A Study of Discourse Appropriation at the Postgraduate Level in China:
A Memetic Perspective

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Abstract
Discourse appropriation as a language meme refers to the textual borrowing strategy in paper writing. It can be positive and negative depending on different contexts; however, this concept has not gained much attention in the Chinese writing field. To fill up the gap, the author reviewed studies of discourse appropriation at home and abroad with the expectation of enhancing Chinese researchers’ understanding about it and provoking more insightful thoughts in future research. Research findings indicate that even though L2 students in China claim to be well aware of discourse appropriation in their EAP writing, they still depend heavily on this textual strategy. As a countermeasure, they are expected to expend more effort on the study of academic conventions. Meanwhile, it is suggested that patchwriting as a positive form of appropriation should be viewed as an effective way for L2 learners to facilitate the assimilation of difficult knowledge and professional instructions in a discourse community.

Key terms: memetics, discourse appropriation; academic writing; discourse community

1. Introduction
A meme is a contagious information pattern that replicates by parasitically infecting human minds and altering their behaviors, causing them to propagate the pattern (Glenn, 1990); in nature, the core of memes is to copy and transmit culturally-burdened information to enrich human languages. According to Chen and He (2006), memetics reveals the law of language development and provides a new perspective on language research, communication and culture.

Appropriation is a typical illustration of memes, which in the broad sense refers to the borrowing of genres, registers, stylistic forms, vocabulary sets throughout the text and in the narrow sense covers the borrowing of words, terms, phrases and sentences (Fairclough, 1992). One simple way to examine whether writers appropriate discourses is to find out the source materials on which they linguistically label the borrowing of discursive forms. The proper use of others’ words, such as quotation, citation, parody, etc. is permitted in writing, but the deliberate copy should definitely be forbidden.

Historically speaking, discourse appropriation has existed across the world for a long time. Mallon (1989) mentioned that the phenomenon of literary discourse appropriation derived from between the 1500’s and 1600’s when borrowed ideas or wording without necessary acknowledgement were used at random. At that moment, silent permission was given because of its new role among the literatus; yet, people began to give much weight to it gradually.

According to Heymann (2005), most of the legal and literary historians supported the notion that the borrowing practice had been established by the 18th century with the development of the printing industry. However, as the law of copyright set out to safeguard writers’ authorship, a growing number of transgressors began to realize the consequences of their actions. But Foucault (1970) once said “that the transgressive properties always intrinsic to the act of writing became the forceful imperative of literature” (p. 125).

In the 1800’s, American authorities granted much land for new colleges, which propelled the development of higher education. Ramaley (2003) reported that with financial and political support from the government, the mid-and-late 1800’s witnessed the increasing enrollment of students. Since the students far outnumbered the teachers, it was not practical any more to do the traditional oral exercise every time; instead, written homework was used as an assessment method but “with the requirement to
write papers came student plagiarism” (Simmons, 1999).

Hart and Friesner (2004) maintained that scholarly research on plagiarism started as early as 1941 when Drake revealed the fact that 23% of students said they had the experience of cheating in the past. Since then, studies on plagiarism have been on the increase, among which McCabe and Trevino’s (1993) stands out. They found that 54% of all the 6,000 undergraduate students had copied without citation, 26% admitted to plagiarism, 29% forged the reference, and 14% submitted someone else’s written work. Not only do college students succumb to it, but some high school students employ this practice to meet their teachers’ requirements.

In recent years, advanced science and technology have expedited writers’ access to a multitude of resources both on-line and in libraries. Most scholars, for example, Snapper (1999), Austin and Brown (1999), Phillips and Horton (2000) announced that in the cyber environment, plagiarism is likely to worsen the academia. A survey conducted by the Center for Academic Integrity (2005) showed that 40% of the American students in more than 60 universities admitted to having copied materials on the internet. Some plagiarism-detecting services (PDSs) were invented. Given that information is extensively available through the propagation of the worldwide web, it is still hard and time consuming to eliminate all kinds of plagiarism once and for all. Most authors (Snapper, 1999; Austin & Brown, 1999; Phillips & Horton, 2000) agreed that in the new web environment, the prevalence of plagiarism is likely to increase.

