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ABSTRACT

The suspicion that some second language learners' problems in reading can be attributed to a lack of literacy in general rather than to a lack of fluency in English per se motivated the present study. The hypothesis suggests that readers learn literacy only once and that a lack of literacy in one's first language can be more of a barrier to accurate reading than can a lack of fluency in English. Differences were found within the following pairings of readers: native literate and semiliterate, and native literate and nonnative literate. Discourse blocking and three-system (lexical, grammatical, and rhetorical) analyses show that, generally, native literate readers tend to paragraph at significant rhetorical boundaries. When other readers disagree with this group they do so at the following places: (1) at lower level rhetorical breaks that can often be better characterized as lexical or grammatical, (2) at rhetorical units which begin narrative illustration or "event" rather than expository frames, and (3) after rhetorical units that are interpreted as topic/opening units by native literate readers. (Author)

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A PROFILE OF VARIATION IN READER PARAGRAPHING AMONG NATIVE AND NONNATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

IN ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

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THESIS COMMITTEE

Chairman

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I. Discourse Framing and the Reader

A. Introduction

Psychologists, linguists, and rhetoricians are becoming more attuned to problems in decoding written discourse according to intuitive models (Pollard-Gott et al., 1979), grammatical context (Longacre, 1979), and authorial intention. Until lately, however, as rhetorician Richard Larson (1976) notes, "rarely . . . have writers examined the connections between the way ideas are perceived by readers after they have been arranged" (49). The present study aims to do just this: to examine the match-up of discourse idea with its grammatical representation. Differences in interpretation among groups of readers will be noted and described in order to learn more about all kinds of reader processing strategies.

The present study bases itself on the assumption that readers less than fluent in the linguistic code of English or in what might be called the rhetoric of literacy, or both, would interpret reading passages according to different criteria than would native, literate speakers of English.

Reader paragraphing of de-paragraphed passages will be compared in the hope of determining different readers' underlying strategies. The study aims at (1) showing that among different readers differences in paragraphing strategies do exist and (2) describing the nature of these differences.

Five groups of readers were selected on the basis of their enrollment in language and composition classes. They were told to indent wherever they thought "appropriate" in four different passages--passages selected on the basis of their length, simplicity, rhetorical purpose, and genre. Results were examined with the aid of Pitkin's (1969) discourse bloc analysis and Koen, Becker, and Young's (1967) three-system (lexical, grammatical, and rhetorical) analysis. Group performances were compared and differences were determined using a chi-squared test. Further details of methodology will be presented in section III. First, however, a brief and selective overview of some theoretical premises having to do with discourse framing in general needs to be made.

B. Background

Discourse frames, the templates for narrative, rhetorical, and logical coherence, have long been recognized as essential for achieving one's communicative purpose. Richard Rainolde, for example, in The Foundacion of Rhetorike (1563 [1945]), describes types of formulaic framing such as the following one for a "praise" oration:

> In praiſe, we extoll the perſon: Firſt by his countree.
> Then by his aunceſtours and parents.

In the third place, by his educacion and inſtitucion.

Then in the fowerth place, of his actes in life.

In the fifte place uſe a compariſon, comparying the perſone with other, whiche are more inferiour.

Then the concluſion. (folio xliij)

Similarly, Richard Lanham (1968) lists the seven parts of the classical oration which "we [still] tend to take . . . as an inevitable pattern of dialectic thought" (113). They are:

1. Entrance or Prooemium (exordium)--catches the audience's attention.
2. Narration (praecognitio or narratio)--sets forth the facts.
3. Exposition or Definition (explicatio or definitio)--defines terms and open issues to be proved.
4. Proposition (partitio)--clarifies the point at issue; states exactly what is to be proved.
5. Confirmation (amplificatio)--sets forth the arguments for and against; proof.
6. Confutation or Refutation (refutatio or reprehensio)--refutes the opponent's arguments.

7. Conclusion or Epilogue (peroratio or epilogus)
--sums up arguments and stirs audience. (112)

As Lanham notes, such a prescriptive formula assumes that all arguments "are or can be polar opposites." But, "in fact, there seems no more reason to regard it as an inevitable form for an argument than there does to regard beginning-middle-end as the only form of narrative" (113). Indeed, Aristotle and Cicero vary the number of parts by combining some and adding others. (For example, Aristotle reduces the seven to two, Exposition and Confirmation, with a supplementary Entrance and Conclusion.)

Whether formulas (such as Rainolde's and Lanham's) or less rigid and less predictable patterns (like those which will by analyzed in the following essays) guide the arrangement[1] of an oration, in particular, or a discourse, in general, frames of some kind are always present.[2] And communicative competence for both sender and receiver depends on grasping them. Only then can discourse further encode itself into the language and grammar which support an overriding rhetorical purpose.

Problems arise when either senders or receivers try to bypass larger discourse frames in order to grasp "meaning" directly. Since such framing shapes meaning, in terms of supralinguistic discourse unit function and rhetorical purpose, "the analysis of meaning is never exhausted by a simple analysis of the words uttered" (Wootton, 1976:59). Nor is

meaning essentially captured even by an analysis of the grammar into which the words are fit.

Effective speakers and narrators cue their listeners to shifts between discourse units. They thus avoid the trouble which arises from shifts from situational (real life) to grammatical (a recreation) framing. Real events, relived through their telling within cultural, situational, and performance frames (the material of socio- and ethnolinguistics), are reduced in their performance to blind echoes of themselves as they are encoded into mere language. Ron Scollon (1977) presents an example in a description of a Chipewyan oral performance in which the performer's concern for his audience causes him to use "prosodic and paralinguistic features which include intonation downdrift, pausing, and rate of speech" (25) to preclude audience mismatching of discourse units with the grammatical units used in their presentation.

When oral performance further reduces to written narrative, the temptation to reduce meaning to grammar becomes even more irresistible. To understand why this is so we must examine the nature of textuality itself. Texts provide the simplest access (viz., visual--quick and reviewable) to discourse frames--especially arrangement. Since a text has had its phonological component refined out of it, it must present visual cues (indentation, capitalization, punctuation, and in general, a more rigid and intricate grammar) for a reader's interpretation of its meaning. As Jakobson notes about

speech events in general, this meaning is not "contained" in the words (or "in" the text) themselves but lies rather at the end of the speech event. This applies to a text too if it is considered within the context of its performance and situational frames--which become the literary tradition at their furthest extension. For a text, the meaning remains suspended until the text is processed by its receiver. Thus what we need to do here, first of all, is to recognize this processing by the reader as the performance which completes the text.

The text resembles a musical score which, without a revitalization of the composer's intention by a reader/performer, will remain mute and in the most profound sense unfulfilled. But a text, unlike a musical score, most often does not have a conductor. Thus a textual "score" must function more autonomously than both a musical score and spoken discourse. It thus represents a much more "closed" system than does an actual speech event unfolding in real time. A text therefore appears to its readers as a mere object--primarily by virtue of its mass, volume, and mute "thingness." During its performance, though, a text becomes a trigger and thus a part of a series of "moments" in an ongoing writer-reader discourse.

One further difference here between face-to-face and written discourse is that the author cannot correct his reader's misinterpretation of frames the way a speaker can

for his audience. Since, as Goffman (1974:19) notes, framing is an ongoing activity in which the here and now are constantly being related to the broader time/reality narrative frame, the potential for a reader's getting lost far outweighs the potential for a listener's getting lost.

Similarly, the reader cannot shape the author's framing the way a listener can the speaker's.[3] But, as Hymes (Gumperz and Hymes, 1972) notes, "communicative competence [what a speaker needs to know to communicate effectively in culturally significant settings] refers [ultimately] to the ability to perform." So, like the author, who must compose without a real audience, the reader also performs in a vacuum and must do without the correctives an oral performer can give his audience. Since successful performance depends first of all on the speaker's accurate interpretation of what has been said before, failure at interpretative competence dooms the speaker to an inappropriate performance.

What makes a text especially amenable to a less intricate and more definitive analysis of strategies used in its interpretation, however, is, ironically, its objective or static component. By eliminating the gross paralinguistic cues which most often override the subtler texturings of idea arrangement and their stylistic representation, we carve out an object which better lends itself to linguistic and rhetorical rather than more general psychological and epistemological study. In doing so though we limit the range of subjects to those who are skilled enough performers of texts.

With these differences between speech (recreated events) and text (written recreations of orally recreated events) in mind, we need to go back and review some of the features of discourse framing shared by both spoken and written discourse. Most germane to the present study are: (1) the affinity between listener and reader, and (2) the rationale for focusing on listener and reader rather than on speaker and writer. Again, readers must take a much more active role in making written discourse come alive than do listeners of oral discourse--since in the latter the speaker himself is the one who makes the words come alive. This suggests a closer affinity between reader and oral performer than reader and listener. Even so, reader and listener share an even deeper affinity than do reader and oral performer. Both reader and listener must react to and comprehend what they read or hear before any further processing can occur and, in particular, before any creative interpretation can occur on the reader's part. More practically, since we cannot directly read the oral performer's or the author's communicative intentions, we are left, in both media, with audience reaction as indeed the only measure of discourse effectiveness. Since the text-reader relationship requires a process-oriented model of the text (as trigger, or musical score) if the text is to be studied as part of a discourse, our attention must shift here to function. And function can be measured only indirectly, in terms of reader performance.

Ervin-Tripp (1964) provides the rationale for this attention to function. She recognizes the choice a student of discourse has to make when she divides speech into topic (manifest content) and function (latent content). Discourse function is latent because certain functions must almost always be masked. As a result, discrepancies arise between manifest content and latent function. The problem boils down to: (1) Can we believe that what someone says reveals his intentions?, and (2) How do we evaluate the success of conveying these intentions?

For example, in her study of Burundi rhetoric, logic, and poetics, Ethel Albert (1964) discovers that villagers (like everyone else) do not pay "social" calls or engage in "idle" talk; these are always purpose-oriented. As an outsider, however, she learns that the only way for her to gauge the real nature of a "social" call is to notice what results from such a visit. When she sees money change hands or future commitments made, she is able to determine the speaker's purpose. This indirectly measures latent function or, better, the success or failure of the original speaker's functional intentions. In other words, to see whether a speaker has achieved his purpose, we must study the hearer and <u>then</u> plot back to hypothesize a speaker's purpose "behind" his framing of it. Before we can explain the dynamics of performance in general though, let alone inappropriate performance, we must understand the process of interpretation which precedes performance.

Gumperz (1977) makes a distinction between "conversational inference" and referential meaning in speech and aims to "show how prosody and paralinguistic cues function in signalling frames of interpretation" (200) in his larger attempt to show a semantic basis of discourse. His approach is not new with him; he lists three major research traditions from which he launches his study: (1) The ethnography of speaking (Hymes, 1962) aims to fill the gap between ethnography and grammar. It concentrates on the "means of speaking" (via Gumperz's "linguistic repertoire") as well as on the frames which signal to people how to interpret conversational sequences and how to integrate their social knowledge in speech interaction. (2) Linguistic pragmatics focuses on the speaker's communicative intent (instead of merely words' relationships to things). It uses the play as an analog for conversation: conversing is like collaborating on a play--with the similar constraints of audience and thematic coherence. (3) Ethnomethodology, the sociology of verbal interaction, considers interpretation of meaning as negotiated and not unilaterally conveyed by the speaker. For this school, conversation is rule-governed, and therefore strategies and responses can be examined within a systematic framework.

Gumperz calls the signalling devices which help the listener make the appropriate conversational inferences "contextualization cues." He suggests that listeners evaluate message meaning and the sequencing pattern of discourse

units in relation to contextualization cues in the surface structure. Certain "cooccurrence expectations," which allow a listener to associate styles of speaking with contextual presuppositions, form the "tradition" against which new discourse takes shape.

In texts, however, the contextualization cues are subtle and the contextualization task thus more demanding. Prosodic and paralinguistic cues are reduced to punctuation marks and other formal markers, such as transition words. These textual conventions are (as is literacy in general) learned, rather than acquired--as are prosody and gestures--and are often ambiguous, leading to miscuing more than their acoustic and more fully contextualizing counterparts.

Although a reader's inference-making task is more complicated than a listener's, the need for a reader's inference-making outstrips that of a listener. The task itself remains essentially the same for both, as Gumperz notes: (1) "the perception of prosodic and paralinguistic cues" (i.e., for the listener; other, written, cues mark discourse junctures and subordination for the reader); (2) the interpretation of these cues; this in turn requires, "first of all, judgments of expectedness [e.g., "chatting" about the weather implies frequent changes of topic] and then a search for an interpretation that makes sense in terms of what we [already] know and what we have perceived [in the act of listening or reading]" (204). For both listening and reading then we

need a dynamic, process-oriented model of framing and interpretation.

Perhaps no area of classical rhetoric (the ancestor of both discourse analysis and communicative competence)--invention, arrangement, memory, style, and delivery--lends itself as well to such investigation of the functional nature of discourse framing as arrangement (dispositio). Memory and delivery dropped out of the classical pattern in the Renaissance with the shift from oral to written composition as the discursive paradigm. Invention (the process of arriving at a topic), while still relevant to an age of literacy, may be evident to the writer in his composing process, but may never reveal itself to a reader in the final presentation. Invention, which occurs in the writer's mind, has a built-in depth which is untraceable through linguistics. At the other extreme, style, a surface phenomenon, while much more salient than invention, is in itself too "narrow," i.e., too grammar-bound and, in general, too intricate (the trees obscuring our view of the forest) to be of the best use in a study of whole-to-parts framing activities. The linguistic grammar of stylistic frames, tied as it is to sentences, is, rather, shaped by skillful writers to fit the controlling rhetorical grammar of the discourse--whether story, essay, or argument. In other words, since writers set out to write discourse and not simply a sequence of "correct" sentences (Pitkin, 1969), study of discourse interpretation would best

begin with a similar global orientation. Thus stylistic frames, especially for the writer, depend on the selection (invention) and disposition (arrangement) of the ideas and rhetorical purposes which they reinforce.

However, style and grammar do play a crucial role for students of discourse if we look at the discourse in terms of its interpretation--i.e., from the reader's point of view. This importance can be attributed to the higher visibility of style (as compared to arrangement and invention), which causes it to overshadow the less salient arrangement frames through which rhetorical purpose evolves to its completion. A reader, then, proceeds from parts to whole moreso than does the original composer. (Practiced readers provide an exception here since they can often limn the holistic pattern--especially as they perform in their favorite genre.) In the following study, therefore, we need to look at style mainly in order to see how it might interfere with a reader's interpretation of "deeper" arrangement frames.

C. Reader Paragraphing

Perhaps the simplest way to see reader interpretation of arrangement frames is to ask readers to indent unparagraphed texts. Although readers do not usually need to perform this kind of rhetorical chunking themselves, it would seem to represent the same kind of integrative skill required at both "lower" (but superficial--grammatical and lexical) and

"higher" (but buried--overall purpose-oriented) levels of text. By thus deciding on frame beginnings and endings, a reader interprets a text by breaking it up into "discourse blocs" (Pitkin, 1969). By inferring strategies which control such interpretation we can learn more about discourse processing in general.

Young, Becker, and Pike (1970) consider such interpreting of "plot" frames as a prerequisite for any further communicative competence--whether in reading or writing. For example, if a reader cannot determine whether a text is proceeding according to what Burke (1931) calls a "conversational" (stressing the repetitive principle of form) or a "written" (stressing the progressive principle of form) mode,[5] then he would seem to be at a disadvantage when attempting to purposefully plot his own "responsible" discourse. Put another way, a reader's idea of change needs to fit the author's in order for thought to flow between author, text, and reader.

Burke (1941), concentrating on literary form, makes a statement which applies to all discourse. He defines form as "an arousing and fulfillment of desires . . . one part of [a work] . . . leads a reader to anticipate another part, to be gratified by the sequence." Similarly, Winterowd (1971) defines form as "the internal set of consistent relationships perceived in any discourse" (41). Unfortunately, as Lawson (1976) notes, readers find no short cuts in simple "aim"-"pattern of arrangement" match-ups, in which genre and purpose

would rigidly shape arrangement. This explains Larson's (1971) earlier suggestion to study professional writing in order to examine how effective writers work through their plans to completion. Hopefully, the "movements of mind" thus discovered inferentially would be useful aids in helping students develop their own ideas. Finally, he notes that while "form may not be the message . . . it interprets the message while relaying it" (1976:71).

General agreement of readers on paragraphing would support the thesis (as did Koen, Becker, and Young's 1967 study) that while paragraphs are conventional units, they are nonetheless very real and not arbitrary "readability" breaks in an essay's visual surface structure. Rodgers (1966) expresses the procedure and differentiates reader- from writer-paragraphing even more succinctly: "Paragraphs are not composed; they are discovered. To compose is to create, to indent is to interpret."

To repeat, recognizing the "deep structure" of an utterance as well as the surface structure in which it appears (Winterowd, 1971) is no simple task which can be labeled "correct" or "wrong." Rather, patterns of interpretation need to be described and explained. In this way readers can be differentiated from one another according to their sensitivity to intra-discourse rhetorical functions. Again, "arrangement" in general and paragraphing in particular offer the best tack for learning more about the often elusive kind of framing in which skill does not automatically come along with mere linguistic or grammatical competence.

II. The Problem

The question to be addressed here concerns composition. The present study aims ultimately to improve the pedagogy of composition to both native and nonnative speakers of English by attempting to describe the processes used by different kinds of readers as they frame discourse according to authorial cues--both stylistic and rhetorical. As noted above, the nature of reading, rather than the act of writing itself, makes reading more amenable for determining both: (1) the fact of differences between readers, and (2) the nature of these differences.

Previous studies have focused on: (1) paragraphing, in the hope of showing that paragraphs were not simply readability breaks, determined by visual aesthetics or other para-discursive patterning (Koen, Becker, and Young, 1967); (2) the "rhetorical units" themselves which, according to rhetorical function, make up "discourse blocs" both within and among paragraphs (Pitkin, 1969); (3) "subjective story structure" (Pollard-Gott, McCloskey, and Todres, 1979) in order to test whether "the structural descriptions of stories generated by the grammars [i.e., the intuitive framing by the analyst] correspond to the structure people perceive in the stories" (252); and (4) the "paragraph as a grammatical unit" (Longacre, 1979), in which paragraphs and parts of paragraphs fill "functional slots" in discourse in a manner similar to the way the system of clauses does.

