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Written Academic ELF: Developing Writing Concepts in the New Normal

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In this study, we propose a link between L2 rhetorical concepts and ELF as a way of the analysis of the development of a single concept, of an EFL college student's rhetorical knowledge. Using Vygotskian sociocultural theory as analytical lenses, we examine whether L2 rhetoric can be mastered and internalized as a culturally neutral concept, i.e., the formulaic knowledge of L2 writing the student has learned from the NEST through instruction; and how the student's L1 rhetorical concept and ELF performance together mediate his L2 concept development in his academic writing. The data consist of a student's personal narratives, text-based interviews and academic writings. Rather than the mastery of a single variety of English, he produced texts that reflect the flexibility and variability inherent in written ELF. From ELF perspectives, this study offers an opportunity of establishing a new normal, in which rhetorical conventions of texts should be viewed as constructs that are dynamic, emergent, and therefore negotiable and adaptable.

Key words: Vygotsky's spontaneous/scientific concepts, written academic ELF, L2 rhetorical concept, new normal

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1. INTRODUCTION

In the contemporary world, the need for a lingua franca in academic contexts is greater, and "this time the language is English" (Mauranen, Hynninen, & Ranta, 2010, p. 183). Indeed, "most interactions in English now take place in intercultural contexts, among non-native speakers of English" (Rowley-Jolivet, 2017, p. 145). English as a lingua franca (ELF) is frequently defined as a contact language between interlocutors from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds (Jenkins, 2006). The use of ELF manifests pragmatic strategies to accommodate differences in communication and enhance mutual intelligibility. Mauranen (2010) accurately pointed out the current situation and coined the term, *English as an academic lingua franca.* In contrast to extensively studied oral ELF in academia with a plethora of empirical findings, however, written ELF until now has not been studied yet (Baker, 2013).

More recently, though, this has changed, with ELF scholars increasingly turning their attention to written language, particularly in academic settings. This also accompanies a move away from native English speech (NES) norms toward recognition of a diversity of rhetorical conventions combined with the knowledge, experiences, and abilities of second language (L2) students. Indeed, as Horner (2011) argues, it is crucial for written ELF studies to challenge the *English only* orientation of L2 writing classes. Empirical studies of writing from ELF perspectives would therefore offer an opportunity of establishing a *new normal*, in which "rhetorical conventions of texts should be viewed as constructs that are dynamic, changeable, and therefore negotiable and adaptable" (Baker, 2013, p. 41). In reality, however, a model of prototypical argument structure (typically Anglo-American models of writing practice) discounts the variety of structures of argument that might exist within a cultural or disciplinary context.

To date, writing practices in many ESL/EFL contexts have been indoctrinated into the "five-paragraph essay" formula, a staple of L2 writing pedagogy (Ortega, 2011). In this writing pedagogy, Silva (1990), defining writing as "basically a matter of arrangement, of fitting sentences and paragraphs into prescribed patterns" (p.14), argued that "the writer fills in a preexisting form with provided or self-generated content (otherwise) the reader is easily confused and perhaps vexed by unfamiliar patterns of expression" (p. 14). Classroom instruction focuses students' attention on the surface-level structures of written texts. Thus, any emphasis on discerning cross-cultural differences in the types of logical patterns employed in written texts has resulted in a tendency to stereotype the rhetorical patterns of particular cultural groups and ignore the varieties of rhetorical structures that exist within particular groups of writers (Kubota, 1997).

However, writing in English as a foreign language (EFL) in academic discourse community is not formed in a blank state where any culture does not exist. Instead, each EFL writer brings their own values, cultural and linguistic experiences, whether it is of L1 or L2, to that moment of EFL writing (Horner, 2011). Here, Vygotsky (1986) was particularly interested in the distinction between spontaneous and scientific concepts, and how the two interact to complement the development of one another in formal instruction. Everyday concepts are empirical, unsystematic and situated. Scientific concepts are consciously applied, systematic and not bound to a context. In school, students are presented with scientific concepts. We can use scientific concepts to help us solve problems such as structuring a paragraph to make a meaning clear. In academic writing, rhetorical structure is one scientific concept L2 college students have to develop in argumentation.

