples).

2. A focus on *larger units than isolated words and sentences*, and hence, new basic units of analysis: texts, discourses, conversations, speech acts or communicative events.
3. The extension of linguistics *beyond sentence grammar* towards a study of action and interaction.
4. The extension to *non-verbal (semiotic, multimodal, visual) aspects* of interaction and communication: gestures, images, film, the internet and multimedia.
5. A focus on dynamic (socio)-cognitive or interactional moves and strategies.
6. The study of the functions of (social, cultural, situative, and cognitive) *contexts of language use*.
7. Analysis of a vast number of *phenomena of text grammar and language use*: coherence, anaphora, topics, macrostructures, speech acts, interactions, turn-taking, signs, politeness, argumentation, rhetoric, mental models, and many other aspects of text and discourse (Wodak, 2011:38).

These dimensions therefore serve the purpose of defining and explaining the terrain occupied by discourse analysis. The aspects of language that are analysed in a research project depends on the intent of the analyst, which in turn determines which of the dimensions come into focus. This in turn determines the data collection and, if necessary, transcription (Jones, 2011:9).

It is perhaps because there are so many different approaches towards, and understandings of, discourse analysis that the field is still growing and expanding its reach. Therefore, no viewpoints need be either exclusive or more correct than others, but rather help lead to a more thorough approach towards the subject. In fact, the vast diversity in discourse analysis is seen by many researchers as a strength in itself, since it thereby provides greater methodological diversity (Tannen *et al.*, 2015: xx; Adger & Wright, 2015:858).

2.1.1 Types of discourse analyses

Clearly the study of discourse may take on many forms, focus on different types of texts, make use of a range of methodologies, and be executed for a wide array of reasons. Some of the types of discourse analysis that exist are critical discourse analysis, genre analysis, narrative analysis, multimodal discourse analysis, and corpus analysis (Hyland & Paltridge, 2011). These overlap, however – critical discourse analysis might make use of multimodal analysis, for instance, to achieve its goals (Wodak, 2011), or genre analysis could make use of a corpus method (Charles *et al.*, 2009).

Thus, discourse analysis covers a wide variety of types of analyses, which may be used to analyse many discourses fields, among which academic writing. Hyland and Paltridge (2011), Flowerdew (2013) and Tannen, Hamilton and Schiffrin (2015) all identify a large number of methods of discourse analysis that apply both generally and to the study of academic discourse. These include ethnographic approaches, contrastive rhetoric, and interactional sociolinguistics, all of which may be relevant to this study. However, a longer discussion of only two overarching types of analyses follows, namely genre analysis and corpus analysis. These were chosen since they incorporate many of the above-mentioned approaches, and serve as a good introduction to the field of discourse analysis.

Genre analysis

Tardy (2011:54) defines genre as “typified forms of discourse – forms that arise when responses to a specific need or exigence become regularized”. This occurs because of discourse strategies which have become standard practice within a context due to the specific needs of language users. Tardy (2011:54) gives the example of a campaign speech, which displays consistent characteristics in terms of both topic and language usage. Genre analysis looks at these properties with the aim of describing, and therefore improving understanding of, the genres at hand.

‘Genre’ can be seen as a category of discourse analysis, and as such, has a specific set of properties that set it apart from other categories. According to Tardy (2011:55) these include the fact that genre may be considered a rhetorical strategy, that it is socially situated, that it is often intertextual, that it is embodied through various forms of communication, and that it necessarily reflects existing power structures. An analysis of genre, then, entails a focus on any chosen element found in a text and which are considered representative of the genre. An analysis thereof should be capable of explaining the intricacies of both the social structures which produced the genre as well as the structures that are particular to the text under investigation (Hyland, 2002:1094).

Since genre is considered by many researchers to be a rhetorical category (Tardy 2011:55) or a form of social positioning (Hyland, 2002:1094) it is highly dependent on its context, and the analysis thereof therefore often entails the analysis of both text and the context within which it is produced (Tardy, 2011:55). Two manners in which this context, as enacted within text, can be examined, is through move analysis and lexico-grammatical analysis. This study will incorporate elements of both types of analyses, although primarily lexico-grammatical

analysis, since the analysis of the use of metadiscourse markers falls mainly within this category (Tardy, 2011:56). Computer software programs are often used to assist in lexicogrammatical analysis, since specific instances of a word or word type being used are noted, such as the use of hedges or attitude markers. A move analysis, on the other hand, observes the moves made within a set of texts specific to a genre, aiming to identify which pattern of writing or textual occurrence seems to be almost compulsory to the genre, and which is of negligible importance. This therefore requires a more involved approach which takes context into approach, although software may still be used to aid in identifying basic patterns (Tardy, 2011:56).

As power structures can be identified within genres through analysis, genres can also be analysed from a critical discourse analysis point of departure, providing an example of how types of discourse analysis are linked to each other. These power structures can be observed, because, as stated by Tardy (2011:60): “genres reflect their users’ values and practices, which are neither neutral nor free of power dynamics”. Such practices become ingrained in a genre, which then begins to maintain its own status quo, and reflecting this in the writing that forms part thereof (Hyland, 2002:1094). These conventions are precisely what are then analysed in genre analysis, providing information on both the genre itself and on those who subscribe to it.

What genre analysts study often amounts to “the ways in which language reflects and constitutes social practice” (Tardy, 2011:61). This is done by using a combination of methods best suited to answer the questions the analyst poses from the beginning. The questions, therefore, determine the objectives, which in turn determine the approach. Tardy (2011) provides the example of analysts who wish to determine the importance of the concepts of novelty and research contribution as put forward in research publications. To that end, a mixture of move analysis, lexicogrammatical analysis, and expert interviews may be well-suited to answer the research question. Similarly, since the questions forming the starting point of this research have already been put forward, the theory available now aids in shaping the most fitting approach.

Corpus analysis

Corpus linguistics is a method of analysis which can contribute to the analysis of discourse through providing quantitative data, by examining language in use in a context and text-driven approach. The word “corpus”, which is at the foundation of this type of analysis, is defined by Gray and Biber (2011:140) as “a principled collection of natural texts that are representative of

a target domain”. Corpus studies, in short, investigate linguistic variation and tendencies at the level of their most basic and elementary components, as found within the selected collection of texts, of which their representativeness is key. This is mainly achieved by the use of computer programs which are able to analyse these linguistic variations, since at the level of spotting the use of specific words, very little context is yet needed (Gray & Biber, 2011:141- 142). Patterns of variation are therefore identified, with the aim of being able to generalise findings across an entire type of discourse community.

According to Charles *et al.* (2009), corpus linguistics may in fact be considered two different fields, though they have much in common. So, “discourse analysis prioritizes whole texts and their cultural context, identifying patterns that extend across sentences and paragraphs. [In comparison, c]orpus linguistics tends to use techniques that decontextualize individual texts and focuses on recurrent patternings of small-scale items such as words and phrases” (Charles *et al.*, 2009:1). This reinforces the above statements that corpus linguistics is, at least at first level of analysis, almost entirely removed of context.

Although corpus linguistics and discourse analysis may arguably be seen as two separate branches from the same tree, their methodologies are often complementary and are often “meshed in practice” (Charles *et al.*, 2009:1). The research objectives that corpus analysis aim to reach may be, for instance, to identify difference in word choices, grammatical structures, and, moving to a broader focus, to aid in description and comparison of linguistic features in varieties of discourse types. In this, corpus linguistics has four dominant characteristics as described by Gray & Biber (2011:140): 1) Its approach is empirical – therefore based on observed phenomena; 2) It is founded on the use of a corpus; 3) Use is made of computers to aid in the analysis; and 4) Corpus analysis is mainly both quantitative and qualitative in nature.

Based on the above four characteristics of corpus linguistics, it could be said that the intended research makes use of a corpus approach, since it is empirical in nature, is founded on a corpus of texts, and is of both quantitative and qualitative nature. It does not, however, aim to make use of corpus linguistic software to analyse the corpus, thus drawing from some corpus techniques but ultimately examining patterns of metadiscourse use within a discourse analysis framework.

2.2 Academic discourse

Whilst many theories and approaches might come be relevant during an analysis of the data collected for this research project, the most relevant to the research at hand are ideas and theories related to genre, genre analysis, academic discourse, and to English as a Second Language (ESL) as it relates to academic discourse.

Academic discourse is, simply put, the way that language is thought of and used in the academy; that is, in the institutions whose primary aim is to create knowledge and impart education. This discourse is significant since language in this context is used by people from a wide variety of subject fields and levels of subject proficiency, all with the aim of imparting knowledge, formulating ideas, and for students to in turn demonstrate what they have learnt (Hyland, 2002:1092). Therefore, academic language, so as not to form a hindrance or create confusion in communication, must necessarily be subject to certain norms which are generally accepted and understood by the entire discourse community from which it originates.

Language simultaneously constructs the social roles and relationships which create academics and students and which sustain the universities, the disciplines, and the creation of knowledge itself. Individuals use language [...] in ways specific to particular social groups and in doing these things they form social realities, personal identities, and professional institutions (Hyland, 2011:171).

Thus, the fact that academic discourse both creates and maintains the circumstances within which an academic institution may function, is of key importance. It is also for this reason that the study of academic discourse has become very meaningful. Hyland (2011:172) even goes so far as to say that academic discourses have “colonised” further areas of our everyday lives, influencing everything from entertainment to technology to bureaucracy.

2.2.1 History and development of academic discourse

The earliest research into academic discourse was in the 1960s, and since then the field has expanded exponentially (Flowerdew, 2013:1). Hyland (2011:172) notes three important developments in academic discourse over the past few decades which have led to an increased interest in the field. These are increasing emphasis on the importance of writing in a higher education setting, the growing internationalisation of English as the academic *lingua franca*,

and a heightened awareness of the importance of academic discourse as key to knowledge construction, and growth in theories regarding this.

Internationally, access to Higher Education has expanded rapidly as economic and political circumstances have changed. These changes are occurring in conjunction with globalisation which has increased the flow of both information and people across borders. As a result of this, the face of Higher Education is now both more heterogeneous and interdisciplinary. This means that students bring a wider range of backgrounds to the table, and must learn to engage with knowledge accordingly. It also implies that educators must take into account these students' varying frames of reference, knowledge backgrounds, and, very often, language abilities. Ironically, due to this heterogeneity, according to Hyland (2011) and Leki *et al.* (2008), the academic world may now more than ever before be in need of a unifying discourse, and by implication a main language for this discourse.

An interest in English for Specific Purposes (SPA) thus gained prominence in the 1980 to 1990s, which has since partially developed into genre studies (Leki *et al.*, 2008). This is turned to an increase in needs analyses, textual analyses, and further investigations on the ramifications of the growth in the use of English as an international academic language. This research inevitably expanded to include studying the pedagogical needs of L2 students specifically, as they contribute extensively to the corpus of English academic writing.

Theory regarding how knowledge is formed and conveyed has also changed along with the above movements, placing increased emphasis on the value of academic arguments – on the presentation, interpretation, and persuasiveness of information – and moving away from the idea of scientific knowledge as objectively and unanimously understandable (Hyland, 2011, Leki *et al.*, 2008). The shift has therefore been from an emphasis on *what* to *how* information is shared. This is academic discourse as it stands to be analysed.

Finally, as a starting point for researchers from which to begin studying academic discourse, Hyland (2011) summarises the four general properties of academic genres which in themselves provide both direction and a myriad research possibilities. These are:

1. That academic genres are persuasive and systematically structured to secure readers' agreement;
2. That those ways of producing agreement represent disciplinary specific rhetorical preferences;

3. That different language groups have different ways of expressing ideas and structuring arguments;
4. That academic persuasion involves interpersonal negotiations¹ as much as convincing ideas (Hyland, 2011:178).

These four statements provide the basis of knowledge regarding academic genres from which this research intends to work, and of the four, perhaps the most significant for this research are the third and fourth, namely that different language groups may express their arguments differently and that a relationship must be established between the writer and reader. This is discussed in further detail in the section on intercultural discourse.

2.2.2 Approaches to the study of academic discourse

With regards to the analysis academic discourse, the focus of methodology has in the past chiefly been on concrete texts rather than on social practice (Hyland, 2011:180). Adger and Wright (2015:859-862) note that three main approaches have historically been used when analysing discourse in an educational context, namely: interactional approaches, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), and the Systemic Functional Linguistic (SFL) approach. Interactional approaches, which includes interactional sociolinguistics and microethnography, are rooted in sociolinguistics, anthropology and social psychology. As such these approaches are concerned with identifying how communication takes place and how it is understood by its participants, by moving the focus from sections of language to the entire communicative process. SFL, in turn, “considers text to be the smallest unit of analysis” (Adger & Wright, 2015:863) and attempts to analyse discourse by approaching it as a set of socially meaningful signs.

Though approaches may vary, it could be argued that a large amount of academic discourse analysis falls under the umbrella of “genre analysis”, especially when specific types of academic writing are investigated, such as the research article or the student essay, as has often been the case (Hyland, 2011; Flowerdew, 2013). Since academic discourse may be seen as a specific genre, genre analysis clearly plays an important part in the understanding thereof. In accordance with this, Hyland (2011:174) writes that genre analysis considers texts to be

¹ Refers to the resources used by writers to engage with the reader by appealing to shared values, using a similar disciplinary voice and code, or otherwise constructing an identity which is relatable to the reader (Hyland, 2002:1094; Hyland, 2011:177).

“representative of wider rhetorical practices and so has the potential to offer descriptions and explanations of both texts and the communities that use them.”

In terms of academic genre analysis, Flowerdew (2013:3) notes that research has become both “narrower” and “deeper” over time. By “deeper”, he refers to studies which analyse texts according to their rhetorical and communicative purposes, by “defining, classifying, generalising, (...), describing, etc.”. By “narrower”, in turn, he mentions the fact that focus has increasingly been placed on specific genres within academic discourse – that is, on a type of text such as textbooks or the above-mentioned student essays (Flowerdew, 2013; Hyland, 2011). These two distinctions form an important sorting mechanism through which to investigate academic genre analysis. Regardless of approach, focus is often either placed on a single type of text as found within different sub-genres, or on a single sub-genre within academic writing, such as writing in the so-called hard sciences, in history, and so forth (Lorenzo, 2013).

One of the reasons for the above-mentioned narrowing in studies is because the complexities of writers’ intentions, their own contexts, have increasingly come into the spotlight. To avoid oversimplification in analysis, studies have therefore begun to look at specific functions within the genre, whether grammatical (or the above ‘type of text’) or functional (or the above ‘sub-genre in academic writing’) (Hyland, 2011:174-175).

One of the ways in which discourse analysis has been useful in this regard is by identifying lexico-grammatical patterns in genres thereby providing information of how these texts are characterised structurally. This has been done by making use of, amongst other methods, move analyses, but also often, to avoid the researcher inadvertently depending too strongly on own intuition, more limited grammatical or rhetorical approaches. In these the focus is narrowed to only a few features of the chosen type of text.

The focus of academic analysis may often seem to be very specific and even minute. However, the study of academic text as firmly situated within an interpretive study of its writer’s context is equally important. Here an increasing number of studies have made use of mixed-methods approaches, often through a variety of theoretical lenses such as CDA, sociolinguistic approaches, and genre studies (Hyland, 2011:175; Leki *et al.*, 2008:99-103; Baker, 2011:201). Practically this has entailed both text-focused approaches and student-focused approaches such

as small-group interviews. This holds true for both academic writing in general, and L2 academic writing.

2.3 The development of English as a second language in academic writing

As has already been mentioned, the growth in the use of English, specifically within the academic world, has led to increased study of the phenomena of second language speakers and writers functioning within this environment. Several terms are of importance here, of which four are salient: English as a second language (ESL), English for Specific Purposes (ESP), its subfield English for Academic Purposes (EAP), and English as a lingua franca (ELF).

Flowerdew (2013:2) identifies four main areas in which ESL has expanded significantly. The first of these is in English-speaking countries such as the United States and the UK, due to political changes such as the formation of the EU and increased migration. Secondly, it has expanded in post-colonial territories such as South Africa, Zimbabwe, Hong Kong and Singapore, and thirdly in countries from the former USSR who seek to distance themselves from their history and form part of the international academic community. The final of these areas is countries where English holds no official status, but where increasing use of English elsewhere has led to a need for them to join to retain academic relevance, such as Western Europe, China, and Latin America. Together these four areas have contributed to the use of English to such an extent that it may be labelled the international lingua franca, especially with regards to academic discourse (Leki *et al.*, 2008; Seidlhofer, 2009).

Research on L2 academic writing became an important field of research in the 1980s, and has since evolved so swiftly that research must expand accordingly to stay up to date on new developments and findings within all the subfields of this area (Leki *et al.*, 2008, Flowerdew, 2013). Due to an increase in international communication and influences as well as to growth in our knowledge of how identity is created, L2 writing can no longer be defined along simplified and linear terms (Leibowitz, Adendorff, Daniels, Loots, Nakasa, Ngxabazi, Van der Merwe & Van Deventer, 2005). Furthermore, and in keeping with the above, pedagogical focus itself has moved away from placing a single emphasis on lexico-grammar. It has now moved towards a more widely branching approach intended to incorporate a focus on model texts and academic genres (Lorenzo, 2013; Leki *et al.*, 2008:1-4).

Since the initial growth in the study of ESL and ESP, case studies have found that L2 students, like L1 students, have needs focused mainly on conveying meaning rather than on propagating

correct vocabulary and grammar – in other words, most students want to get their point across and communicate effectively with the reader. Pragmatic considerations such as the purpose of the message, is therefore of greater importance to these students than the exact manner in which it is conveyed. The difference between L2 and L1 students, though, is that L2 students often feel they do not possess the tools to do so (Leki *et al.*, 2008). This is important in the study of L2 academic writing as a field separate from other studies of academic writing.

With L2 academic writing, as with all academic writing, critical analysis has played an important part in bringing self-awareness and complexity to the field (Hyland, 2011:172; Wodak, 2011:39; Leki *et al.*, 2008:2-3). The emergence of postmodernist, feminist, gender and race studies has formed part of the critical analyses of L2 academic writing, placing emphasis on the imposition of “English-based literacy values” (Leki *et al.* 2008:3). The importance of critical pedagogy has specifically been highlighted through this, calling for a scrutiny of the effect of English language teaching (ELT). Since English has historically been a colonial language, and its influence and reach is a result thereof, the potential decrease in expression and well-being of other cultures and languages which it displaces is a significant problem. This influences many aspects of English teaching, since L2 students’ grasp of and attitude towards both their L2 and L1 is influenced by this, and since language forms a central part of identity (Canagarajah, 2004:267; Leibowitz *et al.*, 2005:9)

The continuing spread of English inevitably leads to a growing body of mainly pedagogical questions and research. Many questions are still highly relevant and yet to be conclusively answered, such as what role culture plays in L2 literacy, how language planning should ensue, how to effectively respond to issues in L2 writing, and other, more specific issues such the occurrence of plagiarism and the development of an individual voice among students (Leki *et al.*, 2008:34; Hyland, 2002: 1093; Hyland, 2011:181). Leki *et al.* (2008:34) for instance mention the fact that different lingua-cultures approach the use of others’ research differently, what may thus count as plagiarism in English academic writing might not be considered as such by L2 English writers. The study of L2 academic writing stretches over both primary and high school education, as well as over Higher Education, where the largest body of research has been done on undergraduate students (Leki *et al.*, 2008; Adger & Wright, 2015). Some of the focus areas have been on linguistic and cultural norms, and cognitive development as expressed in discourse.

2.4 Characteristics of L2 academic writers

Leki *et al.* (2008, 98-117) have identified and classified findings from a wide-ranging corpus of L2 academic writing research done by a large number of researchers over the span of the past few decades. These findings were distilled in a list which attempts to cover all relevant traits of L2 writers. A summary of some their relevant classifications and findings follows. Many of their findings refer to research done in the USA, which may not be comparable to the South African context. They do, however, serve as a useful starting point.

Leki *et al.* (2008) define writer characteristics according to variables, some of which include L2 variables such as L2 writing ability, L2 proficiency, L2 reading. Other variables include L1 variables, transfer, psychological and social variables, and demographics. With regards to L2 variables, some findings that occurred repeatedly included the fact that skilled L2 writers tended to exhibit more confidence in their capacities and that L2 writing and reading ability corresponded with proficiency. More specifically, it was found that skilled L2 writers referred more to their audience (with the clear objective of presenting a convincing argument), and presented longer and more complex texts. They also made more varied and greater use of metadiscourse markers such as commentaries, hedges, and amplifiers (Leki *et al.*, 2008: 100).

Furthermore, it was found that “literacy development in one language had a positive effect on development in the other by presenting concepts that carried between the two” (Leki *et al.* 2008:101). This implies that fluency in one language might have a positive effect on the second because of the grasp of various concepts which one language already provides. Not surprisingly, previous educational experience and L2 academic environment also played a role in L2 proficiency, and L2 reading had a positive effect on L2 writing, though this differed according to educational and linguistic backgrounds.

At times, L1 writing ability has a positive effect on L2 capacity, since competence in one language is often transferable to another (Ifantidou & Tzanne, 2012:49; Nizonikza, 2016:170). Hyland (2005:115) also points out that differences have been noted between L1 and L2 writers in how they prefer to convey their ideas, thus causing L2 writers to have additional perspective and insight when writing. On the other hand, L1 writing ability may become weaker as L2 fluency increases (Leki, *et al.*, 2008:103). This could have significant implications for the formation of the writers’ identities and resultant voices. Another noteworthy finding was that differences between L1 and L2 texts may be caused by, among other things, student perceptions

of “culturally preferred rhetorical patterns” (Leki et al., 2008:109), and cultural conventions, but also that students may prove to have better organisational and coherence skills in their L2 due to these mentioned cultural rhetorical patterns (Hyland, 2005:115; Kubot, in Leki *et al.*, 2008:110). This again has important implications, since it reinforces the fact that writer identities and skills may differ according to the languages in which they are functioning, in turn reinforcing a fluid approach to identity. This, as well as further findings, is referred to in more detail in the following sections.

2.5 Contextual aspects in L2 and multilingual academic writing

Leki *et al.* (2008:72-80) note that there is tension between two opinions towards teaching English for academic purposes (EAP), specifically when teaching it among L2 students. This tension arises because, pragmatically speaking, it is necessary to accept that English serves as the dominant academic lingua franca and that students must thus master it effectively, often within a short period of time, so as to be able to function optimally within an academic environment. On the other hand, it is frequently claimed that English is inescapably ideological, and that teaching it affirms the status quo, in which students from different backgrounds are at a disadvantage. To understand the creation of an authorial identity and a voice, which yet fits within the dominant academic discourse, the above conflict must be understood. To that end, contextual aspects in L2 and multicultural academic writing are investigated here.

It has become accepted that different cultures – however these may be defined – show different styles and approaches to writing (Connor, 2002; Hyland, 2011; Leki *et al.*, 2008; Flowerdew, 2013). When a writer is writing in English, such as is the case in this study, but English is his/her second language, the writer’s first language will come into play as well. This might be a disadvantage, especially from the standpoint of contrastive rhetoric, which necessarily approaches writing from a contrastive and therefore polarising point of view. However, in doing so, the wealth of additional context and knowledge brought to the table by the L2 writer is ignored (Canagarajah, 2004:267-268; Hyland, 2002:1094).

When writing in a second language, the written product will therefore reflect an interaction – possibly a conflict – between the writer’s knowledge of both L1 and L2, as well as between the cultures² at play. Thus, whether a student subscribes to the norms of the genre of academic

²For simplicity’s sake, ‘culture’ will preliminarily be considered to be the assumptions, norms and guidelines inherent to the backgrounds and context of the students in question. See also section 2.5.1

English, when he/she is writing these play an important part in how his/her writing is perceived (Wodak, 2011:39-40; Baker, 2011:201-203).

Academic discourse, like other genres, both reveals and reinforces the dominant power structures which are characteristic of its community. Over time conventions become norms, and participants in this discourse are expected to comply to said norms. It is for this reason that no academic writers function free of the influence from the academic genre itself; not only do said writers write firmly within the context of academic discourse, but they are also in a relationship with their readers, who often occupy a higher place of perceived power (Tardy, 2011: 61). In other words, as genres become formalised, a complex and sometimes oppositional relationship between those attempting to function within this genre and the genre itself may arise, which may be understood upon further study of both the genre involved and the context of those using it (e.g. students).

Considering this, Hyland (2011) provides a list of properties that characterise English academic writing specifically. It tends to:

1. be more explicit about its structure and purposes with constant previewing and reviewing;
 2. employ more, and more recent, citations;
 3. be less tolerant of digressions;
 4. be more cautious in making claims, with considerable use of mitigation and hedging;
 5. use more sentence connections to show explicitly how parts of the text link together
- (Hyland, 2011:181).

The last two of these, specifically, fall squarely within the investigative field of this research, as metadiscourse markers are used to achieve both ends. It is important to note, though, that the above trends in academic English writing are norms instead of rules. As such, they are not necessarily explicitly taught and the writing of an L2 writer (or of an L1 writer too) may be at odds with this.

Writers insert themselves into their writing, whether consciously or not, seeking to establish a connection between themselves and their readers, and in the process establishing a voice and own authorial identity. Hyland (2011:181) holds forth that academic writing too is subject to this and cannot be considered solely an impersonal type of writing, since writers “offer credible representation of themselves and their work by claiming solidarity with readers, evaluating their material, and acknowledging alternative views” (Hyland, 2011:181). Similarly, Leki *et al.* (2008:64) point to the interaction between writers and the genre of (English) academic

writing as often resulting in the creation of “new, hybridized identities”. Therefore, not only does academic writing not remain unchanged in the face of its increasingly varied group of users, but its users too change through the process of academic writing. Much research has pointed to the negotiation of identities which arises as a result of this, which Leki *et al.* (2008:64) call “sometimes problematic, sometimes exhilarating”.

Hyland (2011:182) identifies two features that play a role in authorial construction, namely ‘stance’ and ‘engagement’. Stance involves the manner in which writers convey their attitudes and judgements through writing, whether subtly by refraining from commenting, or by making an opinion clear. Hyland calls this an “attitudinal dimension”, and engagement, in turn, is labelled an “alignment dimension” (Hyland, 2011:182), through which writers acknowledge readers and invite them into participative reading. The use of metadiscourse may assist in transferring both dimensions, thus conveying authorial identity and creating relatability, by providing the writer with more interactional resources, such as conjunctions and framing devices. Metadiscourse therefore plays an important role in writer identity.

2.5.1 The role of culture in academic discourse

The concept of culture, which has already featured in this chapter, is significant for this study with regards to identity and academic writing. Corbett (2011: 307) defines culture as something which may “be applied to a specific and relatively homogeneous group of individuals, such as members of a professional association, but [which] can also be applied to large heterogeneous groupings such as national cultures (...)”. In other words, a group of people who work in the same circumstances, or who hold the same profession, may also form a type of culture. This is contrary to how the word ‘culture’ is often used in popular reference, where it is mainly reserved to point out specific ethnic/linguistic/geographic groups who share some or other common traits. A culture may be connected to a country or a language, but it is not restricted to that (Hyland, 2005:114; Baker, 2011). This point of view has been advanced by postmodernist theory and it has since become accepted: cultures are dynamic and non-linear, and boundaries between cultures are not always easily defined (Baker, 2011; Leibowitz *et al.*, 2005).

From the above, it can be deduced that a single individual can, and probably does, form part of more than one culture. This is different than being part of a sub-culture (Corbett, 2011:306-308). Humans function within different spheres and may form parts of their identities separately according to which separate cultures they associate themselves with.

With regard to students in this research, that is clearly the case. We find that a single student may form part of an ethnic group which subscribes to a specific culture, to an overarching (but also separate) South African culture, to an academic culture, to a type of social culture, and so the list carries on. As such, students interact – support, oppose, resist, change – with the different cultures of which they do or do not consider themselves part of. What they identify with and what they view as not part of their culture, forms part of their self-identity.

Baker (2011) points out that language has always been considered an important role-player in constructing and representing culture, to such an extent that language use and sociocultural context is often so enmeshed that it is difficult to separate the two. However, he contends that “language certainly *influences* our perception of the world, but it does not *restrict* it” (Baker, 2011:198). In other words, while language might limit one’s ability to express an experience, it does not restrict one’s experience, identification or reaction towards it – and so does not limit the myriad cultural identifications a person may subscribe to.

Both the terms ‘cross-cultural’ and ‘intercultural’ are salient at this point. Cross-cultural analysis compares communication from different cultures (English versus French, for instance), looking at the different ways in which each culture expresses itself (Corbett, 2011:309). This holds some relevance for this study, as certainly knowledge of how information is communicated in each student’s primary culture is important to understand how (and why so) the student expresses him/herself in English.

Nonetheless, intercultural communication holds more specific importance for this study. Intercultural communication looks specifically at how people from different cultures (which, ultimately, implies everybody) interact with each other. Everyone brings his/her own “communicative practices” into every interaction, and these practices are often socially and culturally shaped (Corbett, 2011:301). Hence many studies on intercultural discourses are focused on accounting for miscommunication due to the different communicative norms underlying to any culture.

Baker (2011:197) highlights the fact that the use of English as a lingua franca itself has given rise to an immense amount of intercultural communication. In keeping with the broad definition of intercultural communication, he avoids regarding this as simple communication between native and non-native English speakers, and chooses to term it as “communication between people with different linguacultures, (...), [where] ELF functions as an additionally acquired

contact language for all” (Baker, 2011:197). Although it is true that academic English may be seen as an “additionally acquired contact language for all”, since no one is born with fluent academic-speak, it is likely that not all of its participants are on equal footing. Some, especially L2 speakers whose L1 and corresponding lingaculture is far removed from English, will necessarily have to adapt more to fit in with the linguistic demands placed on them.

With regards to cultural influences on academic writing, especially when said writing takes place in a second language, and is by implication rooted in another discourse/culture, a study by Figueiredo-Silva (2007) has great significance. This researcher investigated Portuguese students’ language awareness when reading English academic texts, and found social and cultural context to play a significant role when interacting with the genre of scientific writing. Specifically, the relevant participants were surprised to find that English is a “writer-responsible language” (Figueiredo-Silva, 2007:33), a term which means that the writer holds responsibility for making the text as accessible to the reader as possible. Thus, the writer/reader relationship comes into play, as the researcher suggests students from a different disciplinary culture be made familiar with the “generic discourse features” of a language (in this case English) to be able to function efficiently within its parameters.

Similarly, to attain optimal communication in ELF, Baker (2011) points out that intercultural communicative competence must be achieved, for which “cultural awareness” is key. In light of this, knowledge of both one’s own and other participants’ culture is key. One of the ways in which culture can be understood is explained by Corbett (2011), who points out that cultural value systems are key to the formation of cultures, and play an important role in intercultural communication. Corbett makes use of Hofstede’s (2001, in Corbett, 2011) dimensions of culture to show that cultural values differ especially along the following axes:

1. collectivist versus individual;
2. degrees of power distance;
3. the roles conventionally associated with males and females;
4. whether social status is achieved or ascribed;
5. how polite interpersonal relations are established and maintained (Hofstede, 2001, in Corbett, 2011: 310).

These variables all hold important implications for this study. Some of the questions related to these differences in values which may arise when contemplating the analysis of L2 students’ writing, are, amongst others: ‘What does each student perceive as polite writing?’, ‘What is the

perceived power distance between the student (writer) and the reader (lecturer)?’ and ‘If from mainly collectivist cultures, how comfortably would students refer to themselves when writing?’ The communicative strategies used by students to negotiate these and other issues are important factors when studying their writing within the academic genre.

2.5.2 Identity in academic discourse

Over the past few decades, the study of identity has shifted from placing an emphasis on variables such as ethnicity, religion and sex, to a less binary approach. However, the above categories still often serve as reference points for ease of comprehension and classification, since they serve as measurable parameters. Yet contemporary research is increasingly influenced by the fact that even these formerly fixed identity markers (such as culture, which in itself is increasingly hard to define) have become increasingly fluid (Ivanič, 1998; Omoniyi, 2011, Leibowitz *et al.*, 2005).

Ivanič (1998) contends that the word ‘identity’ is in fact potentially problematic, since it implies that individuals each have a single, constant identity. A term such as ‘multiple identities’ might be more accurate, since it illustrates how people may identify with different social groups simultaneously. However, this veers to the other extreme in over-emphasising the fragmentedness of identity, where in actual fact most people achieve a cohesion of sorts between their different identities. For the sake of simplicity, this study will use the term ‘identity’ in keeping with Ivanič’s definition, where it refers to “the plurality, fluidity and complexity” inherent to each individual’s identity.