Both (3) and (4)'s rationale (in 1979) resembles that which Pitkin (1969) employs in his "discourse bloc-ing" technique. For example, both Pitkin and Pollard-Gott et al. depend upon an intuitive framing or clustering. While Pitkin aims to present merely the method itself, Pollard-Gott et al. seek to empirically validate their intuitive delineation. Longacre's method, on the other hand, matches Pitkin's almost point by point--at least in theory. While stopping short of actually charting out a discourse, Longacre characterizes paragraphs as: (1) being organized hierarchically and thus recursive; (2) being composed of "functional slots" which are weighted; (3) using temporal overlap to maintain thematic coherence; and (4) having their "deep" thematic unity "reflected in the surface features of the paragraph itself" (118). In other words: (1) paragraphs proceed "vertically" as well as "horizontally" in relation to each other; (2) they fit themselves into rhetorically oriented templates such as generic-specific, question-answer, assertion-support, problem-solution, etc.; (3) they use "meanwhile" relationships between items within functional slots--even though temporal order often seems to conflict with discursive progression, creating a complication which Barthes (1977:118) calls a fugued effect; and (4) their grammatical features reinforce the underlying conceptual and rhetorical progression; this feature is central also to Koen et al.

None of these approaches, however, are used to differentiate readers according to their discourse processing strategies in general, nor their paragraphing skills in particular. J. E. Coomber (1975) suggests that college freshmen need work on improving their "larger comprehension" strategies. The hypothesis here suggests that while this advice is probably useful for all freshmen to some extent, its application confronts different problems according to what kind of freshman is being considered. It further suggests that something, perhaps overattention to the intricacies of the linguistic code itself, often interferes with some readers' perceiving/processing/interpreting/performing/understanding of texts and that this something does not interfere as much with other readers. At this point, I suspect that teachers need to spend more time explicating the code of arrangement rather than to assume that this larger framing system will somehow "fall into place" once an appreciation of the more tangible components--viz., grammar and style--is gained. Again, the movement from arrangement to style proceeds from whole to parts. The sooner the conceptual outline is grasped the sooner all the stylistic parts can fall into place. But, alas, arrangement does not lend itself to codification as rigidly as does grammar. In fact, different modes of composition--oral-formulaic for memory's sake, "residually oral," literate, or "secondarily oral" (Ong, 1967)--can drastically alter the criteria and strategies behind discourse arrangement.

And it is sensitivity to this range of compositional techniques which readers need to have instilled in them.

My categories of students in this profile will be: native, literate speakers of English; native, but supposedly less literate speakers; and nonnative English speakers of literate and less skillfully literate backgrounds. One question asks whether a student is "better off," in terms of interpretive abilities, as a literate nonnative speaker of English or as a semiliterate but native speaker. Again, the methodology bases itself on the notion that "to indent is to interpret" and that the act of paragraphing represents the grossest kind of interpretation, making it a natural object of descriptive study. The main question asks whether indenting depends, for different readers, on different patterns based on different sets of criteria for interpreting discourse flow. In order to determine whether various criteria involve various notions of discourse structure in general or perhaps just variable emphasis on surface cues, the readers' performance must be elicited, described, and interpreted.

III. Methodology

A. Discourse Bloc-ing and the Three Systems

The methodology used here is eclectic although Pitkin's (1969) "discourse bloc-ing" technique forms its core. This method improves upon Koen, Becker, and Young's (1967), which bases itself on the variable attention given by the reader to the lexical, grammatical, and rhetorical systems (explained below). While allowing attention to be paid to the lexical and grammatical systems, the present method (after Pitkin) portrays the rhetorical system as hierarchical. This clarifies the level of importance of the breaks in the rhetorical system--illustrating that all rhetorical breaks are not equal. In the following discussion "higher" level breaks refer to the more significant rhetorical breaks.

The lexical and grammatical systems, on the other hand, can be examined without a chart or a special technique. Simply, to follow Koen et al., lexical "equivalence" in a text maintains itself over several sentences by using synonyms, metaphors, paraphrases, and relative and personal pronouns. Grammatical coherence depends on formal markers, "such as the singularity or plurality of subjects and predicates, the tenses of verbs, and the presence and kind of modal auxiliaries" (2). Koen et al. describe the rhetorical system as consisting of a sequence of functional slots (e.g., topic--restriction--illustration and problem--solution).

Formal markers, such as for example, on the other hand, in other words, however, etc., sometimes signal shifts from one slot to another (2).

Pitkin refines the rhetorical system with his notion of discourse blocs, since effective writing sets out to create discourse, not sentences. Discourse blocs, consisting of "rhetorical units" are determined "by virtue of their functions toward [a particular] purpose. The [rhetorical] units [of discourse blocs] would be units because of what they were doing, not merely of where they might be, and the continuum would be segmented by junctures in space time, not merely by joints in space" (139), signalled ambiguously by indentations, periods, commas, etc. Rhetorical units are sometimes narrower, sometimes broader, and sometimes identical with the grammatical sentence since sentences often exercise more than one function. In short, discourse bloc-ing allows discourse junctures to be marked in terms of significance as well as mere presence.

The underlying rationale holds, simply, that "the hierarchy of discourse is--like the hierarchy of the complex word, the phrase, the sentence--without gaps, a continuum of increasingly complex structures" (141). Two relationships between rhetorical units, "horizontal" and "vertical," and their weightings provide the principles of discourse bloc classification. The horizontal relationships are "coordination" and "complementation." In the former, two equal units compose a set under a common superordinate category--e.g.,

pet – dog and cat. In the latter, two units are meaningful only in their relationship to one another--e.g., cause and effect. Vertical relationships include "subordination" (genus to species) and "superordination" (species to genus). A discourse bloc analysis of a text thus reflects both horizontal and vertical "movement." Where shifts between discourse blocs are formally marked, these markers have been included.

Discourse bloc analyses allow us to compare (1) readers' validation of a text's rhetorical structure with an intuitive breakdown (which usually follows an author's own paragraphing) and (2) the performance of different groups with each other. In the second case, the analyses help explain the nature of what might constitute rhetorical "change" for different readers. Again, the lexical and grammatical systems are also important but their layout, perceivable as it is on the surface, needs no elaborate schematization.

B. Experimental Design

Four passages were chosen, according to their length, simplicity, rhetorical purpose, and genre. Where necessary, vocabulary was simplified. Also, in compound sentences where rhetorical units ended at the first main clause, these sentences were punctuated as two sentences--thus presenting the reader with an additional choice as to a discourse boundary.

In addition, one passage ("The Town Dump") represents only the initial eight paragraphs of a lengthier essay; and one passage ("The Great Frog Hunt") represents a single vignette of a much longer narrative.

"The Great Frog Hunt," an unparagraphed passage from John Steinbeck (1945), was chosen as a narrative example; "The Town Dump," by Wallace Stegner (1959), as an example of exposition, but with a very strong narrative element; "Take Your College in Stride," by William Carleton (1947), as exposition moving away from narrative and towards persuasion; and "New Schools," by Eric Hoffer (1976), as argument/proposal.

The groups of readers were chosen according to (1) their degree of literacy and (2) their degree of fluency with "English." Since the present study does not pretend to be statistically based, students initially were not catalogued individually but rather according to their academic placement. In the case of the Micronesian group (mainly Yapese, Trukese, and Ponapean), subjects were chosen on the basis of their coming from cultures which are more primarily "oral" in cast than say the U.S., Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, and urban Thailand and Korea. This latter group accounted for the home base for almost all the other subjects in the study. Furthermore, the Micronesians seem to know "English," at least in terms of conversational fluency, better than typical students from other nonnative but more literate groups. More simply, Micronesian subjects face the two-pronged

problem of learning "English" while learning to read, period. Other groups learn to read first in their native tongues.

The groups are these:

(1) English 100 (EN 100)--University of Hawaii freshman composition students; all native speakers; sixty students from three different class sections.

(2) English 21 and 22 (EN 21 & 22)--Kapiolani Community College reading and composition students; twenty-nine native speakers from three different class sections.

(3) English 9 (EN 9)--Honolulu Community College basic writing students; eleven native speakers from three different classes.

(4) English as a Second Language 100 (ESL 100)--University of Hawaii composition students; all nonnative speakers (mainly Chinese and Japanese); fifty students from four different class sections.

(5) Micronesian students and writers (MIC)--twenty-four subjects: twelve freshmen and sophomores at Hawaii Pacific College from three different composition classes; and twelve older students from the University of Hawaii's Pacific Area Language Materials Development Center and the Bilingual Education Program for Micronesia.

As can be seen, the "literacy" criterion was used primarily to separate EN 100, EN 21 & 22, and EN 9; the "English fluency" criterion was used to separate ESL 100 and MIC from the native speaker groups.

Readers were told to indent the passage where "appropriate," and to write the number of the sentence which opened a new paragraph. They were given as much of the sixty-minute class period per passage as necessary, even though this meant that a few readers finished only three passages.

IV. The Analysis

A. Discourse Bloc Analyses

Following are the four discourse bloc analyses (one for each passage) and their five percentage tables (one for each group). First, the rationale for each analysis will be discussed. The next section will show how significance between groups is determined, and this will be based on the percentage tables at the bottom of each analysis. These tables can be ignored for the time being.

Analysis 1--"The Great Frog Hunt"

This passage, although encompassed within a vague expository frame, basically tells a story. The narrative frame begins with the rhetorical question in rhetorical unit 10 and continues through unit 32.[6] The narrative "line" (i.e., the sequence of horizontal frames) follows the classic plot--(introduction)-conflict-catharsis-resolution/denouement-(epilogue)--found in most simple stories.

"The Great Frog Hunt," which was not paragraphed at all by its author, relies more on the intuitive framing represented in the discourse bloc analysis than do the other passages, which are paragraphed. Where the analyses of the other passages mark the author's paragraph boundaries with a bold line, no such line is used for Analysis 1. Instead,

relative importance of the discourse blocs can be judged by their level--"first" level being the most important.

For a reader to "miss" the change in horizontal, "progressive" movement at any one of the rhetorical units which begin the main sections of this plot would suggest that his framing strategies differ from those of the discourse bloc analysis. A brief scan of the table reveals that differences between and among groups do appear at units 10, 19, 23, and 31--the points where the narrative most "noticeably" shifts gears. Whether these differences represent significant mismatches will be discussed in the following section. In any event, such apparent divergence from the discourse bloc analysis and such differences among the groups raises the suspicion that readers sometimes disagree with each other as to the arrangement inherent in the text. Below are the passage itself and its analysis.

The Great Frog Hunt

[1]During the ages that frogs and men have lived in the same world, it is most likely that men have hunted frogs. [2]And during that time a pattern of hunt and hide has developed. [3]The man with net or bow or lance or gun creeps noiselessly, as he thinks, toward the frog. [4]The pattern requires that the frog sit still, sit very still and wait. [5]The rules of the game require the frog to wait until the final flicker of a second, when the net is coming down, when the lance is in the air, when the finger squeezes the trigger, then the frog jumps, plops into the water, swims to the bottom and waits until the man goes away. [6]That is the way it is done, the way it has always been done.

[7]Frogs have every right to expect it will always be done that way. [8]Now and then the net is too quick, the lance pierces, the gun flicks and that frog is gone, but it is all fair and in the framework. [9]Frogs don't resent that. [10]But how could they have anticipated Mack's new method? [11]How could they have foreseen the horror that followed? [12]The sudden flashing of lights, the shouting and squealing of men, the rush of feet. [13]Every frog leaped, plopped into the pool, and swam as fast as it could to the bottom. [14]Then into the pool plunged the line of men, stamping, churning, moving in a crazy line up the pool, flinging their feet about. [15]Hysterically the frogs, displaced from their quiet spots, swam ahead of the crazy thrashing feet and the feet came on. [16]Frogs are good swimmers but they haven't much endurance. [17]Down the pool they went until finally they were bunched and crowded against the end. [18]And the feet and wildly plunging bodies followed them. [19]A few frogs got through and these were saved. [20]But the majority decided to leave this pool forever, to find a new home in a new country where this kind of thing didn't happen. [21]A wave of scared, frustrated frogs, big ones, little ones, brown ones, green ones, men frogs and women frogs, a wave of them broke over the bank, crawled, leaped, scrambled. [22]They crawled over each other on their way up the grass, they grabbed each other, little ones rode on big ones. [23]And then--horror on horror--the flashlights found them. [24]Two men gathered them like berries. [25]The line of men came out of the water and closed in on their rear and gathered them like potatoes. [26]Tens and fifties of them were thrown into the big sacks, which were filled with tired, frightened, and surprised frogs, with dripping, crying frogs. [27]Some got away, of course, and some had been saved in the pool. [28]But never in frog history had such an execution taken place. [29]Frogs by the pound, by the fifty pounds. [30]They weren't counted but there must have been six or seven hundred. [31]Then happily Mack tied up the necks of the sacks. [32]They were soaking, dripping wet and the air was cool.

DISCOURSE BLOC ANALYSIS 1

AND TABLE—% of paragraph starts/rhetorical unit/group

(% of subjects-by groups)	expository description (old method)								narrative description (new method)																						
	intro. asser (prologue)		support						presentation of event series #1 (conflict)									event series #2 (catharsis)				event series #3 (denouement)								epilogue	
			illustration			interpretation			rhet ques intro	description												beg. of "the end"			"the end"						
	general assertion	specific assertion	event 1	event 2	event 3	summary/support	assertion	repetition	elaboration/reassertion (of 7)	asser. (of cause)	asser. (of effect)	intro. to event series	presentation of event (a)	presentation of event (b)	presentation of event (c)	parenthetical comment	presentation of event (d)	presentation of event (e)	prelimin result (general)	prelimin result (specific)	desc. of main event	repetition/amplif.	immed cause	immed effect	main, "successful" dimension of hunt	incidental, "failed" dimension of hunt	interp.	amplif.	desc. of last event	desc. of scene	N
			The pot	The rules															incidental (positive) dimension	main (negative) dimension				description		broad description	narrow description			
EN 100	0		30	12	7	25	25	18	2	45	2	25	17	2	7	15	5	2	13	7	67	0	22	12	5	3	28	10	12	2	18	0	60
EN 21 + 22	0		7	10	38	3	28	17	3	34	10	21	7	0	7	28	0	3	10	7	62	0	7	3	3	7	17	7	7	7	10	0	29
EN 9	0		9	27	27	0	18	36	0	9	9	36	9	9	36	18	0	0	27	9	36	9	0	18	0	9	9	9	27	9	9	9	11
ESL 100	2		56	10	2	8	26	38	2	34	0	26	16	0	16	24	2	2	8	10	54	0	6	18	2	6	20	10	30	0	2	2	50
MIX	4		21	13	29	13	46	4	0	25	13	29	21	0	25	17	0	0	4	0	67	0	13	21	8	8	4	4	13	0	13	0	24
N	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	

(rhet unit)

Analysis 2--"The Town Dump"

The second passage attempts, simply, to prove that the town dump "has more poetry and excitement in it than people did." This assertion occurs in unit 4; the rest of the passage (5-37) supports it. However, the overall expository (explanatory) purpose relies on several narrative vignettes for its fulfillment. In the discourse bloc analysis, authorial paragraphing is represented by bold vertical lines. Other important discourse junctures, which do not coincide with the author's paragraphs, manifest their importance by their level relative to other junctures. As in the analysis for "The Great Frog Hunt," "first" level breaks are found in the highest row.

The combination of actual paragraph boundaries and other discourse bloc boundaries make Analysis 2 much more interesting than Analysis 1. Each vertical bold line closure or opening of a horizontal line represents another reason for the discourse juncture and thus supports the author's decision to paragraph at that point. Although Koen et al. have shown that paragraphing is not merely an aesthetic judgment, one can see in Analysis 2, which follows, that often, even when there are several "reasons" for paragraphing, these reasons are overridden by an aesthetic sense which recoils at one- or two-sentence paragraphs. That is, closure is sometimes withheld because of aesthetic considerations.

Units 4-9b in Analysis 2, below, provide such an example. While unit 4 closes three discourse frames, the paragraph break does not occur until unit 5a, which opens four frames; one of these frames, however, outranks the frames closed by unit 4. Similarly, unit 6 opens three frames but is too close to the paragraph break at 5a to be taken as another paragraph break. However, at 6 too the frames that are opened are lower than two of the ones which 5a opens, and this also weakens support for a new paragraph at 6. Such is not the case at unit 9a. Here three frames are opened, but they are all "under" the "support" frame opened in 6. Yet, the author paragraphs at 9a. A further scan of Analysis 2 and the other analyses will reveal a few other instances of apparently nonlogical, or at least inconsistent, paragraphing infelicities. The point here is that the real significance of discourse junctures depends on their context--their configuration under or alongside other frames.