From a Vygotskian perspective, it is not difficult to make the case that L2 students' concept of rhetorical structure develops from a concrete spontaneous concept to an abstract, logical, and systematically structured scientific concept. L2 students are required to gain an abstract understanding and ability to consciously apply this conceptual knowledge to their writing practice to achieve specific goals. By extension, if L2 students are forced to conform to Anglo-American norms, we can argue that the students transform an everyday concept (e.g., Korean discourse) into a scientific concept (e.g., English discourse). Once again, Vygotsky's concept development may be of great value in depicting how L2 students' thinking develops from concepts learned through everyday concrete experiences to abstract logical concepts, and how L2 writing instruction plays a crucial role in the development of the logical construction in L2 academic writing.

In this context, we will examine how a young EFL college student takes his everyday and scientific concepts of rhetorical structure, makes sense of these concepts and applies them to write academic writing. Taking one step further, we examine his understanding of the organizing structure of persuasive discourse within what we call *written ELF as a new normal*. Our study is a qualitative case study investigation of rhetorical control in naturally occurring academic contexts, supplemented by semi-structured, text-based interviews with the student. Using Vygotskian sociocultural theory as analytical lenses, we examine how the student's concrete spontaneous concepts of L1 rhetorical structure are restructured into systematic, abstract scientific concepts of L2 rhetorical structure as he develops "conceptual manipulation" (García, 2018, p. 181) for L2 rhetoric, primarily through feedback from the native English-speaking teacher (NEST).

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2. CONCEPT DEVELOPMENT AND WRITTEN ACADEMIC ELF

Central to understanding Vygotsky's (1986) distinction between spontaneous (i.e., everyday) and scientific concepts is his explanation of "the differences in their histories of development and differences in the ways they are used for social interaction" (Dixon-Krauss, 1996, p. 44). Although these two concepts can be connected through instruction, there is a clear distinction between them (García, 2018). Spontaneous concepts develop informally through our concrete, physical experiences in the world. They are the result of generalization of our everyday personal experience in the absence of systematic instruction. The internal structure of such concepts is therefore "unsystematic, empirical, and often wrong, or at least incomplete" (Karpov, 2018, pp. 102-103) in nature. Swain, Kinnear, and Steinman (2015) further state that

> They are not very portable from one experience or one context to another. While there may be a loosely organized system about them (complexes, in Vygotskian terms), they lack an overall system that allows the individual to use them in relation with other concepts. (p. 56)

Scientific concepts refer to the schooled or academic concepts taught, "as opposed to intuitive tacit concepts embedded in everyday contexts" (Fleer, 2009, p. 282). They differ from spontaneous concepts because they are systematic in both their structure and how they develop in students (Moll, 1990). While spontaneous concepts are characterized as contextualized, based on empirical observation and subject to concrete practice, their scientific counterparts are largely abstract, systematic in nature, and typically learned within a system of formal instruction through schooling (Wertsch, 2007). And they are "systematic, hierarchical and subject to conscious manipulation" (Swain et al., 2015, p. 58). Perhaps more than any other characteristic, "scientific concepts provide the structure for our spontaneous concepts to become logically defined, consciously accessible, and deliberately used" (Dixon-Krauss, 1996, p. 45).

Spontaneous concepts relate to the fact that they are deeply rooted in our experience, which are readily used to solve relevant problems "in a spontaneous, unreflective way" (Vygotsky, 1986, p. 162). These concepts, however, remain for the most part unconscious, and the students cannot readily give their verbal definitions. In contrast, scientific concepts are fully conscious and reportable by students since they are presented to them in the form of precise verbal definitions, but "the difficulty with scientific concepts lies in their verbalism, i.e., in their excessive abstractness and detachment from reality" (Vygotsky, 1986, pp. 148-149).

According to Worden (2015), "scientific concepts are consciously held but can become stuck in their initial verbal definition form if never connected to concrete experience, thus relegating them to the realm of empty verbalism" (p. 21). Indeed, mere verbalism of scientific concepts (i.e., empty explanations) simply means that they are not supported with mastery by students of the relevant procedures. As Vygotsky (1994) says, "a meaningless acquisition of words, mere verbalization" always proves "educationally fruitless" (p. 356). And again, Vygotsky (1986) does not value one type of concept over the other, but sees that scientific concepts refine and raise spontaneous concepts to a level of conscious, strategic use, whereas spontaneous concepts are the framework on which scientific concepts are built (Lee, 2000).