In discourse analysis, the growing fluidity of identity could mean that writers, in trying to orientate themselves and their readers in an attempt to create relatability, make use of characteristics and references they assume to be shared between them and the reader. Likewise, writers may be subject to assumptions of identity, both of themselves and their readers, that they may not even be aware of. Whether or not this counts in their favour, in terms of the reception of their writing, depends on the audience (Hyland, 2005; Leki *et al.*, 2008)

The term ‘minority identity’ comes into play at this point. Omoniyi (2011:261) defines a minority as “any number of persons or groups forming a social unit that is numerically challenged relative to other groups within a polity, or one that has limited access to economic and political power”. Important to this definition is the fact that a minority does not necessarily have to comprise a smaller number of people to be considered as such. Most South African

citizens, for instance, are in fact L2 English speakers, since Zulu, isiXhosa, and Afrikaans all have more L1 speakers than does English (Dantile, 2015). Based purely on numbers, therefore, English L2 speakers do not comprise a minority.

Furthermore, Baker (2011) estimates that globally roughly two billion people are L2 English speakers. Yet within the realm of academic functioning, L2 English speakers are a clear minority, if not in numbers then in terms of power. Minority identity would not exist were it not for its contrast with the majority identity, and for the clear existence of a dominant discourse and power structure; in Omoniyi's words (2011:264): "A powerful mainstream is often presented as a point of reference against which evaluations of the circumstances of a minority group may be contrasted". While forming part of a minority does not necessarily only hold negative consequences – it must be emphasised that L2 students bring a wealth of other linguistic influences to the table – it is worth noting that the knowledge of being a minority may create a type of minority identity. This, in turn, may have an influence on the L2 writer's self-perception, and by association his/her voice. This is worth noting when analysing the construction of self-identity in L2 English.

In a study which entailed conducting more than 150 interviews with both students and academic staff at a South African university, a large percentage of whom formed part of some or other minority, Leibowitz *et al.* (2005:21) concluded that identity is difficult to predict by looking at general markers. They found, for instance, that experiences varied tremendously among individuals from seemingly similar cultures or backgrounds. While they could identify some trends, they highlighted the fact that individual narratives differed widely, as did opinions and participators' self-perceived roles and stories within their academic careers. This emphasises the fact that while some common denominators may be found among specific groups (such as L2 or L1 English writers), too many factors and influences come into play to enable the prediction of someone's identity, and correspondingly to allow much generalisation among supposed cultural/linguistic groups.

2.6 Voice in academic discourse

Hyland and Guinda (2012:1) refer to 'voice', along with its related concept 'stance', as one of the most significant yet "ambiguous and contested" concepts in applied linguistics. In the introduction to the book *Stance and voice in written academic genre*, they set out to provide a discussion and layout of these concepts which are both useful and relevant to this research. Their points, along with the various reports and research on voice encompassed in the above

book, will therefore serve as the starting point from which this chapter will discuss voice and seek to create a working definition for this research.

While a variety of opinions on the differences between stance and voice seems to exist, Hyland and Guinda (2012) provide some descriptions which arose from their and others' research, with which to distinguish the two. While stance has been described as "evaluation", "footing", "intensity" and "point of view", voice is explained in broader terms such as "personal stamp", "signature" and "idiolect" (Hyland & Sancho Guinda, 2012:1). From this, voice may therefore be seen as the over-arching concept, within which stance fulfils the role of conveying the writer's position towards and opinion of the text. Other terms also come into similar play, such as Ivanič's definition of "positioning", which is similar to stance: "[to make] to seem to be a certain type of person" (Ivanič, 1998:11). For the purposes of this study, stance will therefore be considered a subsection of voice, yet is important enough to merit further discussion.

Both stance and voice are multifaceted, as evidenced by the difficulty in defining them, and different discourse communities tend to both use and respond to these phenomena differently. This is apparent even in an academic environment, where Hyland and Guinda (2012:3-5) point out that there is specifically a significant difference in terms of how academics and students convey, understand, and interpret voice. Tardy (2012:34) here refers to the "polysemous nature of voice", which she contends has led to ambiguity of definitions, and thus to disagreement over how important the role of voice should be considered to be within academic writing.

Cameron (2012:254) contends that students need to find their footing within the academic genre, above and beyond simply knowing and applying lexico-grammatical rules. Only then will they know when and how to apply or break linguistic standards in the creation of their voices, aware of the effect of their choices on the reader, thereby "writing their way to empowerment" (Hyland & Guinda, 2012:3). This is echoed by a pedagogical question raised by Leki *et al.* (2008:29, 72) concerning L2 learners, which could be made applicable to all students of academic writing: Should the focus of instruction be on arming students with the most immediate grammatical and syntactical knowledge, given the short time within which they must master academic discourse? Or should emphasis instead be placed on "if writers could first experience what it [is] to be a writer by finding (often personal) meaning through writing?" (Leki *et al.*, 2008:29). Cameron's point (2012:253-255) seems to be that both are important, since linguistic knowledge is essential for the development of an authoritative voice,

yet only personal experience allows for the cultivation of a voice which has negotiated the demands of academic writing successfully.

Hyland and Guinda (2012:4) further distinguish between stance and voice. Stance is a “set of social norms” as well as “a set of rhetorical choices” which divulge the writer’s idea of the readers through his/her use of “specific genre moves”. Voice, the overarching concept, is described as falling within three main descriptive conceptualisations: “effect, role, and empowering tool” (Hyland & Guinda, 2012:4). They also emphasise the fact that voice is ultimately experienced and judged by the reader, who may or may not grasp the writer’s intentions. Overt stance is helpful here since it is one of the clearest ways of conveying the writer’s self to the reader.

Voice is also a way through which a writer may claim membership to a community, in this case the academic community. To that end, writers may use lexico-grammatical and register choices to support both their message and frame themselves as credible through this use of academic discourse (Tse, 2012:72; Hyland & Guinda, 2012:3-4). Voice may therefore be seen as a concerted effort by the writer concerned towards a certain portrayal of him/herself, something which, similar to identity itself, is “crafted, constructed, built, carved and created” (Hyland & Guinda, 2012:4).

Academic writing requires knowledge of and confidence in the type of language being employed, so as to write with the level of authority required to convince the reader (Hyland, 2002:1093). This authority is also gained from exposure, as writers necessarily reflect what they have assimilated over their lifetimes from exposure to other voices, and reconstruct this in a unique manner (Ivanic & Camps, 2001). This also implies that exposure to a different dominant discourse would have an effect on the type of voice that emerges, and on a writer’s confidence while writing in a more unfamiliar discourse. This is relevant when studying L2 students, as they may bring a variety of other linguistic and experiential tools to the table.

2.6.1 Dimensions of voice

Over roughly the past two decades, theories and research on voice have multiplied and given rise to different approaches towards this construct. Ivanič’s (1998:23) four aspects of authorial identity, namely the ‘autobiographical self’, the ‘discoursal self’, ‘self as author’ and ‘possibilities for selfhood’ frame the various ways in which identity, and resultantly voice, have been approached. These four aspects identify the writer as both creating the self through autonomy and self-determination, and through various social influences.

Matsuda (2011, in Tardy, 2012) also points out the fact that voice is comprised of more than one element. He places these elements on a continuum, with ‘personal perspectives’ on the one extreme, ‘social constructivist perspectives’ in the middle ground, and ‘social constructionist perspectives’ on the other extreme (Tardy, 2012:35). According to this model, the constructivist perspective acknowledges both the influence of self and society in the construction of a writer’s identity and voice, whilst the social constructionist perspective assigns greater power to the influence of the writer’s social milieu and its corresponding norms and values.

From these and additional theories, Tardy (2012:34-40) deduces that voice clearly embodies both individual and social dimensions. She then separates these theories into three dimensions, namely ‘individual’, ‘social’ and ‘dialogic’ which together summarise and draw together previous theories.

The individual dimension of voice

Within this framework, voice is something which is unique to each writer. Definitions emphasising this often point to the origin of the term ‘voice’, namely the audible human voice, which naturally is unique to everyone. Proponents of the individuality of voices place much emphasis on authenticity, “sincerity and resonance” (Tardy, 2012:36). These aspects are arguably lost when voice is considered a mainly social construct (Hyland & Guinda, 2012).

Tardy (2012:37) further points out that viewing voice from such an individualist point of view is especially common amongst writing teachers and students, both at school and university level. While emphasizing the fact that individual differences do play an important role in the construction of voice, Matsuda (2001:159) points out that this does not imply that voice belongs only to individualist societies, such as most western societies. Phrases like “just be yourself”, which he claims students are often told to do in the construction of their voices, may be very unclear to students from collectivist cultures. Although such cultures do not place such a large emphasis on individualist thinking, its students do have robust identities both as members of a society and as individuals within this sphere.

Therefore, considering voice to be a highly individual construct does not exempt it from the fact that, within even the very educational settings where this point of view is propagated, voice is highly influenced by societal factors and the reigning academic discursive paradigm. This in turn leads to the social dimension of voice.

The social dimension of voice

This conceptualisation of voice contends that voice is created as from within a specific context. In this case voice would also be more text-specific than author-specific. In other words, one author may produce texts with different voices, depending on the context. Other voices from within the context within which the writer is acting “are part of the writer’s repertoire from which he or she may draw” (Tardy, 2012:38).

While the above individualist perception of voice also considers voice to change according to context, the social perspective on voice places the emphasis specifically on the framework, the tools, and the discursive options available to the writer when constructing a voice. Writers therefore place themselves within a specific corpus of texts and type of discourse (Abdi, 2009, Hyland, 2002). Tardy (2012:37) points to how this relates closely to Hyland’s (2002; Hyland & Guinda, 2012) description of stance and engagement, which are two of the salient ways in which writers position themselves socially. Research has also demonstrated that writers within the same discourse community often emulate each other in terms of self-representation – aligning themselves in terms of stance with the reigning discourse.

A concept which is of import here is that of ‘heteroglossia’ (Tardy, 2012:39, Oostendorp & Anthonissen, 2014:72). This term describes the mingling of voices often present in a single text, as writers both consciously and unconsciously incorporate influences and discourse exposure into their writing. The amount of voices who ultimately have an influence on a single text, both from other writers (from within and without the given genre) and from the genre within which the writer is active, is impossible to determine. However, Tardy (2012:40) contends that it amounts to a cacophony, from which the writer attempts to craft a unified text.

Importantly, the social perspective on voice argues that voice is inevitable (Burgess & Ivanič, 2010; Ivanič & Camps, 2001). A writer may therefore make choices that affect his/her voice, but whether or not these choices are conscious, voice will necessarily arise from all texts.

Dialogic dimensions of voice

Instead of viewing voice as a mainly self-determined or mainly socially-determined phenomenon, the dialogic perspective on voice provides a third option: considering voice to be actively and continuously constructed through interaction between writer, social context, and, importantly, the reader. The reader plays the final and sometimes overlooked role, since he/she

is in interacting with the text, dynamically creating meaning throughout the reading process (Tardy, 2012).

Theoretically, the dialogic view of voice is similar to Matsuda's 'social constructivist perspective' (Matsuda, 2010, *in* Tardy, 2012), since it accentuates the interactive manner in which voice is constructed. Seen from this perspective, power, access, and interpersonal relation come to the fore as important contributors or limiting factors to the creation of voice (Tardy, 2012:40). The dialogic view of voice therefore combines both previous dimensions (social and individual), as well as the role of the reader. From this it argues that voice is constructed in an essentially dynamic and dialogic manner – built from multidirectional input, exposure, and context.

This dimension is very important within the context of academic discourse, since academic writing depends upon certain rigorous conventions and stylistic expectations. One might even wonder how there is at all room for writers to develop a characteristic voice, increasingly so as English becomes the academic lingua franca (Abdi, 2009). Canagarajah (2004:287) maintains that it is possible, yet this voice must be created within a dialogue with the dominant discourse. Matsuda's (2001) definition of voice describes this dialogic view aptly: "voice is the amalgamative effect of the use of discursive and non-discursive features that language users choose, deliberately or otherwise, from socially available yet ever-changing repertoires" (Matsuda, 2001:40)

2.6.2 Approaches to the study of voice

Voice is an especially valuable concept in the analysis of individual variations within a single discourse practice such as academic writing. This is especially important when analysing L2 writing, since lack of understanding of these variations might lead to "linguistic and cultural determinism" (Matsuda, 2001:36). This would in turn hamper the development of L2 literacy.

Since the importance of voice has been emphasised, its study, though not yet a large field of research, has given rise to a variety of methodologies and approaches. If voice is studied from a social and historical perspective, understanding the full scope of what the writer brings to the text is important. In that case, both text analyses and writer interviews are used to provide the researcher with the necessary knowledge. If voice is studied from the perspective of stance and engagement, then text analysis on a large scale provides insight into how writers orientate and

portray themselves within text (Tardy, 2012). The analysis of metadiscourse markers falls under this approach (Hyland, 2004; Hyland, 2012).

If analysis takes place from the dialogic perspective on voice, then it stands to reason that the role of the reader must be taken into account as well. This gives rise to methods that attempt to analyse reader reaction and opinion too, by, amongst other things, the use of interviews with readers to determine how they have understood a text (Hyland, 2012:176; Tardy, 2012:57).

2.6.3 The analysis of voice across different cultures and languages

In an analysis of US Higher Education policy, Matsuda and Jeffery (2012) found that command over voice is always implicitly and sometimes explicitly expected of students, as reflected in textbook or subject guidelines. However, they found that little attention is paid to voice itself in assessment rubrics, but rather to rhetorical strategies and other related concepts. Thus a student's mark might be affected by lack of "acceptable voice", but it never explicitly made part of the course. To students who did not learn about voice in high school, the concept of voice is often very confusing since it is never concisely explained. Matsuda and Jeffery (2012:159) claim that this problem could be due to the different manners in which voice is constructed across cultures. They therefore stress the importance of further research on voice among both L2 students and across cultures, to avoid such disparity in pedagogy.

According to Fløttum (2012), while the study of voice has been growing significantly, research on cultural and linguistic variations within voice is still limited. One of the earliest studies in this field is one by Mauranen (1993, in Fløttum, 2012), in which the style of Anglo-American and Finnish scholars was compared. Mauranen's conclusion was that Anglo-Americans follow a more explicit style, stating main points directly, while Finnish scholars gradually build up to it. This reference to style in terms of its effect could be described as voice, although the term was not so explicitly stated. Matsuda (2001) in fact points out that voice and style are related in the sense that the effect of style might be voice, and that both style and register can contribute to or limit voice.

Research by Vassileva (2000, in Fløttum, 2012) and by Fløttum (2012) later corroborated and built on Mauranen's findings, pointing to a significant difference in writing approach and authorial presence between different cultures and languages. From 1992 to 2003, Fløttum and colleagues conducted a large voice analysis study of Norwegian and English texts (Fløttum, 2012), based on a corpus of 450 research articles, called KIAP. Amongst other things, they focused on self-referentials and on whether writers position themselves implicitly or explicitly

in texts. They also looked at polyphony, which is the way different voices and references are combined to create a harmonic whole. From this study, they concluded that while voice differs somewhat depending on linguistic or cultural context, a greater difference could in fact be found between different academic disciplines.

This finding is confirmed by Hyland and Tse (2004:173-174) who maintain that the soft sciences especially tend to use more self-reference, while more directives (imperatives or instructions to the reader) are used in the hard sciences. In a study on Hong Kong undergraduate reports, Hyland analysed and compared voice and stance as seen in wide range of academic disciplines. To do that, the concepts of stance and voice were separated: reader pronouns, questions and directives were considered indicators of voice, while hedges, boosters, and attitude markers were functions of stance (Hyland, 2005:123-126; Hyland, 2012:182).

From these analyses, Hyland (2012) concluded that students often deliberately distanced themselves from their home cultures in favour of the perceived preferred discourse. The way they thus employed stance and voice suggests that they are aware of academic conventions. Their writing also differed from the writing of experts in their fields, specifically regarding the use of hedges and boosters. This points to the fact that students both want to appear authoritative and defer to the greater knowledge of the reader. Students also used less directives and self-mentions, pointing to their awareness of an expertise or power gap between them and their lecturers or supervisors (Hyland, 2002:1111). This holds important implications for the further analysis of student voices, especially amongst L2 writers.

Hyland (2012:148) describes voice as “a collection of rhetorical devices recognized by a community which allows the writer to speak as a member of that community, bestowing on competent users the right to be heard and to have their ideas taken seriously” (Hyland, 2012:148). In other words, voice is not only a writer’s own preferences, but is also shaped but how the writer’s target audience perceives his/her writing and the authority which is given to said writer. It could be argued that students must make use of hedges, boosters, and similar markers as part of “the collection of rhetorical devices bestowed on them”, specifically in the social sciences where these metadiscourse markers are in standard use. Therefore, although Hyland distinguishes between stance and voice in most of his work, the use of hedges and boosters, considered by him to indicate stance, would also by implication form part of how a writer crafts his/her voice. Fløttum confirms this by stating that “voice always implies a stance, regardless of how clearly marked the latter may be” (Fløttum, 2012:218). Therefore, this study

considers hedges and boosters, and other typical indicators of stance, as also being indicators of voice.

2.7 Metadiscourse as an indicator of voice

As discussed above, linguistic phenomena such as hedges and boosters may point towards the writer's stance and voice within a text. These fall under the category of metadiscourse markers, which also include a range of other textual phenomena which are internal to the text, thus those that deal with text-internal matters (Ädel, 2004:216), thereby creating structure and cohesion. Myriad definitions for metadiscourse exist (Vande Kopple, 1985; Crismore et al, 1993; Ädel, 2004; Hyland & Tse, 2004; Hyland, 2005, 2010) and as such it has long been considered a "fuzzy" term (Hyland, 2005:16; Ifantidou, 2005:1326). However, generally it may be described as a term which refer to markers which explicitly organise a text whilst also highlighting writers' attitude towards both text and its readers (Pienaar, 2014:318).

Metadiscourse is significant since Hyland and Tse (2004) explain that metadiscourse is a linguistic category which may "offer a way of understanding the interpersonal resources writers use to present propositional material and therefore a means of uncovering something of the rhetorical and social distinctiveness of disciplinary communities" (Hyland & Tse, 2004:156). In other words, metadiscourse markers help create voice, and the analysis of these markers help identify voice. However, this tool has been under-utilised in research due to the lack of a unifying definition for this concept. Because researchers have often found the term to be "under-theorized and empirically vague" (Hyland & Tse, 2004:156), analysts have until recently not been able to confidently categorise and understand the use of metadiscourse in real texts.

2.7.1 History and development of metadiscourse

The contemporary concept of metadiscourse was chiefly developed by Vande Kopple (1985) and Crismore (1989), who described metadiscourse as that material which helps readers organise, interpret and react to text (Vande Kopple, 1985:83; Crismore *et. al.* 1993:40). Both took pains to stress the fact that metadiscourse does not deal with content outside the text, and is thus non-propositional in nature, a characteristic which has become central to current understanding of (and debate surrounding) metadiscourse (Hyland & Tse, 2004; Ädel, 2005).

Whilst making use of the above categorisation, researchers have also been careful to emphasise the fact that language may serve many functions at once, and that meaning is created through the integration of all three functions (Hyland, 2010:26). This is in keeping with Halliday's statement that language must be studied as a system, since no separate linguistic function can be easily realised on its own (Halliday, 1994: F53). This complicates the analysis of metadiscourse, since not one of its core premises is therefore free of contention. As such, metadiscourse does not serve a propositional (or ideational) function. So for instance Ädel (2004:210) points out that some clauses which are deemed metadiscoursal, such as "this essay discusses the following topic...", deal with facts that can be proved true or false, i.e. potentially propositional content.

However, whilst much of metadiscourse indeed deals with meaning or content, it works with content exclusively related to the text itself, rather than with 'outside knowledge'. In other words, metadiscourse is "reflexive", which Ädel (2004:216) defines as "the capacity of natural languages for referring to themselves". In metadiscourse this is used as an overarching term to refer to the manner in which writers use language to draw attention to the discourse itself (Ädel, 2004:218). Infantidou (2005:1328) describes the reflexivity of metadiscourse as being either "intra-textual" – referring to other parts of the same text – or "inter-textual" – referring to other texts that hold relevance. While her approach is intended as criticism against many of the more well-known models of metadiscourse, it is prudent to keep her above terms in mind when attempting to identify metadiscourse. Using reflexivity and the idea of inter/intratextuality, the identification of metadiscourse can be done by asking a single question: "Does this word/clause refer to textual content (is it reflexive), or does it relate to 'outside-world' information?"

The concept and terminology of metadiscourse also made much use of Halliday's (1994; Halliday & Hasan, 1976) functional systemic grammar approach. So Vande Kopple uses Halliday's description of the three functions of language, namely ideational (or propositional – the meaning or content function), textual and interpersonal (Halliday, 1994:F53). The *textual function* refers to the function of creating cohesion and structure within a text, organising it in such a fashion that the reader may easily follow the writer's reasoning. The *interpersonal function*, in turn, allows the writer to communicate with the reader by "encoding interaction" (Hyland, 2010:26), and conveys emotion, opinion and engagement with the text and reader. Vande Kopple identified seven types of metadiscourse under these two main categories, namely 'text connectives', 'code glosses', 'validity markers', narrators', (these comprise

textual metadiscourse) and ‘illocution markers’, ‘attitude markers’ and ‘commentary’ (interpersonal metadiscourse) (Vande Kopple, 1985:83-86). This classification was widely used by researchers such as Crismore (1989) and Intaraprawat and Steffensen (1995).

Over time Vande Kopple’s categorisation has been refined into what is now known as the broad, or integrative, approach (Ädel, 2004; Hyland, 2005) (see table 2.1). Other approaches to the study of metadiscourse include most notably the narrow (or non-integrative) approach, which was mainly developed by Mauranen (1993) and has been used, amongst others, by Schiffrin (in Tannen et al., 2015) and Dahl (2004). The main difference between the broad and narrow approaches is the fact that the narrow approach focuses solely on the textual aspects of metadiscourse, considering the interpersonal aspect of metadiscourse to be too all-inclusive to truly provide meaningful information (Mauranen, 1993; Ädel, 2004). Other important models in the study of metadiscourse are Ädel’s reflexive model (2004), and Infantidou’s intra/intertextual classifications (2005) (see fig.2.1).

Table 2.1. *The broad approach to metadiscourse (Ädel, 204:168).*

Object of study	Linguistic elements that show how the text is organized or that refer to the text itself.	Linguistic elements that display the writer’s attitude to what is said in the text.
Examples	<i>As we shall see in the next chapter; first; to sum up; in other words</i>	<i>Certainly; perhaps; surprisingly; you may not agree that; dear reader</i>
Dominant function	TEXTUAL	INTERPERSONAL

While the growing body of research on metadiscourse, along with its various models contributes to the understanding of this concept, for the purposes of this research the textual-interpersonal model is the most relevant. This is because it differs most notably from the narrow approach in that it considers markers of stance, classified under interpersonal markers (hedges, emphatics, etc.), to form part of metadiscourse (Ädel, 2004:171-175). As was mentioned in the

section on writer identity, stance plays an important part in how a writer exhibits said identity within a text. Thus the broad approach to metadiscourse must be employed in this analysis.

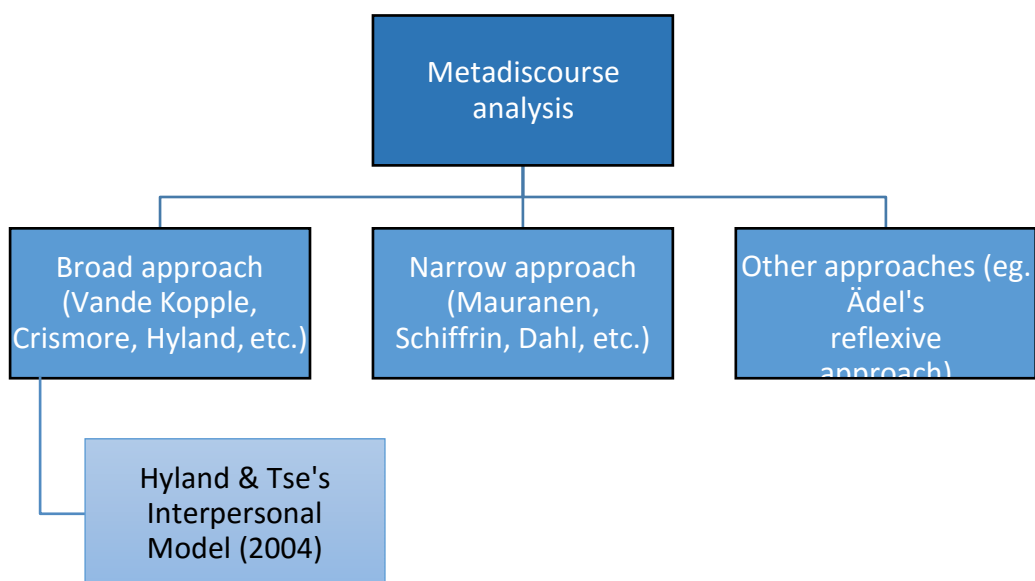


Figure 2.1. Metadiscourse analysis models

2.7.2 Hyland and Tse's metadiscourse model

The above-mentioned broad model has been used by much of the research on metadiscourse (eg. Crismore et al 1993; Intaraprawat & Steffensen, 1995; Hyland, 1998, 1999 (in Hyland 2005); Dahl, 2004; Noble, 2010; Gholami *et al.*, 2014; etc.). However, Hyland (2005) argues that the broad model's categories of textual and interpersonal metadiscourse are actually a misnomer, since Halliday himself stressed the fact that the textual and interpersonal aspects of a clause cannot so neatly be separated (Halliday, 1994:F53). Furthermore, Hyland and Tse (2004:164-165) and Hyland (2005:18-30) point out that all metadiscourse is interactive in one way or another, whether by facilitating the reader's comprehension and pointing him/her in a specific direction, or by relaying tentativity or certainty – Hyland labels metadiscourse as something which inherently “negotiates interactions in texts” (Hyland, 2005:59). To better reflect the nature of metadiscourse, Hyland and Tse (2004) created an interpersonal model for metadiscourse markers, defining these as representing “the writer's awareness of the unfolding text as discourse” (Hyland & Tse, 2004:167), as opposed simply to the writer's awareness of the text itself. Their model makes three key statements about metadiscourse, namely that it is non-propositional, that it embodies writer-reader interaction, and that it distinguishes between relations that are external and internal to the text (see also Chapter 1) (Hyland & Tse,

2004:159). It is this model which is used in this study and a detailed description of said model appears in Chapter 3.

Interactive and interactional resources in Hyland and Tse's (2004) model

Hyland and Tse's (2004) model distinguishes between two main classes of metadiscourse, namely 'interactive' and 'interactional'. Interactive metadiscourse organises discourse, guiding the reader through using connectives and other means to highlight what the writer considers to be important, thereby also betraying the writer's perception of the reader as well as the writer's own organisational and meaning-making preferences. Interactional resources, on the other hand, are the metadiscourse markers used by the writer to evaluate content, to engage and involve the reader, and generally to reveal the writer's stance towards both textual content and the reader (Hyland & Tse, 2004:168). Together these serve the purpose of showing which resources, specifically interpersonal resources, writers use when constructing a text.

Voice and metadiscourse

Since, according to Hyland and Tse's (2004) model, all metadiscourse is interpersonal to a certain extent, it is reasonable to deduce that all metadiscourse contributes to the creation of authorial voice. Hyland and Tse (2004:175) suggest that metadiscourse analysis may help distinguish discourse communities and explain how and why writers write the way they do. In other words, metadiscourse use betrays context.

Hyland and Tse's inter model for metadiscourse markers was first applied in the analysis of 240 dissertations by L2 postgraduate students from different Hong Kong universities. From these analyses, Hyland and Tse (2004) determined that student's use of metadiscourse differed both between disciplines and between individuals. They also concluded that the use of metadiscourse, how writers choose "to frame, scaffold, and present their arguments" (Hyland & Tse, 2004:167), forms as essential a part of writing as the contents themselves.

A few other studies have also undertaken to look at these metadiscourse markers in terms of L2 writing, and therefore serve as springboard for this proposed study. One of these is a study by Abdi (2009) which made use of Hyland and Tse's (2004) model in comparing English and Persian scholars' use of metadiscourse markers. Significant differences were found between these two groups, specifically in their use of interactional markers, leading to the conclusion

that the use of metadiscourse may be subject to cultural norms rather than to broader academic norms. Highlighting the importance of the writer's expectations of the reader, and pointing to the dialogic dimension of voice, Abdi's study theorises that differences may have been less marked had Persian and English writers been writing for the same intended audience. However, should students all be writing for the same audience but have different expectations of said audience, it can be theorised that voice, as evinced by use of metadiscourse, would still differ significantly.

Other studies have applied the model in question in various studies, often combining this with contrastive rhetoric to determine the differences between certain language groups. Postgraduate theses, textbooks, and both linguistically homogenous and heterogenous undergraduate student texts have been analysed in this manner, pointing repeatedly to the wealth of information that can be obtained through said analysis (Mu et al. 2014; Lee & Casal, 2014, Jordaan, 2014; Lee & Deakin, 2016, etc.) Lee and Casal (2014:49) describe the ways in which metadiscourse may reveal a writer's context as follows: "interpersonal features of writing are inexorably linked to cultural ways of organizing arguments and interacting with readers". It thus stands to reason that the use of said model will likely prove enlightening in the texts analyses of the group of participants identified for this study. As has already been discussed, the students in question come from a variety of cultural and linguistic backgrounds, and as students, occupy a space which is highly dynamic in nature. Hyland and Tse's (2004) model for metadiscourse seems ideally situated to this context.

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of discourse analysis as the overarching theoretical framework within which this study situates itself. From this, it examined academic discourse, looking at the various factors that influence multilingual students when entering the HE context. Voice as a product of the negotiations of various writer influences and identity factors was discussed, and Hyland and Tse's (2004) model for metadiscourse markers was identified as a viable tool for investigating voice. Other metadiscourse analyses were also discussed to thereby provide context and background information to this study. The following chapter details the methodology that will be used to execute said investigation.

Chapter 3: Research design and methodology

This chapter provides an overview of the methodology used in this study. To that end, it reiterates the research questions stipulated in Chapter 1, identifying key variables derived from these questions. Thereafter it provides an information on the research participants, and discusses the research material used for this study. Details concerning the use of Hyland and Tse's (2004) metadiscourse model are also stipulated, thereby providing as robust a framework for analysis as possible.

3.1 Introduction

Two seemingly contrasting positions are central to this study, namely: academic discourse is universal, and texts are written in a culture-specific manner (Siepmann, 2006).

Many studies have been done to determine which of the above statements is more accurate, or if in fact both hold true to a certain extent (Connor, 2002; Siepmann, 2006; Abdi, 2009; Gholami, Tajalli, Shokrpour, 2014, Li & Wharton, 2012; Dahl, 2004). With regards to this, Connor (2002:504) highlights the fact that differences in writing do not occur solely due to culture as it has been previously defined, but also due to “educational background, genre characteristics, and mismatched expectations between reader and writer”. In terms of this study, this implies that differences found in use of metadiscourse markers are also not to be ascribed solely to cultural differences.

Various comparative studies have been undertaken to investigate the use of metadiscourse markers, also in the context of SLA. These studies were sometimes done with the aim of determining metadiscoursal differences between academic disciplines (Dahl, 2004), between different languages and writer cultures (Sultan, 2011), or between successful and less successful essays (Intaraprawat & Steffensen, 1995). Others have looked expressly at the difference between L1 and L2 writers, or at this difference in combination with other factors (Li & Wharton, 2012).

However, although the potential importance of metadiscourse in crafting voice has been pointed out (Li & Wharton, 2012; Hyland (2005), no research could be found which expressly analyses the difference in the crafting of voice through use of metadiscourse in L1 and L2 students. Yet the fact remains that writers may be constrained by their unfamiliarity with a language, or with the rules of the academic genre, and this may strongly influence their writing. Li and Wharton (2012:346) maintain that a limited L2 linguistic repertoire may in fact

inadvertently saddle writers with a voice they might not have intended to have. It is for this reason that it is of importance to investigate how students craft this academic voice for themselves, to which end the analysis of metadiscourse can be very useful.

3.2 Research questions and variables

As stated in chapter one, this study hypothesises that in a multicultural classroom, students draw on the linguistic resources available to them from their L1 when writing, specifically when constructing a voice and self-identity. To determine whether this is true and to which extent it is the case, the research questions are:

3.2.1 What are the linguistic resources used by first-year EDP students in order to construct their self-identities and voices?

3.2.2 What are the linguistic devices, specifically metadiscourse markers, used by these same students for the purpose self-identity construction and the realisation of voice?