A central question here asks whether or not the beginnings of the narrative segments will cue some readers to paragraph at these points. To do so, when narrative and expository purposes fail to coincide, would suggest that vertical, "repetitive" frames are being read somehow as progressive. Illustration/support frames would thus seem to be regarded as more significant in terms of discourse development than larger, expository frames, which here are intermingled with spatial frames. Units 13, 17, 25, and 34 begin

such narrative illustrations of more general expository points. The table reflects differences of one kind or another at all these points, differences which will be examined in the next section. First, the passage (the rhetorical units are marked here; they were not marked for the subjects of the study--only sentence boundaries were numbered for them):

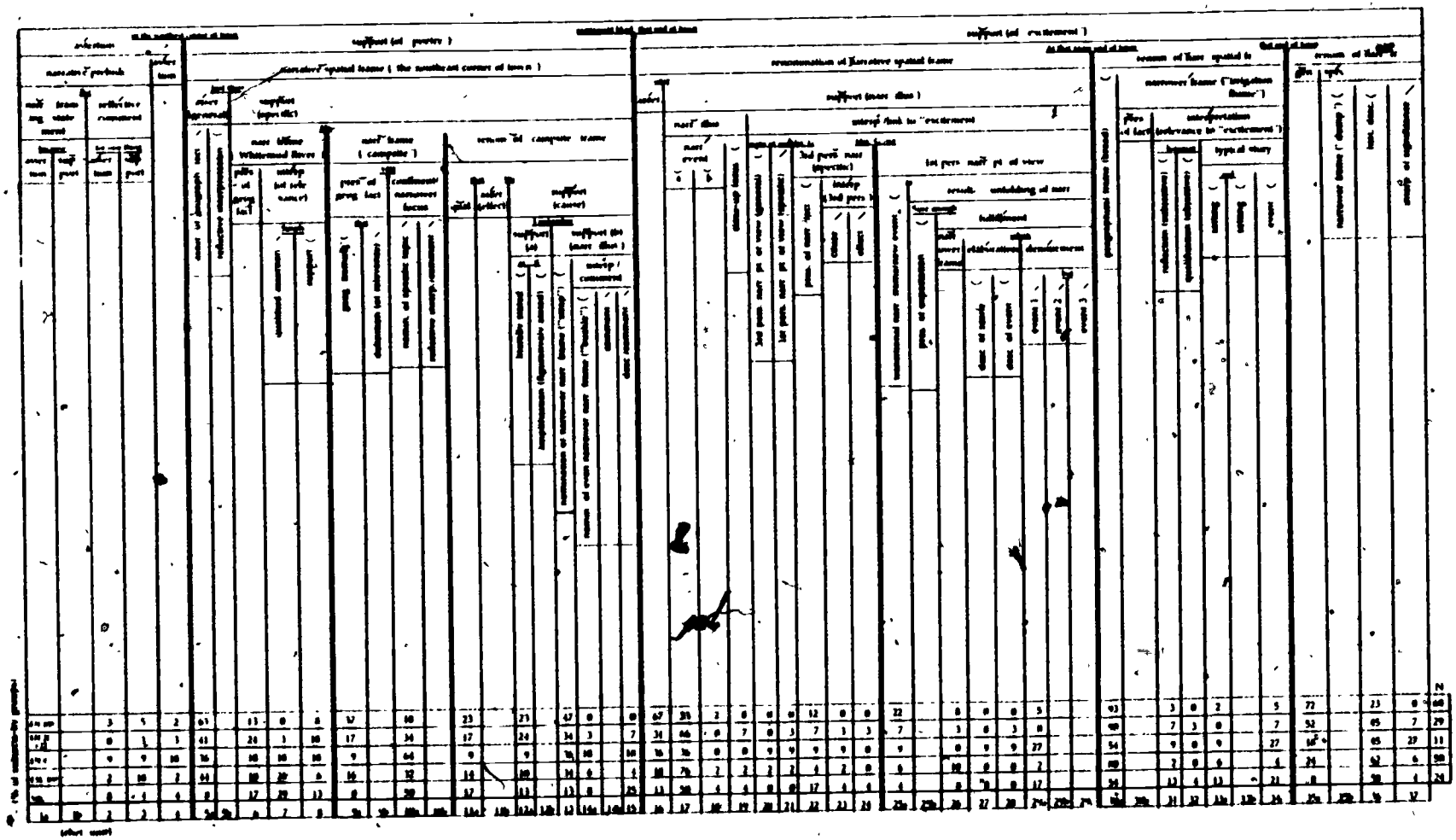
The Town Dump

[1a]The town of Whitemud, Saskatchewan, could only have been a few years old when I knew it, [1b]because the village was born in 1913 and I left there in 1919. [2]But I remember the dump better than I remember most of the people. [3]I spent more time with it, for one thing. [4]It has more poetry and excitement in it than people did. [5a]It lay in the southeast corner of town, [5b]in a section that was always full of adventure for me. [6]Just there the Whitemud River left the hills, bent a little south, and started its long journey across the prairie and American border to join the Milk River. [7]For all I knew as a child, it might have been on its way to join some secret underground river. [8]Simply, before my eyes, it disappeared into strangeness and wonder. [9a]Also, where it passed below the dumpground, it ran through the lowlands [9b]that were a favorite campsite for passing horse-wagon drivers, travelers, sometimes Indians. [10a]The very straw scattered around those camps, the ashes of those strangers' campfires, the manure of their horse teams and saddle horses, [10b]were hot with adventurous possibilities. [11a]It was as an extension, a living suburb, as it were, of the dumpground [11b]that we most valued those camps. [12a]We looked all over them for things the campers might have left, [12b]as if they had been archeological sites full of the secrets of ancient civilizations. [13]I remember toting around for weeks the broken cheek strap from a horse's bridle. [14a]Somehow or other its buckle [14b]looked as if it had been fashioned in a far place, a place where they were used to flattening the tongues of buckles for reasons that could only be exciting, and where they made a habit of plating the metal with some valuable alloy, probably silver. [15]In places where the silver was worn away the buckle underneath shone dull yellow: probably gold. [16]It seemed

that excitement liked that end of town better than our end. [17]Once old Mrs. Gustafson, deeply religious and a little crazy; went over there with a wagon full of trash. [18]As she was driving home along the river she looked and saw an exhausted catfish, washed in from Cypress Lake or some other part of the hills, floating on the yellow water. [19]He was two feet long, his whiskers hung down, his fins and tail were limp. [20]He was a kind of fish that no one had seen in the Whitemud River in the three or four years of the town's life. [21]He was a kind that none of us children had ever seen anywhere. [22]Mrs. Gustafson had never seen one like him either. [23]She thought at once that he was the devil. [24]She whipped up her horse team and reported him at Hoffman's elevator. [25a]We could hear her screeching and yelling about the fish [25b]as we ran to the river to see for ourselves. [26]Sure enough, there he was. [27]He looked very tired. [28]He made no great effort to escape when we pushed out a half-sunken rowboat from below a bridge, put it under him, and brought him ashore. [29a]When he died three days later [29b]we experimentally fed him to two half-wild cats, [29c]but they seemed to suffer no ill effects. [30a]At that same end of town [30b]the irrigation passage crossed the river. [31]It always seemed to me to be very high when I hung my chin over its wooden edge and looked down. [32]It probably rose no more than twenty feet above the water, however. [33a]Ordinarily in summer it carried about six or eight inches of smooth water, [33b]and under the moving water of this little closed-in stream the wood was covered with deep sun-warmed moss as slick as frogs' eggs. [34]A boy could sit in this stream with the water pushing against his back, and grab a cross brace above him, and pull, shooting himself sledlike ahead until he could reach the next brace for another slide, and so on across the river in four scoots. [35a]But nothing in that end of town was as good as [35b]the dumpground that scattered along a little waterway which dipped down toward the river form the south. [36]Through a historical process it went back, probably, to the roots of community sanitation and distaste for eyesores, back to a law passed in 1888. [37]Thus the dump was one of the very first community projects, almost the town's first institution.

DISCOURSE BLOC ANALYSIS 2

AND TABLE-- % of paragraph starts/rhetorical unit/group



Analysis 3--"Take Your College in Stride"

This passage, originally delivered as a speech, is an exposition which argues more strongly than does "The Town Dump." The assertion in unit 2 (which is reasserted in 4) sets out the supportive/persuasive purpose for the rest of the discourse. First, "leisure time" must be proven as the "greatest" among other opportunities in college--especially the opportunity of experiencing college professors. That a student ought not to rely on his professors for too much when it comes to learning and that his leisure time ought to be spent with books form secondary and more particular assertions to be proven. Topic shifts here seem simpler than in either passage 1 or 2 because the narrative component is not nearly as strong. This causes less complication because of narrative frame, such as spatial and event, interference with expository frame configuration. In this one respect then passage 3 is easier to follow than passage 2. ("Take Your College in Stride," however, fails to achieve the same "levels" of literary merit as those attained by "The Town Dump." Such merit bases itself on metaphorical identification of "areas" of the mind with actual places and events . . . and, in general, a skillful blurring of discourse boundaries.)

At first blush, the interesting features of this analysis are the formal markers (for the rhetorical system) and the

lexical and grammatical system shifts, which may be more crucial here than in the other passages. Also, a kind of frame-breaking occurs at units 3a, 7a, and 30. At these points the "speaker" addresses the audience directly. A quick review of "The Great Frog Hunt" shows how, at unit 10, the actual narrative began with a similarly "disruptive" rhetorical question. Again, the passage and then the discourse bloc analysis:

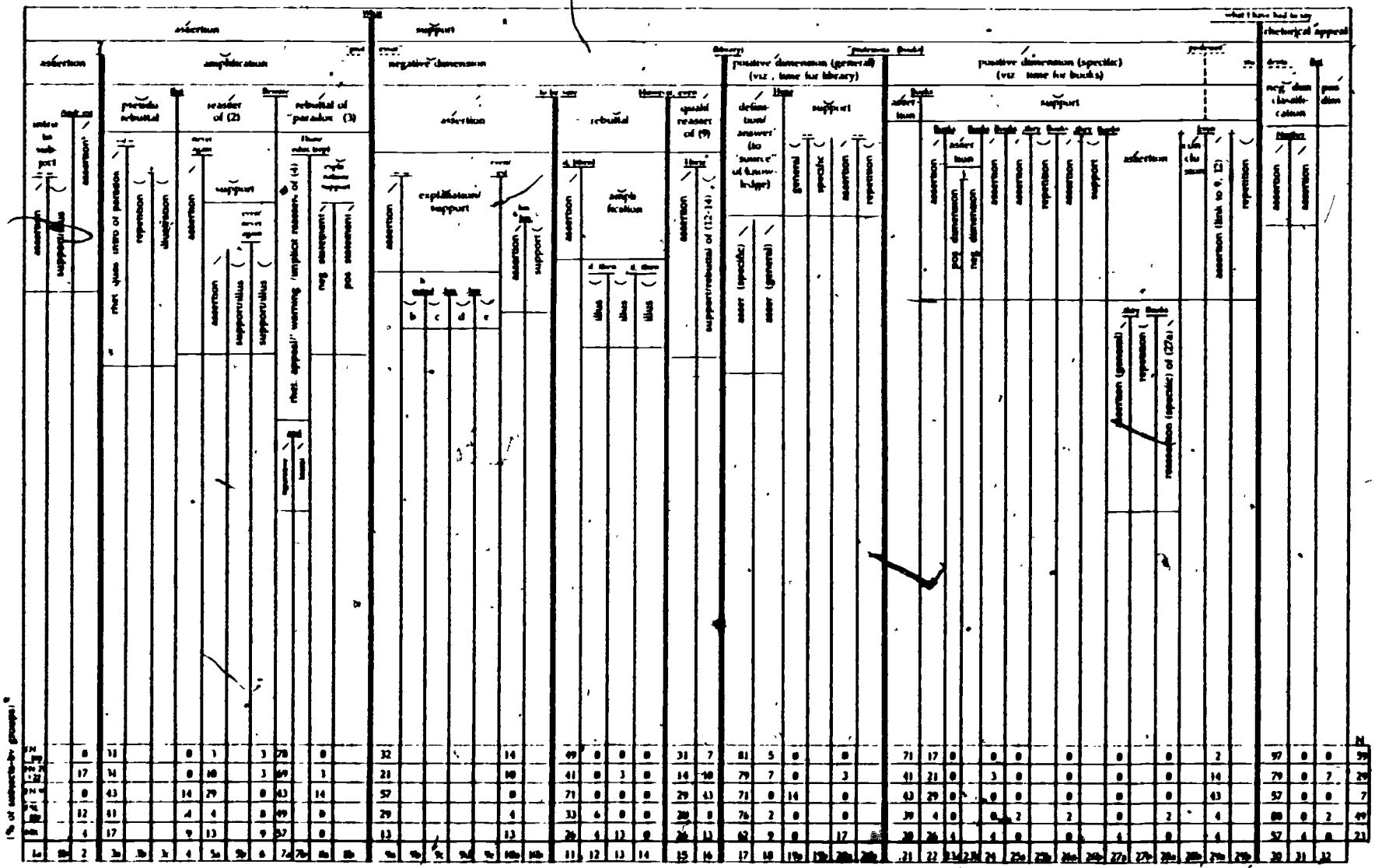
Take Your College in Stride

[1a]College offers you five great opportunities--[1b]professors, contact with fellow students who themselves are the products of a selection process, laboratories, a library filled with books, and leisure time. [2]And the greatest of these is leisure time. [3a]Is it not strange that the greatest good provided by a university is something intangible--[3b]something that cannot be seen, [3c]something that cannot be written down in the catalogues or reduced to clock hours, credits, degrees? [4]But the leisure time offered you during your college days is a priceless gift. [5a]Never again in your life will you have so much time--[5b]time to browse, to think, to dream, to discuss, to argue, to question, to create, to construct. [6]Even if you should become a college professor you will never again have so much precious leisure. [7a]Beware of those educators who want to put you in a strait jacket and [7b]make you account for every minute of your waking hours. [8a]Those educators do not want a university; [8b]they want an army. [9a]What any professor can give you in any subject is limited--[9b]limited by the inability of any man, however great his sense of others' experience, to impart but a small fraction of his knowledge and experience; [9c]limited by the necessarily formal nature of the student-teacher relationship; [9d]limited by the professor's own talents and background; [9e]limited by cultural and traditional restraints. [10a]Even the greatest of teachers are limited, [10b]limited by the very clarity of the point of view which makes them famous and respected. [11]Your professor, to be sure, will be able to suggest, to

encourage, to help tie up loose ends, to put things together, to point out connections where none seemed to exist before. [12]If he is the sort of person who can do this in an interesting and exciting way, so much the better. [13]If he has developed enough maturity in his own subject to have come to a definite point of view and to have made some original contributions, then you are lucky again. [14]And if he can express his ideas without pomposity and with humor and sparkle, then you are really lucky. [15]However, even the most gifted professors can give you little real insight, understanding, ripeness of judgment, wisdom. [16]These are the results of living, countless contacts with men and events, wide experience, travel, observation, the reading of great books, the doing of great deeds, thinking and acting in real life situations. [17]The library, even in this scientific age, is the student's chief source of knowledge. [18]A university library is a truly wonderful place. [19a]There you can find almost all the ideas that men in all times and places have thought--[19b]the ugly and the beautiful, the foolish and the wise, the grotesque and the sensible, the curious and the useful. [20a]There you can re-live the life experience of the human race--[20b]the story, still unfinished, of man's slow groping for civilization. [21]As sources of ideas, professors simply cannot compete with books. [22]Books can be found to fit almost every need, temper, or interest. [23a]Books can be read when you are in the mood; [23b]they do not have to be taken in periodic doses. [24]Books are both more personal and more impersonal than professors. [25a]Books have an inner confidence which individuals seldom show; [25b]they rarely have to be on the defensive. [26a]Books can afford to be bold and courageous and exploratory; [26b]they do not have to be so careful of boards of trustees, colleagues, and community opinion. [27a]Books are infinitely diverse; [27b]they run the entire range of human activity. [28a]Books can be found to express every point of view; [28b]if you want a different point of view you can read a different book. [29a]Even your professor is at his best when he writes books and articles; [29b]the teaching performance rarely equals the written effort. [30]Students who come to college just to waste their time will not understand what I have had to say. [31]Neither will those who come just to earn high grades and academic honors. [32]But the others--those who have come to learn of life in this puzzling and complicated world of ours--will, I think, understand.

DISCOURSE BLOC ANALYSIS 3

AND TABLE — % of paragraph starts/rhetorical unit/group



Analysis 4--"New Schools"

Like "Take Your College in Stride," "New Schools" argues a position in an attempt to persuade. The latter goes further than the former though in its presentation of a specific proposal for the reader's perusal. The controlling frames are problem-solution. Unit 8, as the rhetorical culmination of units 1-7, presents the problem while units 18-23 lay out the solution. In between, units 9a-17b provide the theoretical background for the practical solution, 18-23. Units 24-26b simply boost the proposal by showing that it is the most appropriate remedy for the situation.

"New Schools" blends, though somewhat more mildly, narrative and exposition similar to the way "The Town Dump" does. For example, unit 9a and, especially, units 15-16 present very short narrative illustration in the form of testimonial. Interestingly, fewer English 100 (EN 100) students, native and literate English speakers, than students from any other group choose these units as paragraph beginnings. Even unit 9a, which according to the author does begin a paragraph, fails to elicit much sense of change in EN 100 students; only 14% paragraph here. This seems to support the suspicion drawn from "The Town Dump" regarding the narrative frame's ability to overshadow (for some readers) supposedly more encompassing expository frames. Again here as in the other passages a more elaborate description depends upon the significance of the differences between the groups.