For Vygotsky, the true goal of concept development is for spontaneous and scientific concepts to become integrated into true concepts. This occurs as the scientific concept is applied to more and more concrete situations and the spontaneous concept becomes abstracted through processes of generalization (Worden, 2015). Clearly, Vygotsky (1986) believed that the two of scientific and spontaneous concepts in interaction were necessary for development. He wrote, "The two processes – the development of spontaneous and of nonspontaneous [scientific] concepts – are related and constantly influence each other. They are parts of a single process" (p. 157).

It is now a well-known, and often quoted, fact that non-native users of English considerably outnumber native users, perhaps by as much as 4 to 1 (Crystal, 2008). It therefore follows that English may no longer belong to native speakers, who now form a minority group of speakers and that "we might expect most changes and innovations to come from the majority, non-native users" (Baker, 2013, p. 29). Into this mix, English, now the major worldwide lingua franca, is the subject of international debate as "policy makers struggle over the legitimization of varieties of English" (Brown, 2014, p. 192). The rapid growth of ELF stimulated interesting but often controversial discussion about the status of English in its varieties (Brown, 2014).

As argued by Baker (2013), among others, Anglo-American writing conventions should no longer be viewed as a baseline by which L2 writing practices are measured. Seidlhofer (2011) even argued that native-speaker language use is just one kind of reality, not the norm in lingua franca contexts. What truly matters in ELF academic contexts, then, is mutual understanding and effective communication among the members of academic discourse community. What is more, Jenkins (2007) wrote, "ELF is a matter of learner choice. In this sense, ELF increases rather than decreases the available choices, while it is the insistence on conformity to native-speaker norms that restricts them. This trend may be attributed to the focus on mutual comprehensibility in oral communication in ELF research..." (pp. 21-22).

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Horner (2011) further argued that unlike oral ELF that emphasizes intelligibility over correctness, written English comes with a "powerful ideological view about what does and does not constitute correct writing" (p. 305). Additionally, he claimed that pursuit of the norm of standard written English (SWE) in writing classrooms does not seem appropriate in today's academia and proposed a pedagogy informed by ELF to writing practices as an alternative. This pedagogy, he believes, could encourage students to view "writing as necessarily involving the use of all one's linguistic resources for particular ends and to a view of meaning as negotiable and negotiated rather than something fixed through use of a particular code" (p. 303). Furthermore, it views writers as human agents who negotiate the rhetorical norms of their writing. He continued:

> Rather than viewing their role as writers to be achieving conformity to a language fixed in form and meaning, represented by the phrase "writing in English", they would see the possibility, and necessity, of always (re)writing English in every act of writing. (p. 303)

Again, ELF research views writing practices, "understanding and meaning making as always in process, negotiated and contingent" (Baker, 2013, p. 36). In this respect, while mainstream EFL generally posits that the goal of non-native speakers is to approximate the native variety, as closely as possible, and considers that deviations from Anglo-American norms are deficiencies, ELF sees other forms of English as different rather than deficient (Grazzi, 2018). As well, the difference between EFL and ELF presupposes that the roles of the learner who conforms to the NES model and that of the non-native user who adopts English for their own purposes according to their own needs (Canagarajah, 2013) are distinct, "notwithstanding that they may coexist within the same person" (Grazzi, 2018, p. 425).

It seems reasonable therefore to argue that "the performative use of ELF is a legitimate option" (Grazzi, 2018, p. 425) whenever students are engaged in academic writing practices, provided their discourse is intelligible and appropriate to the achievement of their pragmatic goals (Widdowson, 2003). Hence, non-native users' rhetorical development would more appropriately be considered in terms of "lingual capability" (Widdowson, 2019) rather than proximity to the NES norms. Nevertheless, in English, the NES Anglo-American academic traditions are typically held as the dominant model to which others must try to conform. In contrast, ELF research has indicated a growing awareness to different forms of English. As Grazzi (2018) so cogently notes, within ELF studies, "deviations from established NES norms are in fact the norm" (p. 423).