3.2.3 Do these resources and devices differ amongst students with different linguistic and cultural backgrounds?

3.2.4 To what extent does exposure to, and formal training in, academic writing affect the students' linguistic selection of linguistic resources and devices, as well as the construction of their self-identities and 'voices'?

From the above questions, two key variables emerge. The first is linguistic proficiency and confidence therein when focusing on L1 versus L2 students. The second variable concerns the length of time of exposure to academic writing. To examine language proficiency and students' corresponding confidence in writing, the analysis of their use of metadiscourse is considered a valuable resource, since this reveals their pre-existing vocabulary as well as the writing skills they possess to engage with the reader. Importantly, metadiscourse also shows how students reveal their own stance towards their argument and how they choose to appeal to the reader (Hyland, 2005:8, 11-12). The effect of time, as the second variable, is in turn revealed through the change in the above-mentioned use of metadiscourse. The difference in metadiscoursal expressions between essays 1 and 2 is likely due to the time spent learning academic writing as well as other influences that had an effect on the students in questions since the writing of their first essay.

To answer the research questions, this study thus compares L1 and L2 students with each other as well as against themselves after an interval of several months. Furthermore, to be able to

answer the above questions, linguistic resources and devices must be defined and clearly distinguished from each other. For the purposes of this research, ‘linguistic resources’ are considered to be the knowledge of writing (in both English and other languages) that students brought with them to university. This encompasses both receptive and productive vocabulary (Nizonkiza, 2016:170), their cognitive abilities and pragmatic competence (Ifantidou & Tzanne, 2012:49, and their ability to use language to successfully represent themselves to their reader, in this case within an academic environment (Hyland, 2005:177). Confidence in their identities, as students and in their wider communities, their linguistic and cultural backgrounds, and their ability to navigate an environment of heteroglossia: these are all considered resources too. ‘Linguistic devices’, in turn, are in this case considered to be the instruments employed by said students, through use of resources they already possess, and further resources acquired here, to engage with the reader and create text which fulfils the demands of academic writing while also expressing themselves authentically. Oweis (2013:245) points out that linguistic devices are often employed more visibly when students perceive a mismatch between their available resources and their communicative goals. Thus said devices can in turn reveal the resources that students consider themselves to possess.

3.3 Methodology

This study first determines each student’s linguistic background, which already partially answers the first question. Thereafter each student’s use of metadiscourse markers, as illustrated from two essays by each student respectively before and after six months, is analysed through the use of Hyland and Tse’s model for metadiscourse markers (2004). Following the example of similar studies which have made use of the same model for analysis (Li & Wharton, 2012; Pienaar, 2014) the nature of this study is mainly qualitative and descriptive. Its aim is to identify and compare each student’s individual use of metadiscourse and to attempt to describe this within the context of each’s unique linguistic background. There is also a quantitative component to the study since metadiscourse frequency counts are considered, as normalised per 100 words. These counts allow for easier numerical analysis.

All essays are analysed twice to ensure consistency of analysis and internal validity, allowing for some time between analysis 1 and 2. Thereafter the frequency and types of metadiscourse found in the February and May essays are compared to each other to determine what the differences are, if any. The findings are then cross-referred with each student’s individual

linguistic profile to make conclusions as specific to each student as possible. From this specificity more generalised conclusions can be drawn.

Hyland (2005:58) notes that the analysis of metadiscourse is “indicative rather than comprehensive”, indicating to the reader something of the writer’s awareness of audience and ability to craft coherence. This does not mean that results cannot be quantified, but rather that such quantification should be accompanied by comparison and contextualisation to best provide us with information on the writers of said texts. Finally the intent is not to convey a number representative of the total amount of metadiscourse used, but rather to identify and understand “patterns of occurrence of metadiscourse” (Hyland, 2010:131).

According to Biber et al. (1998:4, from Gray & Biber, 2011:157) corpus-based analysis is characterised by four qualities, amongst which is the use of computer-assisted methods of analysis. Although in some respects the present research may be considered corpus-based, all text analysis is done manually, without further aid of a computer. This is partly because computer concordance programs do not easily allow for as much variation in metadiscourse as used by students (Jordaan, 2014). For instance, expressions written incorrectly, which are relatively common amongst beginner academic writers, may not be picked up on unless these errors have been added to the program database (Noble, 2010:156). Since the relevant corpus is relatively small, it is important not to overlook any metadiscoursal expressions; entering all the possibilities into a program would be more time-consuming than doing otherwise. This is further compounded by the fact that Corpus 1 is entirely handwritten – its 12 921 words would thus have to be entirely retyped to allow for computer-assisted analysis.

Furthermore, each instance of possible metadiscourse use would also have to be scrutinised manually to determine authorial intention and the textual context, in order to decide whether it truly fits into this category (Crismore et al., 1993; Lee & Casal, 2014; Gholami & Ilghami, 2016). Lee and Deakin (2016:25) give the example of the word “about”: this might either function as a hedge, expressing uncertainty, when it used synonymously to “roughly”, or it could deal with propositional content when it meant to mean “dealing with”. Identifying each possible metadiscourse marker through software would mean sifting through every word twice over. In a study like this, manual analysis throughout is thus the easier and more comprehensive option (Gholami & Ilghami, 2016).

3.4 The participants

The criteria for choosing students for this research was that they should be EDP students, and at the time of writing their essays, should be first-years, so as to be able to analyse texts relatively uninfluenced by further academic training (Corpus 1). Furthermore the students selected had to be representative of a wide range of language backgrounds for optimal deduction – some L1 English speakers, and others L2 speakers of varying English proficiency. The same group was used for both sets of essays, so that differences found between Corpus 1 and 2 could not easily be attributed to factors outside of the 5 months of academic schooling between the writing of these two essays. In other words, any increased, decreased, or different use of metadiscourse in Corpus 2 was almost certainly due to the training they had since received, or at least to an HE related factor.

The students participating in this study were EDP students who enrolled as first years in 2016. They were chosen from the faculty of Arts and Social Sciences; although they were working towards the attainment of different degrees – BA in Social Work, Higher Certificate in music, etcetera – as EDP students they all had certain compulsory subjects in common. One of these subjects is Text in the Humanities 113, an introductory subject aimed at teaching students how to read and write academic texts. Since this subject produces a fair amount of writing, and since the subject content is aimed at some of the things which this research intends to investigate, it was deemed the most suitable subject from which to extract essays for analysis.

The students in question were thus from a group who completed Texts in the Humanities 113 in 2016. This subject is divided into an Afrikaans and English group, but the essays chosen for analysis were taken from the English group. However, this does not mean that all the students in said group are first language English speakers – the intention with choosing this group was indeed that they might represent a wider array of language origins, ranging from L1 English speakers to L1 Afrikaans, isiXhosa, Setswana, or other speakers. To determine each student's language background, a questionnaire was handed out to each student prior to analysis of their essays (see 3.5.1). In this manner, all results from the text analyses may be placed within context, enabling comparison and contributing to a nuanced conclusion.

Although the students enrolled in the English group of the above subject comprised roughly 50 in total, only 34 signed the consent forms permitting their essays to be analysed. This allowed for the analysis of two essays by 30 of the students who had signed the forms, and one essay

each from another 4 students, who had each only completed either essay 1 or essay 2. This allowed for the analysis of 64 essays in total.

From the above-mentioned questionnaire, students' average age at the time of data collection was found to be 19,7 years, and all save one were historical as well as academic first year students. The work of the one student who did mention having previously studied at an HEI was continuously compared against her classmates' to determine differences in metadiscourse use, if any. Furthermore, 74% of the students identified as female, and 24% as male (25 and 9 students respectively). They were all South African citizens, with the majority from the Western Cape, a sizeable number from the Eastern Cape, and several from other provinces, as shown below:

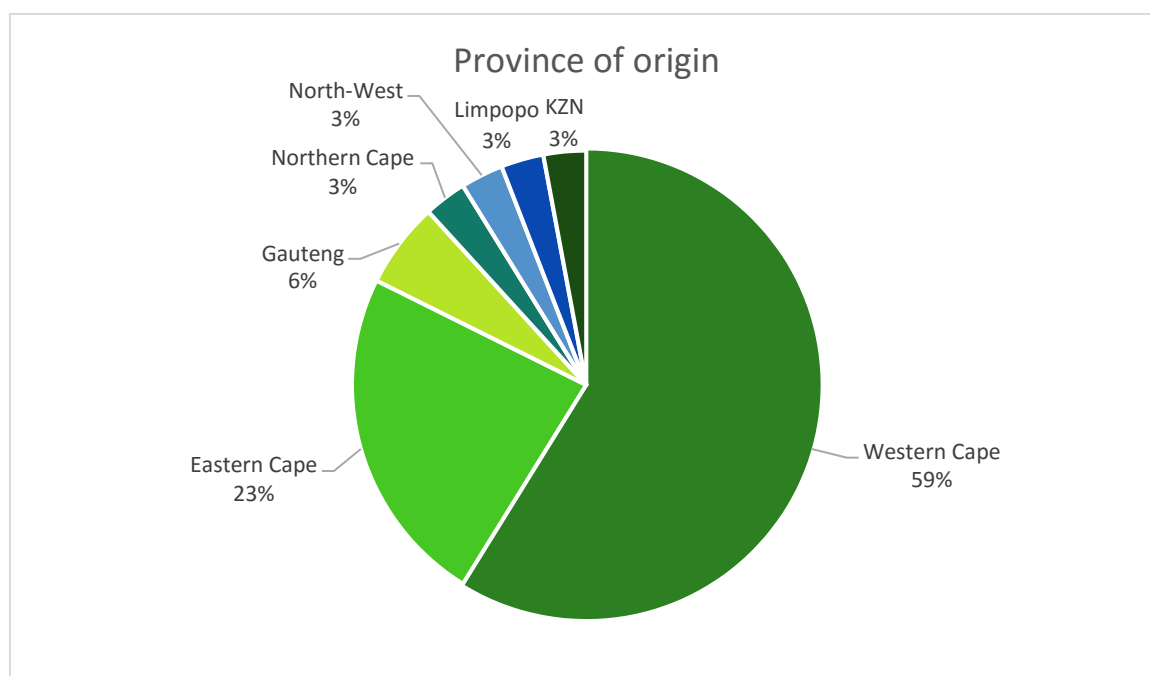


Figure 3.1. Research participants' province of origin.

Students also answered various questions about their linguistic background and preferences, which is detailed in the following section.

3.5 Research instruments

3.5.1 Questionnaires

As mentioned, each participant was provided with a language demographic questionnaire (see Addendum A), to determine said participants' language backgrounds, as well as their language preference and patterns of usage amongst friends, family, with entertainment and media. The

questionnaire depended upon self-reporting. The intention with the questionnaires was thus not only to determine what the students' language backgrounds are, but also their attitudes towards the different languages involved.

Therefore the questionnaires did not ask the respondents directly what they consider their first and second languages to be. Rather, they asked which languages students use at home, whether they can understand, speak, read, and write in those languages, which languages they speak most often and which they prefer speaking. This was done to avoid confusion due to jargon, since many people use the term "mother tongue" rather than "first language". It also allowed for wider variety in answers – some students for instance replied that they speak Afrikaans most often, yet prefer English; in avoiding making them choose a first language explicitly more nuanced answers were hopefully obtained.

The potential problem with the above questionnaire, as with most self-reported research, is that the respondents were necessarily susceptible to reactivity (Mouton, 1996:142), as well as to their own perceptions of themselves, their contexts and their abilities. This could affect the validity of the metadiscourse analyses of the essays, in turn, since said essays are compared against the respective students' language backgrounds, on which they reported in subjective manner. While the essays that were analysed for metadiscourse use were thus unreactive, they are compared to findings which are highly dependent on students' own perceptions. For example, a specific student's essay could betray much influence from Afrikaans metadiscoursal expressions, yet said student might claim to be a preferential English speaker.

However, the above issue was not considered a disadvantage, since the aim of this research was, as is the case for most qualitative research, to understand rather than to explain (Mouton, 1996:168). A large part of creating voice and authorial identity has to do with a writer's perceptions of him/herself (Hyland, 2002:1049), even if this might make findings less easily generalisable. These questionnaires thus contributed to "remaining true to the natural setting of the actors and the concepts they use to describe and understand themselves" (Mouton, 1996:168).

Students' L1s were determined from the languages they mentioned speaking at home and their perceived fluency in said languages (whether they can understand, speak, read and write in these languages). This information was combined with the language students reported speaking most often. If a student thus reported speaking (perhaps among others) isiXhosa at home, speaking this language fluently, and speaking this language most often, it was taken to be the

student's first language. L2s were determined from the remaining languages reported spoken at home, if any, or else from languages used elsewhere (among friends, on social media, in church, etc.) Oftentimes, if students' most frequently spoken language(s) and preferred language were not the same, preferred language was taken as the student's L2.

As was discussed in Chapter 2, academic writing in any language differs enough from ordinary spoken language that it is relatively novel to any student entering the HE context. As such, the questionnaires used in this study also sought to determine how said students perceive their own academic language skills. Students were first asked in which languages they primarily study, since Stellenbosch University is a bilingual university. Students were also asked whether they feel capable of reading and writing academically in these languages, and were then asked to identify challenges, if any, that they experience with academic discourse. This was done to determine how they perceive their own abilities in terms of academic writing, thereby adding further nuance to the eventual results from the text analyses.

3.5.2 Text analysis

The text analysis comprised of two sets of essays: corpus 1 and corpus 2. Corpus 1 is 12 921 words in total, with average essay length of 404 words. Corpus 2 comprises 41 388 words, with an average length of 1 335 words (averages rounded up to the nearest round number). The instructions for essay 1 look as follows:

Write an essay in which you define and discuss cognitive learning theory. In addition to outlining important aspects of TWO of the three frameworks that were discussed in class (i.e. Behaviorism, Cognitivism and Constructivism), your essay should discuss explanations for the ways in which the mind understands and integrates new knowledge (or simply, "how we learn"). Finally, discuss which framework best describes the way in which we acquire new knowledge. You need to make reference to at least one controlled psychological experiment that was discussed in class in order to corroborate your point of view.

In turn, instructions for essay 2 asked the following of students:

This essay requires to you to show an in-depth understanding of the notions of 'copying' and 'plagiarism', and how these concepts differs in two different contemporary social contexts: the fashion industry and the context of Higher Education (HE).

The essay topics were chosen to be similar, both being of an argumentative nature, and each assignment requiring students to provide an opinion backed up by facts and research. This decreased the possibility of students employing wildly different writing styles or approaching the essay in a completely different style, so that variables contributing to difference in metadiscourse use could be limited. Corpus 1 and Corpus 2 are then compared with each other in terms of frequency and type of metadiscourse used, as detailed below.

Table 3.1. Model for metadiscourse markers (Hyland & Tse, 2004:169).

Category	Function	Examples
Interactive resources Help to guide reader through the text		
Transitions	express semantic relation between main clauses	in addition/but/thus/and
Frame markers	refer to discourse acts, sequences, or text stages	finally/to conclude/my purpose here is to
Endophoric markers	refer to information in other parts of the text	noted above/see Fig/in section 2
Evidentials	refer to source of information from other texts	according to X/(Y, 1990)/Z states
Code glosses	help readers grasp functions of ideational material	namely/e.g./such as/in other words
Interactional resources Involve reader in the argument		
Hedges	withhold writer's full commitment to proposition	might/perhaps/possible/about
Boosters	emphasize force or writer's certainty in proposition	in fact/definitely/it is clear that
Attitude markers	express writer's attitude to proposition	unfortunately/I agree/surprisingly
Engagement markers	explicitly refer to or build relationship with reader	consider/note that/you can see that
Self-mentions	explicit reference to author(s)	I/we/my/our

Abdi (2009:6) mentions the fact that metadiscourse, as a functional category, can be both multifunctional and context-dependent. This may at times make it difficult to classify a

metadiscourse marker as only one thing since it may fulfil more than one purpose in one instance. Mu, Zhang, Ehrich and Hong (2014:139) give the example of the following phrase: “See for example X and Y...”. The entire phrase might be considered an engagement marker, but when broken into its separate components, “see” is an engagement marker, “for example” is a code gloss, and both “X” and “Y” serve as evidentials. Hyland (2005) and Intaraprawat (1995) also highlight the fact that a metadiscourse marker might be anything from a single word to an entire clause or even a sentence. Thus quantifying the exact number of metadiscourse markers, and naming the types of metadiscourse used, is heavily context-dependent, so that an analysis of this nature is best done manually and functionally.

Citations – classified as evidentials in Hyland and Tse’s model – are significant since they are the only markers which depend on and refer to external objects. However, they fulfil the important role of adding validity to the writer’s statements, thereby gaining the reader’s approval (Kawase, 2014:116). In that sense, although they provide a link to the external world, they are firmly bound to the text itself (and are thus arguably non-propositional), and form part of the writer’s interaction with the reader.

Hyland (2005:218-224) provides an extensive list of potential metadiscourse markers, according to which the identification of metadiscourse may be done (see addendum D). The list contains about 500 words, containing almost all word classes, ranging from phrases such as “as a matter of fact” to “thus far” to simple words such as “but” and “and”. It is clear from this variety of possible metadiscourse markers that, as Hyland repeatedly points out (2004, 2005, 2010), most of these words and phrases may serve as either metadiscourse or form part of propositional content itself. Thus this list serves as good starting point, but cannot be blindly applied without further judgment. Furthermore, writers may use words or clauses other than those on the list as metadiscoursal items.

To assist in analysis, Hyland’s list mentioned above was thus used in combination with some further caveats: that metadiscoursal features must deal with ordering arguments within the text rather than with events outside the text (Hyland, 2005:50). With each potential metadiscourse identification, the question that the analyst thus asks is: Does this clause deal with propositional or non-propositional content?

Hyland and Tse (2004) divide frame markers up into four main functional categories, namely announcement of goals, topic shifts, stage labels, and sequencing. However, as analysis progressed it became clear that another category was needed to describe the frame markers that

appear most often in the conclusion, serving the purpose of reminding the reader of what was discussed and ending the essay with a summary of relevant findings, for example: "*This particular essay has shared views...*" This type of frame marker appeared often, and was not considered to fit neatly into any of the above categories: while it refers back to essay content, it is not an endophoric marker since those refer explicitly to another section in the essay (*the above-mentioned concept/in Figure 2*). Moreover, while it does sometimes serve the purpose of shifting the topic or announcing a new stage in the essay, in terms of content it is rather like a mirror image of the 'announcing goals' category. As such it was labelled 'revisiting goals' and for the purposes of this analysis was deemed a fifth functional subclass of frame markers.

In their analysis of L1 Mandarin students' English metadiscourse repertoire, Li and Wharton (2012:348) report having used further sub-classifications to Hyland and Tse's model. For instance, they further divided Hyland's interactive category of 'transitions' into four types, namely 'addition', 'comparison', 'consequence', and 'misuse'. In a similar metadiscourse marker analysis done on essays written by Pakistani students, Ashgar (2015:320) notes their regular use of simple transitions like "and", "but", "this" and "that". This is noteworthy since determiners such as "this" and "that" are not included in Li & Wharton's (2012) sub-classifications of Hyland and Tse's (2004) model. Nor is "which", a marker which may serve an importance purpose in establishing textual cohesion, especially in essays written by students who are not yet familiar with a wide range of more complex markers. Prepositions and determiners that thus serve a connecting purpose were added in this study as another subclass of transitions; since it primarily made up of determiners it was labelled as such.

The above sub-classifications provide further clarity and aid in the identification of variation in different categories, they were thus employed in the analysis of interactive markers for this research. The exception is that "misuse" was not formally considered a fifth subclass of transitions here. The reason for this is that a very large number of transitions were found to be either coupled with the wrong punctuation, used too repetitively, or used incorrectly in one manner or another – the frequency of misuse was high and varied enough to fall outside the scope of this research. Furthermore, transitions were not the only category of metadiscourse markers to be frequently misused, thus creating a "misuse" category for said markers would warrant the creation of the same category for every other type of metadiscourse marker. However, instances of misuse were noted and examples of common mistakes were consistently provided and analysed. Below appears the final list of interactive metadiscourse categories as was used in this analysis. The list categorises only interactive resources, since interactional resources are less easily divided into such summaries.

1. Transitions:
 - i. Addition: In addition/furthermore
 - ii. Comparison: however/although
 - iii. Consequence: as/because
 - iv. Determiners: this/which/both
2. Frame markers:
 - i. Sequencers (including number in text)
 - ii. Stage labels
 - iii. Announcement of goals
 - iv. Topic shifters
 - v. Revisit of goals
3. Endophoric markers
4. Evidentials
 - i. Standard evidentials
 - ii. Special evidentials
 - iii. Unquoted evidentials: seemingly an evidential although no source is properly quoted
5. Code glosses

Apart from being a useful classification guide to metadiscourse, the above list also serves to illustrate how strongly context-dependent metadiscourse can be. A word such as “furthermore”, for instance, could serve as either an addition or a topic shifter, amongst others. It is therefore crucial to take the author’s intention into account throughout analysis.

Once metadiscourse was analysed, qualitative data coding was employed, which allowed for metadiscourse features, specifically when said feature covers a sizable chunk of text, to be labelled as more than one type of metadiscourse. This was also derived from the approach followed by much similar analyses of metadiscourse (Intaraprawat, 1995; Hyland & Tse, 2004; Li & Wharton, 2012; etc.), who deemed it important to allow for the possibility that metadiscourse may fulfil more than one function at once, and to annotate it as such.

The text analyses do, however, also entail some quantitative features. The total number of metadiscourse items (keeping in mind that some metadiscourse items are classified under more than one heading) was normalised to a number per 200 words. The total number of interactive and interactional metadiscourse is listed, as well as the number of metadiscourse items found in each of the specific metadiscourse categories (although not the number of each type of

subcategory). This allows for each category to be listed as a proportion of the total average of metadiscourse used, enabling comparison between Corpus 1 and 2, as well as comparisons between students.

Faulty use of metadiscourse was still considered metadiscourse, if it was clear that this was the intention of the author. Examples from the corpus that are discussed throughout this research were also left with the original errors intact, since these errors were considered to be pedagogically informative (Noble, 2010:152). Gholami, Nejad and Pour (2014:583) list four potential types of metadiscourse misuse, namely punctuation, interlingua, intralingua, and overuse, all four of which are relevant here. However, said types of misuse are not discussed in great detail apart from the obvious information they provide, since that falls outside the scope of this study.

The coordinators “and” and “but” are potentially problematic since they are abundantly employed, sometimes serving a propositional purpose, sometimes a textual purpose, and sometimes both. Deciding when to thus identify these as metadiscourse markers may become complicated. This research takes its cue from Intaraprawat (1995) and Hyland (2010) on this issue, who decide to include above connectors when they join independent clauses and main clauses respectively, and when said connectors deal with non-propositional content (Intaraprawat, 1995:258). Hyland (2010:132) expands on this by stating that transitions (amongst which “and” and but”) must mark transitions in the *argument* to be considered metadiscoursal instead of binding together events in the “world beyond the text”. When in doubt as to whether the transition – or any other marker – is truly metadiscourse, Gholami, Tajalli and Shokrpour’s (2014:5) example was followed, namely “the interpretation which is the most likely one [will be] considered here”.

Exclusions

Punctuation and typographical marks (underlining, capitalisation, etc.) were excluded from analysis. The reason for this is that these do not always supply additional meaning (Gholami, Tajallie & Shokrpour, 2014:4) and that the possible intention behind the use of these markers was too wide and would demand subjective analysis – for instance, in many of the texts students capitalised seemingly random words throughout sentences. This could be either an attempt at emphasising a certain word, or due to mistaking said word for a proper noun, or simply a typographical idiosyncrasy. The same applies for use of commas, ellipses, and other punctuation. Furthermore, Corpus 1 consists entirely of handwritten essays, meaning that

italicisation could not be identified. It would thus have been inconsistent to consider some typographical marks while discounting others.

There were two exceptions to the above. The first was that parentheses were included where they served as code glosses – in other words, serving the same purpose as words such as “for example” by further elucidating on a concept. This is in accordance with Hyland’s finding that parentheses are often used by writers to further explain a concept (Hyland, 2005:52). Furthermore, punctuation is often used both correctly and incorrectly along with metadiscourse markers such as “however” and “nonetheless”. In such cases, even when the comma is misplaced, it is accepted as part of the metadiscourse marker, although noted to be an example of faulty metadiscourse use. Titles and headings were similarly left out of consideration, and were thus also left from the word count to avoid skewing the data.

Any metadiscourse used in a quotation was not included in the count either (though the reference itself is considered an evidential). This was because said metadiscourse was chosen by the quoted author and not by the student in question. In many instances throughout the essays, especially in the first essay (Corpus 1), students provided definitions or quotes without clearly indicating these as such. Usually they were easily identifiable due to the uniform nature of said definitions (five students might for instance have provided the same definition without any of them giving a reference), and due to the break in style from the student’s own writing. In these cases, metadiscourse found in these supposed quotations as also removed from the equation, unless there was decided uncertainty as to whether the student did indeed write the sentence him/herself.

As has often been pointed out (Crismore *et al.*, 1993; Hyland, 2005, 2010), for the useful analysis of metadiscourse a line must be drawn somewhere – at some point words that might contain possible metadiscoursal elements must be classified as mainly propositional and excluded from analysis. So Crismore *et al.* (1993:48) point out that adjectives betray their writers’ attitudes towards subject matter due to their “affective colouring” (for instance words such as “stingy” versus “frugal”), yet they mainly deal with propositional content. Where an adjective, adverb, or any other word class thus dealt only with propositional content it was excluded from analysis in this case. This might cause some more nuanced cases of writer stance and engagement slipping through the cracks, as metadiscourse analysis necessarily demands a demarcation. Most previous analyses have dealt with the problem similarly (Crismore *et al.*,

1993; Hyland, 2005; Jordaan, 2014, etc.), Hyland explaining this by stating that “metadiscourse studies deal only with *explicit* devices which can be clearly identified in the text”, which necessarily leads to some “fuzziness”. However, not only does this serve a practical identification purpose, but it also useful since “this explicitness represents the writer’s conscious choice to indicate a presence in the discourse” (Hyland, 2005:58). This conscious choice is what this study intended to investigate, and thus some subtle betrayers of attitude had to be left out of the equation.

In spite of the above demarcation, however, the identification of boosters, hedges and attitude markers specifically demanded much thought. A word such as “more”, for instance, was deemed purely propositional in a sentence like “*Thus behaviourism is more plausible*”. Yet any added emphasis was considered to be metadiscoursal, as with: “*This theory is much more plausible*”. As Hyland (2005) repeatedly points out, regardless of rigorous definitions of metadiscourse there is a sometimes indefinable line between propositional and non-propositional content. A word such as “unfortunately”, for example, which is listed in Hyland’s list of metadiscourse items (under attitude markers), betrays opinion yet is not entirely non-propositional. To avoid being distracted by every possible adverb, while also not overlooking meaningful items of metadiscourse, the approach in this study was to ask whether the word in question betrays the writer’s opinion. If the answer is yes, and if it seems apparent that the writer intended to betray his/her opinion, then said word was considered to be a metadiscourse marker.

Table 3.2. Summary of markers included and excluded from analysis.

Included	Excluded
- citations, including unquoted evidentials	- metadiscourse found in quoted material
- parentheses (when used as code glosses)	- other typographical and punctuation marks

- misuse (punctuation, interlingua, intralingua, overuse)	- words used so erroneously that it is hard to determine whether they were meant to serve as metadiscourse or not
- “we” as a form of addressing the audience	- “you” in most cases, where its use is not meant to address the audience but rather a hypothetical being
- multifunctional metadiscourse markers (clauses fulfilling more than one metadiscoursal function): counted as all the functions they fulfil	- titles and headings
- hypothetical “would”: considered a hedge	- adjectives, qualifiers, and other affective words, if dealing with propositional content
- coordinators such as “and”, if serving a non-propositional function	- coordinators such as “and” if they are not found between main clauses or are used as parts of lists, etc.

3.6 Chapter summary

This chapter discussed the research design applied to this study by identifying key variable and concepts and situating itself the discipline of genre analysis, although with use of some corpus analysis techniques. It also provided demographical information on the research participants and elaborated on the instruments of analysis, namely the use of questionnaires and textual analysis. Hyland and Tse’s (2004) model for metadiscourse markers was discussed with reference to other studies which made use of their model, thereby providing further considerations to be kept in mind when analysing said texts. Finally a detailed framework for analysis of the essays in question was put together, the results of which are discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 4: Presentation of data and findings

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results found from the analysis of the study participants' questionnaires and essays. As such it is divided into two main sections: first the results from said students' questionnaires are examined, with the focus on their language background, language preferences, social use of language, and their perceived academic language challenges. Thereafter, the results from the analysis of these students' use of metadiscourse is presented. Results from both essays are consistently provided consecutively to facilitate comparison: thus results from the transitions found in essay 1 are immediately followed by the results from the transitions found in essay 2, for example. Said results are presented numerically as far as possible, and are accompanied by illustrative examples from the texts themselves. Once all interactive and interactional markers have been discussed, a short description of students' changing use of metadiscourse markers is given; each student's use of these markers in essay 2 is compared against his/her use thereof in essay 1.

4.2 Questionnaires

4.2.1 Language background

First and second languages

The aim from the questionnaires was to glean as much comprehensive information as possible, and thus the phrasing of the questions allowed for varied answers. So, for instance, several students indicated that they speak Afrikaans most often, but prefer English, or considered themselves to be most fluent in English while it appears that they are from an isiXhosa home.

All 34 respondents indicated that they are able to at least partially speak two languages, with 94% of them (32 respondents) asserting that they are fluent (understand, speak, read, write) in at least two languages. First language for each of them was determined based on what they answered on which languages they speak at home, combined with which language they speak most often. If a student thus indicated speaking Afrikaans most often, even if preferring English, said student was labelled an L1 Afrikaans student. Based on this, students' first language distribution looks as follows:

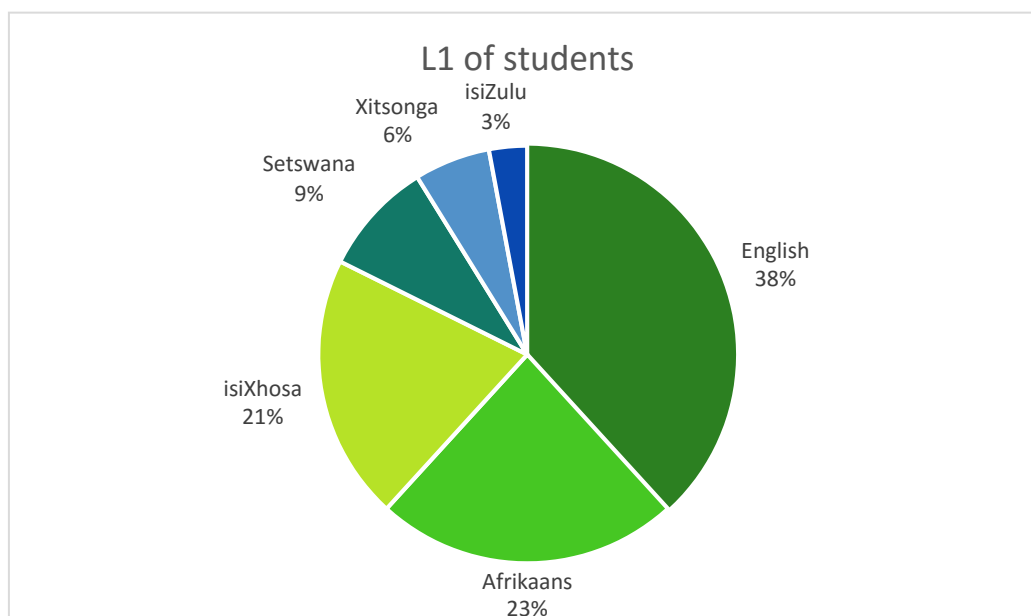


Figure 4.1. L1 of research participants

An interesting result from the above questionnaire is how many languages each respondent indicated speaking at home: only 3 respondents indicated only using one language at home (one English, one Afrikaans, one isiXhosa). The majority of L1 English or Afrikaans students (19 of the 21, or 90% of them) answered that they speak two languages at home, namely English and Afrikaans. The results from the isiXhosa, Setswana, Xitsonga and isiZulu students were much more varied, ranging from speaking four languages at home to only one. However, all students save two indicated that they do speak English at home to some extent, among other languages. In fact, all non-first language English speakers except one indicated English to be their second language. The L2 language of the respondents thus looks as follows:

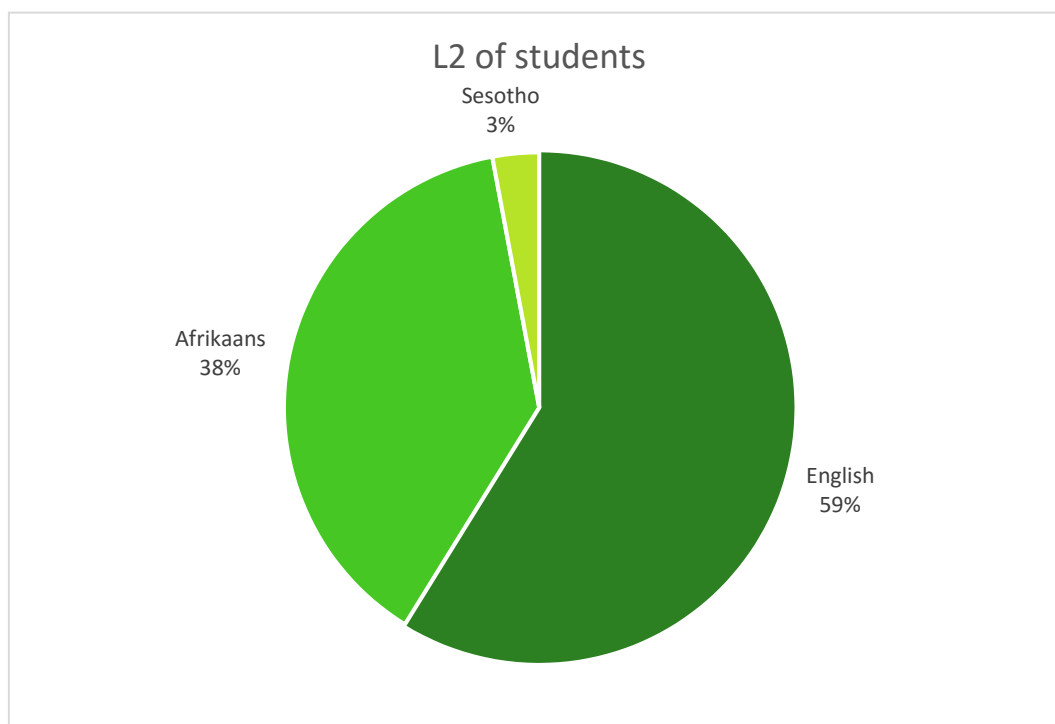


Figure 4.2. L2 of research participants.