China has seen the same trend. Chinese cultural tradition is deeply rooted in Confucianism, whose patterns of social and educational thoughts have infiltrated every aspect of people’s life. Alford (1995) pointed out that Confucius advocated referring to the past for imitation because copying could be used as “the expression and reinforcement of community values” (Butterton, 1996, p.1130). It is understandable that rhetoric imitation is encouraged for the prosperity of harmonious relationships, but how to avoid the overuse of sources in the text is hard to define, which causes people unaware of the differences between appropriate borrowing and plagiarism to make mistakes.

Pennycook (1996) explored the complex issue of discourse appropriation and noted that his Chinese subjects preferred to memorize things and verbatim put them into writing as exactly as possible. According to his findings, the act of borrowing words or sentences from others should be viewed as a way of internalizing information because Chinese culture highly values the capability of “incorporation”. This claim was later justified by Dryden (1999), who came to the conclusion that the Chinese teaching method emphasizes the memorization of knowledge rather than originality in writing.

The issue can be further attributed to the Chinese educational system in which there are many high-stake examinations, such as High School Entrance Examinations, National College Entrance Examinations, and National Postgraduate Entrance Examinations, etc. Students have to write down what they have memorized so as to get a high mark. Now that discourse appropriation occurs in student L1 writing, it can be easily found in L2 writing. Obviously, writing in a foreign language that is not very often used in the Chinese context seems much harder than writing in the native language. In fact, Chinese students often rely on discourse appropriation when confronted with the L2 writing task. Unless enough attention is paid to the severity of appropriation, the L2 writers’ growth may be hampered. Additionally, teachers and students in China are under a heavy academic burden. The competition for a higher position in the academia always imposes pressure on researchers to write and publish. The living principle of “publish or perish”, therefore, forces a few people who find difficulty in doing academic research to use illegal textual borrowing strategies now and then.

2. Studies on Discourse Appropriation
2.1 Conceptual Dimension

Until now, a significant body of research has elaborated on how students understand discourse appropriation. Sowden (2005) observed his Japanese students’ failure to cite previous writers and concluded that discourse appropriation occurs due to students’ confusion of the concept. Deep down, they did not intend to steal things from others deliberately. Deckert (1993) examined Hong
Kong students in higher education to discover how well they could spot the plagiarized writing and in what aspects they perceived plagiarism as improper. He found that these students were not familiar with the western concept of plagiarism, not to mention the ability to recognize them. Their chief concern about plagiarism was the negative effect on the learning process. Zhang, Li and Duan (2008) conducted a questionnaire survey among 219 undergraduates in the Chinese context. They found that these students know little about the concept of plagiarism and argued for more practice on academic conventions. In view of the long-existing concern, Leki (1992) demonstrated how to cite sources, quote writers and write up a correct bibliography with the MLA system, which is quite practical and helpful in EAP writing. From the above, most L2 students cannot distinguish right from wrong regarding discourse appropriation, but they could be oriented to the right direction with proper guidance and correct education (MacCabe, Trevino & Butterfield, 2001).

Abasi, Akbari and Graves (2006) pointed out that students’ previous socialization can influence their world view of the nature of knowledge as well as their attachment to appropriation. The less experienced participants are led to believe that published materials are totally correct, so they often cite experts who they believe are authoritative without acknowledgement. But this epistemological perspective on the part of students is contrary to the implicit belief held by experienced writers — it is necessary to involve human agency into the process of knowledge construction (Latour & Woolgar, 1979). In other words, an academic paper writer needs to use his own words to express his own thoughts, or else his work fails to contribute anything at all.

2.2 Cognitional Dimension

Pecorari (2003) analyzed 17 postgraduate students’ writing samples and their own accounts of written assignments, and claimed that students do not plagiarize on purpose. For her part, proactive teaching is a more effective way to defend against plagiarism than post facto punishment. Some other researchers also supported the claim that students do not intend to violate the academic ethical codes or pretend they have not copied others. There are numerous anecdotal accounts describing the unintentional, non-prototypical plagiarism (Barker, 1997; Braine, 1995; Crocker & Shaw, 2002); yet, the lack of intention does not change its nature.

But Thompson and Pennycook (2004) believed intentionality is the key factor as for international students because of their unfamiliarity with a new academic discourse. Other scholars (Ashworth, Bannister & Thorne, 1997) asserted that L2 students plagiarize both in intentionally and unintentionally for they do not have enough training in essay writing.