In our study, of particular value in illuminating the development of L2 rhetorical structure is Vygotsky's (1986) work on concept development. To illustrate the interaction between spontaneous and scientific concepts, Vygotsky (1986) uses the example of learning a foreign language, and draws "an analogy between the native language and spontaneous concepts, on one hand, and a foreign language and scientific concepts, on the other hand" (Karpov, 2018, p. 109). Following Vygotsky (1986), we viewed relationships between Korean discourse and English discourse as an example of relationships between spontaneous and scientific concepts. Therefore, interrelationships between Korean discourse and English discourse are the same as between spontaneous and scientific concepts.

According to Kaplan's (1966) contrastive rhetoric, English expository essays follow a linear development; oriental languages (e.g., Korean discourse) prefer an indirect approach and come to the point at the end. In Kaplan's (1966) early study of "thought patterns" (p. 4) in ESL student essay writing, Korean writers tend to use inductive logic while English writers use deductive logic. Although a static and binary statement about Korean and English discourse as nonlinear versus linear should be avoided (Connor, 2008; Kubota & Lehner, 2004), we cannot deny that Korean EFL students indeed bring with them inductive patterns of writing as their existing knowledge of rhetorical concepts while organizing L2 writing, as evidenced in several studies (e.g., Choo, 2019; Hinkel, 1997; Wang, 2000).

At this point, with the five-paragraph essay formula as a suitable ground for exploring an EFL college student's concept development, we propose the link between L2 rhetorical concept and ELF as a way of the analysis of the development of a single concept, of an EFL college student's rhetorical knowledge. Accordingly, we will examine the student's longitudinal writing data and interview with a qualitative lens. More specifically, we examine (1) whether L2 rhetoric can be mastered and internalized as *a culturally neutral concept*, i.e., the formulaic knowledge of L2 writing the student has learned from the NEST through instruction; and (2) how the student's L1 rhetorical concept and ELF performance together mediate his L2 concept development in his academic writing.

3. THE STUDY

3.1. The Participant and Research Context

Jae (pseudonym) was an EFL college student majoring in English language education at a large private university in Seoul, Korea. Jae was a 24-year-old male and

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began to learn English in grade three of elementary school. He had never been to an English speaking country and yet can use English efficiently with the Advanced High level of writing proficiency as described in the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines (2012) (see the *ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines* generic descriptions for Advanced High). Jae reported having taken an EFL writing class from a native English-speaking teacher in the fall semester of 2018. The NEST was an experienced teacher who had taught a considerable number of similar writing courses. Jae reported that the course involved the analysis and imitation of model texts and stressed organization above all. This course also stressed practice of different types of essay, such as compare and contrast essay, argumentative essay, or persuasive essay.

Above all, the NEST focused on a five-paragraph essay formula, a staple EFL writing pedagogy in Korean contexts, which consists basically of an introduction, a body, and a conclusion. In this classroom, the NEST presented models of texts that follow five-paragraph essay formula and students were forced to conform to it. Thus, the five-paragraph essay formula was regarded as rhetorical concepts EFL students in this class deploy in their written performance. As Sakharov (1994) argued that "a concept must be studied in its functional context" (pp. 82-83), EFL writing classes are an important research site because they afford concept formation opportunities. Thus, Jae was chosen in order to explore his strategic manipulation of rhetorical performance in L2 academic writing, and to examine how he became consciously aware of L2 rhetorical structure and gained deliberate voluntary control of it as his scientific concepts were formed in EFL writing classes from the NEST.

3.2. Data Sources and Analyses[1]

Two main data sources were used in our study: personal narratives that emerged from semi-structured, text-based interviews and two academic writings. The academic writings analyzed here were from Jae's major courses, which were taught by the first author, one in 2019 and the other in 2020. The first writing was taken from the mid-term exam written in a 30-minute time frame that was a controlled test situation in Spring Semester 2019. The second writing, a final exam essay, was written over 1-day period at home in the spring semester of 2020. The topics of two essay exams required Jae to explain and persuade.