It is worth noting that 38% (or 13 of 34) of the students polled indicated that they speak Afrikaans as a second language – the very same students who said that they speak English as a first language. The remainder of the respondents, while in many cases multilingual, mainly indicated English as being their L2.

Students' language of preference differs decidedly from their L1s, as shown below. Their preferred language seems to correspond more closely to the languages they speak socially or in which they use social media, which are outlined below as well (fig. 4.3)

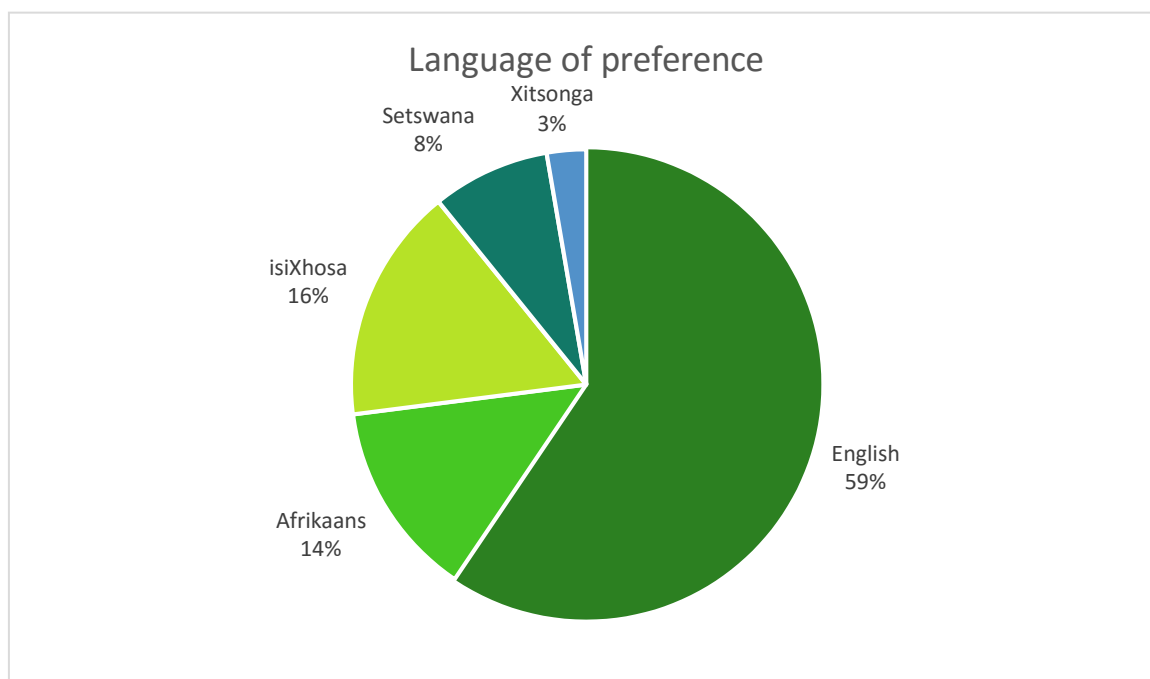


Figure 4.3. Research participants' language of preference.

The fact that students' first language and language of preference do not necessarily overlap is noteworthy since this holds possible implications for their language identities and corresponding authorial voice. A student who uses mainly isiXhosa at home, yet prefers speaking English, is for instance straddling several linguistic identities, most notably probably between family, friends, and academic contexts. This is likely to have an influence on students' confidence and vocabulary when using a specific language. The above difference between students' L1 and their preferred language is also echoed by the fact that while roughly 42% of SU students speak Afrikaans as a first language, many choose to attend English classes (SU 2015 Annual Report, 2016).

Some students also wrote that they use language in noteworthy spheres other than the above ones. One student, who prefers speaking English, indicated that he grew up in an Afrikaans community and thus uses Afrikaans in church. Another student, who is isiXhosa, says that she speaks Shona with some family friends, and another one knows some Japanese from his mother. A few mentioned trying to learn isiXhosa or having acquired some isiXhosa or Afrikaans in order to widen their circle of friends, although they do not write in or read these languages.

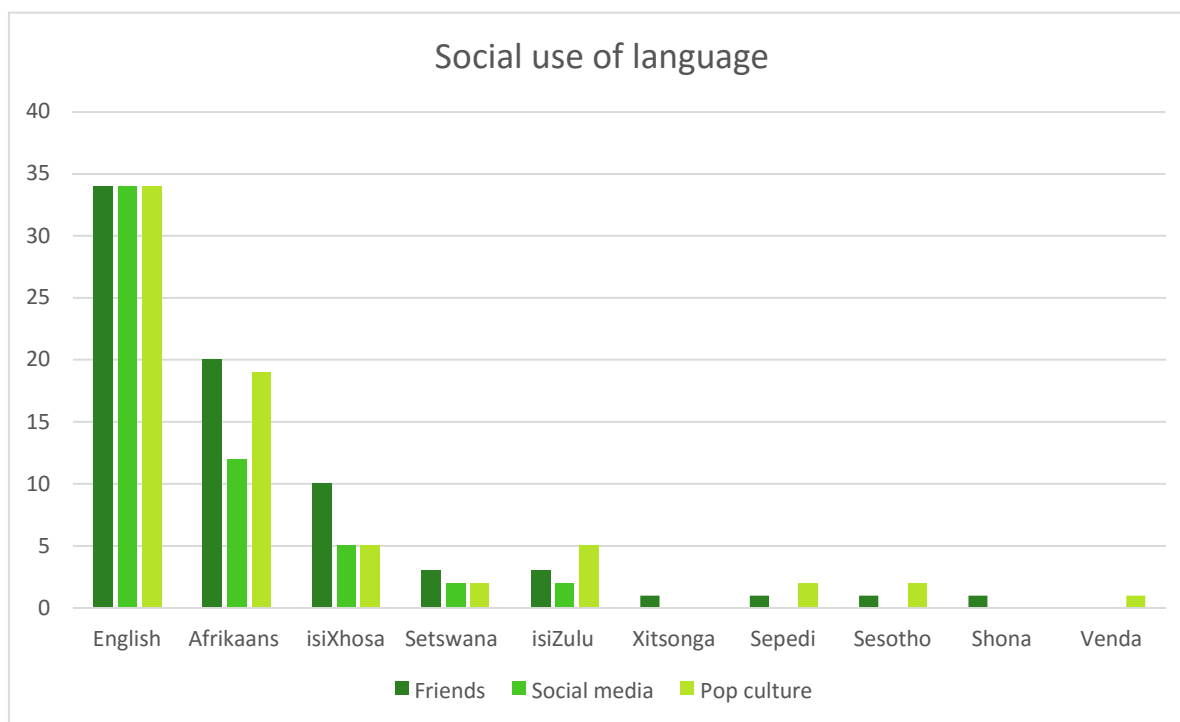


Figure 4.4. Research participants' social use of language

4.2.3 Academic language skills

The final section of the questionnaire sought to determine students' use of language in Higher Education. To that end, students were not only asked in which languages they mainly study, but also to identify the areas in which they experience challenges.

Of the 34 students polled, 32 responded to this section of the questionnaire. Of these, 8 indicated that they study in both Afrikaans and English. However, it is uncertain whether they meant that they use both languages voluntarily, since some of these respondents are L1 English students and wrote that they don't feel capable of reading and writing in academic Afrikaans. Their answers might thus have been meant in the general sense, namely that Afrikaans is used on campus. Similarly, 2 students wrote that they study in English and isiXhosa. While this is possible, no undergraduate classes are presented in isiXhosa at SU (SU 2015 Annual Report, 2016) and said studies would thus be extracurricular.

Furthermore, all 32 respondents indicated that they study primarily in English, which makes sense since they formed part of the English class of Texts in the Humanities 113. When asked whether they felt capable of reading and writing in academic English, all 32 students circled "yes" for academic writing. In addition, only one student (an L1 Afrikaans student) indicated that she does not feel capable of English academic reading. According to these answers, the

vast majority thus feel capable of reading English academic texts. When asked where they felt they might most improve, however, answers were forthcoming and varied.

“I understand the work I read but not so much in a comprehensional way.” (L1 Afrikaans)

“Writing and expressing myself in English” (L1 Afrikaans)

“Afrikaans, because it’s the second language of this university.” (L1 Xitsonga)

“Reading and understanding certain words used in academic writing which mostly refer to other fields of studies such as the sciences.” (L1 Afrikaans)

“I feel I could improve in all avenues of Academic writing as it is still to an extent unfamiliar to me.” (L1 English)

“I would like to increase my vocabulary and general use of the English Language.” (L1 English)

“Structuring essays, writing better and using bigger words. Being able to understand complex words.” (L1 English)

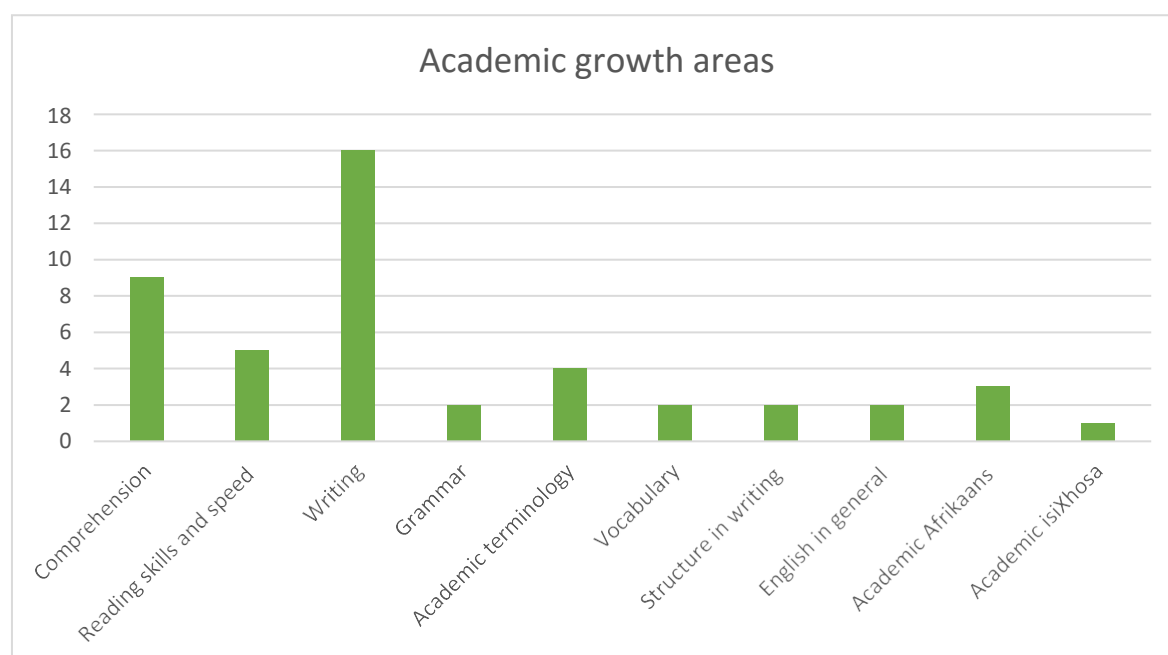


Figure 4.5. Research participants’ self-identified areas of future academic growth.

Many students indicated that they feel they could improve in academic writing and comprehension (16 and 9 respectively, of altogether 22 students who commented on this section). However, it should be noted that different language groups did not identify decidedly different challenges for themselves in terms of academic writing. This can be seen from their quoted comments and was further clear in the remaining answers. For instance, L2 English

speakers did not note that they struggle with academic English significantly more often than did L1 English students; indeed, several L1 English students wrote that they would like to improve in comprehension or even general English skills. As a group these students thus showcase no trends that are specific to their language backgrounds. Rather, as was also shown in the data earlier in this chapter, answers were mainly idiosyncratic save for a few generalisations. Students thus seem to approach academic writing, and communication in general, with a personal set of challenges that are not necessarily applicable to other students from a similar language background. This is discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

4.3 Essay results

4.3.1 Essays 1 and 2: Results overview

Essay 1 results overview

For essay 1, a total of 32 essays were analysed, which together comprise a corpus of 12 921 words. Of these, the longest essay was 608 words and the shortest 114. Except for a few outliers, however, most essays were around the 400-word mark, with the average number of words per essay being 404.

The essay 1 assignment regarding length stipulates that essays should be 1 - 1 ½ pages in length; most essays exceeded this, although size of handwriting plays a role, but a few notable essays were shorter than assigned. Those cases seem to have been due to lack of time – the short essays all ended abruptly, some in mid-sentence, as if its writers were cut short due to time running out. Since all students were given 50 minutes to write this essay (the assigned class time), the difference in what they managed to write during this time is significant in itself, as it may shed some light on students' confidence and ease with writing.

A further relevant point about essay length and about the fact that some students did not complete their assignment on time is that this may affect metadiscourse use. Since they were writing an argumentative essay, which also explicitly demanded an introduction and conclusion, the frequency and patterns of metadiscourse use differed across the essay. In most cases, students first provided an overview of the subject matter, then elaborated on their two chosen learning theories (for instance cognitivism and behaviourism), then provided some examples of both, and ended off by explaining which theory they found most plausible. As such, interactional markers especially appeared more in the introduction and concluding sections, populated by sentences such as “I believe that behaviourism is a more plausible way

of learning and It could even be a more effective learning method”. Interactive markers, in turn, specifically frame markers, appeared much more frequently in the introduction, along with students’ announcement of their goals. Therefore what students left out in their haste, and how they structured their essays in general, has an effect on the metadiscourse markers finally found in their writing products.

Table 4.1 below gives an indication of the average frequency of each type of metadiscourse marker per essay, as well as the average number of each marker per 200 words. Interactive markers appeared on average 11,12 times per 200 words, and of these transitions made up half. Interactional markers appeared less frequently, on average 6,75 times per 200 words. However, there was less disparity in usage of types of interactional markers than there was between types of interactive markers. This is further illustrated in figure 4.6.

Table 4.1. Overview of metadiscourse markers found in essay 1

Metadiscourse markers	Avg. per essay	Avg. per 200 words
1. Interactive markers	22,31	11,12
Transitions	13,59	6,68
Code glosses	4,13	2,06
Frame markers	2,72	1,40
Evidentials	1,72	0,89
Endophoric markers	0,16	0,08
2. Interactional markers	13,34	6,75
Hedges	2,19	1,13
Boosters	2,16	1,00
Attitude markers	2,25	1,09
Engagement markers	4,94	2,60
Self-mentions	1,81	0,93

Figure 4.6 below provides an illustration of the distribution of metadiscourse markers found in these texts. As can be seen, transitions were used by far the most often (37% of all cases), which corresponds with other metadiscourse analyses done on similar corpuses (Ashgar, 2015; Gholami & Ilghami, 2016). Endophoric markers were used so rarely (only 5 of the 32 students used endophoric markers at all) that they contribute only 0,2% of the total number of markers in the corpus. However, due to the contribution made by transitions as well as the significant

number of code glosses found in Essay 1, interactive markers still comprise about two thirds of all the markers used in this corpus.

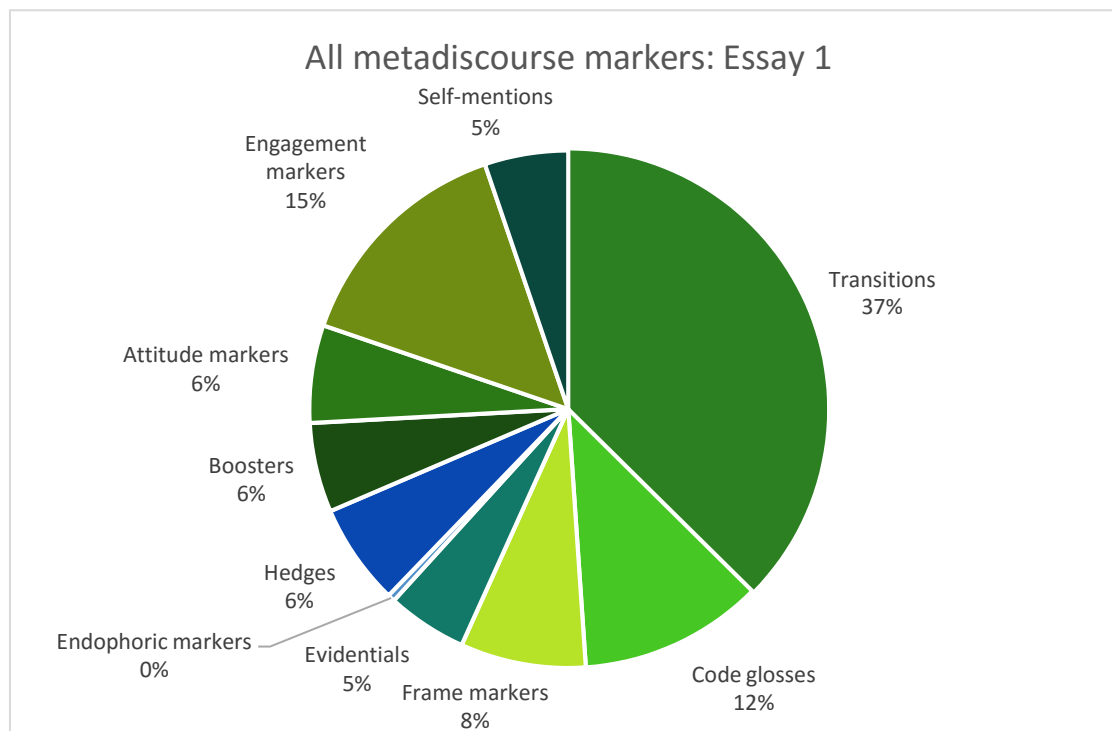


Figure 4.6. Metadiscourse markers used in essay 1.

Some inferences can be made from the above numbers; however, use of metadiscourse varied significantly from student to student, hence it is especially necessary to look at each student's individual use of these markers. Furthermore, trends in metadiscourse use related to language background are not yet visible at this level; in other words, it is not clear whether L2 and L1 English writers differed significantly in their use of metadiscourse simply by comparing their use of these markers as a whole. For example, the five most frequent users of metadiscourse markers in general were one L1 English writer and four L2 writers, namely two L1 Afrikaans students, one L1 Setswana student and one L1 Xitsonga student. Similarly, students who used metadiscourse markers least were equally disparate in language background: one of them was an L1 English writer, while the other four were Afrikaans, isiXhosa, Setswana and Xitsonga. Thus far no patterns jump out.

Essay 2: Results overview

32 essays were analysed for essay 2, 30 of which were written by the same students who contributed to essay 1; the two additional students whose essays were analysed were L1 isiXhosa and L1 English respectively. In general metadiscourse use among increased

somewhat from an average of 17,87 markers per 20 words in essay 1 to 20,28 markers per 20 words in this corpus. The frequency of each type of metadiscourse use is shown below.

Table 4.2. Overview of metadiscourse markers found in essay 2.

Metadiscourse markers	Avg. per essay	Avg. per 200 words
1. Interactive markers	95,94	14,65
Transitions	51,78	7,90
Code glosses	9,03	1,39
Frame markers	11,88	1,84
Evidentials	22,22	3,37
Endophoric markers	1,03	0,15
2. Interactional markers	37,82	5,63
Hedges	9,19	1,39
Boosters	16,09	2,39
Attitude markers	6,97	1,01
Engagement markers	3,88	0,57
Self-mentions	1,69	0,27

As seen above, in essay 2 interactive markers were used significantly more often than interactional markers, more so than in essay 1. In fact, the frequency of interactional marker use decreased somewhat from 6,75 markers per 200 words in essay 1 to 5,63 markers per 200 words here. Several reasons for this change present themselves: as students became more familiar with the demands of academic writing, their use of engagement markers and self-mentions decreased across the board; furthermore, evidentials were used much more frequently in this corpus, in some cases playing the role that boosters and hedges had to fulfil in essay 1. In figure 4.7 (page 69) the proportions of each type of marker, expressed in percentages, are shown in order to provide a clear picture of the frequency of use of each type of metadiscourse marker.

Essay 2 differed from essay 1 in several ways: while the first essay was written during class time, essay 2 was written over several weeks with input from peers and ample opportunity to prepare. Both essays called for an argumentative approach, asking students to provide their own opinions coupled with research by scholars in the field; however, while essay 1 asked students to draw from previous class discussions and lectures, essay 2 also expected of students to read and do research on the topic by themselves. Both essay topics entailed comparing two approaches which were salient to the students in question: in essay 1, students had to discuss and choose between two cognitive learning theories; in essay 2 students had to discuss plagiarism and copyright in the academic and fashion worlds. These topics demanded a certain level of involvement from said students due to their personal applicability. However, in essay 2 students by then likely had more personal experience of the topic at hand, allowing for a greater sense of authorship and confidence with the topic. It is worth keeping this in mind when investigating the use of each type of metadiscourse.

Naturally, the five months which passed between the writing of essays 1 and 2 also imply certain changes in their writing: in the time elapsed between the two essays students learned how to use evidentials according to academic standards, and were also introduced to metadiscourse markers as a tool in writing. Factors outside of the classroom, such as exposure to English in general, exposure to academic discourse of all natures, and social interaction may also have had an effect on their eventual writing. As was noted exhaustively in Chapter 2, students are multidimensional, bringing specific contexts and shaping and reshaping these as they negotiate their academic and other identities. Thus their writing, in this case their use of metadiscourse markers, may have been influenced by a variety of factors. In light of this, notable aspects of their use of metadiscourse in essay 2 are noted here and are carefully measured against results from essay 1 in order to understand as much as possible about the students in question.

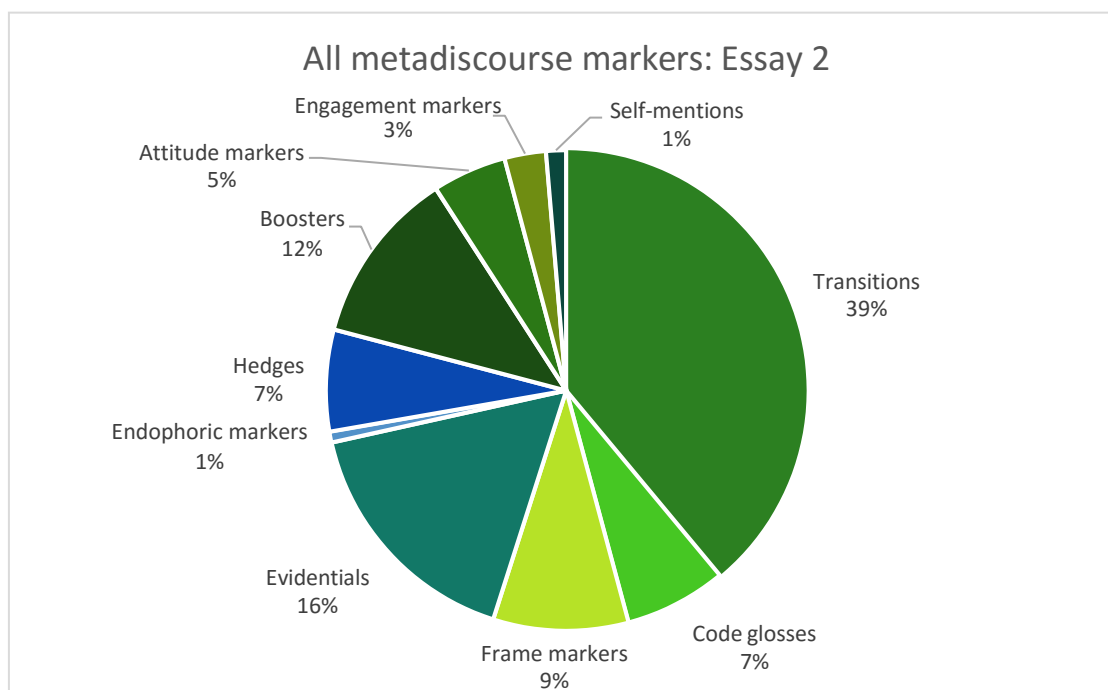


Figure 4.7. Metadiscourse markers found in essay 2

The most noteworthy changes in metadiscourse use, as shown above, are the increased use of transitions, evidentials, and boosters, and the decreased use of engagement markers and self-mentions. These are discussed in greater detail under their separate headings in this chapter.

4.3.2 Interactive markers

Essay 1: Interactive markers in general

Interactive markers (namely transitions, code glosses, frame markers, evidentials and endophoric markers), as has been mentioned earlier, were used significantly more often than interactional markers. However, while some patterns are clear, – all students used transitions more frequently than they did evidentials, for instance – no clear distinction along language lines jump out, as illustrated below.

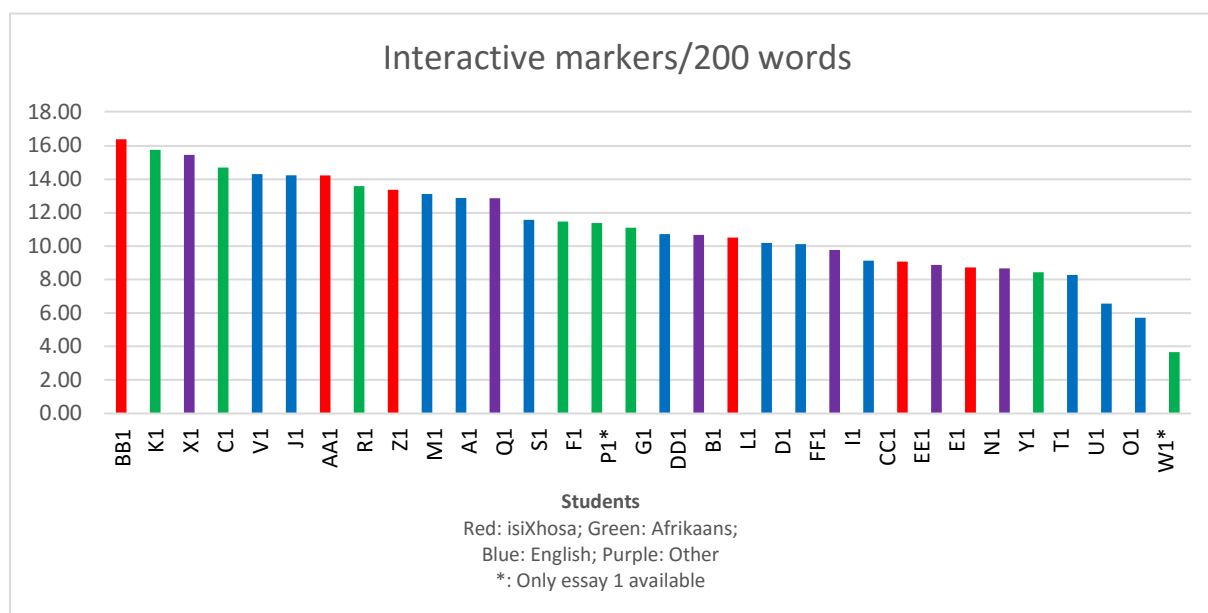


Figure 4.8. Students' individual use of interactive markers in essay 1

From the above graph, it would appear that L1 English students used somewhat fewer interactive markers than did other groups, since 7 of the 12 L1 English students used less than average numbers of interactive markers. Most students used between 7 and 14 interactive markers per 200 words, amounting to an average slightly above 20 transitions per essay. Save for H1, all L2 writers used 6 or more interactive markers per 200 words, and 5 of the 7 most frequent users of said markers (who all used more than 14 markers per 200 words) are L2 students.

Since interactive markers in effect help guide the reader through the text (Gholami & Ilhgami, 2016:357), this category encompasses an almost innumerable range of possible words, which in turn implies many possibilities of use. As such it is imperative that each type of interactive marker subcategory be analysed in its own right. The following sections details use of each type of metadiscourse; examples from student writing are used throughout. These were left intentionally unedited and may thus contain spelling and grammar mistakes; these mistakes in themselves are “pedagogically informative” (Noble, 2010:152) and help answer the research questions by illustrating which linguistic tools said students possess.

Essay 2: Interactive markers in general

In essay 2, students used interactive markers notably more often than in essay 1; there was also a slight decrease in the difference in frequency of use between the most and least frequent users of said markers. In other words, students' use of interactive markers became slightly more

consistent across the board, although there was much difference in how students chose to use these markers. In these essays, while differences between frequency of use were still significant, the truly important differences between students' texts were in terms of variety and scope of marker usage.

Thus, large differences were noted between individuals' uses of interactive markers – some used significant variety in transitions, comprehensive frame markers, and well-incorporated evidentials. In other essays transitions may still have been numerous, but they were often repetitive, while frame markers were often accompanied by continuous use of verbs such as "discussed" and "looked at". In these cases evidentials were also often very repetitive, with the most common verb being "stated that", or with a reference simply tacked on in brackets after sentences every time. The differences between markers in these essays, especially with interactive markers, were often more a matter of quality of marker use than quantity thereof.

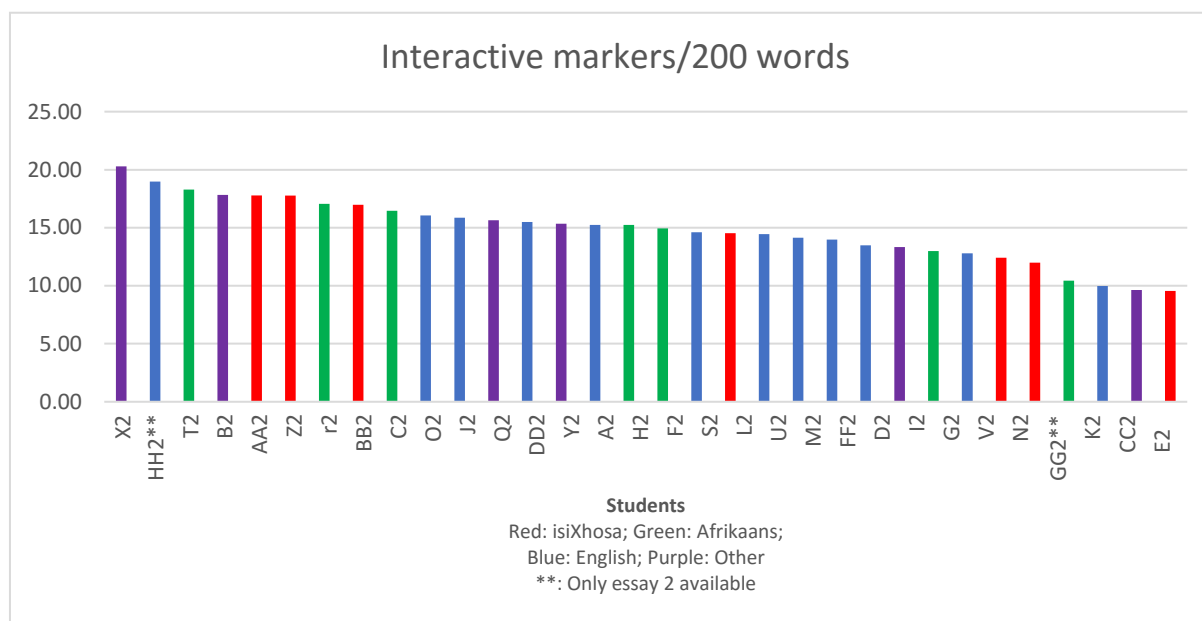


Figure 4.9. Students' individual use of interactive markers in essay 2

As shown in this graph, as with essay 1 no clear language patterns jump out: some students from all language backgrounds used many or few interactive markers. With the exception of one student only, the students who are here shown to have used interactive markers frequently are not the same ones who used them most often in essay 1. This suggests that the skills of the students who contributed to this corpus' grew and developed, leading to different patterns of metadiscourse use.