2.3 Cultural Dimension

Numerous studies have probed into the relationships between culture and discourse appropriation. For instance, Abasi, Akbari and Graves (2006) noted that source attributions might have to do with students’ culturally shaped life trajectories. Gu and Brooks (2008) investigated the complexities of discourse appropriation and suggested that, “in a cross-cultural context plagiarism needs to be understood in relation to the specific context of academic conventions and environments” (p.350).

Many other studies have also proven that one of the important problems originating from cultural conflicts is discourse appropriation in EFL writing. Sherman (1992) once said “what we all saw as plagiarism, Italian students clearly saw as not only legitimate but correct and proper” (p.191), because Italy is a country where mimetic writing is strongly advocated just as the practice of imitation followed by Chinese students.

Currie (1998) traced the learning process of an L2 learner in a university course and found that some students might not be aware of the inappropriate use of sources. Students from a collectivist culture may consider discourse appropriation as positive collaboration (Barker, 1997); therefore, students who regard discourse appropriation as nothing important are more likely to appropriate written texts than those who view it as dishonest.

Matalene (1985) called for the contrastive rhetorical approach to the teaching of composition. Her Chinese students copied sources so much that she strongly urged against it based on what she had been taught in the west. But these students were shocked by her reaction and told her about how they understood this issue:
After our teacher’s explanation, we understand that in her country or some others plagiarism is forbidden… However in our country, things are a little different. We may perhaps call what our teacher calls plagiarism “imitation”, which is sometimes encouraged, especially for a beginner. (1985, p.803)

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Pecorari (2002) maintained that Confucianism has a strong impact on the Chinese academic field. In ancient examinations, intellectuals were expected to recite great sayings or excerpts from classics. If they could apply what they had learnt, it was taken as ideal. Under the temptation of rank and wealth, almost every generation of intellectuals kept the custom of memorization and direct copying in written texts.

Nevertheless, the cultural approach is not completely satisfactory. On the one hand, unintentional discourse appropriation happens in the Anglophone academic discourse community as it does in China. For example, Liu (2005) and Phan (2006) held that cultural conditioning is not mainly responsible for appropriation. Culture plays a critical part in understanding people’s perceptions about discourse appropriation, but it is not determinant. Beyond culture, discourse appropriation is closely linked with learners’ motivation and the power distance between them and teachers (Gu & Schweisfurth, 2006). On the other hand, some tend to leave the knowledge gaps out of consideration. There is the possibility that student writers may have not acquired the knowledge at school, as is found in Matalene’s (1985) case. The fact that EFL students are quite diverse in their cultural backgrounds indicates that the impact of cultural differences on students’ L2 writing should be treated cautiously. Limits of the cultural approach must be borne in mind when discourse appropriation is examined.

2.4 Causes of Discourse Appropriation

Researchers have been trying to seek for reasons underling the illegal discourse appropriation. Angelova and Riazantseva (1999) claimed that L2 students may feel they are not proficient at using the second language and lean heavily on the existing discursive forms. Other causes for the application of discourse appropriation include time pressure, laziness, fear of failure, students’ devious response to the busy workload and desire to improve writing (O’Donoghue, 1996; Bond, 1986).

Howard (1995) argued that novice writers need support when they are given a written task in a new discourse. Without enough instillation of writing skills, they prefer to rely extensively on others’ words. To describe this source-dependent composition, Howard offered the model of plugging in synonyms, which has been proven by Campbell (1990), who probed into both native and nonnative undergraduates and found that they “relied on copying as their primary method of text integration” (p. 225).

Cheng (2007) discussed Chinese EFL students’ source use in academic writing. On the basis of textual analysis and field research, she attributed postgraduate students’ plagiarism to four factors: cultural context - collectivism, linguistic context - low English proficiency, institutional context - unfavorable academic environment and affective context - students’ indifferent attitudes towards plagiarism, their labor-saving feelings as well as their concerns about the construction of authorship.

Jia (2008) investigated the high occurrence of plagiarism in Chinese universities. According to her judgment, the reasons for its happening include cultural conditioning, academic pressures, lower language abilities, lack of prior knowledge, and ignorance of proper citation conventions. She argued for empowerment from western academia, improvement from Chinese ESL writers themselves and development from Chinese EFL teaching.