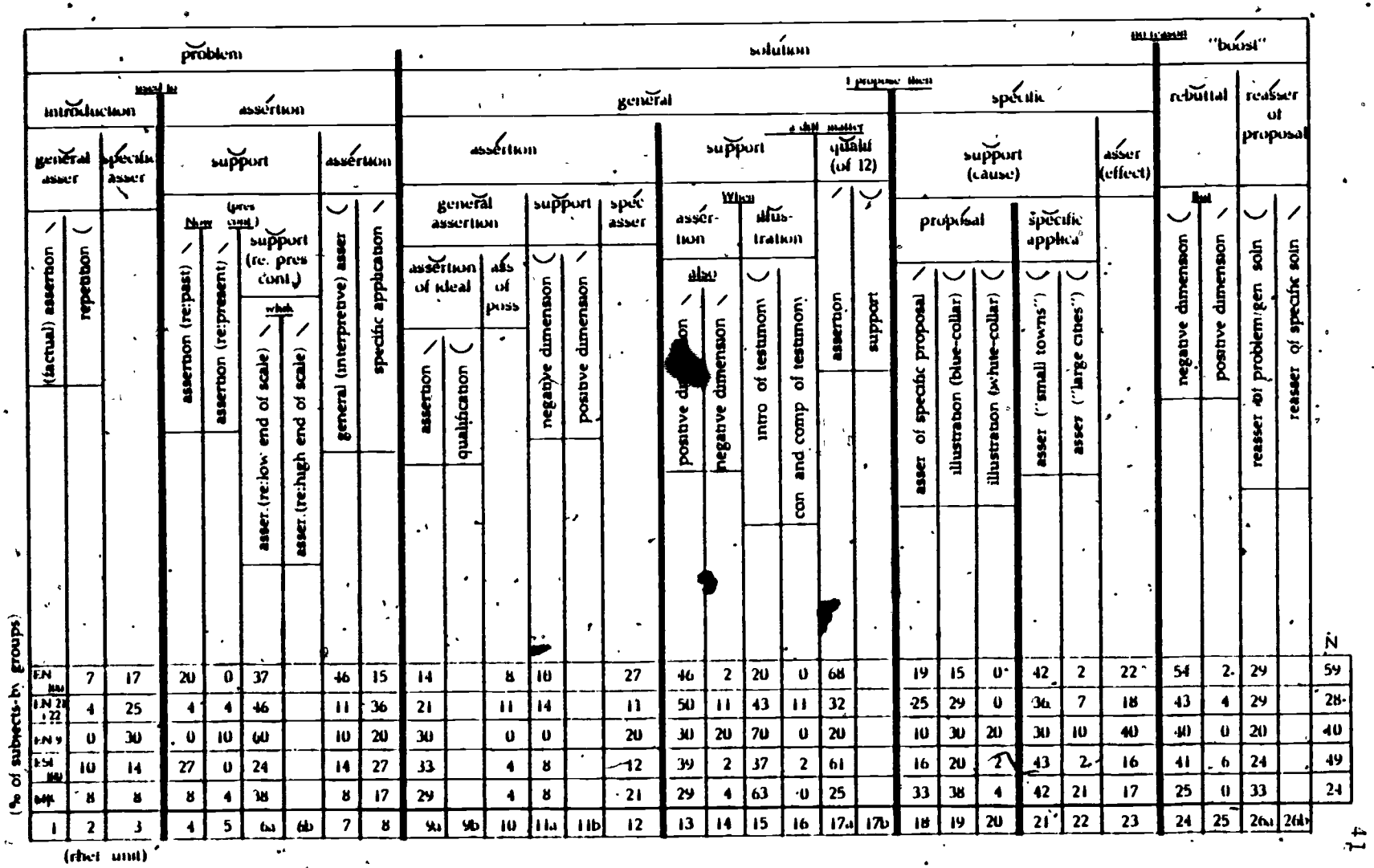
New Schools

[1]Some time ago, while writing an essay on the young, I was surprised by the discovery that the young at present do not make up a higher percentage of the population than they did in the past. [2]The percentage of the young has remained remarkably constant through many decades. [3]What has changed is the percentage of teen-agers. [4]We used to count as teen-agers those between the ages of 13 and 19. [5]Now the teen-age gorup includes those between the ages of 10 and 30. [6a]Television is giving 10-year-olds the style of life of juveniles, [6b]while the space age education explosion has been keeping students in their late twenties on the campuses in a state of prolonged adolescence. [7]There are no children any more. [8]Our public schools are packed with mini-men hungering for the choices and probably the responsibilities of adults. [9a]The poet W. H. Auden said that what America needs are puberty rites and a council of elders--[9b]which are probably beyond our reach. [10]What this country needs and can have is child labor. [11a]The mini-men, bored by meaningless book learning, [11b]are hungry for action, hungry to get all kinds of skills. [12]There will be no peace in the schools and no effective learning until the curriculum is reformed to meet the needs of the new type of students. [13]There is evidence that a student in his early twenties, when he is eager to learn, can master in less than a year all the book learning that teachers try to force into unwilling, bored minds through grammar and high school. [14]There is also evidence that forced book learning in public schools, rather than preparing students for a fuller mastery of subjects later in college, often makes them unfit for it. [15]When the great British physicist Sir Joseph Thomson was asked why England produced great scientists, he answered: "Because we hardly teach science at all in the schools. [16]Over here the minds that come to physics arrive in the laboratory with a freshness which is free from routine." [17a]Reading and writing are a different matter--[17b]if these are not thoroughly mastered early in life, we will continue to have what we have now: college students who can do neither. [18]I propose, then, that half of the school day be given to book learning--reading and writing, elementary mathematics, a familiarization with the geography of the world, and a bird's-eye view of history--and the other half to the mastery of skills. [19]Retired

skilled carpenters, masons, plumbers, electricians, mechanics, gardeners, architects, city planners, etc., could teach the young how to build houses and roads, how to landscape and garden, how to operate all sorts of machines. [20]Retired bankers, manufacturers, merchants, and politicians could teach the young about finance and management. [21]In small towns where there is only one school it would be easy to set aside a hundred acres or so on which generations of students could build a model neighborhood, plant gardens, and raise crops. [22]In large cities the work would have to be done on the outskirts or on land made available by slum clearance. [23]By the time they graduated from high school, the young would be equipped to earn a living and to run the world. [24]There is no reason to believe that adults will soon regain their lost nerve and be able to impose their values on the young. [25]But there is nothing to prevent adults from transmitting their skills. [26a]It is also becoming clear that a society that does not know how to cope with juveniles can maintain the measure of stability and continuity necessary for civilized living only by abolishing adolescence--[26b]by giving the young the skills, opportunities, responsibilities, and rewards of grown-ups.

DISCOURSE BLOC ANALYSIS 4

AND TABLE—% of paragraph starts/rhetorical unit/group



(% of subjects in groups)	problem								solution																				"boost"				N
	introduction			assertion					general												specific												
	general asser	specific asser		support				assertion	assertion			support									support (cause)			asser (effect)				rebuttal		reasser of proposal		
	(factual) assertion	repetition		assertion (re:past)	assertion (re:present)	support (re: pres cont)	asser. (re:low end of scale)	asser. (re:high end of scale)	general (interpretive) asser	specific application	general assertion		support		spec asser	assertion	illustration				proposal		specific applica					negative dimension	positive dimension	reasser of problem/gen soln	reasser of specific soln	
											assertion of ideal	ass of poss	negative dimension	positive dimension		positive dimension	negative dimension	intro of testimony	con and comp of testimony	assertion	support	asser of specific proposal	illustration (blue-collar)	illustration (white-collar)	asser ("small towns")	asser ("large cities")					
EN NM	7	17		20	0	37		46	15	14		8	10		27	46	2	20	0	68		19	15	0	42	2	22	54	2	29		59
EN 21 22	4	25		4	4	46		11	36	21		11	14		11	50	11	43	11	32		25	29	0	36	7	18	43	4	29		28
EN 9	0	30		0	10	60		10	20	30		0	0		20	30	20	70	0	20		10	30	20	30	10	40	40	0	20		40
ESL NM	10	14		27	0	24		14	27	33		4	8		12	39	2	37	2	61		16	20	2	43	2	16	41	6	24		49
ESL NM	8	8		8	4	38		8	17	29		4	8		21	29	4	63	0	25		33	38	4	42	21	17	25	0	33		24
	1	2	3	4	5	6a	6b	7	8	9a	9b	10	11a	11b	12	13	14	15	16	17a	17b	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26a	26b	

(rhet unit)

B. Reader Paragraphing Variation

To determine whether or not differences between groups are significant a chi-square test was used. Two-by-two tables allowed the used of a simplified formula:

$$\chi^2 = \frac{(|ad - bc| - \frac{1}{2}N)^2 N}{(a + b)(a + c)(b + d)(c + d)}$$

for the following set of two rows and two columns showing frequencies of a, b, c, d, as in Table (a) below (Dixon and Massey, 1957:226):

Table (a)

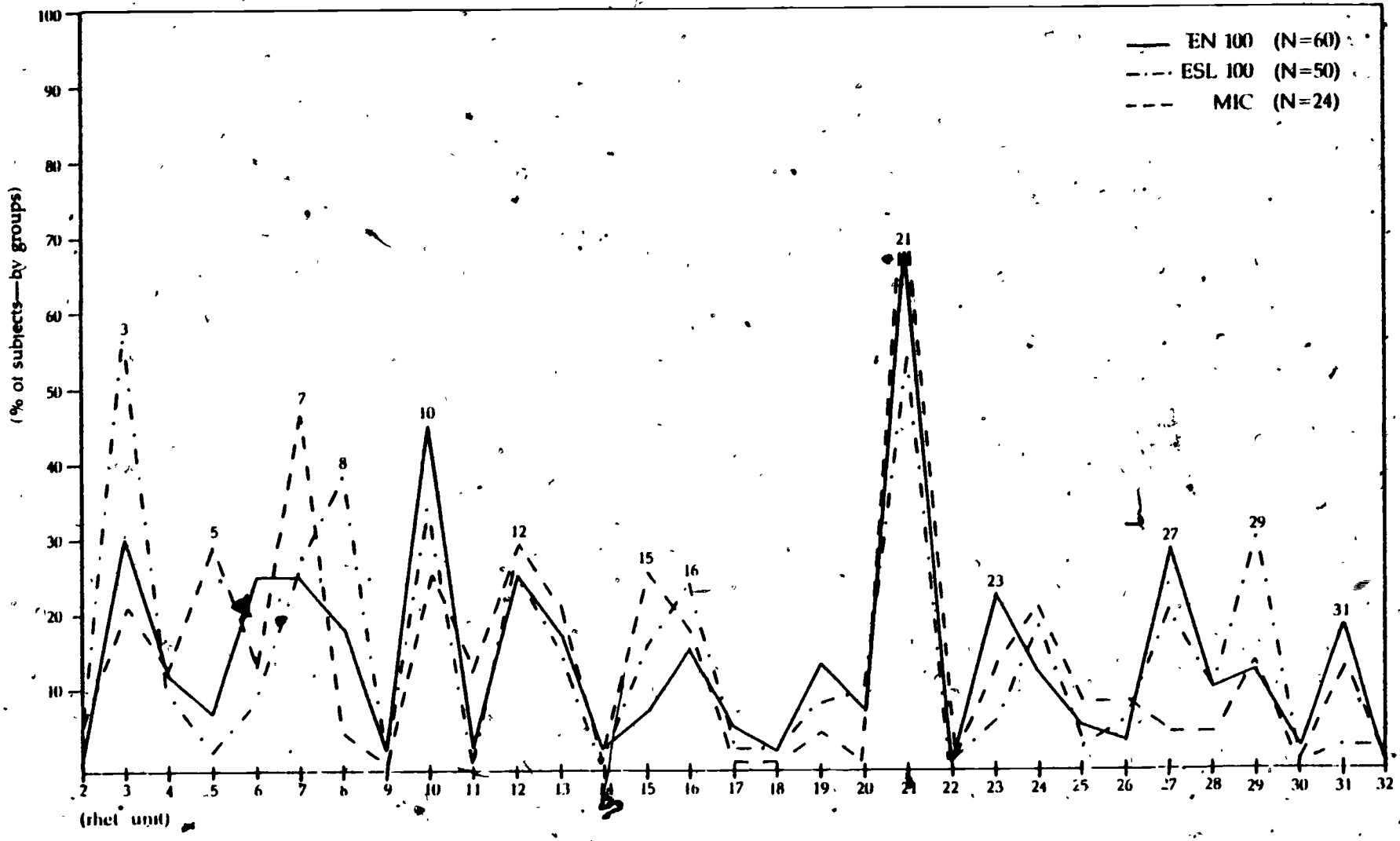
	I	II	Total
1	a	b	a + b
2	c	d	c + d
Total	a + c	b + d	a + b + c + d = N

For 1 degree of freedom $\chi^2_{.95} = 3.84$. Thus χ^2 values greater than or equal to 3.84 represent significant differences between groups.

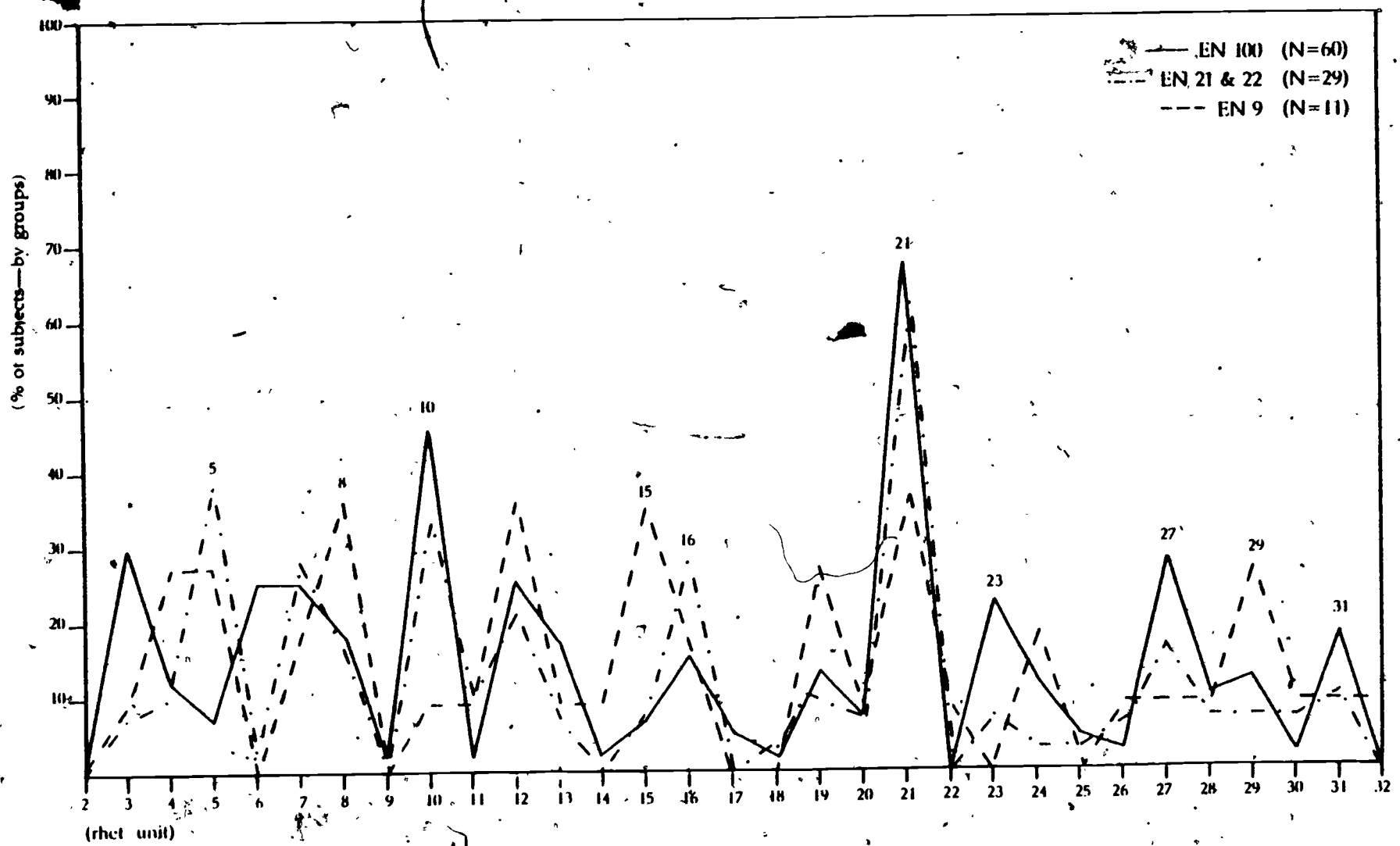
Rhetorical units at which different groups' performances were compared were selected by virtue of the apparent presence of significant gaps between group percentages. All gaps which are significant (in light of the χ^2 test) and some of those which are not but which occur at interesting rhetorical breaks have been included. The following series of graphs (1a-4b) and tables (1-4) show, respectively, (1) the apparent

gaps, and (2) the relative significance of differences between groups (in a two at a time comparison).

The (b) series of graphs--1(b), 2(b), 3(b), 4(b)--compare native speakers whose skill in literacy varies (EN 100, EN 21 & 22, and EN 9). The (a) series compares EN 100 native, literate speakers of English to nonnative and literate speakers (ESL 100) and to nonnative speakers whose first language of literacy is English (MIC)--because they come from oral cultures. Another comparison, namely between ESL 100 and EN 21 & 22, will also be made, but without the use of a gra



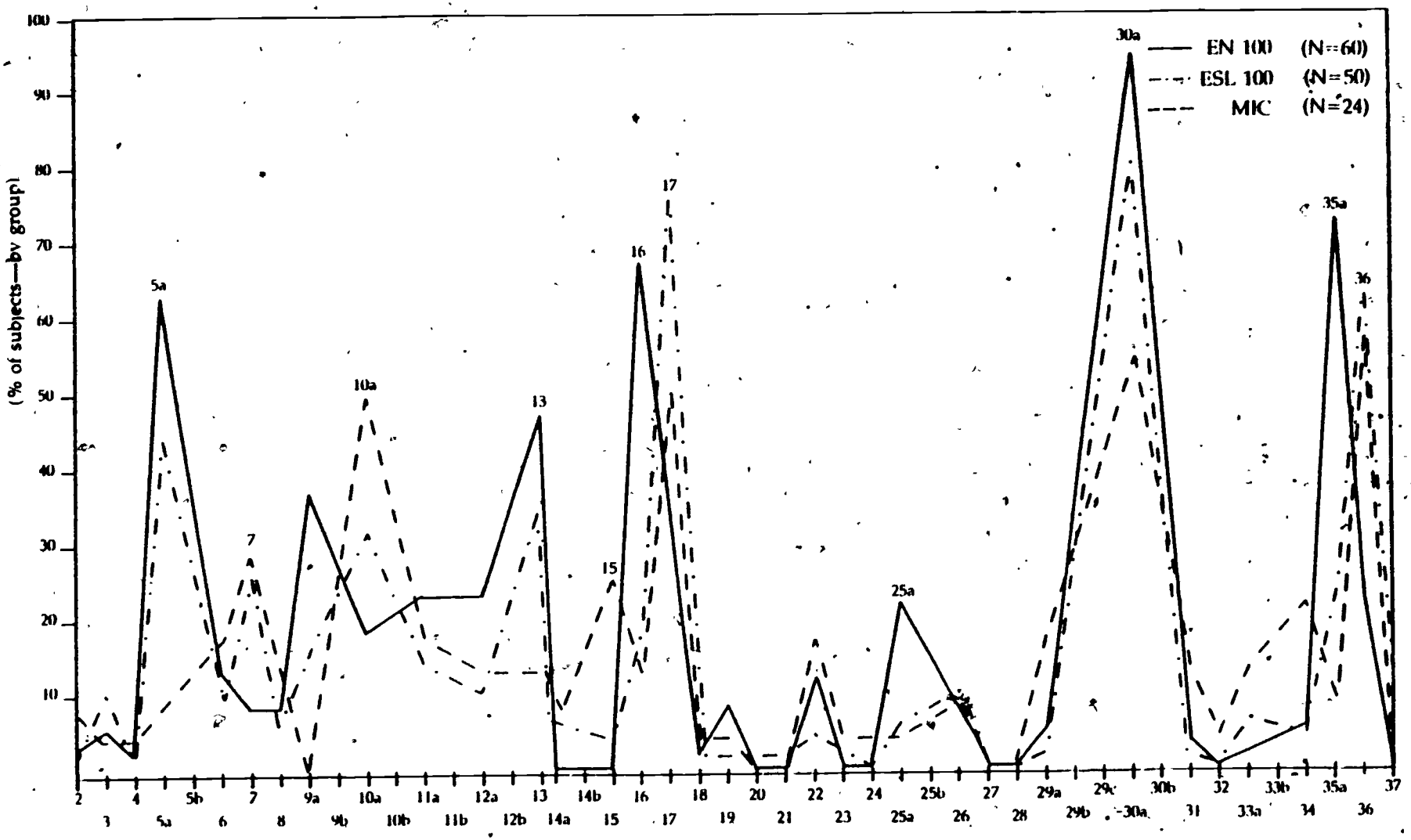
Graph 1(a)—Percentage of subjects (by group) beginning paragraphs at various rhetorical units.