Essay 1: Transitions

As detailed in Chapter 3, transitions were divided into four categories: additions, consequences, comparisons, and determiners. Each type of transitions serves a different purpose and contributes to the building of an argument: determiners by adding cohesion and pointing out relationships, additions by clarifying and expanding on a point, consequences by leading the reader to logical conclusions, and comparisons by playing ideas against each other. Therefore, in an argumentative essay such as this one, one would expect to see all four categories to some extent or another.

Transitions were used more often than any other type of metadiscourse marker, with an average frequency of 6,68 transitions per 200 words. This translates to an average of 13,6 transitions per essay. The two essays with the most frequent transitions (26 and 20 transitions respectively) were both written by L1 Afrikaans students. The essay with the least transitions (only 3) was, coincidentally, also written by an Afrikaans student, though the other essays with low frequency of transitions were usually written by L1 English students.

i. Determiners

Determiners appeared less frequently than any other transitions, on average 2,6 times per essay. As was noted in Chapter 3, only determiners referring back to text content, thus creating further cohesion, were counted as metadiscoursal determiners. Of these, *this* was used by far the most often, appearing twice as often as *which*, the second most frequent determiner. Other determiners occasionally used were *that* and *these*.

A form of misuse that was frequently observed in the essays was to use *this* instead of *which*, sometimes correctly but to awkward effect, as in the following example: "*Behaviourism would be an much more complicated study. This is why both theories had to be creative and ingenuin*", and sometimes wholly incorrectly. The absence or misuse of commas to accompany said determiner also featured significantly, as in this example: "*the best way of learning something is by saying it over and over this is called repation or conditioning.*"

ii. Additions

Additions were used more frequently than determiners, on average 3,85 times per essay. It is noteworthy that, despite measures being put in place to exclude non-metadiscoursal versions of *and*, this was still the most common addition, appearing on average 3,42 times per essay. Only two students did not use *and* in a metadiscoursal manner at all throughout their essay. The remaining few additions were mainly *and also* as well as *also*. The only other additions

used were *as well as*, used incorrectly to connect two main clauses in the place of *and*, and one instance of *then*.

A common mistake with the use of additions was to start a sentence with *and*, and continuing with a train of thought from the previous sentence, thereby neglecting to provide a new subject or to include a verb, in sentences such as “**And** to follow the instructions of Pavlov”. *And* was also often overused, occurring in overlong sentences to join clauses that would have best stood as separate sentences.

iii. Comparisons

Comparisons were the type of transitions used most often, at an average rate of 4,38 times per essay. The most common comparison was *but*, which appeared on average 1,9 times per essay. Other common comparisons include *rather*, *but rather*, *although*, *and not* and *on the other hand*. *However* was also used by some students, and in 50% of all its occurrences was noted as being misused. This is due to the fact that many students used it without a corresponding comma or with otherwise incorrect punctuation. Another common mistake was the use of *where*, *were*, *where as*, and even *as* to make a comparison that would in fact demand *whereas*.

In some cases students used original or unusual turn of phrases to indicate a comparison, with varying degrees of success. In the following sentence such a transition can be seen: “**With this said** both experiments were a great way of learning.” The student here seems to refer back to what was previously discussed, implying that although an argument was made, both experiments were actually sound. *With this said* thus plays the role of *having said this* or *however* in this sentence.

iv. Consequences

Consequence transitions appeared roughly as often as additions, on average 3,87 times per essay. Here *because*, *so*, *therefore*, *in order to/for* and *as* were used most frequently. Words that appeared rarely were *hence* (only once), *thus* (once), *since* and *as a result*. Incorrect use of consequence transitions was quite common, with phrases such as *thats why* and *giving into account* being used in a manner intended to replace words like *therefore* or *due to*. “According to this cognitivism theory, we are able to learn based on our expectations, **giving into account** our mental processes and its ability to form mental images...”

It is interesting that all the transitions found were altogether only comprised of roughly 25 words (or phrases, in some cases), thus exhibiting a narrow range of words meant to convey a

wide range of meanings. Transitions such as *nonetheless*, *furthermore*, *accordingly*, *likewise* and *similarly*, all listed in Hyland's (2005) list of metadiscourse items, did not appear at all.

This can especially be seen in the 'additions' and 'consequences' subtypes, where processes and cause-and-effect were explained in sometimes obscure or repetitive manner due to students' use of the same transitions over and over again. So *because* was often used more than once per sentence, or multiple times per paragraph, oftentimes in places where *hence* or *accordingly* would have better fit the purpose. The same can be said for *and*, sometimes used to detail a process and link its different steps, for instance. *And* in these cases became a substitute for a host of process-type words like *consequently*, *besides*, and *in the same way*, sometimes thereby preventing the creation of more complex and sophisticated arguments. An example of a such a sentence over-populated with transitions is the following: "*the dog salivated **because** after being conditioned to **this** it already knew that if the bell rings **than** food would follow **that's why** it started to salivate **because** it thought about the food.*"

In terms of differences along language background lines, some interesting results surface. The most noticeable of these is that, in all four transition subtypes, the essay with the highest rate of each type of transition was written by an Afrikaans student. In the case of additions, the highest number of these was almost twice as high as the runner-up's use thereof. Furthermore, it seems that L1 English writers generally used fewer transitions than their L2 classmates, with their frequency of transition use usually in the middle to lower ranges as compared to the rest of the group.

With additions little difference was evident between students regarding the words they chose, since most students used *and* almost exclusively. In this case, it is thus mainly frequency of use that differed among students, although it could be said that *and* was overused almost unanimously. The same can be said of determiners, although this is the only subcategory where L2 English students did seem to use transitions as frequently or more frequently than their classmates. Nonetheless, all students, L1 and L2 English alike, tended to overuse *this*; L1 English students did appear to use *which* somewhat more often than their classmates but the difference is not significantly large.

However, a difference in usage becomes more visible in the subcategories of comparison and consequence. Under comparisons, 5 of the top 10 most frequent users of comparisons were again Afrikaans students, and in general other L2 English groups also tended to use more comparisons than their L1 English peers. Misuse and overuse, however, is slightly more

common among L2 students in this category, with Afrikaans students using *and* notespecially frequently to make a comparison. In turn, L1 English students were the only ones to use somewhat more sophisticated comparisons such as *as opposed to* and *rather*.

Similarly, the top 10 most frequent users of consequences were Afrikaans (four), isiXhosa (two), Xitsonga (two) and Setswana (one), with only one L1 English student among them. This is significant since L1 English students actually make up 38% of the corpus. Again, however, L1 English students tended to use some more unusual (for this corpus) consequence transitions such as *this results in* and *due to*, while L2 English writers favoured simple and sometimes incorrect phrasings such as *because* and *that's why*.

Therefore, some general differences can be determined in usage of transitions: the L1 English students seem to have used transitions less often, except for determiners. However, the transitions they did use were often more varied and were less often used incorrectly. L2 English students, most notably Afrikaans students, tended to use transitions frequently, but range of said transitions was often limited.

Essay 2: Transitions

There were on average 51,78 transitions per essay, which translates to 7,9 transitions per 200 words, a slight increase from Essay 1. Transitions made up 39% of the entire metadiscourse corpus in this essay, by far the most frequently found marker in this corpus, and again a slight increase from 37% transitions in the first essay.

Use of transitions as an entire metadiscourse class was varied among students and no specific language group used these markers significantly more than did any others. Some differences, however, become more pronounced as the transition subtypes are investigated.

i. Additions

Although additions were not the subtype of transitions most frequently used, as with Essay 1 *and* appeared much more often than did any other word. While additions made up 27,8% of all transitions used, *and* by itself comprised 22,75% of all transitions. This shows that very little variation was used in choice of additions, although there was somewhat more than with Essay 1; no student used only *and* as addition throughout this essay. Other additions somewhat frequently used were *also*, *in addition*, and *furthermore*. Roughly a third of all the students who contributed to this corpus used other additions as well, most notably *another*, *following*, *thereafter*, and *further*.

No language group seemed to favour additions or a certain type of addition over other transitions. Furthermore, mistakes in use of additions were varied, frequent, and occurred across all language groups. The most significant type of addition misuse was the tendency to overuse *and*, which was more pronounced here than in Essay 1. This is probably due to the fact that sentences were often longer here than in the first corpus, since students had more time to prepare and present their arguments. Said overuse was often coupled with the tendency to substitute more complex or sophisticated markers of relationships between concepts with a simple addition, as with the following sentence: "**Moreover**, *Blakley (2010) is very positive and grossly supports plagiarism in the fashion industry* **and** *she believes that it makes it to be competitive, and always designers have to think critically about what they want to make and that becomes advantageous to the consumers because they eventually get clothes of high quality because designers want to prove themselves experts by designing good material.*"

Another form of misuse quite frequently encountered was the tendency to start a sentence with an addition (usually *and*) and include no verb or subject. Some students also implied an addition-type relationship when in reality a comparison or consequence transition would have been more suitable; or simply used additions when none were called for: "**In addition to the case of the former minister of education and science, Annette Schavan, it is evident that she was unaware of what plagiarism really entails.**" In this example, the "in addition" implies that the topic of Annette Schavan had already been discussed, when in fact it had not.

ii. Comparisons

Comparisons comprised 23% of all transitions, occurring roughly as often as additions. However, use of comparisons was much more varied, with a large range of words and phrases appearing under this subtype. The most popular comparisons were *but* and *however*, but several other comparisons also frequently appeared, most regularly *although*, *whereas*, *while*, *on the other hand*, *rather*, *in comparison/contrast with*, *similarly*, *instead*, *unlike*, and *though*.

While there was much variation in use and preference among all the different language groups, L1 English students tended to use fewer comparisons. In spite of somewhat less frequent use, however, they did tend to use a more varied group of comparisons, for instance eschewing a repetitive *but* for comparisons such as *instead* and *although*.

Misuse of comparisons occurred among all language groups; one of the most common mistakes was to use punctuation incorrectly, most notably with *however*, as in the following example: "*In the fashion industry, there are no intellectual property rights (ideas) or patent protection*

rights **however**, the fashion industry does have trademark protection." Spelling mistakes seemed to occur somewhat more frequently among L2 writers, with "more **then**" occurring especially regularly in L1 Afrikaans students' writing.

Furthermore, with comparisons more than with other types of transitions, the wide range of available word choices and the corresponding complexity of accurately conveying the message could be observed in students' choices of transitions. Other frequent forms of misuses were the occurrence of incomplete sentences beginning with a comparison, faulty word combination choice or, in phrase-type comparisons, using the wrong corresponding preposition. Students for instance *used on the contrary* when *on the other hand* would have been more correct, or wrote *in contrast to* instead of *in contrast with*. A typical example of said misuse appears in the following sentence, where the student in question confused *in spite of* and *despite*, leading to a mixture of the two: "**However, despite of the fact that** it is considered utilitarian, we consider fashion as art."

As a result of the above-mentioned issues, frequent mistakes were found in some cases to obscure the intended message: "*Plagiarism can come in many forms **just** by replicating some words to copying a whole text.*" And in the next example the use of "although" points to a contrast which is never made clear: "...copyright is a type of intellectual property. **Although** copyright can be seen as a set of laws that are granted by the government enabling a regulation of a particular form in which an idea or information can be expressed (Dames 2008)." Based on this, it is also understandable why students often preferred to use additions to indicate relationships between concepts.

iii. Consequences

In essay 2, consequences occurred more frequently than any other type of transition, comprising almost 29% of all transitions found in this corpus. However, use of consequences varied significantly among students themselves, with some using these as often as 31 times per essay and other only employing consequence transitions only 3 or 4 times throughout. No one language group used these transitions more than did others; word choice and frequency of use appeared to be a highly individualistic matter with no observable linguistic background specific trends.

While a wide variety of consequences were employed, the most frequently observed transitions of this type were, in order of popularity, *because, as, so, therefore, as a result, for this reason, thus, since, and hence*. As with other types of transitions, misuse occurred frequently and often involved the writer seemingly pointing to a relationship that is either unclear to the reader, or

that is accompanied by the wrong transition, as in the following examples: "*Copying is seen as legal in the fashion industry **therefore** clothes are utilitarian.*" (The "therefore" should have been replaced with *because* to create a logical cause-and-effect flow.) and "*Park (2003) refer this to be a "doubled-edged sword" to students **whilst the same** software that allows them to copy and paste **is the same** technology that allows the staff to detect plagiarism.*"

iv. *Determiners*

While determiners occurred less frequently than other transitions, comprising only 21% of all transitions, their use did increase significantly from Essay 1. This is probably partially due to the increased length of these essays, necessitating more intertextual coherence.

As with Essay 1, differences along language lines were pronounced: while L2 English writers this time used determiners just as frequently as their L1 classmates, L1 English students employed significantly more variety. The most frequent determiners were still *this* and *which*, but L1 writers especially also used determiners such as *both*, *either*, *the same*, *itself*, and *thereof*. In general the variety in use of determiners was markedly greater than in Corpus 1.

In line with the increased frequency of determiners, as well as the greater complexity and length of the essays in general, several types of determiner misuse were apparent. In some cases *either* and *both* were not followed by their corresponding *or* and *and*. *Which* and *that* were also often used interchangeably, sometimes in the same sentence; said mistakes were often accompanied by incorrect punctuation and other cases of transition misuse. The following sentences provide some examples of such mistakes: "*In early 2012 a website named "Schavanplag" **that** had her 351-page dissertation was identified to display a passage of paraphrases without proper citation, **which in a later stage** was investigated by the Heinrich Heine University **that** led to the revocation of her Doctorate **to that made her** file for resignation a few days later." And "*Volke Rieble, a law professor, went on to write a book stating that Schavan had "all the usual hallmarks of intent" **which** Schavan denies having any intent **to** mislead.*"*

In general, use of transitions was much more varied than in Essay 1, with combinations of transitions types, such as *but rather* or *and so*, occurring much more frequently. This often led to mistakes in use of transitions; however, regardless of the high frequency of incorrect use, in this essay the students in question were clearly aware of the need to highlight relationships between concepts and create a structure which the reader could follow.

While the students who contributed to this corpus used transitions in roughly equal (yet disparate) numbers, L1 English students showed greater variety of use with determiners and comparisons. This points to the fact that, while all students have at this point realised the need for the creation of coherence in their writing, L1 students likely possess a larger vocabulary to achieve this. However, it should also be noted that L1 students did not make significantly fewer mistakes in their use of said transitions than did their L2 peers. While vocabulary might thus have differed, misuse was consistent.

Essay 1: Code glosses

Code glosses were the second most frequently used type of interactive metadiscourse, and third overall, after transitions and engagement markers. These markers appeared on average 4,13 times per essay, or 2,06 times per 200 words. Its use among students varied significantly, though not necessarily along language lines: of the three students who used code glosses most often (9 and 8 times per essay), two were L1 English students; however, the only two students who used no code glosses whatsoever were also L1 English writers. Upon further examination of frequency of code gloss usage, still no clear patterns along language or other lines can be determined, although L2 writers tended to use more consistent numbers of code glosses (usually between 3 and 6), while L1 English writer varied more widely in how many code glosses they employed.

However, what was quite clear was disparity in the kinds of code glosses utilised. The code glosses most frequently used were *this/which means that, namely, can be described as, for example, meaning, such as, and which is*. Some code glosses named on Hyland's (2005) list of items that did not appear at all include *put another way, specifically, as a matter of fact and that is to say*. Furthermore, roughly half of the students made consistent use of only one or two variations of the above code glosses to the exclusion of almost all other types thereof. It was noticeable that most of the students preferred a specific way of saying something, perhaps dependent on the code gloss that springs most easily to mind, and stuck to variations of said marker. Occasionally a student made more varied or sophisticated use of code glosses, with phrases such as "*or rather, how do we...*" and "*in that sense, it is true*"; it is noticeable that such varied use of code glosses was limited to about three or four students, who were all from different language backgrounds.

So, although the above-mentioned code glosses were indeed frequently used, they often appeared only in some students' essays, yet then were used so often that they still comprise a

significant portion of the eventual code gloss corpus. *Which is* was used by two students (Afrikaans and Xitsonga) to the exclusion of all other code glosses; *an example of...* was used repetitively by several students where few other code glosses appeared. Two students (both L1 English) together used brackets to add a clarifying detail altogether 9 times, which comprises 70% of all brackets used throughout the entire corpus. An example of said bracket use is the following sentence: "*Cognitivism is mental process that brings together cognitive (**dealing with the mind**), emotional and environmental influences.*" As in this example, brackets, when used, replace other code glosses like *which means*; at the same time brackets frame a thought in a different manner, allowing the writer to show that this is an added detail less clumsily than by using words. Seeing repeated brackets, especially since they appeared rarely otherwise, was thus significant.

Of the 30 students who made use of code glosses, 12 were classified as making very repetitive use of one or two types of code glosses (while some others also stuck to a preferred code gloss, they tended to incorporate more variety into their writing, for instance alternating between *which means* and *meaning*). These repetitive code gloss users were English (3 of the 12), Afrikaans (3 of the 12), isiXhosa (2 of the 12), Xitsonga (2 of the 12) and Setswana (2 of the 12). These numbers seem to indicate that especially the L2 English writers tended to stick to a preferred word more often.

The most common mistake associated with code gloss usage in this corpus was a lack of or incorrect punctuation. This occurred especially with words like *namely*, where the comma was habitually placed after the *namely* instead of before it: "*I will discuss two theories **namely**, ...*"

Another common mistake, which was also noted in the transitions category, was to start a sentence with a code gloss and neglect to turn said phrase into a complete sentence, as with the following examples: "*They believe in the process of conditioning. **As in** the organisms will receive stimuli.*" and "***Which means** cognitivism is more plausible.*"

Some spelling mistakes occurred, but these were not noted as especially significant, since they appeared to a certain extent in almost all the essays, and were not specific to code glosses. Some grammar mistakes were also seen, as well as generally incorrect or irregular word choices, as with the following examples: "*Cognitivists believe in self-fulfilling prophecy, **where** what you believe or think will eventually come true"; "in **a** sense that"; "in simple **term**"; "One of his studies were the self-fulfilling prophecy **that is being described as** what you expect is what you get."*

From this use of code glosses one is thus left with the general impression that most of the writers at this stage of their academic career possessed a somewhat limited vocabulary and preferred sticking to the one or two expressions that they are familiar with. These expressions differed from student to student in an idiosyncratic manner, so that any given student might prefer using *which is* or brackets or *for example* to the exclusion of most other code glosses. However, it did appear that L2 English writers stuck somewhat more to repetitive phrases such as these than did L1 English students.

Essay 2: Code glosses

In this corpus, code glosses made up 7% of the total number of metadiscourse markers used, a significant decrease from the 12% total it comprised in Essay 1. On average, code glosses appeared at a frequency of 1,4 times per 200 words; individual use varied from 0 code glosses to 3 code glosses per 200 words.

L1 English students in general used fewer code glosses than did their L2 peers, with the most frequent users of code glosses being mainly isiXhosa, Afrikaans, and Xitsonga. However, there was much variety in frequency even between students of similar language backgrounds, with some Afrikaans and isiXhosa students in turn using very few code glosses. In comparison, L1 English students tended to use more consistent number of said markers, most hovering around the average or just below average range of use.

Roughly 30% of all code glosses used were in the form of additional information presented in parentheses. Here, as with Essay 2, specific students (irrespective of language background) seemed to prefer using parentheses and correspondingly used them quite frequently, while other students used none at all.

There was more variety in code gloss usage than in Essay 1; however, the most popular code glosses were still *such as* and *means that* and these were used quite repetitively. Other popular code glosses included *for example*, *in other words*, *known as*, *like*, *defined as*, *namely* and *which includes*. Many students also used code glosses unique to their essays, such as *by the name of*, *in the sense that*, and *it comes down to*; one student was for example quite fond of rephrasing a statement with “*or rather*”, which he used four times.

An interesting difference between L1 and L2 writers was the fact that L1 students made rather fewer mistakes. This was especially apparent in students’ use of prepositions, conjunctions, and determiners in their code glosses: L2 students tended to make mistakes such as “*in*

example” and “*in the regard of*” much more frequently, while L1 writers often had more sophisticated determiner-code gloss combinations, such as “*these include*”. However, mistakes and misuse were found across the board, chief of which were repetitive use of certain phrases like *such as*, beginning sentences with *for example/for instance* leading to an incomplete sentence, and faulty punctuation. As with transitions, misuse of code glosses often led to vague or confusing sentences where the relationships between objects was not well established, as with this example: “*Park (2003) provides examples of how students plagiarise **such as**, having poor communication with their teachers **and** in most cases lack of self-drive, ethics and ignorance contributes **in** the act of plagiarism.*” This sentence also illustrates misuse of transitions; said misuse often appeared in conjunction with incorrect code gloss usage.

In some cases code glosses also demarcated a topic, acted as a sort of disclaimer, or carried a value judgement of some sort: “*Philosophically the concept of plagiarism is an issue of ethics and morality*” and “*A good example of how easy it is to unintentionally plagiarise is an article about Annette Schaven.*” In these examples, code glosses were combined with boosters or hedges; this was rarely seen in Corpus 1 and may indicate a growing level of confidence and/or mastery over a wider range of markers among students. This did not occur frequently, but was observed among both L1 and L2 writers.

Essay 1: Frame markers

Frame markers appeared quite frequently throughout this corpus, at an average rate of 2,72 times per essay, or 1,4 times per 200 words. Three students of the 32 used no frame markers whatsoever; of the remaining 29 one student used 8 frame markers, two used 7 frame markers, while the majority of the writers used between 1 to 3 frame markers.

Of the 11 students who used frame markers more than three times per essay, 7 were L1 English students, or 77% of them. Since L1 English students comprise only 38% of the corpus, this is a significantly high number. They also only make up 21% of the bottom third in terms of frame marker frequency. The other language groups, however, are quite disparately distributed all over the spectrum, with some L2 students using as many as 6 or 7 markers per essay and others using none at all or very few.

i. Announcing goals

This functional category appeared by far the most frequently, comprising 56% of all frame markers within this corpus. Since these appeared almost exclusively in the introduction part of the essay, frame markers themselves were some of the metadiscourse markers most irregularly

distributed throughout the essays, densely populating introductions (and to some extent, conclusions), while rarely found elsewhere.

The announcing goals category mainly took on one of two possible forms: in roughly half the cases it was accompanied by a self-mention, “*in this essay I will discuss...*”, while in the other cases students took pains to avoid self-mention and wrote their announcement of goals in the passive voice, sometimes awkwardly so: “*...and it will be discussed.*” Self-mention did not appear to be favoured by any language group, nor did passive voice. Once chosen, however, few students alternated between the two, either sticking to passive voice when referring to the essay itself, or frequently inserting *I* into their writing.

It was interesting to note how students echoed the assignment itself, which states at the beginning: “Write an essay in which you define and discuss cognitive learning theory”, later again emphasising the discussion element of the essay. Most of the students’ announcement of goals closely followed this script, choosing *discuss* over any other action verb, and unanimously referring to their writing as *this essay* instead of *this assignment* or any other description. Most students kept the description of their goals at that: “*This essay will discuss two learning theories*”, sometimes moving on to a sentence or two detailing how they planned to go about it. Only three students deviated from this script and used more verbs to expand on their goals with the essay, of whom one placed the emphasis on the objectives of the essay: “*The aim of this essay is to expand and bring information...*” (L1 Setswana student) and one adopted a more informal tone: “*In this essay we are going to look at...*” (L1 Xitsonga student). The last of these is also significant since it is the only essay from this corpus where a frame marker is combined with an engagement marker, thereby giving a more participative feel to the entire text.

ii. Sequencers

Sequencers made up 28% of the total number of frame markers found in this corpus, and were used by roughly half the students. The majority of sequencers used were numbering: *first*, or *firstly*, or *at first* featured especially often. In many cases this was not followed by a corresponding *secondly*, in some cases perhaps because students ran out of time or became caught up in the flow of their argument, neglecting to return to the sequence they had established. Another regular sequencer was *then*, which was in fact sometimes used repetitively.

iii. *Stage labels*

Stage labels contributed to 16% of all frame markers, and as with the above categories, was limited to a single few phrases that appeared consistently. *In conclusion* was by far the most frequently occurring stage label, predictably found most often in the conclusion. The only other stage labels found in this corpus were a similar *to conclude*, and *now*, which featured in some other paragraphs. *Now* often also acted as a way to shift topic, as, in fact, did *in conclusion*, but its main function usually appeared the labelling of a stage.

iv. *Revisiting goals*

Only about 15% of the students in question used frame markers that fall into this category. This could in part be because many were in a hurry by the time they reached their conclusions, with some essays hastily closing the discussion with a summarising sentence. Where this category did appear, though, it served the function of bringing the reader's focus back to the goals that had initially been stated, tying the essay into a cohesive whole: "*this particular essay has shared views*". In other cases it seems as if students used this marker to clinch an argument that had not yet entirely been made: "*In this essay I have reached the conclusion*" while a conclusion had in fact not yet been reached. This seemed to be intended as a shortcut by simultaneously reaching a verdict and reminding the reader thereof, while also signalling the end of the essay.

v. *Shifting topic*

There were few instance of topic shifts that did not also serve as stage labels or revisiting of goals, for example "*So, in conclusion...*". However, this category, though infrequent as a standalone, also showed the highest variety of words, such as "*As in for Watson*" (the writer moves on to discussing a new theorist and intends to say "*as for*"), "*Constructivism now slightly differs from behaviourism*", "*When it comes to cognitivism...*"

Apart from some spelling and grammar mistakes, the most noteworthy cases of misuse of frame markers were linked to meaning, as in the above-mentioned example where a student incorrectly says "I have concluded" what has not yet been concluded. Overuse was also seen quite frequently. In some cases, it seemed as if frame markers, specifically announcement of goals, were used as a stalling tactic, used to rephrase something which had already been said in a new way, thereby implying more knowledge while saying very little: "*I am going to discuss two methods on how learning takes place. I am going to discuss the process of how learning takes place.*" A final type of misuse was simple odd phrasing, as with the above "*As in for Watson*" or in this sentence: "*It is said that behaviourism is a more plausible theory and*

I will justify for this statement". This last type of misuse was also the only one where L2 writers featured more often than L1 English writers.

The main impressions from an analysis of the frame markers used throughout this corpus is thus that students had already learned something of how to use them, having been introduced to the structural demands of an academic essay. However, apart from the official statement of intention (announcement of goals) which almost all students managed to do, they often lacked the skill or did not see a further need to build cohesion by consistently applying sequencers or shifting topic in a visible manner. Therefore frame markers, though used by most of the students involved, were limited in range, and generally more so among L2 English students.

Essay 2: Frame markers

Frame markers made up 9% of the total metadiscourse numbers in Essay 2, slightly more than the 8% of Essay 1. This difference is probably due to the fact that in this case students had the chance to complete their essays in their own time, thus having the chance to add more frame markers than they did in Essay 1. The numbers confirm this, since more frame markers, specifically the revisiting goals subtype, appeared in concluding paragraphs here than they did in Essay 1.

In terms of variation across language lines, here L1 English writers appeared to use frame markers more often than did their L2 peers, with the five most frequent users of frame markers all being L1 writers, and the least frequent users of frame markers being mainly isiXhosa, Setswana and Xitsonga students. Afrikaans students in general used average numbers of frame markers. It should also be noted that frame markers were notably more dual-purposed here than in Essay 1, with one sentence easily fulfilling the role of topic shifter, announcement of goals, and sequencing, in sentences such as "*First, this essay outlines the following...after which it will examine...*" This is similar to how transitions and code glosses were also increasingly used together in this corpus, with many phrases acting as code gloss, transition, and even hedge through the use of a few combined words.

i. Announcing of goals

This type of frame marker, as with Essay 1, appeared most frequently, comprising a total of almost 37% of all frame markers. However, as noted above, it was often found in conjunction

with other frame markers, especially sequencers.

The use of self-mentions along with the announcement of goals was markedly less frequent here than with Essay 1, with some notable exceptions, such as: "*I am hereby about to present the work of Park (2003) in which it portrays a view of copying in HE...*" Most students instead opted to speak of "*this essay*". The use of passive voice similarly decreased; students who chose to use passive voice in their announcement of goals also tended to vary it with direct voice more often than in Essay 1.

This caused the announcement of goals subtype of frame markers to look quite uniform across all the essays, expressed in clauses such as *This essay discusses* and *This essay will examine* throughout, even repetitively as some students began every consecutive sentence in the first paragraph with "*this essay*". Verbs used to express goals did vary somewhat, with the most popular verbs being *presents, discusses, examines, focuses on, highlights, and looks at*. Again it was also clear that students drew from and often mirrored the wording of their assignment.

In sentences such as "*In this section, we will highlight the differences and similarities regarding copying in the fashion industry and Higher Education context*" one also observes the use of announcing of goals elsewhere than in the first paragraph. However, in these cases, said announcement actually serves as a way to shift the topic and introduce a new idea; this often resulted in rather clumsy statements of intention introducing each new paragraph, hindering instead of promoting flow.

ii. *Sequencers*

As has been mentioned, sequencers were mostly used in combination with either frame markers or revisiting of goals. They were the second most popular type of frame marker, used 26% of times, and more than any other type of frame marker these were used uniformly and frequently by all students.

As in Essay 1, numerical sequencers were by far the most popular, with *first/firstly, secondly* and *thirdly* all appearing very frequently. There was somewhat more follow-through with these sequencers; in other words students tended to remember to add a *secondly* had they used a *firstly*, resulting in fewer apparent lost trains of thought. This is probably due to the additional preparation time available to students this time around. Other sequencers used quite often were *thereafter, last, also, then, and finally*.

iii. *Stage labels*

This subtype made up roughly 14% of all frame markers, and was more varied in vocabulary

than either sequencers or announcement of goals. Students also tended to make more mistakes here, especially when stage labels were combined with topic shifts, particularly in terms of use of prepositions and word choice, as with this example: "**Conclusively** the essay shows how the notion of plagiarism is such a compound matter that may result in different reactions." Here the "conclusively" was intended to announce the arrival of the essay conclusion, not to imply an irrefutable conclusion.

Transitions were often used as frame markers, especially as sequencers and stage labels, as seen in the following example: "This essay will investigate some differences and similarities ... **First**, the essay illustrates the work of Park (2003) to show an overview... **On the other hand**, the essay draws on the work of Blakley (2010) and Larsson (2015) to draw an overview of copying in the fashion industry." The use of "on the other hand", here, was intended to point out to the reader the alternative opinions which would be discussed. Its mistaken use might be due to the student in question's L1 Afrikaans background, where a phrase such as "Aan die ander kant" (literally translated as "on the other hand") would have been quite suitable. It is also clear that said phrase was meant to play a sequencing and stage labelling role.

iv. *Revisiting goals*

Revisiting of goals made up 20% of all frame markers, occurring more frequently than with Essay 1. As with the previous corpus, however, these markers tended to echo the announcement of goals in phrasing and word choice, again often stating "This essay discussed" or "In this essay, ...was investigated." Interestingly, both self-mentions and engagement markers occurred more frequently here than in any other types of frame markers, with sentences such as "In this essay we have established that" and "In the last paragraph, I argued that...". This may be due to the fact that concluding paragraphs were often used to utter own opinions as well, inviting increased use of self-mention. As with Essay 1, revisiting of goals was also often used to in fact make a concluding statement, thus reaching a conclusion by stating "This essay proved that..." However, such dual-purpose frame markers were generally better executed than in the previous corpus, and a jump to hasty conclusions was less frequently reached.

v. *Topic shifts*

Topic shifts rarely occurred by themselves, although appearing sometimes in word such as *now*, *so*, *to conclude*, or *and now*. Mainly these were used in combination with the above classes, as has already been mentioned, chiefly with stage labels.