According to some research findings (Mohan & Lo, 1985; Campbell, 1990), both L1 and L2 students tend to be trapped in a dilemma where there is not a balance between their academic burden and the still developing linguistic and cognitive abilities, which can, as often as not, leads students to resort to discourse appropriation in papers. It can be seen from the above discussion that various reasons are behind students’ transgressive intertextuality. Love and Simmons (1998) once elaborated on the categorization of factors mediating plagiarism:
As is illustrated in Figure 1, there are a total of 57 factors mediating plagiarism, in which 12 factors inhibit it and 45 factors foster it. These factors (Love and Simmons, 1998) can be further separated into internal factors and external factors. In the third layer of the classification, there exist 5 external factors that inhibit plagiarism (e.g. desire to work or learn), 7 internal factors that inhibit plagiarism (e.g. cheating as dangerous), 28 external factors that foster plagiarism (e.g. instructors accepting cut-and-paste project with no or incomplete citations) and 17 internal factors that foster plagiarism (e.g. academic achievement). Even though discourse appropriation results from complicated causes, non-deliberate plagiarism can be prevented with adequate care and appropriate instruction.

2.5 Discourse Appropriation as a Complicated Issue
It should be admitted that discourse appropriation is far from being deeply explored because this issue is interrelated with the social, cultural, and political layers (Scollon, 1994). Pennycook (1994, 1996) reminded us not to take the use of illegal discourse appropriation for granted. In his highly cited paper entitled The complex contexts of plagiarism: A reply to Deckert, Pennycook (1994) urged us to “attempt to understand plagiarism in general as an umbrella term for a complex set of different issues” (p.282).

To guarantee the validity of the claim, Currie (1998) made a field study. He tracked down a student named Diana from Macau and observed her academic performance in a content course and argued that her story exemplifies the complexity of textual borrowing.

Gramsci (1971) proposed that researchers should be aware that complicated reasons are behind any phenomenon in which language is involved. It is true that plagiarism cannot escape from this assertion. We need to find out the diverse assumptions that underlie the concept of plagiarism so as to understand the complexity of the contexts in which apparent plagiarism occurs.

Efforts have been made in systemizing the research framework of this complicated issue. Pennycook (1994) emphasized five contexts in understanding plagiarism, which include the context of concept, the context of students, the context of the institution and the context of the actual use and misuse of text. Later, Thompson and Pennycook (2004) suggested the discussion of plagiarism needs to take the following four dimensions into consideration: the level and background of the accused student, the nature of the assignment, the attitude of the lecturer, and the nature of the discipline. In comparison, the newly proposed model is much more comprehensive and helpful in guiding us to do the field work. Since discourse appropriation is closely tied up with various social layers, the related study should be located in the sociocultural web, for no single approach is satisfactory in view of discourse appropriation as a complicated issue.

3. Discourse Community
A discourse community is a group of people who share a set of social conventions that are directed towards a certain purpose (Swales, 1990). By means of apprenticeship and participation, young scholars learn speech genres and text conventions held by
other members. Whether they could achieve academic literacy is determined by the acquisition of behaviors, principles, values, and characteristics underlying the discourse community; but discourse community is subject to change.

A good mastery of scholarly writing in a discourse community can be achieved through not only formal training in the classroom setting, but also legitimate peripheral participation as the interaction between newcomers and experts. Assimilating knowledge for student writers may take the form of consulting experienced scholars, writing and publishing papers, or working as a research assistant (Flowerdew, 2000). Students deprived of communication with proficient writers may not take in the proper meme replication and have a limited scope of what should be done on the way to becoming a member of that discourse community.

Research paper writing and publication serve as an important way for one to gain entry into a discourse community. Students entering the field of applied linguistics need to learn how to design research procedures, evaluate empirical research, and acquire the conventions commonly used in the discipline. One way for them to absorb the shared principles and professional knowledge is to write critiques in that it is helpful for novice writers to discover what is entailed in the discourse. Through dynamic feedback and effective mutual communication between instructors and students, L2 learners’ membership can be gradually achieved.

4. Research Design

4.1 Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to understand L2 students’ awareness about discourse appropriation. More specifically, this thesis aims to answer the following two questions:

1. Are L2 students aware of discourse appropriation in EAP writing?
2. How much do they know about academic conventions in their discipline?