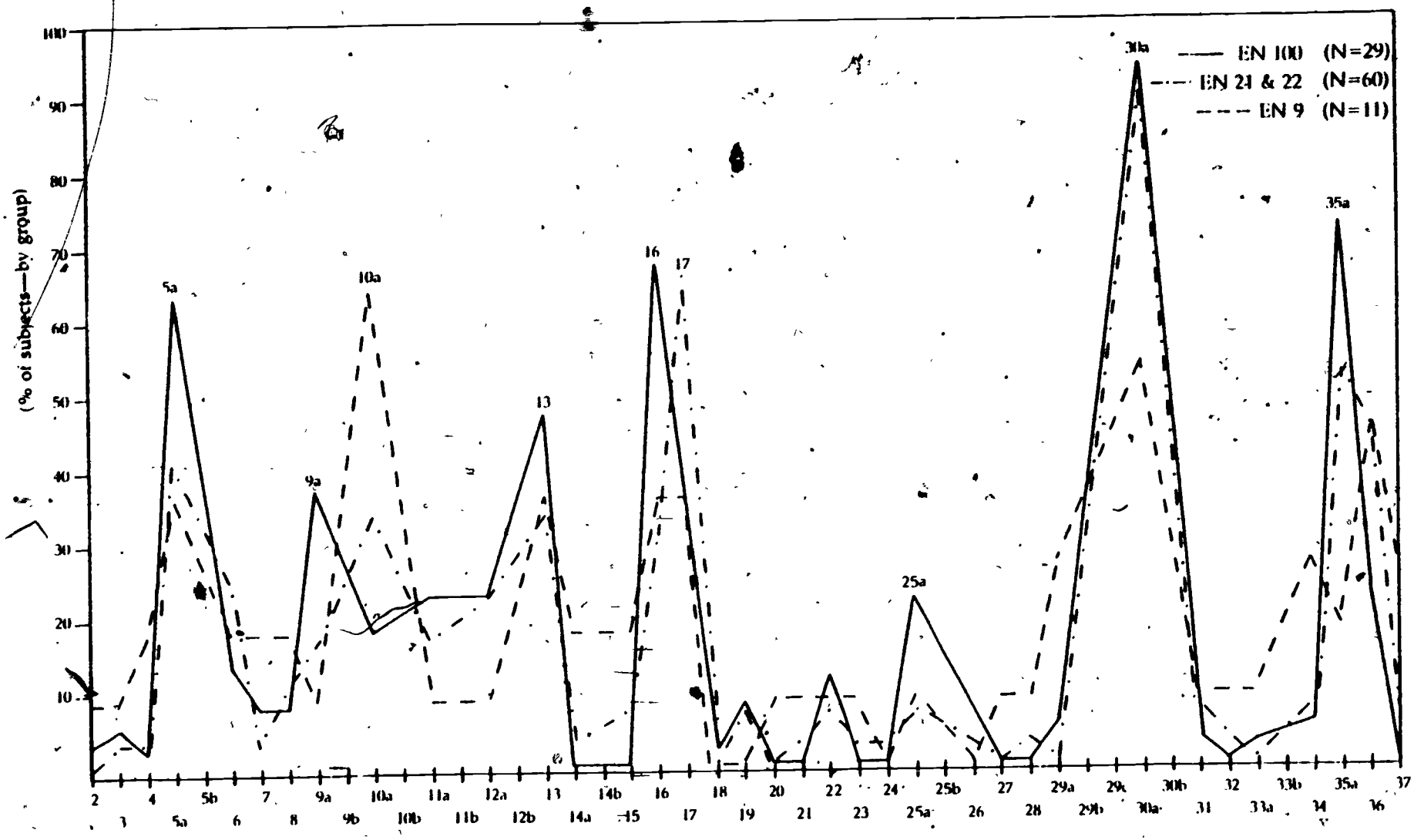
Graph 1(b)—Percentage of subjects (by group) beginning paragraphs at various rhetorical units

TABLE 1. -- Chi-squared values between groups at various rhetorical units in "The Great Frog Hunt" (χ^2 values ≥ 3.84 represent significant differences)

Rhet. Unit	% of 60 EN 100	% of 29 EN 21/22	% of 11 EN 9	% of 50 ESL 100	% of 24 MIC	χ^2
3	30	7	(9)	(56)	(21)	4.32
	30		9			.99
	30			56		6.55
		7		56		16.76
5	7	38	(27)	(2)	(29)	11.50
		38		2		15.71
6	25	3	(0)	(8)	(13)	4.78
	25			8		4.39
8	18	(17)	(36)	38	(4)	4.37
		17		38		2.82
10	45	(34)	9	(34)	(25)	3.62
	45				25	2.10
15	7	(7)	36	(16)	(25)	5.50
		7	36			3.36
			36	16		1.25
19	(13)	(10)	27	(8)	4	2.02
23	22	7	(0)	(6)	(13)	2.08
	22			6		4.20
24	(12)	3	(18)	(18)	21	2.41
27	28	(17)	9	(20)	(4)	.94
	28				4	4.55
29	12	(7)	(27)	30	(13)	4.64
		7		30		4.51
31	18	10	(9)	(2)	(0)	.44
	18			2		5.90



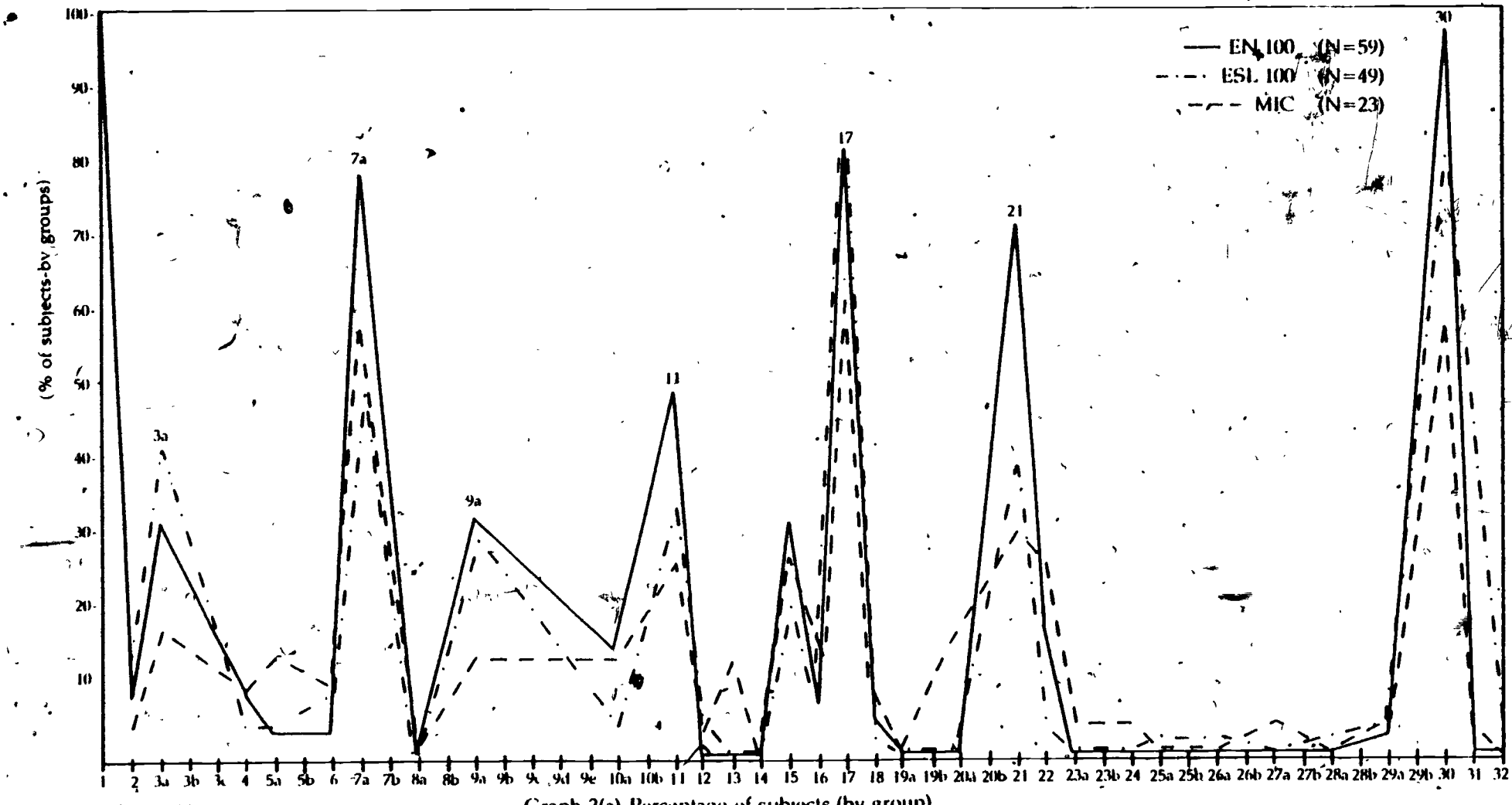
Graph 2(a)—Percentage of subjects (by group) beginning paragraphs at various rhetorical units



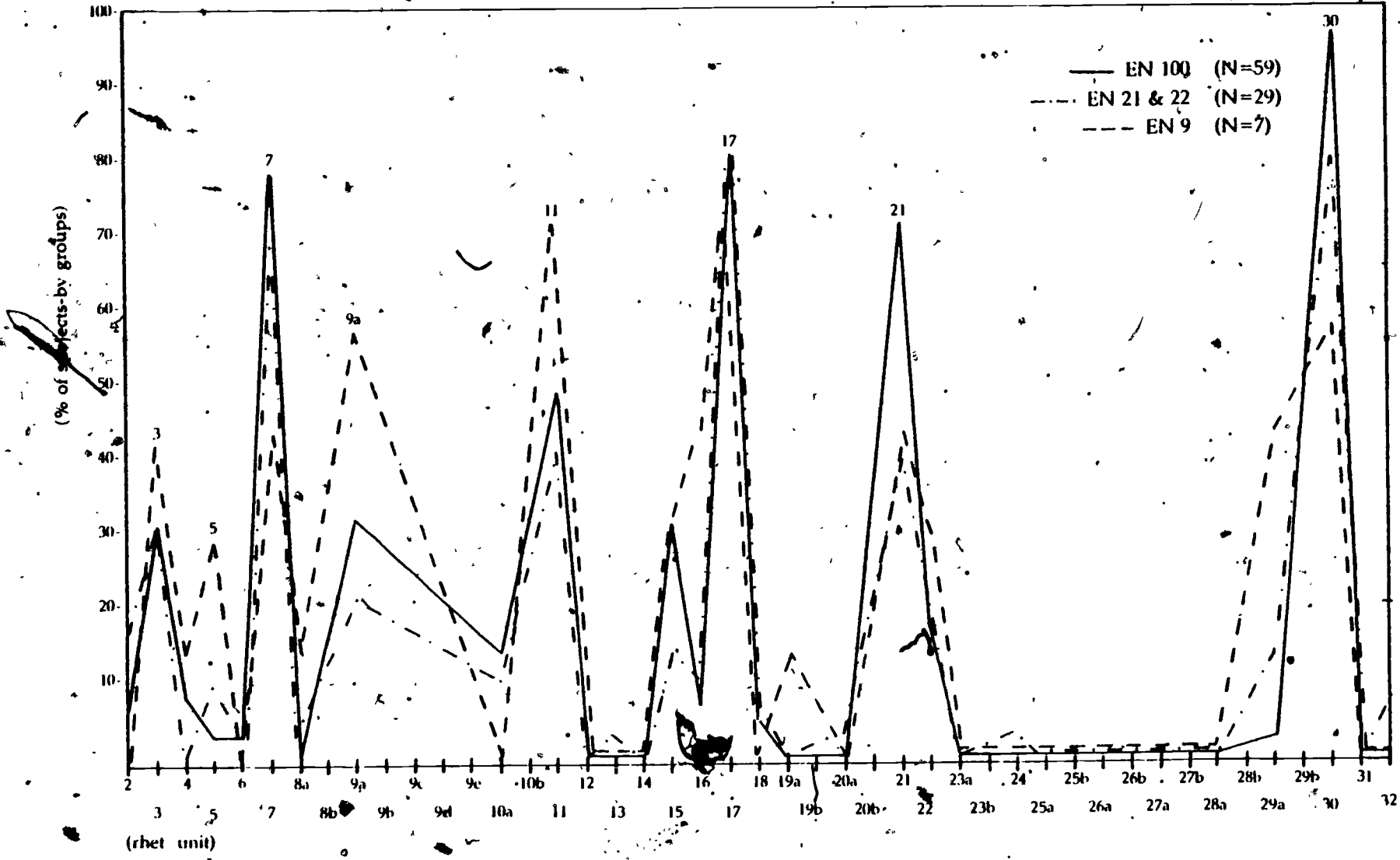
Graph 2(b)—Percentage of subjects (by group) beginning paragraphs at various rhetorical units

TABLE 2. -- Chi-squared values between groups at various rhetorical units in "The Town Dump"

Rhet. Unit	% of 60 EN 100	% of 29 EN 21/22	% of 11 EN 9	% of 50 ESL 100	% of 24 MIC	X^2
4	2	(3)	18	(2)	(4)	2.85
5	63	41	(36)	(44)	(8)	2.98
	63			44		3.36
	63				8	7.86
		41			8	5.78
7	8	(3)	(18)	26	(29)	5.00
	8				29	4.49
		3		26		4.95
9	37	17	(9)	(16)	(0)	2.63
	37			16		4.88
10	18	34	(64)	(32)	(50)	2.00
	18		64			7.89
	18			32		2.06
	18				50	7.13
			64	32		2.61
11	23	(17)	9	(14)	(17)	.44
12	23	(24)	(9)	10	(13)	2.52
13	47	34	(36)	(34)	(13)	.72
	47			34		1.32
	47				13	7.19
15	(0)	(7)	(18)	4	25	5.85
		7			25	2.09
16	67	31	(36)	(18)	(13)	8.64
	67		36			2.45
	67			18		24.20
	67				13	18.02
		31		18		1.11
17	33	66	(36)	(76)	(50)	13.42
	33			76		18.24
		66	36			3.53
			36	76		4.89
				76	50	3.88
25	22	7	(9)	(6)	(4)	2.08
	22			6		4.20
29	5	(0)	27	(2)	(17)	3.43
			27	2		3.25
30	93	(90)	54	(80)	(54)	9.37
	93				54	15.36
			54	80		1.93
35	72	(52)	18	(24)	(8)	9.27
	72			24		22.92
	72				8	25.16
		52		24		5.10
36	23	(45)	(45)	62	(58)	15.30
	23				58	7.94



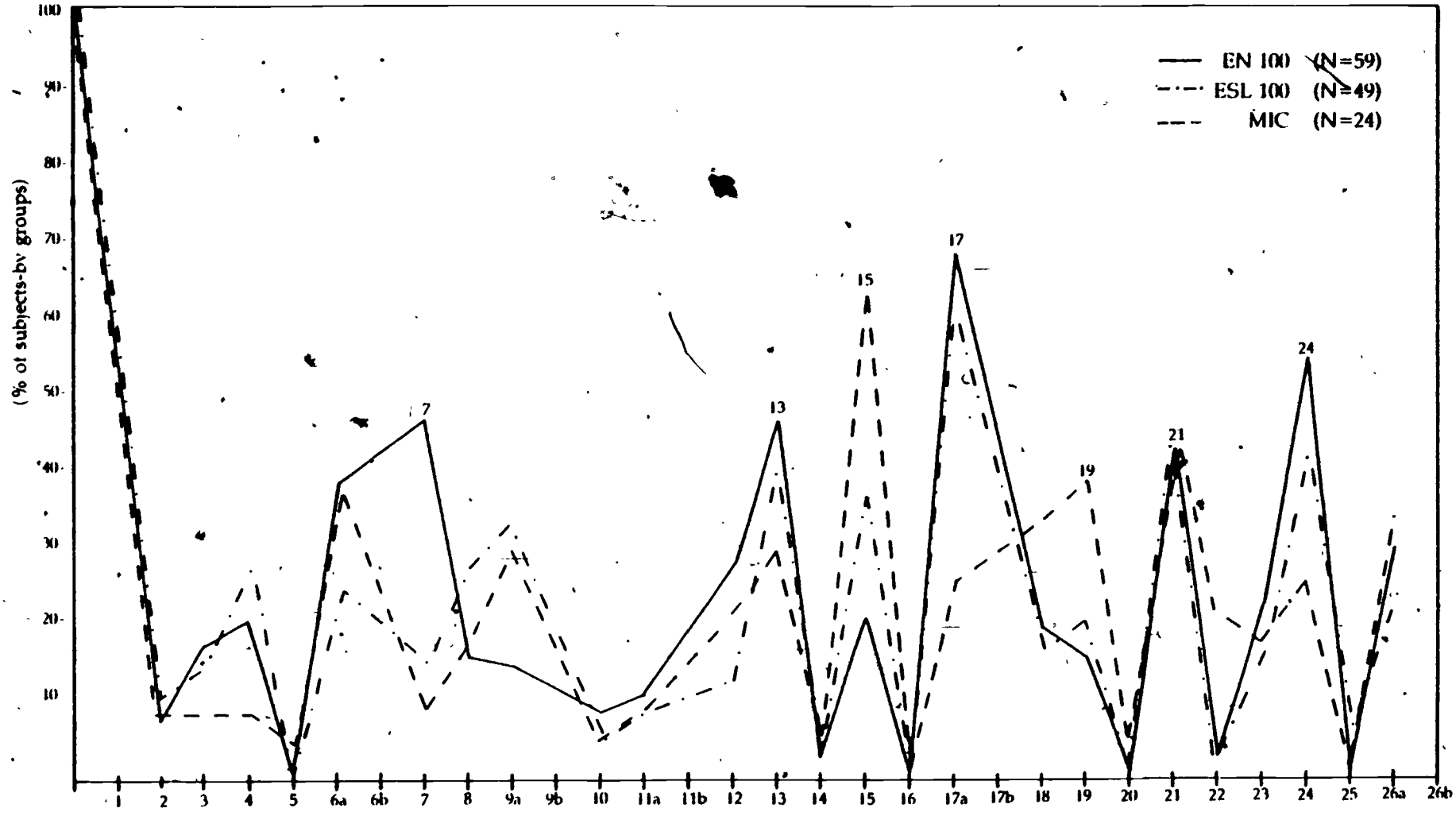
Graph 3(a)-Percentage of subjects (by group) beginning paragraphs at various rhetorical units