Increased combinations of frame markers types in clauses such as "Ultimately, this essay demonstrated that..." was a defining characteristic of frame markers in this corpus, pointing

towards students' growing ability to convey more meaning per sentence, an ability which is also confirmed by the use of other metadiscourse markers such as transitions. Furthermore, while L1 and L2 students used similar variety (or lack thereof) in their frame markers, it is noteworthy that L1 writers used somewhat more frame markers in general, mainly due to their more frequent use of the above-mentioned combinations of markers.

Essay 1: Evidentials

Of all types of metadiscourse markers, evidentials were found more infrequently than any others, apart from endophoric markers. Evidentials occurred on average 1,72 times per essay, or 0,89 per 200 words. Six students used no evidentials whatsoever. This is a predictable result, since the essay in question was written before students had dealt with referencing in class, and their knowledge on both referencing techniques and the necessity of giving credit to sources was still limited.

Furthermore, the essay topic itself made it difficult to identify evidentials with confidence: students had to discuss two learning theories, as such detailing the theories of the influential researchers in question. When students thus mentioned Pavlov as an important behavioural theorist, or Jean Piaget as a leading cognitivist, they did not do so from a desire to add credence to their own work or to cite said researchers, but as part of the assignment itself. Such mentions were thus propositional in nature. At times, however, students did give definitions or attempt to cite authors. The task of this analysis was thus to identify when the reference to an author was meant propositionally, and when it was metadiscoursal in nature; instances of both were often found within one paragraph and had to be carefully separated.

Due to the fact that, as stated above, at this stage of the year the students in question had not yet learnt how to reference, my identification of evidentials was quite permissive. I thus allowed anything which clearly seemed to be an attempt at a reference to count as an evidential. The intention behind this was to in fact identify where students felt the need to add credence to their words or suspected that they should refer, however ineffectively. As such, all evidentials found in this corpus were actually 'unquoted evidentials', as initially defined and detailed in Chapter 3. Thus typical errors were not counted since, strictly speaking, evidentials were never correctly executed.

The evidentials found throughout this corpus can be roughly divided into two categories. The first of these categories is evidentials that were meant to add weight to the content, including phrases such as *research indicates that, it has been scientifically proven that*, and the vague *it*

is said that, which appeared very often. These phrases were sometimes accompanied by a reference of some sort, for instance “(John Watson)”, but often not. The second category entails any attempt at referencing itself, where the student either puts quotation marks around a word or definition, or cites an author in some manner. Concepts specific to the subject matter that were mentioned by many students, such as “black box” and “self fulfilling prophecy” (students’ spelling), were often put in quotation marks to indicate to the reader that the writer is using an established term. Definitions also sometimes appeared in quotation marks, for instance “*Learning can be described as ‘the relatively permanent change in behaviour...’*” Sometimes, as seen here, quotation marks were replaced by inverted commas instead, but the intention was clearly to indicate a quote. Furthermore, oftentimes the very same definitions would occur later in another essay, this time with no quotation marks. Thus while most of the students covered the same content and used similar definitions and concepts, not all of them felt the need to indicate said definition/concept as being quoted from someone else.

5 students altogether made a clear attempt at citing by placing the surnames of authors, and/or dates, within brackets or quotation marks. 13 students (with little overlap with the above 6 students) made some attempt at indicating a quote by putting quotation marks or inverted commas around a phrase. These attempts at citing thus fall within the second category of evidentials that was identified within this corpus. An example of such attempt is the following: “*According to behaviourists, learning can be defined as ‘the relatively permanent change’ brought about as a result of experience and practice.*”

22 of the 26 students who used some form of evidentials used the first category identified, namely using evidentials to add weight to the subject matter. There was no significant difference between specific language groups, with differences seemingly based purely on students’ gut feel regarding how to reference, as well as their prior knowledge. Interestingly, the only student who indicated that this was not her first year as a student did not cite any more correctly than the others, using the innocuous “*it has been said that*” and “*it is believed that*” instead of a more robust referencing style, much as many of the other students did.

Sometimes the evidentials were so tentative that they came across as hedges, as in the following example: “*Cognitivism is said to be an inner mental process*”. However, judging from the context, the student’s intention here was not to cast doubt on the statement, but rather to refer to previous scholars’ words, albeit in a vague manner. Another similarly vague evidential, where the impression is given of the student almost distancing him/herself from the definition, is the following: “*...it has been said that we assume that you have learned when there's a*

change in behaviour." Again, in actual fact a definition of some sorts is being given here, which is then also further clouded by the engagement markers (discussed later in this chapter).

In conclusion, although there was much variation among students in their use of evidentials, the one constant was their clear general lack of knowledge on how to reference adequately. As such, many ended up making loaded choices, seemingly accidentally hedging or boosting a statement with phrases such as "*it has been **proven** that*" and "*research **indicates** that*". These verbs may serve as intentional amplifiers of markers of tentativity, but judging from the context, it looks more plausible that students often used these describers at random, in the process accidentally inferring personal opinion or scepticism.

Essay 2: Evidentials

There was a significant increase in the use of evidentials from Corpus 1 to 2, going from 5% to 16% in proportion of total metadiscourse markers. Clearly this is due to the fact that students learnt correct citation practices throughout the semester between the writing of these two essays. Correspondingly, much fewer uncited evidentials were found in this corpus.

Use of evidentials varied more along individual than linguistic lines, with L1 and L2 students using anything from 7 to 1,5 evidentials per 200 words. However, there seems to be a small but significant inverse relationship between use of evidentials and boosters: in many cases, students appeared to use evidentials as a means to add weight to their conclusions, thereby avoiding the need to add their own boosting markers. Thus students who used a high number of evidentials usually used a somewhat lower frequency of boosters than their classmates.

Use of evidentials was mainly found in two forms: evidentials as part of a sentence in clauses such as "***Blakley (2010)** states that...*" or citations found apart from the contents themselves, in brackets, usually at the end of a sentence: "*Fashion is considered utilitarian (**Blakley, 2010**)*". Although there was variation between these two throughout, students usually appeared to favour one approach over the other, either working many in-sentence evidentials into their writing, or periodically adding a citation at the end of a statement.

With in-sentence evidentials, the verbs used to present said cited author's standpoint varied somewhat, with the most popular verbs being *stated that*, *discusses*, *provides*, and *argues*.

Stated that appeared especially frequently, often to the exclusion of other verbs, indicating that students were sometimes uncomfortable or unfamiliar with ways in which to work an evidential into a sentence. Hedge-type verbs such as *claims that*, *believes that*, and *suggests that* often appeared as well, as did occasional booster-like phrasings: "*Furthermore, Blakley (2010) positively supports this phenomenon as it opens up an environment of creativity*": in this example the "*positively*" was intended to point out that the referenced author is in favour of a phenomenon.

On less frequent occasions, evidentials were accompanied by *according to* and *in the words of*, as well as the oblique *so-called*, *it has been claimed that* or *it is said that*, as seen here: "*what is so called, "copying and plagiarism in the contemporary society"* "; here the student did not intend "*so-called*" to mark scepticism but rather to introduce a quote. The same is true for "*it is said*" in this example: "*The meaning of plagiarism differs from one industry to another (...) but in the fashion industry it is said it opens a door to creativity Blakley (2010).*"

In the above example another common type of evidential mistake can be seen, namely the incomplete or incorrect formatting of a reference. This mainly occurred in the form of missing page numbers to accompany a direct quote, and small punctuation errors (missing brackets, no comma between surname and year, etc.). It should be noted that almost all students made at least a few such mistakes, indicating that, although they were all quite enthusiastically using evidentials, they were still to use these in the almost "second nature" manner of the more experienced academic writer.

Students who used evidentials more often did not necessarily use them to better effect: one student worked many quotations into her essay without referring to said sentences except through quotation marks; other used citations repetitively: "*Jonathan Malesic (2008) explains that...Malesic (2008) points out that...Jonathan Malesic (2008) explains how...Malesic (2008) argues that...*"

As mentioned, no difference in frequency of evidentials could be noted between L1 and L2 students' writing; however, L1 students did tend to use a greater variety of verbs to accompany their citations, while more L2 writers stuck to variants of *states that*. Nonetheless, all students in this essay seemed to occasionally struggle to seamlessly incorporate an evidential into a sentence.

Essay 1: Endophoric markers

Only six students used endophoric markers, making them an almost non-existent category for this corpus. This is understandable since their essays were short, giving little reason to refer back often to an earlier paragraph, and contained no graphs or illustrations. Of the endophoric markers that did appear, three were “*the above mentioned*” (which was consistently misspelled) and one said “*the previously mentioned*”. The other two cases were “*as shows in*” (the writer intended to refer back to an earlier example by saying “as shown in”), and this sentence: “*Individuals have a relationship with the environment and results in a stimulus as in Little Albert.*” In this example the writer meant to use “as in” to refer back to the ‘Little Albert’ experiment which had been discussed earlier in the same essay.

Due to the almost insignificant frequency of endophoric markers, comparisons between students’ use thereof could not be made. However, it is noteworthy that 5 of the 6 endophoric markers that were used were applied incorrectly or clumsily, implying, as was also noted in other categories of interactive markers, that students were not yet comfortable referring back to their text itself, and at this stage were still lacking in cohesion-building resources.

Essay 2: Endophoric markers

As with Essay 1, endophoric markers made up a very small proportion of the total number of metadiscourse markers used by students, in this case 1%. However, this is still a large increase from the 0,2% proportion in Essay 1. On average, students used 0,15 endophoric markers per essay, with 14 students using none, less than half of the writers in this corpus. Interestingly, the five students who used endophoric markers most frequently were all L2 writers, namely four isiXhosa students and 1 Setswana. Those who used none were mainly 11 English writers or otherwise L1 Afrikaans students (with two exceptions).

Almost every endophoric marker encountered was a variation of *above* or *above-mentioned*, save for one *aforementioned*, and one *the latter*. This use of simple endophoric markers is probably due to the fact that, while these essays were longer than the previous, no headings or graphs were used, creating little need for cross-referencing.

4.3.3 Interactional markers

Essay 1 interactional markers overview

Interactional markers made up roughly 38% of the total number of metadiscourse markers found in this corpus. Furthermore, as seen in figure 4.10, its pattern of use among students looks significantly different from that of interactive markers, as shown in the graph below. There is a slightly bigger difference between students who used interactional markers most (roughly 12,5 times per 200 words) and those who used them least (roughly 2 times per 200 words), than there is between the most and least frequent users of interactive markers.

Furthermore, the students who made frequent use of interactional markers are generally not the same ones who frequently used interactive markers, and the language distribution of said metadiscourse users is also different. Whereas L1 English students tended not to use interactive markers as frequently as their L2 peers (except for determiners and frame markers), here they are distributed evenly across the spectrum of interactional metadiscourse frequency. Additionally, while many isiXhosa used high numbers of interactive metadiscourse, here they feature less prominently; interestingly Setswana, Xitsonga and Afrikaans students do showcase some high levels of interactional marker use.

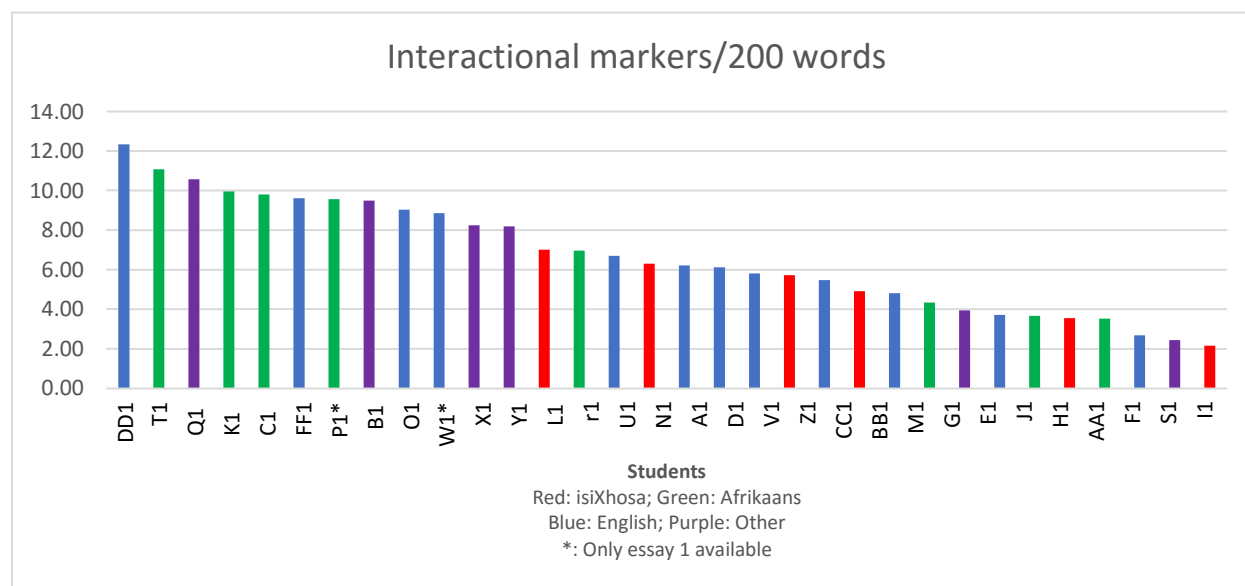


Figure 4.10. Students' individual use of interactional markers in essay 1.

The interactional marker category most frequently used was engagement markers, at an average rate of 4,94 markers per essay, or 2,6 per essay. The least frequently used category was that of self-mentions, with an average frequency of use of 1,81 per essay, or almost 1 self-mention per 200 words. Thus the variation between categories of interactional markers – engagement

markers, boosters, hedges, attitude markers and self-mentions – is less than between the different categories of interactive markers. However, individual variation from category to category was very high – while a student may have used up to 9 engagement markers in an essay, this same student often employed little or no self-mentions, for instance. Although the above graph seems to point towards a trend among students in terms of language background and corresponding metadiscourse marker preference, further analysis of each category should provide more insight into this pattern.

A strong link was found between students' use of hedges, boosters and attitude markers; for example, students often used boosters to amplify their statement of opinion (attitude marker), or combined boosters and hedges to provide a more nuanced argument, as with "...*and It could even be a more effective learning method*". Since these three were often found together or in some sort of dependence on one another, they are discussed consecutively, with some reference to each other throughout the discussion.

Essay 2: Interactional markers overview

Figure 4.11 depicts students' use of interactional markers in essay 2. As is clear, there was a large difference between individual students' frequency of use of said markers, with L2 writers tending to use more interactional markers than their peers. It should be noted that the two students who used the most interactional markers showed less of a decrease in their use of engagement markers than did the rest of their peers; they also used high numbers of attitude markers which doubled as boosters.

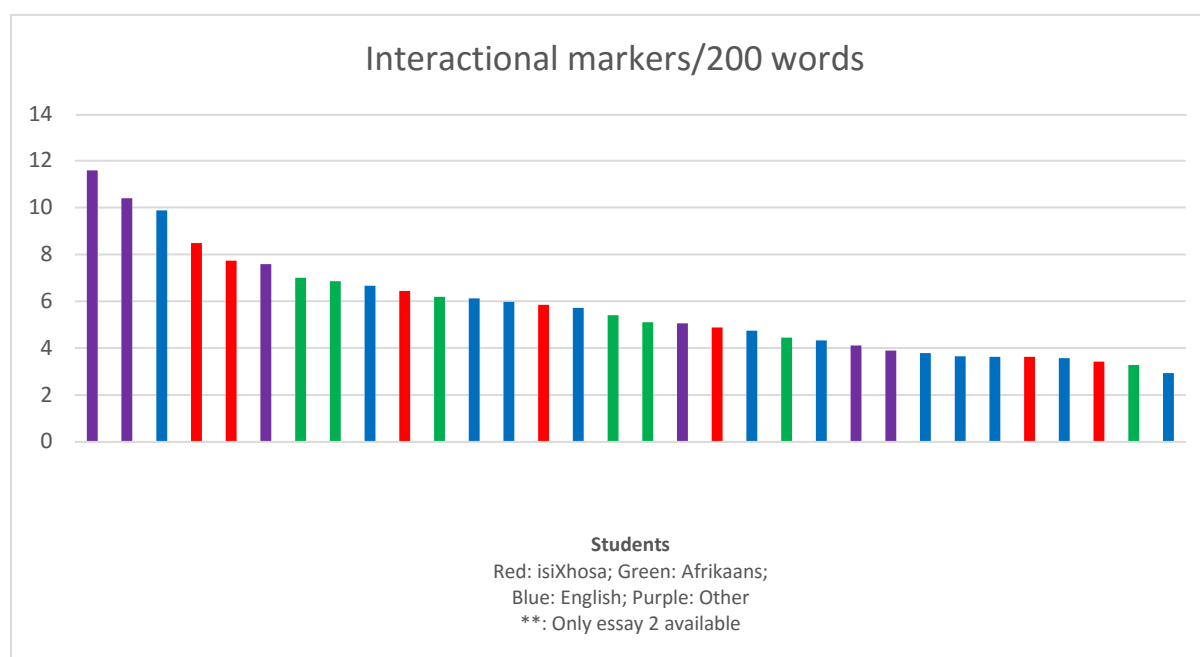


Figure 4.11. Students' individual use of interactional markers in essay 2.

The category of interactional markers used most often in essay 2 was boosters, with an especially high frequency of 1,2 boosters per 200 words, close to a tripling of said marker's frequency in essay 1. However, not all students used boosters nearly equally frequently, accounting for the wide disparity in marker use illustrated in figure 4.11. Similarly, the use of self-mentions and engagement markers decreased, but not in equal fashion among all students.

Essay 1: Hedges

Returning to essay 1, on average, hedges occurred here at a frequency of 2,19 times per essay, or 1,03 times per 200 words. However, there was significant variation in its frequency of use among students: the student who made most frequent use of these markers had 7 in her essay (or 2,9 per 200 words, since it was a long essay), while two students used no hedges whatsoever and several used only one. Its use among language groups was equally varied: the top 10 users of hedges were Afrikaans (3 students), English (2 students), isiXhosa (2 students) and Xitsonga (2 students). Those who used them fewest were often English, with some isiXhosa and Afrikaans students among them. It seems as if L1 English students used hedges somewhat less often, but there is much variation in use among each language group as well.

Most of the hedges found could be roughly divided into three main types, namely emphasis on opinion (where the student withholds certainty by stressing the fact that he/she is only stating his or someone else's opinion), disclaimers (where the students withholds certainty through mainly adjectives and adverbs), and tentative verbs. Each of these types are discussed below.

i. Emphasis on opinion

Since the essay assignment demanded that students come to a conclusion themselves about the most plausible learning theory, most of the essays express personal opinion at some stage, usually in the conclusion. These statements of opinion were labelled attitude markers, but the manner in which students stated their opinion often implied either strong support for a theory ("*I strongly prefer behaviourism*"), thus utilising boosters, or implied a measure of tentativity, thus being classified as hedges as well attitude markers. Fifteen such hedges were found, mostly variations of "*I find that*" or "*In my opinion*". Of these, 54% were from L1 English writers, and it is the form in which most L1 English students used hedges. Some other emphases on opinion were very tentative, conveying to the reader that the writer did not in fact wish to make a for or against statement; giving rise to sentences such as "*It's difficult to make any statement without assuming that...*" and "*The theory **personally** found most **valid** would have to*

be...”, “Both theories work well, but cognitivism **might be** preferable” and “it is **very hard** to accurately describe or understand the inner workings of the human mind.” Such phrases were only employed by isiXhosa, Xitsonga, and Setswana students.

Already in the above examples one notices the use of boosters to add weight to a hedge, in the “it is very hard” and “would have to be” where the student implies reluctance at having to choose a favourite theory by employing the forceful “have to”. Furthermore, it is also noticeable that hedges often comprise more than one word and cannot necessarily be narrowed down to a single word that carries the gist of the hedge.

ii. *Disclaimers through adjectives and adverbs*

Although, as mentioned, some hedges cannot be narrowed down to a single word, many can. This category was the most abundant; 24 such hedges were found, of which it is noteworthy that L1 English students only wrote 6, or 25%. The words that occurred most often were variations of *mostly*, with other such as *mainly*, *not really*, *perhaps*, *maybe*, *some*, *basically*, *normally*, *usually*, *seemingly*, and *slightly* also occurring. These hedges appeared slightly more often in the conclusion than elsewhere, but were used throughout the essay in sentences such as “Cognitivism is **more of a** self-fulfilling prophecy”, “He **basically** conditioned the dogs...” and “but [they] **only really** recognize it as learning when there is a change in behaviour”. Again, in the last of these examples one observes the use of a booster-hedge combination to add emphasis with the “only really”.

iii. *Tentative verbs*

The third type of hedge was the use of verbs that imply a level of uncertainty in and of themselves – that is to say, verbs that do not need an adverb to indicate uncertainty. Roughly 14 of these verbs were found in the corpus, and they were utilised proportionately by all language groups. The verbs most commonly found here were *could be*, *might be*, *seem to be*, *tend to*, *indicates that*, and *suggests that*. Many students seemed to have a favourite such verb which they often used more than once, with a student using “*suggests that*” twice to the exclusion of other tentative verbs, another once twice writing “*deem to be*”. It is also curious that language groups tended to use similar verbs not chosen by other students: 3 separate Afrikaans students used the verb *tend to*, while *claims that* was used only by Xitsonga and Setswana students; furthermore, *suggests that* was used quite frequently, but only once by an L2 student.

Essay 2: Hedges

Hedges appeared slightly more often than in Essay 1, here contributing a total of 7% to the total metadiscourse corpus. There was significant variety in use between students, however, with one student using on average 3,7 hedges per 200 words, while others used as few as 0,5 hedges per 200 words.

No clear distinction along language lines could be found in terms of general frequency of hedges, although L1 Afrikaans students tended to use slightly below average numbers of hedges. However, clearer distinctions become marked when the different types of hedges are observed. Apart from the aforementioned groupings of hedges, namely ‘emphasis on opinion’, ‘disclaimers through adjectives and adverbs’ and ‘tentative verbs’, a significant portion of hedges were linked to evidentials. These are thus grouped under a fourth category, namely ‘emphasis on others’ opinion’.

i. Emphasis on opinion

Interestingly, few L1 English students used this method of hedging in Essay 2. Rather, it was almost unanimously L2 students who tended to use clauses such as *I think that*, *as far as I’m aware*, and *in my opinion*. References to the essay itself instead of outright self-mentions also increasingly accompanied such hedges here, in phrases such as *this essay endeavoured to*. However, this type of hedge occurred relatively infrequently, comprising less than 10% of all hedges found in this corpus.

ii. Emphasis on others’ opinion

This type of hedge, in turn, increased significantly in use, with phrases like *[source] claimed*, *[source] believes that*, *the opinion of [source] is that*, *she sees this as...* occurring throughout almost all the essays. L1 English students used these somewhat more often than did their peers, making up more than half of all such hedges, and used more varied hedge-type verbs and conjunctions to accompany their hedges, such as *is of the opinion that*, *proposes that*, and *gives off a more negative approach*. Their L2 peers, when employing said hedges, tended towards more straightforward verbs, possibly pointing towards a more limited vocabulary. Furthermore, in many instances it was unclear whether the students in question really intended to imply the level of hedging that was experienced by the reader. *Claims that*, especially, was in some essays used so often that it seemed as if said students were unaware of the distancing tone of this verb.

iii. *Disclaimers through adjectives and verbs*

Disclaimers made up roughly 35% of all hedges, encompassing a large and varied number of hedges such as *perhaps*, *mainly*, *in most cases*, *apparent*, *sometimes*, *maybe*, *usually*, and a myriad others. However, students proved to be quite consistent in their use of favoured words: a student would rather have used *maybe* three times in a row than alternate between *maybe* and *perhaps*, for instance. In addition, L2 students were somewhat more limited in their range of preferred hedges, using *mainly*, *mostly*, and *slightly* more than any other hedges, whilst there were few hedges that appeared so consistently among L1 English writers' essays. This again points to a difference in vocabulary between language groups, rather than in frequency of marker use itself.

iv. *Tentative verbs*

The use of this type of hedge increased markedly from Essay 1, here making up almost 30% of the total hedge numbers. More L2 students tended to use these verbs, with the most frequent such clauses being derivatives of *can*, *could*, *might* and *may*; interestingly these verbs were also increasingly used to convey hypotheticals or speculation: "*Some students **may be** aware of the consequences of plagiarism as an ethical issue but simply are not afraid of what is to come...*" and "*she **perhaps** thought that it will be a lot easier...*"

In what could by now be called a trend across all metadiscourse markers in Essay 2, students used increasing number of hedge combinations, for instance using a verb to emphasise an already clear hedge, with sentences such as "*This **is seen as a more serious issue***" and "*A **partial** reason for this **may be**...*".

As with Essay 1, boosters were often used in sentences to create a larger hedge-effect, sometimes in the process also hinting at the writer's own opinion: "*However, when **one can take their time** to give pay **a lot** of attention to these notions, they **may** find that **it might not always** be the case that they are **always** associated with negativity, **well at least not in all context.***" In this example both "*always*" and "*a lot*" are clear boosters conveying clearer hedge meaning in this sentence; "*when one can take their time*" also hints at the student's own attitude towards what he/she is saying.

The increased use of a melange of different boosters and hedges to create meaning naturally led to increased incoherence and language mistakes in some cases. Coupled with often confusing use of transitions and code glosses (as already discussed), and sentences were sometimes overlong and difficult to understand: "*Coping and plagiarism **tends to be** associated with negative connotations **but when looked at closely** it is found that the consequences of*

coping and plagiarism varies and changes in the different contexts for example in the Higher education if one is found guilty of the act of plagiarism it is illegal and be followed with negative consequences however in the fashion industry coping is considered a form of creativity." (Note: "coping" was meant to be "copying"). In other instances the use of hedges and booster together led to the writer contradicting him/herself: "*Digital plagiarism in the academic context is quite moving very fast...*" and "*generally it is clear that copying is wrong.*"

Essay 1: Boosters

Boosters appeared at an average frequency of 2,15 per essay, or 1 per 200 words. Keeping in mind that seven students used no boosters at all, there is a larger difference between the highest and lowest number of boosters than between hedges. The essay with the highest number of booster contained 9, or 3,7 per 200 words, written by an L1 English student, who was notably among the least frequent users of hedges. Of the top 10 users of booster, 5 were L1 English students, pointing towards the fact that most L1 English students used boosters more often than they did hedges, and many L2 students in turn preferred hedges, although this is not the case consistently. isiXhosa students especially used few boosters, with only one notable exception. In general students who used high numbers of hedges used middling or rather low numbers of boosters.

Verbs can also be divided into three main subtypes, which were labelled 'definites', 'emphasis' and 'booster verb-adverbs'. More than in the case of hedges, most boosters were comprised of only one or two words, usually adverbs, adjectives or verbs.

i. Definites

Here the most common boosters were *always* and *only*, with other boosters including *all*, *perfect*, *absolutely*, *exactly*, *never*, *clearly*, and a few longer phrases such as *through and through* and *whether we believe it or not*. These words all have an absolute nature: "...*they are always placed first in our minds*" and "*and absolutely not the same as animals*". Definites occurred 14 times in total, of which L1 English students' essays only contributed 2, or 14% of the definites.

ii. *Emphasis*

Emphasis boosters were less absolute than definites, yet still placed emphasis on the importance or significance of the message. The most frequently encountered emphases were *really*, *alot*, *much*, *greatly*, *even*, and *indeed*, with other words such as *great*, *actually*, *still*, *incredibly* and *especially* also appearing. 44 of these words were counted, although it should be noted that some students used one or two boosters very repetitively, to the exclusion of all others. One student (L1 English) for instance used the word *indeed* 7 times, sometimes in a few sentences in a row, lessening the impact of the booster by making it appear more like a verbal tic: "*Many behaviourists such as Watson, Ivan Pavlov and BF Skinner proved that this way of learning is indeed effective but many theorists would indeed disagree. Another cognitive learning theory would indeed be cognitivism.*" Such overused words were still considered boosters, however, since the students' exact intentions could not be determined but it was clear that they intended to create some emphasis or effect through these words' use.

Some of the boosters that appear in this category convey surprise or hint at an opinion: "*Until today this is still seen*", "*this is more than just a theory*" and "*this is a great example of cognitivism*". If the opinion conveyed was deemed to betray an attitude, the phrase in question was also considered an attitude marker – thus from the above three examples, the "*more than just*" sentence was also counted as an attitude marker.

Emphasis boosters were used by all language groups, most frequently by L1 English students. However, their use thereof was not considered so much higher than their peers' as to be very significant.

iii. *Booster verb-adverb combinations*

Some verbs qualify as boosters in themselves, while others were paired with adverbs to add emphasis, with phrases such as *had to*, *cannot*, *proves*, *greatly impacted*, and *clearly explains*. Here the majority of students who used said combinations were L1 English students, although several L2 students also employed such verbs.

Essay 2: Boosters

In this corpus, boosters made up 12% of all metadiscourse markers found, a doubling in total proportion from Essay 1. As with hedges, however, variation between students was large, with some using as many as 4,8 boosters per 200 words and others using less than 1 per 200 words. It is interesting to note that most L2 students used more boosters than their L1 classmates, although not all language groups used them equally frequently: isiXhosa students used markedly less boosters than Afrikaans and Setswana students, for example. As a whole,

however, L1 English students used less than average numbers of boosters. Boosters were again divided into three rough groupings, namely definites, emphasis boosters, and verb-adverb combinations.

i. Definites

L1 English students used a slightly higher proportion of boosters than their classmates, with definites being the most frequently encountered type of booster for these L1 writers. However, all students made use of these markers, the frequency of which increased from Essay 1. Popular definite boosters were *only*, *definitely*, *just*, *obvious*, and *exact*, with phrase-type definites increasingly appearing as well, for example “*this cannot be more different from HE*”, “*that is just plain stealing*”, and “*it is blatantly obvious*”. Students made use of a more varied number of boosters here than in Essay 1, whether due to more time or to enlarged vocabulary, to the extent that it was difficult to pinpoint boosters that appeared significantly more often than others. However, as with hedges, each student appeared to stick to a favourite definite or two, rarely alternating between synonyms such as *exact* and *precise* when one of these could serve throughout. “*The Higher Education and fashion industry cannot be more different from each other where the one is all about rules and principals the other is referred to as a free culture in light of what was stated in this essay the difference between the Higher Education and fashion industry is now made clear and that the two cannot be made any what similar...*”

ii. Emphasis boosters

This type of booster decreased in frequency of use, and when used often served either a supporting role for a hedge or an attitude marker, as with: “*Plagiarism is very unethical, immoral and a symbol of dishonesty and disrespect to the author...*”.

Of the emphases used, L2 writers made up a larger size of the sample than did the L1 writers, with boosters such as *very*, *even*, *indeed*, *even though*, *so*, and *so much* occurring most frequently. *Even though* is noteworthy since it was also counted as a comparative transition; it was often used in the place of *although* but carries more affective weight, implying a strategic decision by the writer to add emphasis to a statement. As such it was thus deemed to be both a transition and a booster.

A reason why emphasis boosters decreased in use may be that students made increasing use of clause-length boosters, which often fell under the category of definites, such as “*this carries more negative impacts and consequences than we could ever imagine.*”

iii. *Verb-adverb combinations*

This group of boosters increased in frequency, with L2 writers using more of these in phrases such as *it **must** be considered*, *we can **confidently** say*, *it has been **revealed***, and *this **shows** that*. It is interesting to note that these verb-adverb combinations often entailed strongly-worded recommendations or imperatives, often serving as attitude markers as well.

While boosters were often used to create a larger hedge, in some cases the inverse was applied, with hedges being employed to create a booster, often to confusing or paradoxical effect, as with the following sentences: *"It is **clear** that this essay **endeavoured** to provide an apprehension of plagiarism and copyright in two contexts: Higher Education and the fashion industry"*, and *"It can be said that one's work has become a **massive** ethical issue in contemporary society, **mainly** in the academic side of things..."*

In other cases, boosters, especially definites and verbs-adverb combinations, mainly imperatives, were used to strongly convey opinion and attitude: *"it is **clear** that plagiarism increases **by the minute**"*, *"In addition to this plagiarism in the academic context **should still** be seen as unethical, because **as soon as** it is allowed then people will not use their ability to think and come up with good ideas"*.