4.2 Research Methodology

4.2.1 Subjects

Subjects in the present study are postgraduate students majoring in linguistics and applied linguistics in the first and second grades. They need to perform research tasks to become a member of the academic community. With professional instruction and adequate practice, they know the basic skills of how to conduct academic research better than undergraduate students do. Students from other majors are excluded from the study to eliminate confounding variables.

4.2.2 Instrument

Questionnaire survey is viewed as an appropriate form of data collection to understand students’ perceptions about discourse appropriation. The close-ended questionnaire (for more detailed information, please see the Appendix) was developed by the researcher, containing 10 items that cover students’ attitudes on discourse appropriation; causes of discourse appropriation, citing strategies, etc. Students had been assured on the top of the questionnaire that the personal information and responses would be kept confidential. These questionnaires were distributed among M.A students majoring in linguistics and applied linguistics who wrote up review papers in their courses. A total of 120 questionnaires were handed out and 104 were returned. The response rate was 86.67%. After the survey, all the data was calculated to determine the percentage of each response.

4.2.3 Data Analysis

Answers to Question 1 - i.e. “Do you pay attention to discourse appropriation in L2 writing?” - show that 74 respondents answered “Yes” (71.15%) while 30 students ticked “No” (28.85%). This means an overwhelming majority of students take the act of discourse appropriation quite seriously. In responding to question 2, “Do you know the outcome of plagiarizing”, 39 respondents chose A (Yes), accounting for 75% of the total population. The remaining 25% said they are not clear about the aftermath of using others’ words improperly. When asked about whether some of them plagiarized in the past, 17 respondents (32.69%) admitted they had the experience but most students chose “No” (67.31%). Among these 17 students who plagiarized before, 10 told us that it was unintentional when they conducted this behavior and 7 did it on purpose, which seems to exhibit evidence for the claim that L2 students appropriate discourses both intentionally and unintentionally (Ashworth et al., 1997). Pecorari (2003) analyzed 17
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postgraduate students’ writing samples and their own accounts of written assignments. For her part, proactive teaching is a more effective way to defend against plagiarism than the post facto punishment.

As for question 5 - “Why do you think some students turn to discourse appropriation for help”, the answers are quite diverse. Over half of the respondents, 65.38%, regard limited English proficiency as the dominant factor, followed by saving troubles (46.15%), teachers’ strict demand on them (40.38%) and unfamiliarity with the citation format (32.69%). When it comes to the question - “How do your teachers deal with students’ plagiarism”, 30 respondents (56.7%) thought teachers would ask students to rewrite the paper and submit it before the deadline. 13 respondents (25%) chose answer B: teachers will exert strict discipline on them. 6 students (11.54%) thought teachers would disregard it completely and 3 students (5.76%) offered other possibilities: a warning, a low mark or persuasion. In fact, teachers may rarely spot the misuse of source materials in student papers until they are given enough evidence. Answers to this question can reflect the fact that teachers do not handle illegal discourse appropriation seriously. On average, instructors’ feedback exerts great influence on the growth of L2 students. The positive feedback expedites students’ improvement while the negative feedback hinders students’ development. Teachers’ tolerance to students’ misconduct may spoil them in the long term. It is strongly recommended that teachers spare no effort in judging improper discourse appropriation and deal with it decisively. With regard to question 7 - “How do you write up critiques”, 30 respondents chose A, direct copy; 48 respondents chose B, a combination of multiple sentences and 74 respondents chose C, summarizing the main idea by oneself. Only one respondent offered another answer, “No idea”. This finding is quite surprising. It is in contrast with the results of the text analysis: students rely on direct copy more than the other two strategies. One possible explanation is that when students abridge a text, they just want to make it concise to save trouble. In their mind, direct copy is the best choice. In responding to question 8 - “Provided that you need to borrow others’ words verbalism in your paper, how do you adapt them to your own writing?” the choices are almost equally distributed. 36 respondents (34.61%) used the strategy of synonym substitutes, 48 respondents (46.15%) summarized the ideas after reading the whole paper thoroughly, 38 (36.53%) respondents liked to rely on direct citation and 34 respondents (32.69%) expressed their preference for indirect citation. Since question 8 is a multiple choice question, students can use more than one strategy at the same time.