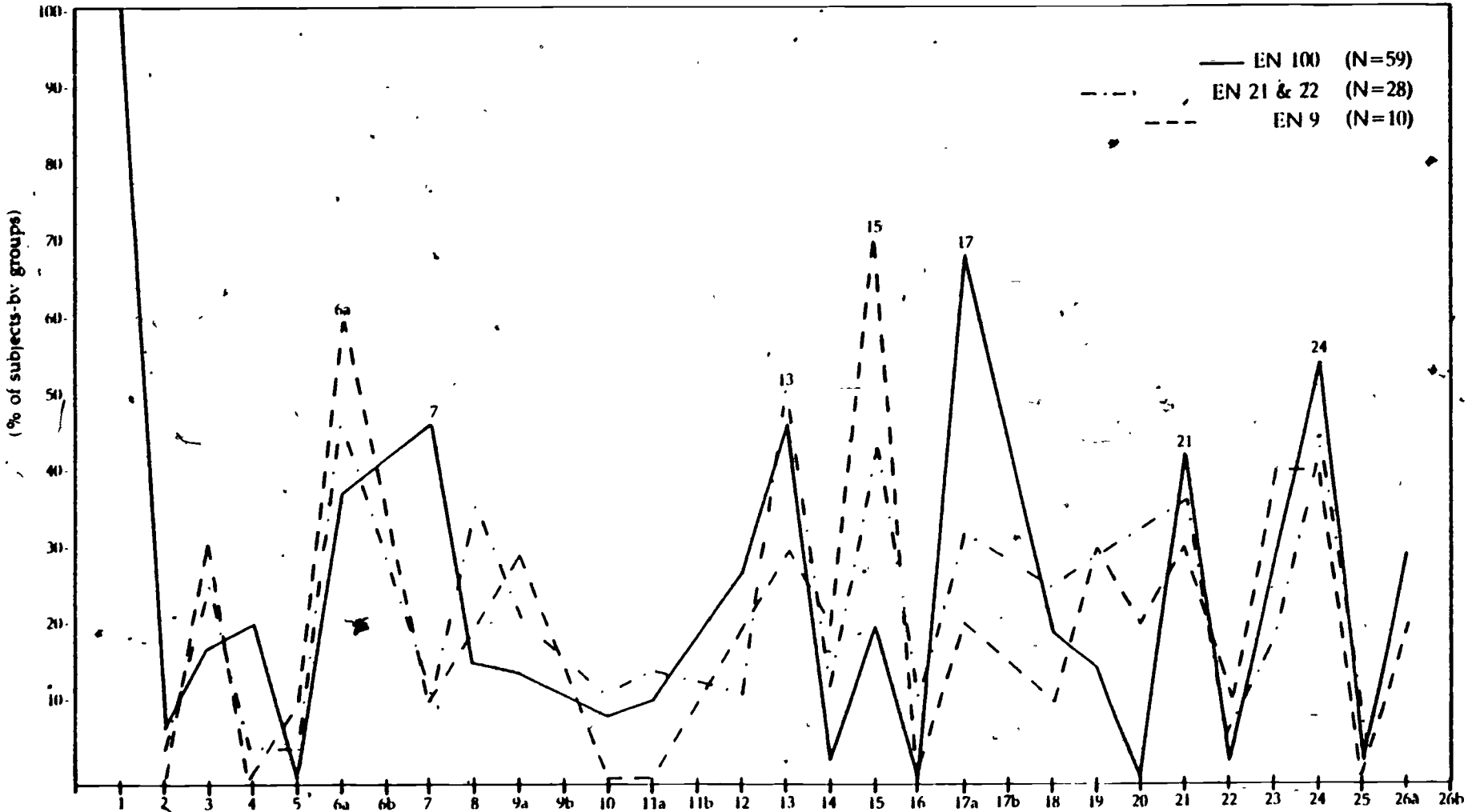
Graph 3(b)-Percentage of subjects (by group) beginning paragraphs at various rhetorical units

TABLE 3. -- Chi-squared values between groups at various rhetorical units in "Take Your College in Stride"

Rhet. Unit	% of 59 EN 100	% of 29 EN 21/22	% of 7 EN 9	% of 49 ESL 100	% of 23 MIC	X^2
3	31	(31)	(43)	41	(17)	2.95
				41	17	5.03
	31				17	.86
5	3	(10)	(29)	(4)	(13)	3.24
7	78	(69)	43	(49)	(57)	2.41
	78			49		8.63
	78				57	2.78
		69		49		2.20
9	32	(21)	(57)	(29)	13	2.20
			57		13	.52
11	49	(41)	71	(33)	(26)	.51
			71		26	3.00
	49			33		2.36
	49				26	2.72
16	7	(10)	43	(8)	(13)	5.21
			43	8		3.94
21	71	41	(43)	(39)	(30)	6.08
	71		43			1.19
	71			39		10.15
	71				30	9.80
		41			30	.27
22	17	(21)	(29)	4	(26)	3.28
		21		4		3.80
				4	26	5.60
29	2	14	(43)	(4)	(4)	3.29
	2		43			12.09
			43	4		7.06
30	97	(79)	57	(80)	(57)	8.85
	97				57	28.83
			57	80		.70



Graph 4(a)-Percentage of subjects (by group) beginning paragraphs at various rhetorical units



Graph 4(b)-Percentage of subjects (by group) beginning paragraphs at various rhetorical units

TABLE 4. -- Chi-squared values between groups at various rhetorical units in "New Schools"

Rhet. Unit	% of 59 EN 100	% of 28 EN 21/22	% of 10 EN 9	% of 49 ESL 100	% of 24 MIC	X^2
4	20	4	(0)	(27)	(8)	2.98
		4		27		4.86
				27	8	2.24
6	37	(46)	60	(24)	(38)	1.01
	37			24		1.48
		46		24		2.97
				24	38	.77
7	46	11	(10)	(14)	(8)	8.83
	46		10			3.17
	46			14		10.88
	46				8	8.93
9	15	36	(20)	(27)	(17)	3.53
	15			27		1.46
				27	17	.41
12	27	11	(20)	(12)	(21)	2.11
	27			12		4.25
15	20	43	(70)	(37)	(63)	3.76
	20		70			8.23
	20			37		2.82
	20				63	11.96
		43	70			1.22
			70	37		2.52
		43			63	1.29
				37	63	3.34
17	68	32	(20)	(61)	(25)	8.41
	68		20			6.32
	68				25	10.97
		32		61		4.92
			20	61		4.14
				61	25	6.89
19	15	29	(30)	(20)	(38)	1.37
	15				38	3.74
				20	38	1.64
23	22	(18)	40	(16)	(17)	.68
24	54	(43)	(40)	41	(25)	1.43
	54				25	4.76
				41	25	1.13

Tables 1-4 can be reduced for the sake of interpretive convenience to two shorter tables: one for high and one for low EN 100 percentages as compared to other groups. Tables 9-11 below are marked according to lexical (L), grammatical (G), and rhetorical (R) system shifts which occur at various rhetorical units. Complete tables of all system shifts for each passage can be found in Tables 5-8 in the Appendix. Again, lexical system shifts occur when the lexical equivalence chain (noun, pronoun, synonym, metaphor, etc.) is broken or when the topic shifts without foreshadowing by the "comment" of the previous sentence. Grammatical system shifts occur with changes of tense, modality, number, voice and mood. Rhetorical system shifts are also listed, but a much better idea of the nature of these shifts can be gotten from Discourse Bloc Analyses 1-4, presented in section IV(A). In fact rhetorical shifts have been coded with a numbered subscript on the basis of the level of the discourse frame in which they occur in the discourse bloc analyses. Quoted rhetorical shifts ("R") represent shifts which are almost negligible, according to the discourse bloc analyses.

Table 9

Rhetorical Units and Their Functions
for High EN 100 Percentages

Passage	Rhet. units with high EN 100 %'s	Rhetorical Function
1	3 (L,G,R_3)	beginning of illus./support of 2
	6 (R_3)	interp. of 3-5 and set-up for 7's assertion
	23 (L,G,R_2)	denouement of catharsis 20-22 and beginning of event series #3
	27 (G,R_3)	second half of denouement and set-up for interp. comment in 28
	31 (L,G,R_2)	epilogue
2	5 (G,R_1)	beg. of narrower spatial frame and beg. of support of 4--"poetry"
	9 ("R"$_4$)	beg. of even narrower spatial frame, "campsite"
	13 (L,G,R_6)	illustration/support of 12
	16 (L,R_1)	beg. of support for 2nd part of 4's asser. & renom. of previous, larger spatial frame, "that end of town"
	25 (L,G,R_5)	shift to 1st pers. pt. of view of event in 17-24; beg. of new event--reaction to 17-24
	30 (L,R_2)	renom. of larger spatial frame--"that same end of town" and nom. of new topic--"irrigation passage"
	35 (L,G,R_2)	renom. of larger spatial frame--"that end of town" and nom. of new topic--"dumpground"
3	7 (L,G,R_3)	direct address--"Beware"; rebuttal of 3's rhet. ques. and reasser. of 4
	21 (L,R_2)	renom. of "professors" and nom. of "books," as foreshadowed by 17-20's discussion of "library"
	30 (L,G,R_1)	Rhet. appeal (seeks to identify aud. as non-"time-wasters"; implied direct address)
4	7 (L,G,R_3)	general asser. & conclusion of 4-6
	17 (L,G,R_3)	nom. of new topic and asser., as qualification of 13-16
	24 (L,G,R_1)	"boost" to solution in 9a-23

Table 10

Rhetorical Units and Their Functions
for Low EN 100 Percentages

Passage	Rhet. units with low EN 100 %'s	Rhetorical Function
1	3 (L,G.R_3)	beg. of illus./supp. of 2 (event #1)
	5 (L,"$R"_4$)	cont. of illus./supp. of 2 (event #3)
	8 ("$R"_4$)	repet. (as qualif.) of 7's asser. (marked "now and then")
	15 (L;"$R"_4$)	event (c) of event series 12-16 (a-e); "effect" of 14's "cause"
	29 (G,"$R"_4$)	amplif. (repet.) of 28's interp; "topic" half of 29-30 Topic-Com.
2	7 (G,"$R"_5$)	interp. (from child's pt. of view) & statement of relevance of 6
	10a (L,"$R"_5$)	narrower topic--"the very straw" --fine focus of 9's "campsite"
	15 ("$R"_8$)	closing unit for "buckle" segment introduced in 14
	17 (L,"$R"_3$)	narr. illus. of 16's asser. (which begins 2nd half of support of 4--"excitement")
	36 ("$R"_4$)	historical desc. of 35's "dumpground"
3	16 (G,"$R"_4$)	support of 15's assertion
	29 (L,G,"$R"_4$)	"boost" for "book" asser. in 21-28b; repet. of 21's "profes-sors" for recontext (also throwback to 9)
4	15 (L,G,R_4)	illus./testimony supporting 13 and 14's assertions

Finally, Table 11, working with less data than Tables 9 and 10, represents high and low ESL 100 percentages as compared to those of EN 21 & 22 and EN 9. The results are inconclusive, however: three out of five high ESL 100 values were high for a good reason--they occur at real (i.e., authorial) shifts (marked *)--but two out of three low percentages (at which EN 21 & 22, and sometimes EN 9, were high) also occurred at real paragraph boundaries.

Table 11

Rhetorical Units and Their Functions for High and Low ESL 100 Percentages

Passage	Rhet. units with high ESL 100 %'s	Rhet. units with low ESL 100 %'s	Rhetorical Functions
1	3* (L,G,R_3)		illustration
		5 (L,"R"$_4$)	beg. of event #3 of series 3,4,5
	29 (G,"R"$_4$)		beg. of Topic-Comment
2	7 (G,"R"$_4$)		interp. of 6 (pt. of view shift)
		35a* (L,G,R_2)	nomin. of "dumpground"
3		22* (G,R_3) (but, $\chi^2 = 3.80$ only)	beg. of supp. for 21
4	4* (L,G,R_2)		beg. of supp. for asser. to come; hist. backgd.--"we used to"
	17a* (L,G,R_3)		nomin. of new topic; qualif. of 13-16

V. Results

A. Rhetorical System Emphases

Table 9 reveals that EN 100 percentages are comparatively high in seventeen out of eighteen cases only where a rhetorical system break is involved. ("R" in the tables represents a non-authentic rhetorical break, but provides a means for assigning a level to the break.) Table 10 shows that EN 100 low percentages occur at major rhetorical breaks on only two out of thirteen occasions. In other words 94% of the EN 100 high values involve rhetorical shifts while only 18% of EN 100 low values involve such shifts. The 18% figure for low EN 100 percentages means that for the other 82% of the cases various non-EN 100 groups selected paragraph junctures on some basis other than the presence of a rhetorical break.

For example, in "The Great Frog Hunt" various non-EN 100 groups score high compared to EN 100 percentages at units 5, 8, 15, and 29. A look back at Table 10 and also Discourse Block Analysis 1 shows that no real rhetorical breaks occur at these units. Instead, at unit 5 the third event of the series in units 3-5 is presented. The introduction to 5, however, "The rules of the game require," may signal to some a break in the lexical equivalence chain, one link of which is found in unit 4--"The pattern requires." Actually "The rule" and "The pattern" are synonyms, and unit 5's opener merely repeats the same background information found in 4.

> [4]The pattern requires that the frog sit still, sit very still and wait. [5]The rules of the game require the frog to wait until the final flicker of a second, . . ."

Unit 8 also elicits higher percentages of non-EN 100 groups (except for EN 21 & 22) than of EN 100. The assertion in unit 7 is simply amplified and thus repeated in unit 8. Not only does no rhetorical break occur at this point, but there is also a lack of lexical and grammatical system breaks. The only surface feature which might seem to cue a discourse juncture for some is the vague temporal frame, "Now and then."

> [6]That is the way it is done, the way it has always been done. [7]Frogs have every right to expect that it will always be done that way. [8]Now and then the net is too quick, the lance pierces, the gun flicks and that frog is gone, but it is all fair and in the framework. [9]Frogs don't resent that.

Unit 15, similar to unit 5, presents one event in a series. Why non-EN 100 groups (except for EN 21 & 22) paragraph more here than EN 100 can only be surmised. A lexical system shift ("the line of men" of 14 to "the frogs" of 15) does occur, but no other shifts do.

> [14]Then into the pool plunged the line of men, stamping, churning, moving in a crazy line up the pool, flinging their feet about. [15]Hysterically the frogs, displaced from their quiet spots, swam ahead of the thrashing feet and the feet came on.

Finally, unit 29, which elicits high percentages for EN 9 and ESL 100 groups, might cue readers for a more evident reason. As a fragment, unit 29 depends on unit 28 for its

context. The proper punctuation between the two units would be a dash. However, instead of taking unit 29 as an amplification/description of "such an execution," some EN 9 and ESL 100 students take it as the "topic" to unit 30's "comment." Here, then, grammar seems to be a probable cause for some to paragraph.

> [28]But never in frog history had such an execution taken place. [29]Frogs by the pound, by the fifty pounds. [30]They weren't counted but there must have been six or seven hundred.

Thus for non-EN 100 groups rhetorical shifts would seem to be interpreted as less of a change than shifts in other, surface level systems (viz., lexical and grammatical).

"The Town Dump" and "New Schools" also provide examples of how non-EN 100 groups key their paragraphing responses according to essentially non-rhetorical phenomena. One example from each of these two passages represents the kind of decisions non-EN 100 groups make and EN 100 doesn't, since in Table 10 the low EN 100 units are also high units for non-EN 100 groups.

Unit 10a in "The Town Dump" marks a lexical system, or topic, shift from units 9a-9b. Interestingly enough, this "shift" is not so much a shift as a zooming in on the "favorite campsite" introduced in 9. The discourse moves vertically, not horizontally here. Nevertheless, all non-EN 100 groups show significant agreement at unit 10a as to the presence of a discourse juncture.

9a Also, where it passed below the dumpground,
9b it ran through the lowlands that were a favorite campsite for passing horse-wagon drivers, travelers, sometimes Indians.
10a The very straw scattered around those camps, the ashes of those strangers' campfires, the manure of their horse teams and saddle horses, 10b were hot with adventurous possibilities.

In unit 15 of "New Schools" a similar non-EN 100 perception of discourse juncture occurs. Here the lexical (topic) and grammatical (tense) system shifts are much more evident than the fourth level rhetorical shift. Again, the reason is that grammatical and lexical shifts can be determined on a yes/no basis while rhetorical shifts assert themselves by degrees. Unit 15 does represent a rhetorical shift, but not a very significant one; it merely amplifies 14's general assertion of "evidence" by providing testimonial support.

14 There is also evidence that forced book learning in public schools, rather than preparing students for a fuller mastery of subjects later in college, often makes them unfit for it. 15 When the great British physicist Sir Joseph Thomson was asked why England produced great scientists, he answered, 'Because we hardly teach science at all in the schools.'

One feature needs to be recalled at this point: all rhetorical breaks are not equal. Instead of a gross yes/no decision as to the presence of a break, a subtler measure is needed. Weighting rhetorical breaks according to their "level" (usually 1 through 4) provides the fine tuning necessary.

An example of a "first level" break occurs at unit 10 in Analysis 1 ("But how could they have anticipated Mack's new method?"). Here begins the second part (the description of the new method) of the entire story. Similar cardinal breaks occur in Analysis 2 at units 5 and 16; in Analysis 3 at 9a and 30; and in Analysis 4 at 9a and 24. Such weighting accounts for the nature of the relationships between different level rhetorical functions.

A review of Tables 9 and 10 (pp. 57-58) and of the weighted values of rhetorical breaks shows that, first of all, even "purely" lexical or grammatical breaks can be assigned a rhetorical break. Such rhetorical taggings were not assigned in the first place because of the frames' relatively low (usually lower than third) level and thus relatively trivial status as rhetorical breaks. Secondly, averages of rhetorical break levels for high and low EN 100 values can be figured. They corroborate the rough percentages (94% and 18%, respectively) figured on the basis of a yes/no classification as to rhetorical breaks. For high EN 100 values the average level for rhetorical breaks is 2.61. For low EN 100 values the average is 4.30. Thus both ways, rough and subtle, of looking at the attention paid to rhetorical breaks suggest that EN 100 outperforms other groups (although not one group consistently) by virtue of its more accurate assessment of the rhetorical system.