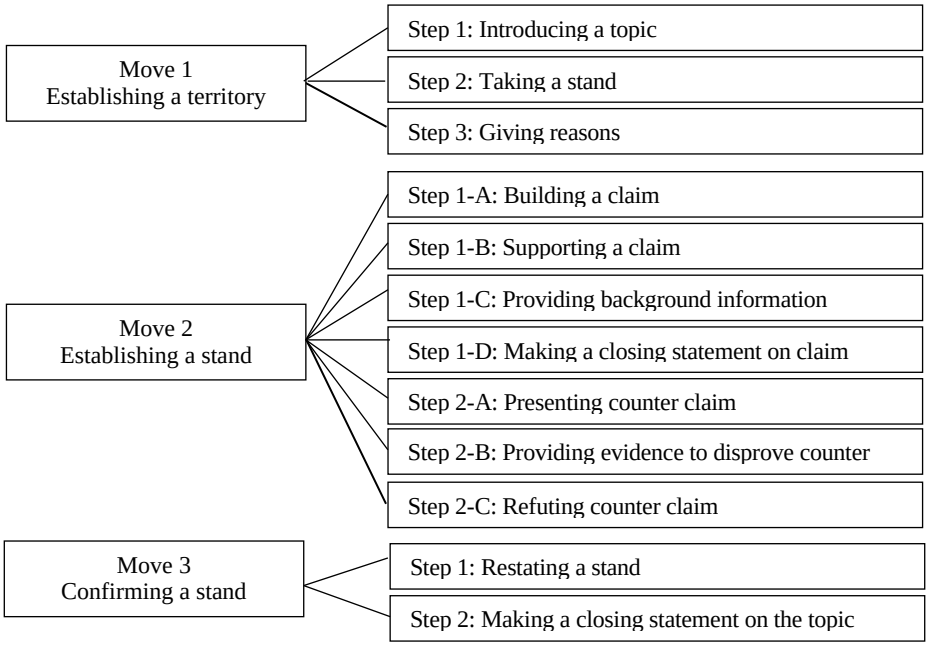
Before the interview with Jae, rhetorical analysis of his two writings was performed.

[1] Originally, we recruited a total of two Korean EFL college students for a case study (Huh, Lee, & Jwa, 2020). However, for an in-depth analysis of spontaneous and scientific concepts in written ELF, we focus on just one student, Jae, in this study.

Academic writing is usually "characterized by a three stage structure which represents the organizing principles of the genre: Thesis, Argument and Conclusion" (Hyland, 1990, p. 68). Accordingly, following Swales' (1990, 2004) move-step rhetorical analysis, "which proposes a hierarchical classification involving moves and steps" (Labrador, Ramón, Alaiz-Moretón, & Sanjurjo-González, 2014, p. 39), we developed a rhetorical coding scheme specifically for academic writing, which consists of three moves: Move 1 establishing a territory; Move 2 establishing a stand; and Move 3 confirming a stand. Each move is further divided into the steps which function in the text to realize the purpose of academic writing such as exposition and argumentation, as illustrated in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1[2]

The Scheme for Move–Step Rhetorical Analysis



Immediately after the spring semester of 2020 was over, the first remote interview was conducted by the co-author. Jae was informed of the purpose of the interviews beforehand. The interview protocol was designed to elicit Jae's descriptions of his written texts; and to address his thoughts about the rhetorical patterns of L2 texts. He has never done a remote interview before. In order to set him at ease by clearly

[2] Source: We reproduce Huh, Lee, and Jwa's (2020) Table 1 as Figure 1

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communicating and preparing him for what to expect, key questions about his written texts were emailed to him in advance. The interview, which lasted about 50 minutes, was conducted in Korean, and all interviews were recorded and fully transcribed. After transcribing the interview, a follow-up interview was conducted for 30 minutes to corroborate Jae's stated views by asking about them in more than one way.

We then reviewed the interview transcripts so that we could have a general idea of what kind of information Jae was disclosing in his narrative. Through an analysis of the interview data, we performed a microgenetic analysis of Jae's development as a movement from everyday spontaneous concept of L1 rhetorical pattern to systematically structured scientific concept of L2 rhetorical structure. And we supplemented our interpretations by basically highlighting Jae's own words (what are generally called "emic" accounts, ones that represent Jae's own meanings and understanding; see Fetterman, 2008). We additionally identified resources that mediated Jae's developing concept. These included instruction and feedback provided by the NEST.

4. FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATION

Here, we examine how an EFL college student, Jae, consciously manipulated rhetorical concept in his L2 argumentative writing. We take a more detailed stance at examining Jae's concept development by drawing on Jae's academic writings and interview data.