Essay 1: Attitude markers

Attitude markers were at times difficult to identify and to distinguish from hedges or boosters. The following sentence serves as a good example: *"Whether we believe it or not, these theories are applied in our everyday lives, even though we might not realise it."* Clearly the student felt the need to make a forceful point, *"whether we believe it or not"* was thus counted as a booster, as was *"even though"*. However, should it be considered an attitude marker as well? After much deliberation this example was rejected as an attitude marker, since it does not seem to betray a personal attitude but rather overstates a fact. Many other such phrases were also deliberated over, and the difference between an attitude marker or not often depended on nuances and the intent that seemed to underlie such word choices.

There were on average 2,25 attitude markers per essay, or 1,1 per 200 words, slightly more than both boosters and hedges, although there was much overlap. The essay with the highest number of attitude markers (3,37 per 200 words) was written by an isiZulu student, while other essays with high numbers of attitude markers were written by L1 English students (6 of the top 10), 1 Afrikaans student and 2 isiXhosa students. The essays with high frequencies of attitude markers were also cross-referenced with the essays with high or low numbers of boosters and

hedges, and the results were interesting: the essays of both isiXhosa students, one L1 English student and the Afrikaans student which were high in attitude markers were at the top of the hedges list as well. Furthermore, two of the L1 English students who had been noted as using the least number of hedges were here noted as attitude markers very frequently, while another L1 English student's essay was in the top five of both boosters and attitude markers.

The above findings can be explained through looking at the attitude markers themselves. These markers were mainly used to convey opinion, whether subtly or overtly. As such, in many cases it was comprised of direct opinion phrases, such as *I believe that* or *in my opinion*, phrases which were sometimes labelled hedges as well. Thus students who had written such sentences likely placed higher on the attitude marker list and possibly also in the ranking of hedge usage. Conversely, boosters were often used to convey strong opinion, in which case the relevant phrases would be noted as both boosters and attitude markers. However, there was not one case where a single student used hedges, boosters and attitude markers very frequently; each student seemed to have a tendency towards either boosting or hedging with little regular use of both.

Attitude markers were roughly divided into four types: clear statement of opinion, indirect statement of opinion, adverbs and adjectives, and verb clauses. Clear statement of opinions included phrases such as *in my opinion* and *I believe that*. There were 11 such phrases (with some but not entire overlap with hedges), 6 of which were written by L1 Afrikaans students, 4 of which by L1 English students, 1 by an isiZulu student and 1 by an isiXhosa student. From these findings as well as the hedge-type statement of opinions, it seems clear that "I"-type sentences were preferred by Afrikaans and English students.

Indirect statements of opinions included sentences such as "*It is much more plausible than*", "*this is more than just experience*", and "*behaviourism is a more natural theory*". 7 such phrases were found, all of them written by L1 English students.

The most frequent adjectives and adverbs used to mark attitude included *somehow*, *unfortunately*, *uniquely*, *naturally*, *still*, and *mere*. These were also mainly used by L1 English students, except for a few notable exceptions such as "*behaviourism soon showed itself **not just to be a fun fact***" (L1 isiZulu student). The few verb clauses that appeared, including "*cognitivism soon **proved its flaws***" and "*this **turns out to actually be accurate***" were mainly written by L1 English students too.

The last two example sentences again highlight the difficulty in identifying attitude markers. "*Cognitivism soon proved its flaws*" was taken as providing more than facts about

propositional content by betraying the writer's opinion, while "*this turns out to actually be accurate*" seems to indicate surprise. This is arguable, however, and separating propositional from metadiscoursal content becomes complicated when the opinion is only inferred. Another student described an experiment done on a mouse and a young child, who was "*ever so playful*" until he was conditioned to become afraid of the mouse. Thereafter the child became fearful and learned to associate the mouse with danger. The content here was clearly propositional, and not all adjectives can simply be labelled as attitude markers; yet the way in which the student describes the child evokes a reaction of pity in the reader, which is echoed by the writer as well. Should that sentence, especially the "*ever so playful*", thus count as a metadiscourse marker?

Much has been said about the difference between different language groups' use of hedges, boosters and attitude markers, and a difference was indeed observed. However, it should also be stated that each observation thus far has been a generalisation – in every category one or two student from each language group has strayed from the norm, making it impossible to unilaterally describe any language group as writing in a certain manner. Rather, although some linguistic trends can be observed, it is clear that each student preferred a specific set of words and stuck rather closely to his/her own set of familiar expressions and unique writing style.

Essay 2: Attitude markers

The proportion of attitude markers decreased slightly to 5% of all markers in this corpus, although here there was even more variety in frequency of use between students than with hedges and boosters: Attitude marker frequency ranged from 2,2 per 200 words to 0, 12 per 20 words. This seems to be mainly due to the fact that students used other ways to convey meaning, increasingly depending on hedges and boosters to indirectly state an attitude, and using evidentials to add legitimacy.

Interestingly, many of the same students who used high numbers of attitude markers in Essay 1 again featured among regular users of attitude markers here, and inversely, students who did not use many attitude markers in Essay 1 tended not to use many in Essay 2 either. However, linguistic differences were less pronounced, with L1 English students generally using average numbers of these markers, and many L2 students using significantly more attitude markers than before.

Clear statements of opinions, which were frequent in Essay 1, were here often replaced with more indirect markers or recommendations instead, with verbs such as *should* and *must*

featuring very regularly among most students' essays. This is probably due to the essay assignment itself, which requested of students to reach a conclusion on plagiarism themselves; the subject matter, which for most students would be very familiar, likely led to said suggestions as well. Roughly 10% of all attitude markers did still entail a self-mention in the phrase, with sentences such *I think that* and *I believe that*. These were sometimes considered hedges too, but not always, since the intention was clearly not often to add uncertainty to the sentence – rather, attitude markers were more assertive, if less self-referential, than in Essay 1, and tended more towards boosters than hedges: “***I firmly believe that plagiarism should not be acceptable.***”

As part of indirect statements of opinion, recommendations were employed by L1 writers more often than by L2 writers, who in turn opted for other indirect opinions and value judgements more frequently: “*it amazes that*” and “*this was supposed to be good...*” Perhaps an indication of increased confidence in writing, sarcasm and irony often made an appearance as well, as with these sentences: “*...on the quick search engine bars that we so dearly love*” and “*mainly because the so called 'inspiration' of fashion designers is offensive to the indigenous cultures it is being taken from.*”

Adjectives and adverbs appeared quite frequently among students of all language backgrounds, with *surprisingly*, *fascinating*, *unfortunately*, and *understandably* featuring most often. However, here too simple words were often replaced by entire clauses, blending adjectives, adverbs, and verbs together in a sentence long attitude marker: “*so the continuation of the practise of plagiarism and copying would be unfair to the person who has devoted a lot of time doing the research and someone who was sitting and relaxing eventually comes and copy the work that the other person worked tirelessly doing and later not crediting that person.*”

In combination with said phrase-long attitude markers, students in some cases showcased a high degree of metaphorical language (“*the whirlwind that is plagiarism*”) and other expressions of emotion, often appearing to make a passionate case for their point of view to varying degrees of success. Interestingly, L2 students used more clause-length attitude markers, perhaps due to struggling to find a single word or short phrase to succinctly state their opinion. Thus sentences like “*we cannot even begin to grasp the seriousness of this act*” and “*we cannot stand profoundly and say that plagiarism has only one definition, it is a mysterious issue that results in different conclusions*” and “*The free sharing of ideas could in fact benefit society more than just the tight fist ed air of ownership we now choose to exercise*” were almost

exclusively written by L2 students. As can be seen from these examples, often said emotive language was accompanied by *we* or other engagement markers, thus clearly appealing to the reader and thereby reinforcing the force of the statement.

Essay 1: Self-mentions

Self-mentions existed exclusively of self-referential pronouns in this corpus, thus being comprised of *I*, *my*, and *mine*. Thus self-mentions and attitude markers showed a high overlap, in the sense that many self-mentions were also attitude markers since they dealt with opinion. Other self-mentions were used in frame markers, as well as in hedges.

This category had the lowest frequency of use of all interactional types, with an average frequency of 1,8 per essay, or 0,92 per 200 words. However, ten students used no self-mentions whatsoever, meaning that the remaining 22 showed often used self-mentions much more than the average number of times. The student who used self-mentions most often (an L1 English student) used them 9 times, thus at a rate of 4,8 per 200 words.

While the two students who used self-mentions most often were both L1 English students, there was greater variety in the middle ranges of frequency of use. Many L1 English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa students used between 3 and 1 self-mention, while in general Xitsonga and Setswana students used none or only one. However, some students from other language groups also used no self-mentions.

What was also noticeable was the great pains some students seemed to take to avoid referring to themselves, as seen here: "*Behaviourism and constructivism will be discussed as they are the theories **that are personally found** the most valid.*" In some cases this led to excessive use of the passive voice, and occasionally to clumsy phrasing: "*These theories **will be looked at**, they reveal ways of learning and certain principles that describe learning **and thus drawing a conclusion** of the most plausible theory...*" It is possible that students might have been under the impression that they should avoid mentioning themselves, as this is an idea that many students do seem to have; yet it interesting to see how they went about it.

Essay 2: Self-mentions

The use of self-mentions decreased from 5% of all metadiscourse markers to only 1%, making these the least used interactional markers. As with attitude marker, the same students who tended to use many self-mentions in Essay 1 again used several here, though all students decreased their use of self-mentions throughout.

Self-mentions appeared only in frame markers, hedges, and attitude markers; in all three cases said self-mentions were often replaced here with other turns of phrases, as was discussed under the respective categories. As such, 12 students used no self-mentions whatsoever, and those who did mainly used one to three in their essays.

Essay 1: Engagement markers

Engagement markers were the most frequently encountered interactional markers in this corpus, with an average frequency of 4,93 per essay, or 2,58 per 200 words. Six students used no engagement markers whatsoever; these together were from all language backgrounds except Afrikaans. The student who used these markers the most frequently (a Setswana student) used them at a rate of 7,1 per essay, and the top six users of engagement markers all utilised them more than 4 times per 200 words, which is very often. It should also be mentioned that none of these six students were L1 English students, who usually did also use some engagement markers but on average only two or three per essay.

The engagement markers found in this corpus were almost all *we*, *us*, or *our*. While these pronouns could also be considered self-mentions, in this case they were marked as engagement markers due to their nature: they were almost always meant to appeal to the reader as a fellow human. Phrases like *we are all*, *it all ends with us*, *we as humans*, *we as organisms*, appeared very often. In fact, whenever *we* was used it was meant to indicate all of mankind or all living things on earth. This makes sense within this essay since the topic was how organisms learn; students often used the feeling of kinship created by *us* or *we* to build on their argument, and in some cases to show a theory to be inadequate.

Another thing that contributed to the high number of engagement markers is that every separate instance of *we* was counted as another engagement marker. This could not be done otherwise, since some students only wrote *we* once in a sentence, while others used it multiple consecutive times. Such sentences could not otherwise both be considered one equal engagement markers.

Only one student (L1 Afrikaans) addressed the audience directly with *you*, in a frame marker where she announced "*I will show **you** that behaviourism is a theory which is...*" Many students did use *you*, however, but in these cases it was clear that this was meant to refer to people in general, as one would use *one*: "*Cognitivism is the process which is the most relevant to learning because **our** brain is the place where most learning takes place and **you** don't always have to show a certain type of behaviour to acknowledge that learning has taken place.*" Note the difference in this sentence between how the student uses *our* and *you*. Furthermore,

one student (L1 English) addressed the reader with a question, though a rhetorical one: “*How could a horse possess such a intelligence level.*” (Note no question mark, although the question is clear.) As with the pronouns, the question was clearly meant to establish rapport with the reader.

Essay 2: Engagement markers

The use of engagement markers decreased from 15% in Essay 1 to 3% in Essay 2, making this the most significant decrease in metadiscourse use between these essays. As with self-mentions, frequent users of engagement markers in Essay 1 still continued using these somewhat frequently; one student used 27 engagement markers in his essay, the same student who had used the most engagement markers in Essay 1. The average, however, was quite low at a rate of 0,6 per 200 words.

Most users of engagement markers were still L2 writers, mainly Setswana, Xitsonga and isiXhosa students, with Afrikaans and English students using less. However, the nature of said markers did change: while students did still use *we* as an engagement markers, rhetorical questions now made up roughly 35% of all the engagement markers, with some students using this device quite frequently in driving a point home: “*Are we then not being dictators without knowledge? Cruel rulers okay with other people suffering because we chose to wait for the higher bid?*” As seen in this example, *we* was often used in conjunction with rhetorical questions for maximal appeal to the reader. Interestingly, students addressed the reader slightly more regularly than in Essay 1 with sentences such as “*And now I introduce you to...*” and “*Where does one draw the line you might ask*”. The latter also showcases students’ apparent increasing confidence in bringing their message across, which, while not always grammatically correct, was often done with great aplomb.

4.3.4 Summary of essays 1 and 2

Summary of essay 1

A few key observations were made from the analysis of metadiscourse found in the 32 essays in this corpus. In both the case of interactive and interactional metadiscourse it seems clear that most students who contributed to this corpus had a preferred writing style and were quite consistent in their own style. This often meant that students who used hedges frequently used few boosters and vice versa, that students stuck to specific word choices when it came to

transitions, and that they either used self-mentions quite often or avoided mentioning themselves rather actively.

It also appears that most of the students had a relatively limited academic vocabulary. This led to the use of some informal words that imitate spoken rather than written language, such as *so* as a frame marker, and *you* instead of *one* to refer to a person generally. The boosters and hedges used most frequently were usually simple words such as *very*, *much*, *mostly*, *always*, *some* and *more*. This simplicity was also clear in the transitions category, where the most popular transitions were *and*, *but*, *although*, *and not*, *because* and *as*, and more complex contrasts and emphases were consequently not entirely successfully achieved.

Students used frame markers quite regularly, especially making use of the announcement of goals frame marker. This seems to indicate that they felt the need to comply to academic essay structural norms and attempted to do so. This attempt to comply to academic demands was also seen in their use of evidentials, where many students attempted to refer to other scholars from within their as-yet limited knowledge of how to do so.

There were significant differences between each student's preferred choice of metadiscourse items, but some general language-specific differences were also noted. L1 English students generally used fewer interactive markers, except for determiners and frame markers, but showed somewhat greater variety in their use of all interactive markers. The distribution of L1 and L2 English writers was more even in terms of frequency of interactional markers, though L1 English and Afrikaans students tended to use somewhat more of these, and isiXhosa students generally the least. L2 English writers in general used somewhat more hedges, while L1 English students used more boosters; with attitude markers L1 English students were the main group to use a variety of verbs and adverbs to add opinion to a statement. Many L2 writers seemed to avoid referring to themselves, while in turn L1 English writers did not use engagement markers very frequently.

Having pointed out these differences, it should also be noted that the L2 students in question come from a wide variety of backgrounds, as was shown in section 4.2. Correspondingly they did not all write in the same manner, with L1 Afrikaans, isiXhosa, Setswana, Xitsonga and isiZulu students all writing in observably different manners. Even within the same language group no student wrote nearly the same as another. While the influence of language background is clearly a factor, so are a variety of other influences.

Summary of Essay 2

While in general the use of engagement markers and self-mentions decreased, the overall effect of most of the essays in this corpus was one of increased confidence: almost all students showed a greater range of vocabulary, more combinations of hedges, boosters, and attitude markers, addressed the reader with rhetorical questions, and expressed opinion quite vocally. While this may in part be due to the subject matter, it seems clear that students did grow more comfortable in their writing abilities, even if said abilities did not always in fact match said confidence. Furthermore, while hedges were used more often than in Essay 1, the overall effect was usually not one of greater uncertainty but rather showed a better ability to add nuance.

It is worth noting that L2 students made more frequent use of boosters than their L1 counterparts, while L1 writers tended towards using more hedges. L2 writers also used more phrase-type attitude markers, more emphasis-type boosters, and more engagement markers. These findings are discussed at greater length in the following chapter.

4.4 Summary of findings from essays 1 and 2

Since the findings from essays 1 and 2 were juxtaposed throughout this chapter, much comparison has already been accomplished throughout the presentation of said results. In the following section, a summary of general metadiscourse changes found, as expressed through each student's change in metadiscourse use, is provided. To that end, each student's changing use of metadiscourse is mapped in figure 4.12 and 4.13. Further discussion of these findings is then presented in the following chapter.

4.4.1 Interactive markers

Figure 4.12 below illustrates the change in each student's use of metadiscourse markers – since students did not develop uniformly nor stick to language group trends, individual rather than language group specific changes are indicated here. This also provides a more thorough image of the development of the class as a whole.

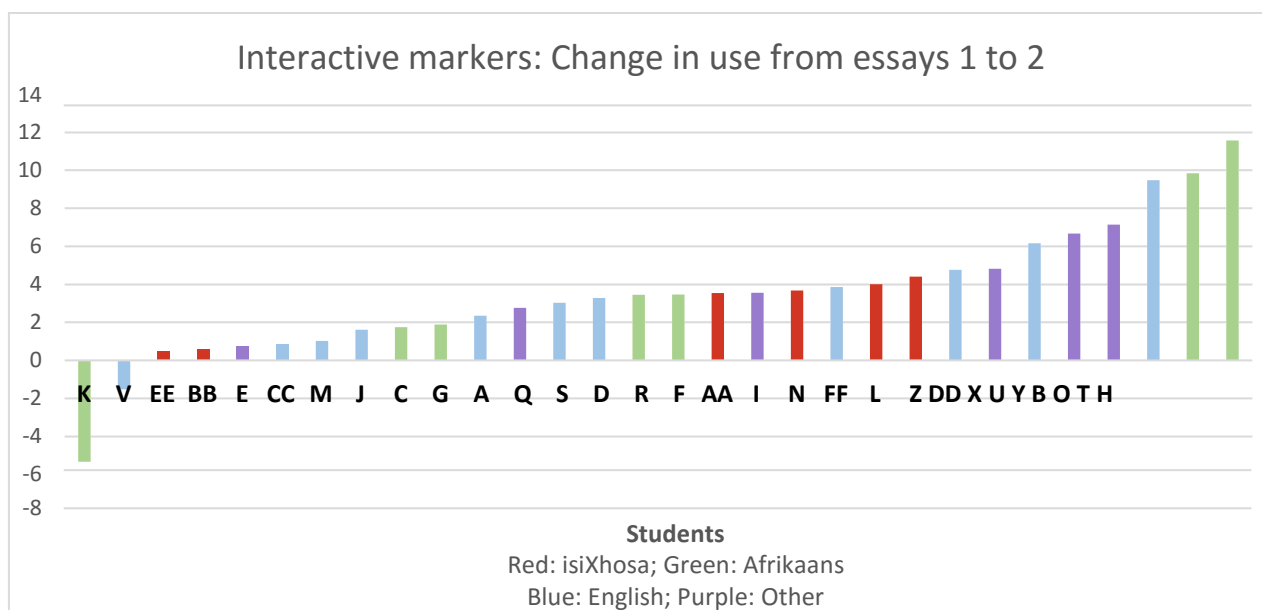


Figure 4.12. Students' changing use of interactive markers from essay 1 to 2

As can be observed, only two students actually decreased in the frequency of their use of interactive markers, an Afrikaans and English student respectively. Both these students used relatively few frame markers and code glosses, and no endophoric markers at all, explaining how their overall use of interactive markers has diminished while both of them still used substantial numbers of transitions. The Afrikaans student in question here (K) also used a very large number of interactive markers in essay 1, while his use thereof in essay 2 decreased to average: thus, while the numbers indicate that his use of markers declined, in fact said change may very well be an indication of fewer overuse of some markers, such as transitions.

While the two students who showed to the most marked increase in use of interactive markers were both L1 Afrikaans students, in general students from all language groups were distributed across the spectrum: some L1 isiXhosa students increased their use of interactive markers slightly, for instance, while other isiXhosa students show a tremendous increase in their use of these markers.

It should be noted that the above graph indicates change in use of interactive markers in general, not distinguishing between a student who used more frequent transitions and a student who used more code glosses. In the results section of this chapter, each interactive marker type was already discussed at length; from this we know that the use of evidentials, transitions, and frame markers generally increased, while students used fewer code glosses than they did in essay 1, and almost negligible numbers of endophoric markers in both essays. The difference between students' use of interactive markers, as well as between essays 1 and 2, are often more visible in the quality of their markers than in the frequency thereof, however, and thus usage patterns

and trends need to be taken into account as much as numbers. In terms of this, a defining change seen between essays 1 and 2 was students’ seemingly larger vocabulary and increased use of marker combinations (such as transitions and frame markers used together).

4.4.2 Interactional markers

Figure 4.13 illustrate the change in students’ use of interactional markers: a negative number shows a decrease in use of markers from essay 1 to 2, thus it can be clearly observed that more than 50% of all the students in this study used fewer interactional markers in essay 2 than in essay 1. This general decrease in use of said markers is due to most students’ less frequent use of engagement markers and self-mentions in essay 2. In general their use of attitude markers decreased slightly as well, while use of hedges and boosters generally increased. It would thus in fact be more accurate to say that the nature of students’ use of interactional markers changed rather than declined.

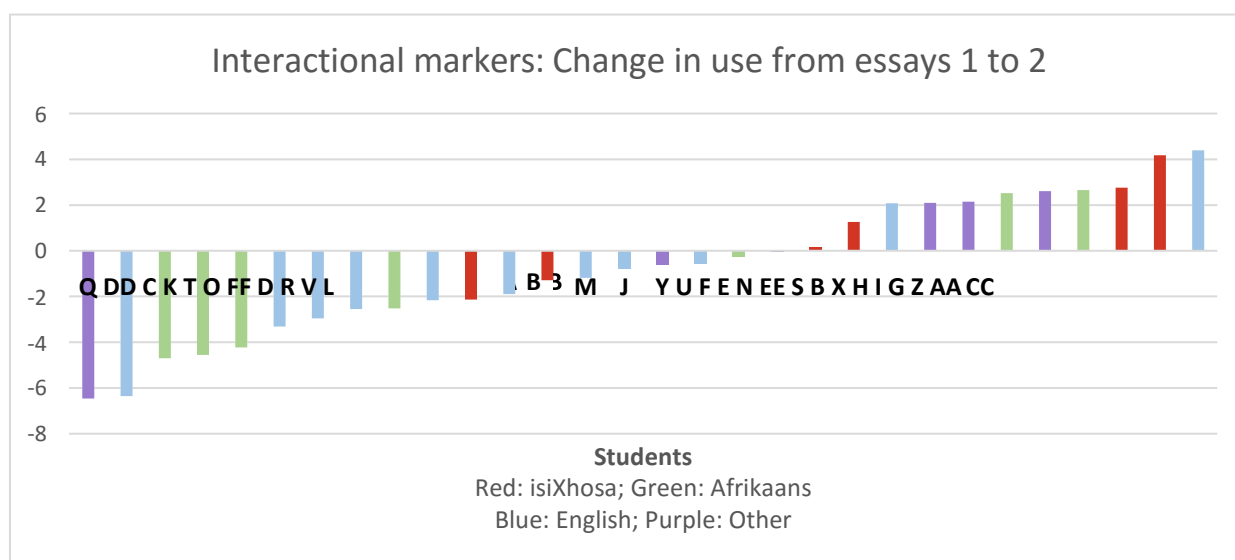


Figure 4.13. Students’ changing use of interactional markers from essay 1 to 2

As with interactive markers, no clear patterns along language lines can be observed from the above graph; however, more language-specific trends were observed under each class of interactional markers. These are discussed in further detail in the next chapter.

4.5 Chapter summary

This chapter provided a detailed description of the results found from the analysis of the questionnaires and essays in this study. It considered students’ linguistic backgrounds and

academic challenges carefully in order to pave the way for thorough discussion in the following chapter. It also examined students' use of all metadiscourse markers, comparing essays 1 and 2 throughout and mentioning, where relevant, the differences in metadiscourse use between L1 and L2 writers. Finally it compared students against themselves and drew inferences from the entire group's use of metadiscourse markers, concluding that use of metadiscourse had changed significantly from essay 1 to 2. The significance of said changes, possible reasons for them, and what this may tell us about these students' voices, is discussed in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5

5.1 Overview

This chapter aims to bring together the theory and relevant concepts discussed in Chapter 2 with the results detailed in Chapter 4, with the purpose of answering the research questions of this study. As such it first discusses the implications of the findings from the questionnaires and textual analyses, comparing these results with other research which may cast light on these findings. Thereafter it systematically answers the research questions, finally using these answers to discuss how these students constructed a voice and identity for themselves as shown through their use of metadiscourse markers. The limitations to this study are also presented, along with suggestions for future research. Finally a conclusion is drawn from the findings made in this chapter, with special reference to the implications of this study on the field of academic writing, specifically in South Africa with the growing need for effective foundational programmes.

5.2 Discussion of the findings from text analyses and questionnaires

5.2.1 Results from questionnaires

Student language preferences

It has been often stated that students from middle class backgrounds have a comparative advantage over other students when they enter university, and that students from a working-class environment, or first-generation students, may experience HEIs as alienating or “othering” (King, 2017; Mzileni, 2017). However, it should be noted that students’ linguistic, social and cultural identities are fluid, and that what might have been true as recently as ten years ago has changed with the advent of social media, increased pop culture influences, and fewer geographical divisions between cultures. This can clearly be seen from the student responses to the language questionnaire: almost all save L1 English students consider English their second language. 59% of them prefer speaking English over any other language, and it is the most consistently used language in their social media communication, pop culture consumption, and communication with friends. English is not the only language spoken, however, as 20 students indicated using Afrikaans to speak with friends (more students than there were L1 Afrikaans speakers in the study), and a variety of other languages were also shown to be used socially and in pop culture consumption, chief of which were isiZulu, isiXhosa, and Afrikaans.

As seen from the students' language of preference and use of various languages, the students in this study do not have a simple or easily definable relationship with English. As recently as 12 years ago some L2 students considered their own, 'African' identities as being in contrast with the dominant English discourse (De Kadt & Mathonsi, 2004). While English is undoubtedly still the dominant language in HEIs, students themselves seem to have since made a shift towards increased use of English, and correspondingly towards a more fluid mixture of cultural and linguistic identities. Among these students, at least with regards to their own perception of their language skills and preferences, there is thus no clear dichotomy between English and other languages. This presents a new challenge: how to choose from these myriad options and discourse communities when producing academic texts.

Student language challenges

Based on the students' reported language challenges, most students consider academic writing and comprehension to be their biggest challenges. However, these two words encompass much of what was also mentioned separately by some students, such as grammar, vocabulary, and reading skill. Thus, although most students did not indicate feeling specifically challenged in terms of grammar or terminology, amongst others, it is in fact implied. However, this does not necessarily mean that students are aware of this: from their answers it appears that many perceive the entire vague field of "writing" to be challenging, but they might not consider themselves to have an inadequate vocabulary or feel that they struggle to read academic texts. The significance of their answers is thus not in determining where they might truly experience shortcomings, but rather in observing how students perceive their own skills, thereby thus determining their authorial confidence.

The phrasing of the questions clearly had an impact on students' answers. When asked whether they felt capable of academic writing, every student replied "yes". However, asked just after that where they felt they could most improve, and most of the respondents wrote "academic writing". This likely means that most of these students considered themselves to be both capable and in need of improvement, statements that are not necessarily paradoxical. What also comes into play is the concept of academic writing itself: how students perceive this discipline would have influenced their answers. Thus, from the vagueness of their answers it appears that they have not yet spent much time analysing everything that academic writing entails and expects of them. Nonetheless, they did clearly understand that some level of increased skill

was needed in future, yet seemed to consider themselves to have mastered the minimum requirements for said writing.

Students' perceptions of their own writing abilities and challenges highlights the importance of their entire context. Each student's language abilities is not only formed through various influences and interactions, but, importantly, each student perceives his/her language abilities differently. This information thus served as a useful starting point in considering how each student's confidence and perceived challenges affects his/her writing.

5.2.2 Interactive markers in essays 1 and 2

Main observations

The use of interactive markers is mainly meant to “clarify your steps, signpost your arguments and disclaim any untenable interpretations of ambiguous concepts” (Abdi, 2009:10). From their use of said markers, students knew from the beginning that they needed to build clarity and coherence into their writing if they were to make themselves understood. Thus interactive markers, specifically code glosses, transitions and frame markers, were used quite consistently by students in essay 1. In other words, although there was variety in frequency of use of said markers, students all used words and phrases that somewhat resembled each other, building coherence and textual cohesion into their essays through roughly the same words. In the case of essay one, said words were limited: all the transitions used totalled roughly 25 different expressions, for example. In essay 2, students diverged somewhat more, showing more variety in their vocabulary than they had five months previously, and appearing less similar to each other in their use of interactive markers as well.

The above shows how students expanded their range of available expressions; however, at the same time they all increasingly subscribed to academic norms. This was especially apparent in their use of evidentials and frame markers, which were more standardised than in essay 1. The result is that, where clear academic guidelines were provided (as with frame markers and evidentials), students' writing resembled each other's. In other areas, such as with frame marker verbs (*discuss, investigate, etc.*), transitions and code glosses, students expanded their productive vocabulary in different ways, and chose words according to their own abilities, preferences and perceptions of good academic writing.

Said expansion revealed both students' intentions and their actual grasp of grammatically correct English writing: in essay 2 transitions, code glosses and frame markers were used

incorrectly more often than in essay 1, which could often be a direct result of students' expanding verbosity – their reach sometimes exceeded their grasp. However, this research does not investigate students' academic grades or linguistic skills as such, aiming rather to understand how they craft their voices within this academic sphere. From this point of view it appears that students became more comfortable over time in their attempts to create meaning, increasingly combining different markers and crafting more complex sentences. In addition, they did this through using both acquired academic writing knowledge and their own linguistic preferences.

Discussion of interactive markers in essays 1 and 2

Transitions were the most frequently used metadiscourse type in both essays, a result which corresponds with other research done on metadiscourse use among both students and other groups (Hyland & Tse, 2004; Abdi, 2009; Jordaan, 2014; Ashgar, 2015). It was also noted that L2 writers, especially Afrikaans students, used more frequent transitions than their L1 English classmates in essay 1, while in essay 2 no language group used significantly more transitions than others. Vasiljevic (2013:9) and Crossley, Kyle and McNamara (2016:3) explain that both more experienced and L1 students often employ fewer connective devices (i.e. transitions) since they themselves are more fluent in inferring relationships between concepts. In turn, L2 or less experienced writers tend to struggle with cause-and-effect and comparative relationships especially, often resorting to either using repetitive additions or very explicit causal transitions (Jordaan, 2014:204; Vasiljevic, 2013:8). The use of both tactics were observed in the essays in this study. As writers became more experienced and the need for explicit connectives decreased, they used fewer comparative transitions, instead employing more frequent and varied consequence transitions.

In both essays L1 English students used a greater variety if not frequency of transitions; in essay 1 this was especially apparent in their use of comparisons and consequences, while in essay 2 their use of determiners and comparisons was more varied. Jiang (2015:91) explains that inexperienced students, especially L2 writers, often lack lexical diversity when writing, thus opting to repeat familiar words, a finding which was also corroborated by Ashgar's (2015) analysis of Pakistani students' L2 writing. Use of transitions in essay 2 was also more complex across the board: students from all language backgrounds used a larger range of transitions and combined said transitions in more complex ways. The move from simple transitions such as *but* and *so* to longer transitions such as *therefore* and *however* is noted to be a typical result of

exposure to English academic writing (Li & Wharton, 2012:351). Yet the most frequent mistakes in both essays remained overuse of certain transitions (such as *and*); in essay 2 this overuse was in fact more frequent due to students' increased sentence lengths.

Students' use of code glosses decreased significantly in essay 2; furthermore, differences in frequency of use between language groups became more pronounced, with L2 writers using more code glosses in essay 2 than their English counterparts. In essay 1, L2 students showed a more clear preference for one or two types of code glosses, often used repetitively, while in essay 2 L2 students had seemingly widened their scope of code gloss usage, but still made more frequent grammar mistakes than the L1 writers.

Almost all students used somewhat more frame markers in essay 2 than they did in essay 1, especially increasing their use of the 'revisiting goals' frame marker subtype, with L1 writers using more frame markers in both essays. Similarly, Ashgar (2015:324) found that L2 students, especially if new to academic writing, need significant training in the use of frame markers before using these adequately. Accompanying verbs (such as *discuss*, *investigate* or *look at*) were more varied in essay 2, especially among L1 writers, while most students cut out both self-mentions and excessive use of passive voice from their frame markers in essay 2. Frame markers were also markedly more complex in essay 2, with students often combining sequencers, stage labels, and announcing of goals in one clause. Their use of frame markers was thus a good example of how they gradually grew to conform to academic genre conventions as they became more familiar with these. Lamberti (2013:196) describes students' use of frame markers as a safe way to create explicit coherence in their texts; in her findings as well as here there is the impression that students consider frame markers an academically approved way of meeting readers' needs for structure.