A similar averaging of ESL 100 vs. EN 21 & 22 performances from Table 11 (p. 59) gives a level of 3.2 for high ESL 100 values and 3.0 for lows. These averages do not suggest that, like native-speaking EN 100, ESL 100 tends to pay more attention to real rhetorical shifts than other non-EN 100 groups.

B. Event—Orientation

Section V(A) discusses EN 100 and DSL 100's tendency to use high-level rhetorical system breaks as their criteria for identifying paragraphs. A chi-squared comparison of paragraph selection percentages, an analysis according to the lexical, grammatical, and rhetorical systems (Koen, Becker, and Young, 1967), and discourse bloc analyses (Pitkin, 1969) were all used to identify differences and to describe the nature of these differences, especially in terms of rhetorical function. The results show that where EN 100 does not agree with other groups, EN 100 chooses in favor of rhetorical system breaks whereas other groups select breaks which are not primarily (or even secondarily or tertiarily) rhetorical, but rather lexical or grammatical.

But other schema allow other descriptions of the data. In addition to the descriptions based on rhetorical functions, two more patterns become apparent. The most pervasive, most

closely related to the description in V(A), and perhaps the most profound can be described in terms of event-orientation. "Event-orientation" refers to the apparent tendency of certain groups to follow the event-line ("story"-line) instead of recognizing the place of the event in a larger expository frame for idea development (i.e., a "logical"-line, such as assertion-support-illustration). In such cases an author's intended illustration of a main point overshadows the main point instead of illuminating it.

For example, at rhetorical unit 17 in "The Town Dump" both EN 21 & 22 and ESL 100 "outparagraph" EN 100 by χ^2's of 13.42 and 18.24, respectively. EN 100, on the other hand, outparagraphs EN 21 & 22 and ESL 100 at unit 16 by χ^2's of 8.64 and 24.20 respectively. A look at the text brings out the point about event-orientation even more clearly:

> 15In places where the silver was worn away the buckle underneath shone dull yellow: probably gold. 16It seemed that excitement liked that end of town better than our end. 17Once old Mrs. Gustafson, deeply religious and a little crazy, went over there with a wagon full of trash.

While unit 16 might be considered a transitional "paragraph" which sets up the narrative which follows, it was not, in fact, chosen by any of the EN 21 & 22 and EN 100 students who chose unit 17 as a paragraph beginning. In this case the use of the story marker "once" (as an abbreviation of "once upon a time") might aggravate such overemphasis on the beginning of an event series. Unit 34, however, which

does not begin with such a formal marker, nevertheless elicits, among EN 9, a relatively high percentage compared to EN 100 (a χ^2 of 3.43, which approaches the 3.84 necessary for significant difference).

> 33a Ordinarily in summer it [the irrigation passage] carried about six or eight inches of smooth water, 33b and under the moving water of this little closed in stream the wood was covered with deep sun-warmed moss as slick as frogs' eggs. 34 A boy could sit in this stream with the water pushing against his back, and grab a cross brace above him, and pull, shooting himself sledlike ahead until he could reach the next brace for another slide, and so on across the river in four scoots.

Units 29a in "The Town Dump" ("29a When he died three days later . . .") and 15 in "New Schools" ("15 When the great British physicist Sir Joseph Thomson was asked why England produced great scientists, he answered . . .") lead into events which begin with a temporal orientation (like that given by "once" in unit 17) and are marked ("when"). At unit 29a, EN 9's high selection rate approaches (again, a χ^2 of only 3.43) a significant difference with EN 100. At unit 15, EN 21 & 22 ($\chi^2 = 3.76$), EN 9 ($\chi^2 = 8.23$), ESL 100 ($\chi^2 = 2.82$), and MIC ($\chi^2 = 11.96$) all either approach or show marked differences with EN 100.

The point of all these examples is that besides attention to surface coherence cues, sensitivity to events themselves shapes, for some, the processing of even expository information. Instead of putting the [illegible] in these units into

perspective--into their role in developing ideas whose exposition motivates their presence in the first place--non-EN 100 readers seem to treat them as though they were offered up merely for the reader's delectation. Such an impulse would tend to blur the boundary between genres--between purposeful exposition and narrative/description in which descriptive and eventful detail are offered merely for the sake of imaginative stimulation.

Although no one group differs from low EN 100 values in ~~all~~ four of the cases mentioned, some consistency does manifest itself: EN 21 & 22 is higher at the event-relating units two out of four times; EN 9, three out of four, and ESL 100, three out of four. Unfortunately, the natures of "The Great Frog Hunt," of which its rhetorical units are almost all event-oriented, and "Take Your College in Stride," which relates no events, do not allow for a wider sample of comparative performance at event-relating rhetorical units.

C. Epiloguing

Besides event-orientation, another pattern among non-EN 100 groups can be seen. This one might be called "epiloguing." In these cases non-EN 100 groups tend to tag on what EN 100 considers topic sentences/paragraph openers to the previous paragraph. For example, in "New Schools":

16 'Over here the minds that come to physics arrive in the laboratory with a freshness which is free from routine.' 17a Reading and writing are a different matter--17b if these are not thoroughly mastered early in life, we will continue to have what we have now: college students who can do neither.

At unit 17a, 68% of EN 100 and 61% of ESL 100 paragraph while only 32% of EN 21 & 22, 20% of EN 9, and 25% of MIC do. χ^2 values for EN 100 as compared to the latter three groups are, respectively, 8.41, 6.32, and 10.97; and for ESL 100 compared to the same three groups they are 4.92, 4.14, and 6.89.

Although the author fails to paragraph at unit 17, such a dramatic topic shift justifiably demands a new frame/paragraph for delineating the new controlling idea that is set out. At least this is what EN 100 and ESL 100 seem to think. Other groups seem comfortable attaching this newly introduced topic to what has gone before. Curiously, EN 21 & 22, the group upon whom the use of a topic sentence is probably most stressed by teachers, selects the classic topic sentence opener of unit 17a only half as frequently (32%) as either EN 100 (68%) or ESL 100 (61%). This instance presents the most striking instance of epiloguing because the only connector between units 17a and 16 is the phrase "a different matter" in 17a, which only vaguely implies that a former referent (learning science) somehow determines the choice of "reading and writing" which follows.

There are two ways to look at this phenomenon: (1) by comparing a particular group's performance at a paragraph's second sentence to its performance at the author's paragraph opener; and (2) by comparing non-EN 100 groups' percentages to EN 100's lower percentage at a paragraph's second sentence. "The Town Dump," at units 10a, 17, and 36, provides examples of both comparisons. The author's paragraphs begin at units 9a, 16, and 35a, respectively. The percentages are as follows:

%'s at Unit	9a	10a	10b
EN 100	37 ← $\chi^2 = 4.18$ → 18		
EN 21 & 22	$\chi^2 = 4.88$	17 ← $\chi^2 = 1.43$ → 34	$\chi^2 = 7.89$
EN 9		9 ← $\chi^2 = 4.91$ → 64	
ESL 100		16 ← $\chi^2 = 2.62$ → 32	
MIC	0	50	

%'s at Unit	16	17	35a	36
EN 100	$\chi^2 = 8.64$ [illegible]	33 $\chi^2 = 13.42$	72	23
EN 21 & 22	31	66	52 $\chi^2 = 22.92$	45
EN 9	36	36	18	45 $\chi^2 = 15.30$
ESL 100	18 ← $\chi^2 = 31.46$ →	76	24	62
MIC	13	50	8	58

In all but two cases EN 100 is the only group whose percentage decreases from the author's paragraph juncture to the next rhetorical unit which coincides with a sentence boundary.

While χ^2 values between the same group's percentages at a paragraph's opening and second sentences do not always show significance (i.e., some χ^2's are less than 3.84), the rough imbalance does seem to be more than simple coincidence. Similarly, while all χ^2 values between EN 100 and other groups are not always greater than 3.84, the differences that do occur are numerous and large enough to suggest a definite pattern.

A scan of the opening phrases of the actual paragraphs reveals how, conceivably, they could be interpreted as lead-ins to concluding statements--viz., 9a's "Also, where it [i.e., the 'river' just introduced as topic] passed below the dumpground . . ."; 16's "It seemed that excitement liked that end of town better than our end"; and 35a's "But nothing in that end of town . . . ." But 9a functions to set up 9b, ". . . it ran through the lowlands [9b]that were a favorite campsite for passing horse-wagon drivers, travelers, and sometimes Indians."

> [7]For all I knew as a child, it [the river] might have been on its way to join some secret underground river. [8]Simply, before my eyes, it disappeared into strangeness and wonder. [9a]Also, where it passed below the dumpground it ran through the lowlands [9b]that were a favorite campsite for passing horse-wagon drivers, travelers, sometimes Indians. [10a]The very straw scattered around those camps, the ashes of those strangers' campfires, the manure of their horse teams and saddle horses, [10b]were hot with adventurous possibilities.

In other words, 9a and 9b do occur in the same sentence, thus precluding selection of a paragraph juncture at 9b.

Non-EN 100 groups, however, seem to attach more weight to 9a than to 9b as to which unit controls the sentence 9a-9b. EN 100, on the other hand, realizes that since 9a introduces a new spatial frame ("lowlands") and 9b a new topic ("campsite") the point of 9a-9b is found in 9b. The discrepancy between EN 100 and other groups stems from a different notion of closure. EN 100 realizes more than the other groups that to introduce a new topic in an apparently "concluding" statement ("[9a]Also, . . .") changes the concluding function to an opening one.

"But," which leads off 35a, might, like "Also" of 9a, signal for non-EN 100 readers that things are merely winding down instead of gearing up.

> [34]A boy could sit in this stream with the water pushing against his back, and grab a cross brace above him, and pull, shooting himself sledlike ahead until he could reach the next brace for another slide, and so on across the river in four scoots. [35a]But nothing in that end of town was as good as [35b]the dumpground that scattered along a little waterway which dipped down toward the river from the south.

But here too the new topic, "dumpground," cues EN 100 to the paragraph juncture at 35a--since 35b occurs in mid-sentence.

Unit 16, "It seemed that excitement liked that end of town better than our end," might confuse non-EN 100 groups because of its extraposition ("It seemed that . . ."), which places an ambiguous "it" in the subject slot.

[15]In places where the silver was worn away the buckle underneath shone dull yellow: probably gold. [16]It seemed that excitement liked that end of town better than our end.

Non-EN 100 groups may wonder, at least in passing, whether "it" refers to "the buckle" of unit 15 instead of being a grammatical filler. Furthermore, "that end of town" might obscure the real topic, "excitement." To misplace this emphasis would be to miss the point of units 16-17.

"Take Your College in Stride," which, again, was written to be read as a speech, offers no such ambiguity regarding paragraph closure. "New Schools," however, does offer one additional and important example. At unit 19, MIC approaches a real difference with EN 100 ($\chi^2 = 3.74$). Although other groups' χ^2 values are too low to reflect real difference with EN 100, all of them do exceed their own respective percentages for the actual paragraph opener at unit 18.

%'s at Unit	18	19	
EN 100	19	15	$\chi^2 = 3.74$
EN 21 & 22	25	29	
EN 9	10	30	
ESL 100	16	20	
MIC	33	38	

If confusion does exist, it might be explained by the rather clumsy authorial interposing of units 17a and 17b, as discussed above, which introduce totally new information, at

the end of a paragraph. Thus a reader might naturally consider 18, the proposal which 1-17b led up to, as a mere follow-up of 17a-17b. 18's use of "then" and the repetition of "reading and writing" do not help to define matters.

> [17a]Reading and writing are a different matter--[17b]if these are not mastered early in life, we will continue to have what we have now: college students who can do neither. [18]I propose, then, that half of the school day be given to book learning--reading and writing, elementary mathematics, a familiarization with the geography of the world, and a bird's-eye view of history--and the other half to the mastery of skills. [19]Retired skilled carpenters, masons, plumbers, electricians, mechanics, gardeners, architects, city planners, etc., could teach the young . . .

But no matter how strong the case for legitimate confusion may be, the fact remains that non-EN 100 groups are consistently more confused than EN 100. Furthermore, as mentioned above, EN 100 and ESL 100 mark a break at unit 17a at the rate of 68% and 61%, respectively, more than double the percentages of the other groups. Thus it would seem that if any two groups had a right (based on a pattern of confusion) to take 19 instead of 18 as the paragraph opener, EN 100 and ESL 100 would be the ones. These groups show the lowest percentages, however, of all the groups for unit 19, and only four of the forty EN 100 students who marked 17a also marked 19--no pattern here. One explanation for this might be that EN 100 tends to recognize a one-sentence transitional "paragraph" (17a-17b) when it sees one.

However, only two of fifty-one students who marked either 17a or 18 marked both 17a and 18.

The above instances initiate at least the general suspicion that non-EN 100 groups look backwards where EN 100 and to some extent ESL 100 look forwards. Such orientation provides another dimension to the results of V.(A), which reflect EN 100's overall attention to progressive, horizontal vs. non-EN 100 groups' attention to repetitive, vertical-rhetorical movement.

VI. Discussion

The present study shows that native, semiliterate readers (the basic readers and writers of EN 21 & 22 and the very basic writers of EN 9); nonnative, orally cultured Micronesian (MIC) readers; and nonnative, literate readers (the ESL 100 freshman composition students) tend to process written discourse as though it were orally composed. Native, literate readers (EN 100) do not exhibit this same tendency. The expected differences between nonnative, literate readers (ESL 100) and native, semiliterate readers (EN 21 & 22 and EN 9) do not surface in the three patterns--rhetorical significance, event-orientation, and epiloguing--discussed in the previous section.

Whether this seeming lack of differentiation stems from a paucity of data or from a masking of one function by another can be determined only by further paragraphing tests of each group. The former problem occurs in determining rhetorical significance (see pp. 59 and 65); only five ESL 100 high (EN 21 & 22 and EN 9 low) values and three ESL 100 low (EN 21 & 22 and EN 9 high) values can be found in all the data, and the distribution of significant rhetorical breaks is almost equal between the two groups. The latter problem, which occurs at units 16 and 17 in "The Town Dump" ("[16]It seemed that excitement liked that end of town better than our end. [17]Once old Mrs. Gustafson, deeply religious and a little crazy, went over there with a wagon full of trash."), might

weaken the perception of ESL 100's partial agreement with EN 100's non-epiloguing strategy. Since unit 17 happens to be an event, ESL 100's 76% paragraphing at this point and its 18% at unit 16 may stem more from an event-orientation than from a tendency to epilogue unit 16 on to the previous paragraph. If the event of unit 17 does indeed mask the non-epiloguing which might have occurred, ESL 100 would agree with EN 100 in non-epiloguing in two out of the six examples discussed (pp. 68-75) instead of just one. Even so, such agreement is hardly dramatic.

Finally, event-orientation shows no greater affinity between ESL 100 and EN 100 than between ESL 100 or EN 100 and any other group. Thus, the original research question whether nonnative but literate readers are more skillful than native, semiliterate readers at accurately interpreting an author's intentions remains unanswered. What was found was that all groups (even native, supposedly literate readers to a minor extent) tend at crucial points to read exposition as narrative or oral discourse.

Nonnative (literate--ESL 100--and semiliterate, or orally reinforced--MIC) and native, semiliterate readers demonstrated a penchant for overemphasizing features which authors do not. These features are: names (such as those leading off testimonial support), times, actions, and places--all outward-looking features of narrative structure, versus the less salient milestones of logical and even

rhetorical discourse. Albert B. Lord (1960) notices that for orally composed narrative these very same features generate the most stable formulas around which the narrative is "plotted." They are, as Lord lists them and as found in the four passages:

(1) the names of actors of the story ("Take Your College in Stride" and "New Schools")

(2) the main actions ("The Great Frog Hunt" and "The Town Dump")

(3) the time ("The Great Frog Hunt")

(4) the place of the actions ("The Great Frog Hunt" and "The Town Dump")

Since for orally composed narrative event- and actor-based formulas structure discourse (episodically and via flashbacks and repetitions) in lieu of an interiorly consistent plot, movement from one formula to another is an analog to logical progression, in which exposition proceeds from one discourse unit to another according to an underlying and controlling idea rather than to more dramatic events, actors, times, and places. Somewhere along the "line," however, nonnative and native but semiliterate readers fail to take note that exposition should generate for them different expectations than do narrative and other more orally textured discourse.

The problem seems to be one of integration. The overshadowing of supposedly controlling rhetorical functions by supposedly supporting narrative and illustrative functions

suggests that intergroup discrepancies in paragraphing arise from a skewing of emphasis. Non-EN 100 readers in the study share a different perspective on and different expectations of a text's movement. This point comes out particularly well in "The Town Dump," which mixes narrative with its exposition. Also, the third pattern, epiloguing, which suggests a tendency among non-EN 100 groups to interpret topic sentence paragraph openers as concluding, or encapsulating statements (e.g., "New Schools"'s "[17]Reading and writing are a different matter . . ."), gives evidence of a different strategy for integration and coherence than the one used by EN 100 readers.

Yet another way to describe the reader's task then is in terms of his treatment of background vs. foreground information. Often these two types of information are presented in the same sentence--e.g., from "The Town Dump," "[9a]Also, where it passed below the dumpground [background], it ran through the lowlands [9b]that were a favorite campsite [foreground] for passing horse-wagon drivers, travelers, sometimes Indians," and "[30]At that same end of town [background] the irrigation passage crossed the river [foreground]." By presenting a familiar and broad spatial frame the author signals to his readers (1) that he is retreating from the vertical, close-up focus on the previous topic, and (2) that he is reorienting his focus to a new topic, but one

which still falls under the control of a broader (and thus very familiar) frame.

Discourse bloc-ing shows that readers face two further complications. Since often a rhetorical unit can be both an assertion (in a lower level frame) and a support (in a higher level frame) (e.g., units 9a, 11, 15, 17, and 21 in Discourse Bloc Analysis 3, p. 38), the reader is presented with a variety of possible readings. Overattention to lower level functions can preclude a reader's grasping a sense of the whole. This can't-see-the-forest-for-the-trees paradox boils down to what perspective a reader uses. A reader's perspective must be as flexible as the configuration of rhetorical units demands. Overviews must mesh with close-ups in order for the reader to perceive the final combination of units in the text. Secondly, functional levels intermingle with referential levels to create a blend of dynamic and static components. (Discourse Bloc Analysis 3 brings this out with the use of dotted lines at the junctures at units 9a (for "professor"), 21 (for "professors"), 29a (for "professor" again), and 30 (for "students"). The dotted lines attempt to explain how some readers tend to lower or raise referential frames in relation to functional frames.) Roland Barthes (1977) describes the situation more clearly:

> Very often a single unit[7] will have two correlates, one on one level (function of a sequence), and the other on another (indice with reference to an actant). Narrative thus appears as a succession of tightly

> interlocking mediate and immediate elements; dystaxia determines a 'horizontal' reading, while integration superimposes a 'vertical' reading: there is a sort of structural 'limping,' an incessant play of potentials whose varying falls give the narrative its dynamism and energy . . . . (122)

In regard to the integration which nonnative and native, semiliterate readers need to practice, Barthes's definition of langue will supplement the framework already introduced.