When asked whether they are familiar with the academic conventions in their discipline, 50% respondents chose “Yes” while 50% chose “No”, so no agreement has been reached. This interesting result shows that there is ambiguity in students’ understanding about how to cite works correctly. In view of this, a question about the academic norm was asked. 90 respondents (86.54%) thought it is quite necessary for them to study it systematically. Only 14 respondents (13.46%) acknowledged they do not want to learn it right now. The striking contrast between these two groups reveals that most students lack the required knowledge allowing them into the L2 composition community. Efforts should be made to make up for this gap as soon as possible.

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Table 1. Percentages of answers to each question

Data from the questionnaire suggest that the reason why students resort to discourse appropriation is complicated. Even though students know that the overuse of meme replication is wrong, they still commit mistakes. In addition to the internal causes on the students’ part, teachers’ tolerance to these misbehaviors could exacerbate the issue. But there is an emerging consensus among M.A
students majoring in linguistics and applied linguistics about the systematic study of the style manuals and academic conventions.

5. Conclusions and Implications

Howard (1995) argued that novice writers need support when they are given a writing task in a new discourse. Without enough instillation of writing skills, they prefer to rely on the cited language. To describe this source-dependent composition, she (1993) proposed the patchwriting model, which is defined as “copying from a source text and then deleting some words, altering grammatical structures, or plugging in one-for-one synonym-substitutes” (p.233). Campbell (1990) investigated native English speakers and nonnative English speakers, and found that both groups of students “relied on copying as their primary method of text integration” (1990, p. 225). In his mind, patchwriting may play a critical role in the students’ learning process. But Hacker (1991) posited that the act of borrowing the source but using its language too closely ought to be classified as plagiarism. Judging from this view, patchwriting as a form of discourse appropriation belongs to plagiarism - more exactly, the positive plagiarism or the helpful memetic variant, because “it is the outsider’s membership application, a way of acquiring the language of the target community” (Howard, 1993, p.240) in the developmental stage.

Even though student writers are good at mobilizing multiple voices through discourse representation, patchwriting as the positive form of plagiarism should be fairly treated. It is an effective way of meme replication for L2 learners to facilitate their understanding about difficult knowledge, familiarize themselves with the dominant discourse they participate in, and assimilate knowledge from various sources according to follow-up interviews; however, when entering into a higher level of the EAP writing, students are supposed to build up their own authorial identity without heavy dependence on this strategy because innovation is much preferred in the research field. Results of the questionnaire study also indicate that half of the students are not clear about the academic conventions, so students should be given more professional training and instruction in this aspect.

In China, little research has been done on the study of patchwriting, a variant of discourse appropriation. Problems such as the occurrence of patchwork in Chinese EFL student writing, textual borrowing strategies and types of L2 learners’ identities, still exist. Future studies need to take these aspects into consideration and explore the issue of discourse appropriation in a much deeper sense.

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References


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Appendix:

Questionnaire

Please tick √ before your choice.

Basic information:
Gender: male □ female □
Grade: first year □ second year □

1. Do you pay attention to discourse appropriation in L2 writing?
   A. Yes    B. No

2. Do you know the outcome of plagiarism?
   A. Yes    B. No

3. Have you plagiarized before?
   A. Yes    B. No

4. If you have, was it intentional? (If you haven’t, please skip this question)
   A. Yes    B. No

5. Why do you think some students turn to discourse appropriation for help?
   A. Teachers’ strict demand on them
   B. Unfamiliarity with the citation format
   C. Limited English proficiency
   D. Saving troubles
   E. others__________ (specify)

6. How do your teachers deal with students’ plagiarism?
   A. Ask them to rewrite
   B. Exert strict discipline
   C. Ignore it
   D. Others__________ (specify)

7. How do you write up critiques?
   A. Direct copy
   B. Combination of sentences
   C. Summarization by myself
   D. Others__________ (specify)

8. Provided that you need to borrow others’ words verbalism in your paper, how do you adapt them to your own writing?
   A. Synonym substitutes
   B. Summarization by myself
   C. Direct copy
   D. Indirect copy
   E. Others__________ (specify)

9. Are you familiar with the academic conventions in your own discipline?
   A. Yes    B. No

10. Do you think it is necessary to study academic conventions systematically?
    A. Yes    B. No