Students' use of evidentials increased very significantly between essays 1 and 2, as they learned how to cite according to academic standards. There was no noteworthy difference in frequency of evidentials between language groups, although in essay 2 L2 writers again used a smaller range of verbs to accompany their evidentials, chief among which was "*states that*". Other citation mistakes were made equally by all language groups.

Lastly, the use of endophoric markers quadrupled in essay 2, but still comprised only a small percentage of overall marker use. Almost all students who used endophoric markers in essay 2 were L2 writers, which again points to L2 students' more frequent need to establish explicit coherence within their texts through all the devices available to them (Vasiljevic, 2013:8).

5.2.3 Interactional markers in essays 1 and 2

Main observations

In essay 1 students diverged more from each other in their use of interactional markers than of interactive markers, and this was also the case in essay 2. Some students used numerous instances of inclusive “we”, for instance, while others avoided these entirely. Self-mentions were similarly inconsistently distributed across the student corpus. However, as with their use of interactive markers, the influence of instruction in academic writing clearly made itself felt, producing different (though often equally divergent) trends in interactional marker use in essay 2.

Since interactional markers are the most explicit means available to students to convey their stance and engagement in a text, and thus relate to the reader, the above-mentioned changes were very significant. Students appeared to have filtered writing instruction through the lens of their own contexts, in the process producing varied examples of what they consider to be academic writing. These examples could often be roughly divided according to language background distinctions, with L2 students, for instance, appearing to favour the use of engagement markers. Each interactional marker was, finally, an indication of these student’s linguistic resources as expressed through the devices they chose to use.

Differences between essay 1 and essay 2

Abdi (2009:12) points out that culture has a marked effect on writers’ use of hedges and boosters especially, since their cultural backgrounds dictate to some extent what is considered convincing argumentation. This is an important consideration here since students’ use of said boosters and hedges did indeed differ noticeably. In both essays a strong link was found between students’ use of hedges, boosters and attitude markers; with boosters especially being used to often create a hedge and/or attitude marker. In essay 1, L1 writers tended to use fewer hedges than their L2 peers, while in essay 2 all language groups used hedges roughly equally, though with a difference in quality and variety between the language groups. In essay 2 the use of hedges also expanded to include tentative descriptions of referenced sources’ opinion, with verbs such as *claims that*, *suggest that*, and *believes that* which were not found at all in essay 1, due to students’ infrequent use of evidentials there.

Furthermore, in essay 1 L1 English writers seemed to prefer boosters over hedges, while in turn many L2 writers used higher numbers of hedges, perhaps pointing to a lower level of

confidence in their writing. In essay 2 this was no longer the case, with L2 students in fact using boosters more frequently than their L1 peers. The types of boosters preferred also changed; while in essay 1 boosters were more frequently of the 'emphasis' kind, in essay 2 students tended to use definite and booster-type verbs, and even make forceful recommendations. While said increased use of boosters may indicate greater confidence in writing, Jiang (2015:91) and Lamberti (2013:207) point out that L2 writers often struggle to attain the correct balance between writer confidence and measured arguments, in the process overusing boosters. Jordaan (2014:202) similarly mentions that boosters are often an indication that too few evidentials were used and that instead, students attempt to convince readers of their argument through sheer personal conviction.

In a comparison between two groups of L2 writers, Li and Wharton (2012:352) found that the more exposed writers were to English academic genre conventions, the more they preferred non-committal statements and used fewer boosters. In the case of this study, however, L2 students especially increased rather than decreased their use of boosters, an interesting result since their L1 classmates did seem to pick up the tendency to decrease use of boosters over the course of the semester. Hyland (2005:177) suggests that this is often the case among L2 writers since they tend to approach academic writing as they would face-to-face communication. Furthermore, in some cultures other than English, exaggerations are the believable norm (Hyland, 2005:131). From L2 students' use of boosters, I got the impression that they internalised the need for better argumentative writing, opting to use boosters as an obvious way to address this problem. As such, boosters are clearly a linguistic device employed by students to compensate for perceived lack of resources (Oweis, 2013:245).

Use of attitude markers decreased somewhat in Essay 2; Jordaan (2014:202) posits that this may be because students gradually learn to replace markers of own opinion with weightier evidentials. In essay 1 students often chose to use either boosters or hedges to convey an attitude: so L2 students often expressed attitude tentatively (through hedges), while L1 writers more regularly combined their attitude markers with boosters. In essay 2, on the other hand, attitude markers were most often linked to boosters alone, and attitudes in general were expressed with both greater confidence and complexity (through use of sarcasm, irony, recommendations, and combinations of booster-hedge type phrases). One unchanging factor is that the same students who showed an inclination to use frequent attitude markers in essay 1 continued doing so in essay 2. This was one of the few categories where individual students did not significantly alter the frequency of their use of a marker. Students' increased use of

boosters in essay 2 is also interesting since it points out how they choose to affiliate themselves. Many students for instance were very indignant about the high rate of plagiarism in HE and used boosters and attitude markers to express said indignance. They themselves are writing in an academic environment, and their stance towards the topic implies their awareness of the audience, for whom they are, after all, writing.

In essay 1, engagement markers were the most frequently employed types of interactional markers, used most often by L2 writers. Hyland (2005:132) mentions the effect of culture on use of engagement markers, holding forth that said markers are often considered to promote solidarity in some lingua-cultures. This provides a possible explanation for L2 writers' tendency to use these markers. In essay 2, however, use thereof decreased sharply. The nature of said markers also changed, with rhetorical questions forming a much larger proportion of engagement markers in essay 2. Hyland (2005:177) considers this strategy to be typical of both L1 and L2 writers who are as yet inexperienced in academic writing. Nonetheless, the use of rhetorical questions were somewhat less informal than the inclusive "we" preferred in essay 1. Self-mentions similarly decreased in essay 2, a result which is common among students as they become more acquainted with the expectations of the academic genre (Hyland, 2005:177; Li & Wharton, 2012:352; Jordaan, 2014:202). Yet, again students who showed a preference for self-mentions in essay 1 were the same ones to use them in essay 2.

5.3 Answering the research questions

5.3.1. What linguistic resources did the students bring to the academic environment?

In Chapter 3, linguistic resources were shortly described as both the contextual and linguistic knowledge students bring with them when producing academic texts. The more tangible of these resources entail English writing and communicative experience, and concomitant knowledge of the relevant grammatical rules, textual norms, and vocabulary, both productive and receptive.

Nizonkiza (2016:170) points out that 'receptive vocabulary' (students' ability to understand a given text) is a good predictor of 'productive vocabulary' (or students' ability to produce a specific text), with students in general being able to produce between 50% and 80% of the words they can comprehend. As such, the students in this study's answers to the language questionnaire, where almost all indicated that they feel able to both read and write academic English, may indicate that they possess a significant degree of vocabulary resources; which in

turn leads to greater productive capacity and proficiency. However, Nizonkiza (2016:273) also points out that during the vocabulary attainment process, students often have the ability to understand a text while still having little control over how well they themselves produce a similar text. The often limited and repetitive use of metadiscourse in many of the essays analysed here points to this fact: that while students understand a large variety of words, they are still in the process of achieving control over their own writing (Staples & Reppen, 2016).

Various potential indicators or resources were mentioned throughout this chapter and Chapter 4 – amongst other things, it was noted that L1 and L2 students differed in their use of metadiscourse, specifically in essay 1 where they had not yet become familiar with academic writing conventions. Some of these differences point to a clear difference in resources: more limited English vocabulary among L2 writers, as well as their lack of skill in the creation of coherence, which led to either increased or fluctuating use of interactive markers (especially transitions and code glosses). Students' social and contextual resources were also apparent, mainly in their use of interactional markers: in essay 1 L1 students appeared more comfortable expressing attitude or using self-mention, amongst other things probably a function of their more individualist culture, while L2 students tended to use markers that point to a more collectivist background. However, the intention here is not to roughly group the L2 students here under a 'collectivist' heading – this would be simplistic and miss the variety of resources both L1 and L2 students brought to this setting. Students who did use high rates of connectives, for instance, might thereby have indicated a lack of cohesive savvy, but these also often made the structure and argumentation of an essay easier to follow. In that regard students' perceived shortcomings may in fact have improved their writing as they strove to compensate. In short, students' backgrounds, whatever these were, could be and often were converted into linguistic resources during the writing of these essays.

5.3.2 What linguistic devices did they employ in writing these essays?

Oweis (2013:247) identifies several ways of identifying spoken communication strategies or devices, among which are listed repairs, appeals, and repetitive attempts to reformulate a message. In the case of written text, these devices can be clearly observed in use as code glosses, transitions, and occasionally in other metadiscoursal categories as well. Here it is worth noting that use of code glosses dwindled among L1 students in essay 2, so that almost only L2 writers used them. This is meaningful since many of these code glosses, such as *or rather* and the use of parentheses, is clearly a repair or attempt to reformulate. Appeals, in turn, were clearly used more often by L2 students since they used engagement markers quite frequently.

Oweis also mentions the fact that L2 students often showcase a clear desire to “communicate “meaning” to an audience as seen through covert and overt clues” (Oweis, 2013:247). In the case of this study, the use of this device is often proven mainly in the students’ use of interactional metadiscourse such as hedges and boosters. In essay 2, especially, L2 writers used frequent boosters to communicate said meaning very overtly. However, L2 writers were naturally not the only ones to use linguistic devices; it should be kept in mind that the L1 writers were to a large extent also initially unfamiliar with academic writing, and showed many of the devices typical of a writer attempting to communicate in a new language.

Some compensatory strategies which are also relevant to this study are all-purpose words, the use of stock phrases, and approximations (Oweis, 2013:255), all of which can be found in both corpora in question among both L1 and L2 students’ writing.

5.3.3 What was the change in these devices and resources over six months?

Over the period between the writing of essays 1 and 2, the students in question clearly acquired new skills with which to approach academic writing. They in turn converted said skills into devices to improve the clarity and quality of their writing, most notably through improved and increased use of evidentials and frame markers. Their grasp of academic writing norms were apparent in their decreased use of both self-mentions and engagement markers, although the essay topics did call for some personal engagement and even self-mention in their writing.

In some cases students appeared to overreact to what they had been taught of acceptable writing norms. This was manifested in sometimes repetitive and unnecessary use of evidentials in essay 2, sometimes clumsy avoidance of self-mention, and, in the case of L2 writers, an excessive use of boosters to demonstrate assertiveness. These overreactions will likely even out over time as students become more intuitively familiar with the conventions of academic writing.

Finally, students showed an increased grasp of complexity and use of devices to achieve that, combining different metadiscourse markers much more frequently in essay 2 than in essay 1. Similarly, their vocabularies all appeared to expand, although this is likely also due to the longer time available to them for the writing of essay 2. Nonetheless, students used a greater variety of transitions, verbs in their hedges and frame markers, clause-length attitude markers, and adjectives and adverbs in essay 2, all pointing towards a growing academic vocabulary.

5.3.4 What was the difference between the L1 and L2 writers?

As discussed in sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2, students clearly brought different resources to the academic environment, and accordingly employed different linguistic devices. Every student was unique in writing preferences and it would thus be unwise to consider them only along L1 and L2 lines. Nevertheless, many of the above differences in resources and devices could indeed be traced back to differences in language backgrounds. Many of these differences have already been discussed at length, and are thus shortly summarised.

L1 students used more frequent indicators of individual identity such as self-mentions, attitude markers and boosters, especially in essay 1. In turn, L2 writers tended to use more devices to create coherence, such as transitions and code glosses, as well as indicators of collective identity, often found in engagement markers.

By the time these students wrote essay 2, however, many of the above difference became less salient – for example, L2 writers now used just as many and often more attitude markers and boosters as L1 writers. The difference between these language groups was now more apparent in the quality, rather than the quantity, of their metadiscourse markers. So L1 writers continued using a greater variety of transitions, descriptive verbs, adverbs and adjectives. While L2 writers had clearly also expanded their vocabulary, they remained somewhat more limited in their use of various markers.

5.4 Metadiscourse as evidence of voice

5.4.1 Factors that influence students' authorial voice

De Kadt and Mathonsi (2004:93) point out that in South Africa especially, identity and language go hand in hand. Kaschula (2016:210) reiterates this, also arguing that “it is language that underpins indigenous knowledge, knowledge formation, African identity, and culture”. This “African identity” is open to individual interpretation, however, and is not restricted to simple demarcations of culture. In relation to this, Hyland (2005:116) argues that, although it is an indelible influence, an excessive focus on culture can simplify the complicated matter of voice creation and can misinterpret or simplify student writing analysis in the process. In Chapter 2 several influencing factors of culture were discussed, amongst others the fact that this may determine students' reader orientation and their tendency to write from an individualist or collectivist standpoint.

The fact that many L2 students preferred using engagement markers over self-mentions may point to the collectivist roots of their culture. Similarly, some L2 students' impassioned use of boosters and attitude markers may be due to the higher value their culture places on what could be perceived as exaggeration in English academic writing. However, these phenomena were likely also influenced by the simple fact that students felt the need to frequently boost their findings with strongly worded interactional markers due to their perceived deficit in academic writing resources (Oweis, 2013:247). On the other hand, students may have become increasingly self-confident in their writing, resultingly experimenting with metadiscoursal expressions they would not before have used, hence the increased use of boosters in essay 2.

Oostendorp and Anthonissen (2014:72) point to the inherent heteroglossia in South African universities, and to the opposing centripetal and centrifugal forces at play in such an environment, pushing towards both unification and disparity in academic discourse. "Selfhood is constructed in the process of writing" says Canagarajah (2004:270). As it is often easier to negotiate an identity through writing rather than being limited to the immediacy of speech, this can become the field where students grapple with complex influencers of identity (Oweis, 2013; Canagarajah, 2004). Depending on their own motivations, students may concede more to either centripetal or to centrifugal forces, or they may remain engaged with both. This conflict and how multilingual students engage with it can lead to different means of developing voice; whether through avoidance of the issue, or accommodation of the dominant language of discourse. Canagarajah (2004:274-278) proposes an alternative, namely that multilingual students employ transposition in their mastery of academic language, which is described as a strategic approach to academic writing in which a writer tailors his/her message to the audience while combining aspects from his/her L1 to craft a distinctive voice.

From students' responses on their questionnaires, they function within more than one lingua-culture, and they do not seem to consider English as alien to them. Rather, their frequent vague references to academic writing and to their observed challenges within this field itself suggests that they are still daunted by its implications. While they might confidently function in English in social realms, academic English is a new challenge. This applies to both L1 and L2 students, all of whom juggle various identities, speak more than one language, and bring their heteroglossic contexts to class. However, it may be doubly so for L2 writers who, whether consciously or not, bring a different language skill set to Higher Education.

An HEI such as Stellenbosch University is in essence a multicultural environment. As such it is necessary to keep in mind the various cultural backgrounds that students bring with them, but also how these interact with and influence each other in this context (Mzileni, 2017). From their answers to questions about their language preferences the students themselves have become able to craft multilingual identities for themselves. Nonetheless, they are still oftentimes L2 speakers of English and all are enrolled in the EDP programme. As such it should be kept in mind that the university itself necessarily problematises them, considering them to be at an institutional or educational disadvantage, and this could influence their identities as developing academics (Marshall, 2009:41).

These first-year students also undergo various important transitions. They are encountering academic writing for the first time, but also negotiating new social, linguistic and learning cultures. This means that students are practicing agency and claiming ownership on a new level, which can be both daunting and empowering (De Kadt & Mathonsi, 2004:93; Marshall, 2009). “Graduation from secondary school and acceptance to (...) university means for many multilingual students that they feel they have become an identity: the identity of a legitimate university student” (Marshall, 2009:45). This is especially meaningful in South Africa given our political and sociocultural history, and the significance of their new position as students is most likely not lost on the students in question.

5.4.2 What the metadiscourse use in this study indicated

In most of the essays that were analysed, I observed a mixture of Canagarajah’s (2004) classifications of avoidance, accommodation, and transposition techniques, though the latter may have been accidental rather than strategic. Students necessarily brought their contexts and, often unconsciously, their values into their writing. Yet it was clear that at this stage most of them were focusing on wrestling their use of academic language into submission, rather than on interacting with their own various sociolinguistic resources and bringing them into their writing in a coherent way. As a result, students’ voice seemed to fluctuate. They often appeared very assertive in one paragraph, using boosters and attitude markers with apparent confidence, only to contradict themselves with markers of tentativity, or the wrong transitions, in the next paragraph.

Katznelson, Perpignon and Rubin (2001:157) point out that students also benefit from a variety of ‘by-products’ when they are taught academic writing, especially when they observe their own progress, among which are increased self-esteem and confidence. This increase in

confidence in turn decreases writing apprehension, and thus facilitates better learning. In the essays that were analysed in this study, it did appear that students seized upon the chance to make use of whatever writing guidelines they were taught, notably using frame markers and evidentials to add credibility to their writing. With this certainty that they were doing something 'by the book' came added confidence, and this led to increased use of more complex interactional markers and other markers of voice.

5.5 Limitations to the study

This study investigated the use of metadiscourse markers by a select multilingual group of EDP students. Since it was intended to provide a detailed account of said students' linguistic resources and devices, the sample size was quite small (32 students in total). Although findings from these students' use of metadiscourse were corroborated by several other studies done in similar contexts (Gholami *et al.*, 2014; Jordaan, 2014; Ashgar, 2015; Lee & Deakin, 2016, etc.), the limited sample size implies that said findings are not necessarily generalisable to the wider South African Higher Education field.

Furthermore, while this study focused specifically on voice, room remains to further investigate how students' use of metadiscourse markers also influence their grades. Helms-Park and Stapleton (2003) contend that voice is not a reliable indicator of student performance and that focus should instead be placed on teaching L2 students the necessary skills so that they may master academic writing. I would argue that achieving a coherent voice is in and of itself an indicator of having mastered academic writing skills. Yet, it is also true that students might confuse the issue and attempt to craft a voice for themselves at the cost of reliable and coherent argumentation. Lee and Deakin (2016) investigated the link between the use of interactional metadiscourse and students' academic success; a similar study would also be beneficial to determine specifically how EDP students may successfully become academic writers through their use of metadiscourse.

This study also encountered many forms of metadiscourse misuse which it could not fully explore, pointing towards the need for further exploration of first years students' incorrect use of metadiscourse, and what this implies in terms of voice and academic success. Finally, research aimed specifically at students in foundational programmes in South Africa is still quite scarce. Much investigation of the factors influencing said students' identities, writing proficiency, and contextual influences remain to be done.

5.6 Conclusion

Developing an authentic voice in a genre is a complicated matter, especially when the writer is at a perceived disadvantage like the EDP students in this study. This is further complicated when a student must negotiate various divergent lingua-cultures to create a consistent identity and voice (De Kadt & Mathonsi, 2004:93). In that regard, Kaschula (2016:205) points out the important role that universities themselves can play by creating “identity security” through increasingly multilingual approaches to Higher Education. In such a space, multilingualism and the heteroglossia inherent to academic discourse can contribute to a diverse body of academic discourse where students learn to negotiate their own language identities while successfully mastering academic writing. Centripetal and centrifugal forces will necessarily be in conflict in a multilingual classroom such as this one, yet this can be a resource, both for students writing from different contexts and for the classroom (Oostendorp & Anthonissen, 2014:81).

This study aimed to cast light on the development of academic writing skills among EDP students, by focusing expressly on their use of metadiscourse markers and how they craft new academic identities for themselves from the resources available to them. It found that said students benefit from instruction in academic writing both in terms of increased skills and increased confidence, but that their individual sociolinguistic backgrounds play a significant role in how they apply these writing skills. After six months of instruction, differences between L1 and L2 writers remained visible in their texts, yet all showed increased use of complexity and nuance in their writing. Over time this complexity will hopefully be accompanied by increasingly consistent and coherent writing, so that students may eventually find themselves bolstered in confidence by the fluency of their academic writing, and in turn have their academic writing improved by the authoritative voices they have crafted for themselves. With this research I hope to participate in a conversation that critically engages the South African academic discourse community in developing the skills of multilingual foundational programme students in a sustainable and validating manner. I envisage that such an endeavour would allow room for students to incorporate their valuable contextual resources while guiding them towards a viable and robust use of academic language.

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Addendum A: Language profile questionnaire



UNIVERSITEIT-SELLENBOSCH-UNIVERSITY
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Language profile questionnaire

1. Biographic information

Please circle or fill in the appropriate answer

1. Name and surname:			
2. Age:			
3. Gender:	Male	Female	Other
4. Degree being studied:			
5. Is this your first year as a student?	Yes	No	
<i>If your answer is "No", please fill in what you have studied before:</i>			
6. Nationality:			
7. Province of origin (if in South Africa):	N/A		

2. Home and social language profile

Please circle or fill in the appropriate answer

8. What languages are spoken at your home?					
	<i>Please write languages below</i>	9.1 Can you understand this language?	9.2 Can you speak this language?	9.3 Can you read this language?	9.4 Can you write in this language?
Language 1		Yes No	Yes No	Yes No	Yes No
Language 2		Yes No	Yes No	Yes No	Yes No
Language 3		Yes No	Yes No	Yes No	Yes No
Language 4		Yes No	Yes No	Yes No	Yes No



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10. Which of these language(s) do you speak most often?	
11. Which of these language(s) do you prefer speaking?	

12. What languages do you use with your friends most often?				
<i>Name the languages:</i>	Language 1	Language 2	Language 3	Language 4
13. When you watch TV programmes or films, in what languages are these?				
<i>Name the languages:</i>	Language 1	Language 2	Language 3	Language 4
14. In which languages do you interact on social media?				
<i>Name the languages:</i>	Language 1	Language 2	Language 3	Language 4
15. Are there any areas within your life where you use other languages? If so, please write these down and explain where you use these languages.				



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3. Academic language profile

Please circle or fill in the appropriate answer

16. In what languages do you primarily study?				
	<i>Please write languages below</i>	17.1 Do you feel capable of reading academic material in these languages?		17.2 Do you feel capable of writing academically in these languages?
Language 1		Yes	No	Yes No
Language 2		Yes	No	Yes No
Language 3		Yes	No	Yes No
18. In which areas of academic language (understanding, reading, writing) do you feel you could most improve? (be specific if possible)				



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Addendum B: Essay 1 assignment

Texts in the Humanities 113: 2013

Cognitive learning theory

Written assignment

Write an essay in which you define and discuss cognitive learning theory. In addition to outlining important aspects of TWO of the three frameworks that were discussed in class (i.e. Behaviorism, Cognitivism and Constructivism), your essay should discuss explanations for the ways in which the mind understands and integrates new knowledge (or simply, “how we learn”). Finally, discuss which framework best describes the way in which we acquire new knowledge. You need to make reference to at least one controlled psychological experiment that was discussed in class in order to corroborate your point of view.

Your answer should be **1- 1 ½ pages** in length and must take the form of well-structured paragraphs with an introduction and conclusion.

This essay is designed to assess your writing capabilities and the ways in which you are able to express your argument and point of view. DO NOT STRESS if you cannot recall the particulars of each theory – focus on constructing a good argument based on what you know about the subject.

Addendum C: Essay 2 assignment

Texts in the Humanities 113: Semester Essay 2016

Copying and plagiarism in contemporary society

Now, the academics in the audience may think, “Well, that sounds like plagiarism”³...

This essay requires to you to show an in-depth understanding of the notions of ‘copying’ and ‘plagiarism’, and how these concepts differs in two different contemporary social contexts: the fashion industry and the context of Higher Education (HE).

1. Initial reading activities

- a) Using the **E-Books** database on the library website (www.sun.ac.za/library), find two applicable background texts on ‘plagiarism’ and ‘copyright’. Make sure that you understand what these concepts mean and how they apply to both an academic and non-academic context.
- b) Read **Park’s (2003)** article on plagiarism in an academic context well, making sure that you understand his central argument and can identify his main points. You must use Park’s article to understand why plagiarism is considered a moral or ethical issue in HE, and to gain an understanding of the notion of ‘digital plagiarism’, as well as how technology is assisting in detecting plagiarism in an academic context.
- c) Read about the claims of plagiarism against the former German Minister of Education Anette Schaven in a 2013 article from Science magazine: <http://www.sciencemag.org/content/339/6121/747.full.pdf>
- d) Watch **Johanna Blakley’s (2010) Ted Talk** *Lessons from fashion’s free culture*, making sure that you understand her central argument and can identify her main points. You must use Blakley’s Ted Talk to identify how copying is conceptualised in the fashion industry, and how it differs from an HE context. Pay attention to words such as ‘replicate’ as well as ‘trademark protection’.
- e) Read about the claims of plagiarism against the famous fashion designer Isabel Marant in a 2015 article from The Guardian: *Inspiration or plagiarism? Mexicans seek reparations*

³ Blakley (2010)

for French designer's look-alike blouse: <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2015/jun/17/mexican-mixe-blouse-isabel-marant>

2. Writing the essay

- a) Your assignment must have an introduction where you include an opening statement, a thesis statement and a preview to your essay.

Length: one paragraph or approximately 150 words.

- b) The second section of your essay must present an overview of the notions of 'copying' and 'plagiarism' in an academic context. You must discuss the complexities of plagiarism in an academic context and relate it to technology and the concept of 'digital plagiarism'. This section you must refer to the case of Annette Schavan.

Length: three paragraphs or approximately 500 words.

- c) The third section of your essay must present an overview of the ways on which 'copying' and 'plagiarism' is understood in the fashion industry. In this section you must refer to The Guardian article and the accusations against Isabel Marant.

Length: three paragraphs or approximately 500 words.

- d) The fourth section of your essay must highlight the similarities and differences regarding copying and attribution in the fashion industry and academia. In this section you must also draw attention to *why* these differences exist and whether the conventions in either of the contexts *should* or *could* change in the future. Then, supposing that they should or could change, briefly discuss the possible implications of this.

Length: one paragraph or approximately 150 words.

- e) Finally, your essay must have a conclusion wherein you provide a summary of your main points.

Length: one paragraph or approximately 150 words.

3. Typographical requirements

- a) Use Times New Roman, Calibri or Arial letter type, 12 point font size and 1.5 spacing.
- b) Your essay must have a cover page with a title, your name, your student number, the date, and your course name on it.
- c) No illustrations, plastic sleeves or ring binders. Staple the essay together in the top left-hand corner.
- d) Number your pages.
- e) Length: 1500 words (excluding your cover page and bibliography)

4. Submission dates

- a) The drafting of this essay consists of smaller tasks which will be completed in class and for homework throughout the 2nd term.
- b) **Peer-assessment** takes place in class in Week 14 of term (the last week of term). You must bring your essay to class so that you can hand it to one of your classmates, who will fill in an assessment form regarding your essay. Essays cannot be reviewed if you do not bring them to class to be peer-reviewed. **The person who completes the peer-assessment form receives a point for their commentary of the essay.**
- c) The submission **deadline** for the assignment is **Friday 20 May 2016**. Late essays will be penalised by 5% every day. Essays must be submitted through *turnitin*.
- d) Save a copy of your essay before you hand it in.

Addendum D: Hyland's (2005) list of metadiscourse items for investigation

Appendix: Metadiscourse items investigated

These are the search items used in this book as potentially realizing metadiscourse functions. It must be remembered, of course, that all items can realize either propositional or metadiscoursal meanings and that many can express either interactive or interpersonal meanings. Every instance should therefore be studied in its sentential co-text.

Interactive Metadiscourse

Code Glosses

—
()
as a matter of fact
called
defined as
e.g.
for example
for instance
I mean
i.e.
in fact
in other words
indeed
known as
namely
or X
put another way
say
specifically
such as
that is

that is to say
that means
this means
viz
which means

Endophoric Markers

(In) Chapter X
(In) Part X
(In) Section X
(In) the X chapter
(In) the X part
(In) the X section
(In) This chapter
(In) This part
(In) This section

Example X
Fig. X
Figure X
P. X

Page X	third
Table X	thirdly
	to begin
	to start with
X above	
X before	
X below	
X earlier	b) label stages
X later	all in all
	at this point
	at this stage
Evidentials	by far
(date)/(name)	for the moment
(to) cite X	in brief
(to) quote X	in conclusion
[ref. no.]/[name]	in short
according to X	in sum
cited	in summary
quoted	now
	on the whole
Frame Markers	overall
	so far
a) Sequencing	thus far
(in) chapter X	to conclude
(in) part X	to repeat
(in) section X	to sum up
(in) the X chapter	to summarize
(in) the X part	
(in) the X section	
(in) this chapter	c) announce goals
(in) this part	(in) this chapter
(in) this section	(in) this part
finally	(in) this section
first	aim
first of all	desire to
firstly	focus
last	goal
lastly	intend to
listing (a, b, c, etc.)	intention
next	objective
numbering (1, 2, 3, etc.)	purpose
second	seek to
secondly	want to
subsequently	wish to
then	would like to

d) shift topic
back to
digress
in regard to
move on
now
resume
return to
revisit
shift to
so
to look more closely
turn to
well
with regard to

Transition Markers

accordingly
additionally
again
also
alternatively
although
and
as a consequence
as a result
at the same time
because
besides
but
by contrast
by the same token
consequently
conversely
equally
even though
further
furthermore
hence
however
in addition
in contrast
in the same way

leads to
likewise
moreover
nevertheless
nonetheless
on the contrary
on the other hand
rather
result in
similarly
since
so
so as to
still
the result is
thereby
therefore
though
thus
whereas
while
yet

Interactional Metadiscourse

Attitude Markers

!

admittedly
agree
agrees
agreed
amazed
amazing
amazingly
appropriate
appropriately
astonished
astonishing
astonishingly
correctly
curious
curiously
desirable

desirably
disappointed
disappointing
disappointingly
disagree
disagreed
disagrees
dramatic
dramatically
essential
essentially
even x
expected
expectedly
fortunate
fortunately
hopeful
hopefully
important
importantly
inappropriate
inappropriately
interesting
interestingly
prefer
preferable
preferably
preferred
remarkable
remarkably
shocked
shocking
shockingly
striking
strikingly
surprised
surprising
surprisingly
unbelievable
unbelievably
understandable
understandably
unexpected

unexpectedly
unfortunate
unfortunately
unusual
unusually
usual

Boosters
actually
always
believe
believed
believes
beyond doubt
certain
certainly
clear
clearly
conclusively
decidedly
definite
definitely
demonstrate
demonstrated
demonstrates
doubtless
establish
established
evident
evidently
find
finds
found
in fact
incontestable
incontestably
incontrovertible
incontrovertibly
indeed
indisputable
indisputably
know
known

must (*possibility*)

never
no doubt
obvious
obviously
of course
prove
proved
proves
realize
realized
realizes
really
show
showed
shown
shows
sure
surely
think
thinks
thought
truly
true
undeniable
undeniably
undisputedly
undoubtedly
without doubt

Self Mention

I
we
me
my
our
mine
us
the author
the author's
the writer
the writer's

Engagement Markers

{
?
(the) reader's
add
allow
analyse
apply
arrange
assess
assume
by the way
calculate
choose
classify
compare
connect
consider
consult
contrast
define
demonstrate
determine
do not
develop
employ
ensure
estimate
evaluate
find
follow
go
have to
imagine
incidentally
increase
input
insert
integrate
key
let x = y
let us
let's

look at	apparent
mark	apparently
measure	appear
mount	appeared
must	appears
need to	approximately
note	argue
notice	argued
observe	argues
one's	around
order	assume
ought	assumed
our (<i>inclusive</i>)	broadly
pay	certain amount
picture	certain extent
prepare	certain level
recall	claim
recover	claimed
refer	claims
regard	could
remember	couldn't
remove	doubt
review	doubtful
see	essentially
select	estimate
set	estimated
should	fairly
show	feel
suppose	feels
state	felt
take (a look/as example)	frequently
think about	from my perspective
think of	from our perspective
turn	from this perspective
us (<i>inclusive</i>)	generally
use	guess
we (<i>inclusive</i>)	indicate
you	indicated
your	indicates
Hedges	in general
about	in most cases
almost	in most instances
	in my opinion

in my view	relatively
in this view	roughly
in our opinion	seems
in our view	should
largely	sometimes
likely	somewhat
mainly	suggest
may	suggested
maybe	suggests
might	suppose
mostly	supposed
often	supposes
on the whole	suspect
ought	suspects
perhaps	tend to
plausible	tended to
plausibly	tends to
possible	to my knowledge
possibly	typical
postulate	typically
postulated	uncertain
postulates	uncertainly
presumable	unclear
presumably	unclearly
probable	unlikely
probably	usually
quite	would
rather x	wouldn't