> Language [langue] proper can be defined by the concurrence of two fundamental processes: articulation, or segmentation, which produces units . . . and integration, which gathers these units into units of higher rank (this being meaning). This dual process can be found in the language of narrative [la langue du récit] which also has an articulation and an integration, a form and a meaning. (117)

Ideally, "each unit is perceived at once in its surfacing and in its depth" (122). This parallels the "horizontal" and "vertical" movements mapped out in the discourse bloc analyses of IV(A). In both schema (Barthes's and Pitkin's) the structure ramifies, proliferates, uncovers itself--and recovers itself, pulls itself together" (122). The previous sections show just how those unskilled in English per se and in literacy in general "pull the text together" for themselves differently than native, literate readers do and than the author intended.

VII. Conclusion and Pedagogical Implications

The above discussion suggests that non-EN 100 readers need to familiarize themselves with the langue of the text. Perhaps EN 21 & 22, EN 9, and MIC groups need more work than ESL 100, but the evidence for this, while strong enough to suggest further, perhaps statistically based study, does not prove definitively that ESL 100 students are indeed more rhetorically in tune as they interpret a text than say native-speaking but semi-literate EN 21 & 22 students.

In any event, for any reader, mere fluency in the linguistic code of English will not guarantee an accurate processing of a text. Such a limited fluency deals only with the segmentary, linear aspects of sentence meaning, as evident in the lexical and grammatical systems. Broader and deeper rhetorical meaning can still be ignored without the proper attention to the author's framing network. This is true even for EN 100 students. More often than not, such students can read a satire such as Jonathan Swift's "A Modest Proposal" and think that the author was barbaric for even having thought of such a proposal (viz., to eat babies in order to overcome hard economic times). What they miss here is the broadest frame of all--the ironic one determined by the author's satirical purpose.

The present study investigates the subtler framing activities involved in paragraphing. Nevertheless, the point which semiliterate native speakers miss in failing to

detect irony is the same; written discourse is not composed and does not proceed sentence by sentence, rhapsodically, but is plotted. As Pitkin notes, effective writers set out to write discourse not sentence strings. Thus, looking at texts as mere sequences of sentences, lexical equivalence chains, or topic-comment clusters does not help much towards understanding their status as discourse.

When "basic" (in terms of literacy and not English grammar per se) writers write they need to confront two main tasks: (1) marshalling and including descriptive detail in the first place, and (2) distinguishing between relevant and irrelevant detail with regard to developing their topic. Even when the detail problem is solved, the end product of an expository writing assignment often resembles a parable more than an essay; and parables require more reader interpretation than do supposedly self-explanatory expositions. That is, parables and other nonautonomous narratives need a theory for their interpretation; they are both context dependent and independent in this sense. For example, a particular moral orientation, as a controlling "theory," might guide a reading of a parable by serving as an interpretive template, restricting the wide range of all possible meanings. This way only the meanings consistent with a particular perspective are insured realization.

Because of an author's potential remoteness in both time and space, a text contains a built-in distance which

oral discourse does not. Distance makes an author's reliance on his readers' shared experiences and world views rather tenuous. Instead of assuming a set of stock reader expectations, an effective writer knows that he must generate these expectations himself. In the same vein, he is the one who must plot their fulfillment. Nowhere is this more clearly illustrated than in a paragraph which begins with a topic sentence and then proceeds with supporting sentences to make the point. Writers can vary this simple form by placing their topic sentence at the end of a paragraph. This "periodic" organization accomplishes a nice twist by seeming to proceed inductively, thus generating more suspense than if the topic sentence, the point, had been revealed at the beginning.

Clear writers know how to encode their intentions into the autonomous sentence meaning necessary for their accurate recreation by the reader. Clear writers can also be effective if their message sticks in the reader's mind and therefore reasserts itself again and again in order to perhaps change that mind. Effective writers know not only how to enliven their prose in order to make its reading enjoyable but also how to make their points memorable. The way they do this is by using terse, aphoristic closing statements which capture the essence of their thesis and make it portable. Such closings reverberate inside the reader, allowing and cajoling him to periodically reconsider the writer's message simply because he can remember it.

Extrapolating from the composing/writing task to the interpreting/reading one, one might predict a similar confusion involving the processing of detail around a controlling idea among semi-skilled readers. Indeed that is what the present study has found. But while non-EN 100 readers tend to weigh different features of passages differently from EN 100 readers, this does not mean that non-EN 100 readers make random judgments according to whim. Rather than merely being "out-of" literacy, they seem to also be "into" something else.

This something else might well be, from the evidence here, a habit of oral/aural vs. visual and literate processing of information. For example, units 7, 12, and 17a in "New Schools" come as succinct, memorable encapsulations of the previous units.

> [6a]Television is giving 10-year-olds the style of life of juveniles, [6b]while the space age education explosion has been keeping students in their late twenties on the campuses in a state of prolonged adolescence. [7]There are no children any more.
>
> [11a]The mini-men, bored by meaningless book learning, [11b]are hungry for action, hungry to get all kinds of skills. [12]There will be no peace in the schools and no effective learning until the curriculum is reformed to meet the needs of the new type of students.
>
> [16]"Over here the minds that come to physics arrive in the laboratory with a freshness which is free from routine." [17a]Reading and writing are a different matter--[17b]if these are not thoroughly mastered early in life, we will continue to have what we have now: college students who can do neither.

Units 7 and 12 assert conclusions from previously offered support and units 17a-17b assert a qualification of the point underlying unit 16's testimonial support. What all these have in common is that their assertions come at the end. The assertions state themselves strongly and tersely and are ideally quotable.

What the somewhat rambling discussion about basic writers and semi-literate readers leads up to is this: the "something else" which non-EN 100 groups seem to be "into" might best be described as a residual orality. According to Ong (1967) and others, the feature which most distinguishes lengthy oral performance from discourse composed and presented in writing or print is the fact that oral performance is remembered, created, and uttered almost simultaneously. The oral performer must <u>think</u> in formulas as well as compose and deliver in them if he hopes to (1) not run out of things to say and (2) be understood by an audience who must retain information in their memories without the aid of texts.

Orally composed work intends most of all to conserve. In such discourse, redundancy builds itself into the very core in the composition process. A writer, on the other hand, does not need to remember what to say since the demand for speedy and prolific delivery which guides oral composition does not assert itself for him. Progressive, horizontal movement of discourse can proceed for the writer and reader without the worry of having to retain and keep afloat already

processed information. What is considered redundancy for the writer and reader represents progression for the oral performer and an audience accustomed to orally composed discourse.

Orality's basic conservatism presents yet one more handle on the results of the present study. EN 21 & 22, EN 9, MIC, and to some extent ESL 100's tendency to epilogue at units where EN 100 makes a paragraph break reflects the oral composition strategy of closing a discourse bloc with a memorable statement. As shown above in the three examples from "New Schools," the message of each paragraph condenses itself into a motto in each respective last sentence. EN 100 interprets such pithiness as an attention-getter for a new topic leading off a new paragraph. Non-EN 100 groups let the juncture which EN 100 sees pass.

Event-orientation can also be explained in terms of orality. Simply, when information is keyed to events it becomes more memorable, more "dramatic." Just as in orally composed work abstract notions such as courage do not exist apart from their embodiment in heroes, so for an audience exclusively used to orally composed discourse abstract ideas do not proliferate without a proliferation of events.

Teachers of first and second language composition and reading need to focus on helping students see how mottoes and events reinforce the points they illustrate. And this does not mean merely pointing out topic sentences when they

can be found. For putting events into an expository perspective essays such as "The Town Dump" are ideal. Such essays can be read either as stories or as exposition, and a teacher might find it useful to "conduct" such textual scores according to both interpretations in order to show students how, when read as exposition, an essay designates narrative illustration, amplification, and figurative paraphrase to fill support functions. The teacher can then show how the ideas, not the supporting detail, array themselves and guide the controlling frames of the discourse.

In other words, students of literacy need to familiarize themselves with an expository author-ity which does not proceed simply according to exterior (chronological, spatial, or perceptual) patterns of organization. They need to understand first of all how what an author says <u>about</u> a topic forms the controlling framework for the descriptive detail used in the topic's presentation.

Students of literacy need then to develop an appreciation for the unity which underlies and plots effective written discourse. If students are more accustomed to processing the highly redundant, aphoristic, and rhapsodic discourse which reflects an underlying oral composition, then the task involves an adjustment of their discourse expectations.

Unity and tight plotting in the invention and arrangement segments of the rhetoric of literacy determine such

secondary, stylistic features as lexical equivalence chains, grammatical coherence and shifts, and the use of formal markers for transitions and recontextualizations. As readers and not listeners, students will begin to recognize redundancy, amplification, and illustration as such and will see that the beginnings of such support frames cannot logically mark significant discourse junctures.

One further example: as note-takers at lectures (based on written modes of composition and presentation), they will be able to intuit the underlying points which determine the selection of facts and events say in a history lecture. To fail at this integration task means to perceive history as mere antiquarianism. But if guided through the "pointed" non-random accumulation of detail in such narrative expositions as "The Town Dump," students can develop the appropriate set of reader expectations which must precede, in any language, a full-fledged literacy.

Footnotes

[1]Classical rhetoric broke down into: invention, arrangement, memory, style, and delivery.

[2]Sometimes the frames are "present" only as projections of the reader, however. Wootton (1976:63) cites one study in which test subjects were presented with a set of random "yes"/"no" answers out of which they were able to "discover" an underlying pattern of significance.

[3]In a similar focus on audience, Scollon (1977) demonstrates how an oral narrative frame encloses a story but also how the narrative frame, in turn, is resituated in larger performance and situation frames. These latter two are shaped by the audience during the actual performance. Just how the narrative breaks down into subframes (whether into the "familiar" three or into two/four parts) depends on whether the audience is "English-speaking" or Chipewyan.

[4]In attempting such a systematic framework, ethnomethodologists have called for a "formal apparatus" which is context-free and which, therefore, can be sensitive to "parameters of social reality in . . . [a given] local context" (Wootton, 1976:67). But such "machinery," when employed to predict the next utterance, needs "adequacy" and not "correctness" as its criterion, since, as Wooton notes, "correctness may never be applied" (69). Thus, unlike grammar, a simple, objective evaluation of a rule's adequacy cannot be made. For example, such machinery, at present, which predicts such responses as "permissibles" and "responsibles" (as in greeting-greeting, question-answer, complaint-assuagement adjacency pairs) runs into at least two problems: (1) such "rules" are only optional and therefore cannot be generative, like linguistic rules; and (2) any use of such machinery would generate "acceptable" talk (Wootton, 1976:71).

However, Brown and Levinson (1978), in their politeness formula, impute a "face-redress" motivation. This makes their speakers' rule-governed responses less optional. While this methodology seems the most satisfying to date in bridging the gap between situation and grammar, it still needs testing. Meanwhile, other explanatory machinery needs to be developed to account for not only all kinds of spoken discourse but also for various modes of written discourse. In short, the goal still remains; "the readings we choose to account for must be connected in some way with our reading of subsequent utterances" (Wootton, 1976:72).

[5]Burke continues: "Some writers, who seek 'conversational' rather than 'written' effects, apparently conceive of the sentence as a totality; they ignore its internal relationships almost entirely, preferring to make each sentence as homogeneous as a piece of string. By such avoidance of logical grouping they do undeniably obtain a simple fluency which, if one can delight in it sufficiently, makes every page of Johnson a mass of absurdities--but their sentences are, as sentences, uneventful. The 'written' effects of prose seem to stress the progressive rather than the repetitive principle of form, since one part of the sentence is differentiated on the basis of another part (the formal identity of one part awakens in us a response whereby we can be pleased by a formal alteration in another part). But 'conversational' rhythm, which is generally experienced 'in the lump,' as a pervasive monotone rather than as a group of marked internal structures, is--like verse--more closely allied to the repetitive principle."

[6]Although the "sentences" coincide with the "rhetorical units" in this passage, they do not in the other three passages.

[7]Barthes's "unit" refers to a narrative unit. The narrative unit is an instance of Pitkin's rhetorical unit as it is found in narrative per se. "Rhetorical unit" has been used in the present study to refer to both narrative and expository units. This blurs the distinction between narrative and exposition, but this is acceptable. As texts, narrative and exposition have crucial points in common with respect to their revitalization.

Appendix

Supplementary Tables and Summaries

TABLE 5 and Summary. -- Lexical, Grammatical, and Rhetorical System Shifts in "The Great Frog Hunt"

Rhet. Unit	Lexical System Shifts (L)	Grammatical System Shifts (G)	Rhetorical System Shifts (R)
3	"ages"/"time" → "man" (from 1)	pres. perf. → pres. tense	support for asser. in 2
4	back to "pattern" of 2		
6			interpretive comment
7	"frogs"		
10		pres.→subjunc.	rhetorical ques.
12	specifics ("flashing lights") of 11's "horror"	subjunc. → no tense	
13		→ past	
14	→ "pool"		
15	→ "frogs"		
16		→ pres.	
17		→ past	
18	→ "feet" (from 14 and 15)		
19	→ "frogs"		catharsis
23	→ "flashlights"	"frogs" become objects, pass.	denouement
24	→ "men"		
26	→ "tens and fifties" (frogs)		
27		past→past perf.	
29		fragment	
31	→ "Mack"	→ past	epilogue
32	"they" (sacks)		

Summary of Table 5

Three System shifts	Two System Shifts	One System Shifts
3	10 (G,R)	4 (L) 21 (R)
23	12 (L,G)	5 (L) 24 (L)
31	13 (G,R)	6 (R) 26 (L)
	17 (L,G)	7 (L) 27 (G)
	19 (L,R)	14 (L) 28 (G)
		15 (L) 29 (G)
		16 (G) 32 (L)
		18 (L)

TABLE 6 and Summary. -- Lexical, Grammatical, and Rhetorical System Shifts in "The Town Dump".

Rhet. Unit	Lexical System Shifts (L)	Grammatical System Shifts (G)	Rhetorical System Shifts (R)
2		modal, pres. perf. → pres.	
3		→ past	
4		→ pres.	assertion
5		→ past	spatial frame
6	→ "Whitemud R."		
7		→ modal	
8		→ past	
10	→ "straw, etc."		
11			interp. of 10
12	→ "we"		
13	→ "I"	→ pres.	narr. illus.
14		→ past	
16	→ "excitement"		main assertion
17	→ "old Mrs. G."		narr. illus.
25	→ "we"	→ modal	personal valid. of 17-24
26		→ past	
30	→ "irrig. pass."		spatial frame and topic
34	→ "boy"	→ modal	illus. example
35	→ "dumpground"	→ past	spatial frame and topic

Summary of Table 6

Three System Shifts	Two System Shifts	One System Shifts
13	4 (G,R)	2 (G) 10 (L)
25	5 (G,R)	3 (G) 11 (R)
34	16 (L,R)	6 (L) 12 (L)
35	17 (L,R)	7 (G) 14 (G)
	30 (L,R)	8 (G) 26 (G)

TABLE 7 and Summary. -- Lexical, Grammatical, and Rhetorical System Shifts in "Take Your College in Stride"

Rhet. Unit	Lexical System Shifts (L)	Grammatical System Shifts (G)	Rhetorical System Shifts (R)
3		pres. → ques.	rhet. ques.
4			refut. of 3
5		pres. → future	
7	→ "educators"	→ imperative	direct address
8		→ pres.	
9	→ "professor"	→ modal	main supp. (neg.)
10		→ pres.	
11		→ future	rebuttal of 9a-10b
12		→ pres.	
13		→ pres. perf.	
14		→ modal	
16	→ "these"	→ pres.(plural)	
17	→ "library"	→ pres.(sing.)	main supp. (pos.)
19		→ modal	
21	→ "professors"		assertion
22		→ passive	
24		→ active	
26		→ modal	
27		→ pres.	
28		→ modal, pass.	
29	→ "professor"	→ pres., sing.	
30	→ "students"	→ future	implied direct address, "boost"

Summary of Table 7

Three System Shifts	Two System Shifts	One System Shifts	
7	3 (G,R)	4 (R)	14 (G)
9	11 (G.R)	5 (G)	19 (G)
17	16 (L,G)	8 (G)	22 (G)
30	21 (L,R)	10 (G)	24 (G)
	29 (L,G)	12 (G)	26 (G)
		13 (G)	27 (G)
			28 (G)

TABLE 8 and Summary. -- Lexical, Grammatical, and Rhetorical System Shifts in "New Schools"

Rhet. Unit	Lexical System Shifts	Grammatical System Shifts	Rhetorical System Shifts
2		→ pres. perf.	
3	→ "teenagers"		
4	→ "we"	→ past	assertion and support of 7
5		→ pres.	
6	→ "television"	→ pres. cont.	
7	→ "children"	→ pres., plural	asser. from 4-6
8	→ "public schools"	→ pass.	
9	→ "W.H. Auden"	→ past.	assertion
11	→ "mini-men" (of 8)	→ plural	
12	→ "peace"	→ future	assertion
13	→ "evidence"	→ pres.	supp. for 12
15	→ "Sir Joseph"	→ past, pass.	illus. supp.
17	→ "reading"	→ pres., plural	complementary assertion
18	→ "I"	→ sing. (perform.)	proposal
19	→ "carpenters, etc."	→ modal	
20	→ "bankers, etc."		
21	→ "setting aside"		illus. supp.
23	→ "young"		
24	→ "no reason"	→ pres.	boost
26	→ "that a society"		

Summary of Table 8

Three System Shifts	Two System Shifts	One System Shifts
4	6 (L,G)	2 (G)
7	8 (L,G)	3 (L)
9	11 (L,G)	5 (G)
12	19 (L,G)	20 (L)
13	21 (L,R)	23 (L)
15		26 (L)
17		
18		
24		

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