4.1. Jae's Developing English Rhetorical Concepts

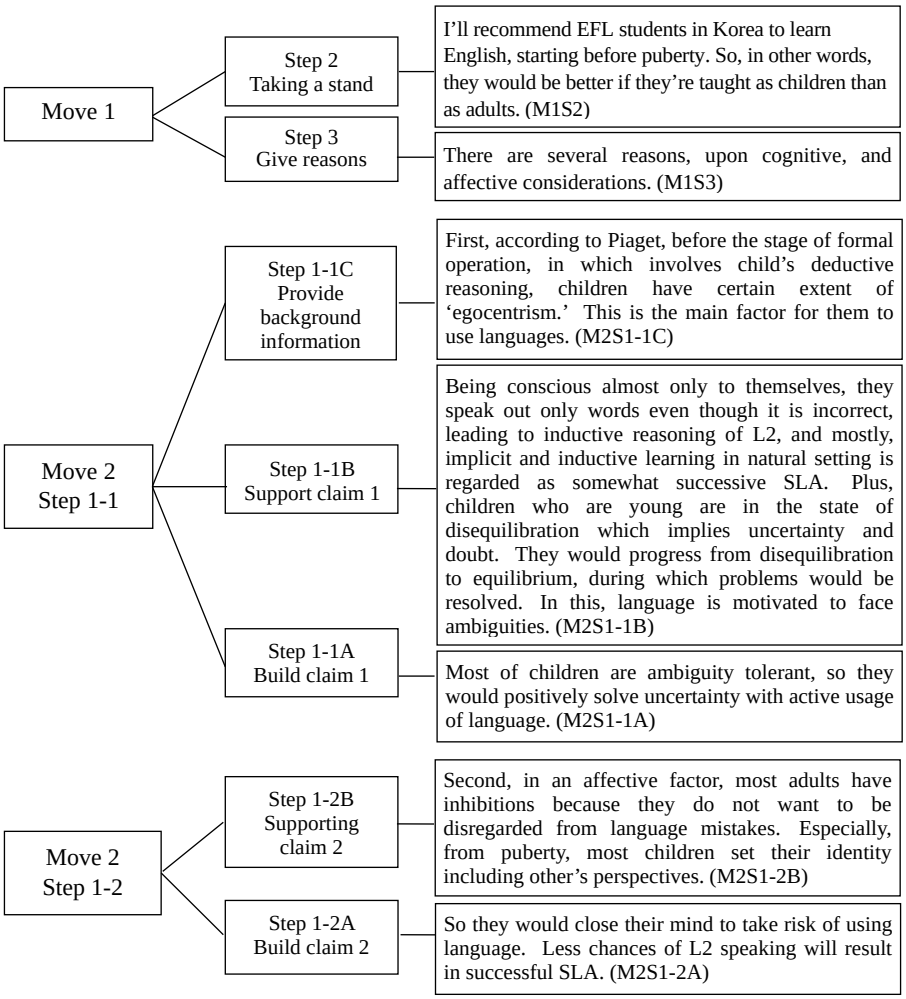
The idea of move analysis is to illuminate Jae's concept of L2 rhetorical structure. We explored how Jae accomplished the "rhetorical concepts" (Kao, 2017, p. 157) through the ways he establishes rhetorical moves and steps. Overall, Jae's writing shows a clear developmental trajectory in terms of English rhetorical concepts. As shown in two figures, each of the three moves takes two or more steps to realize its rhetorical function. Jae used rhetorical strategies flexibly, despite the use of unconventional rhetorical structures deviated from the five-paragraph essay formula.

In his timed essay, Jae organized his essay directly in introduction but the actual argumentation was structured very indirectly, as illustrated in Figure 2. Jae wrote a direct and specific introduction (Move 1) while he organized body paragraphs (Move 2) very indirectly, showing a non-linear structure. The two moves in the body paragraphs exhibit a repeated pattern. As shown in the first move in the body

paragraphs, Jae did not state his main idea at the beginning. Rather, he began with a step to discuss the background information or social circumstances (Move 2, Step 1-1C), then presented the evidence to support his main argument (Move 2, Step 1-1B), and finally placed his claim (Move 2, Step 1-1A) at the end. The second move in the body paragraphs is the same as the first, but it focused more on supporting his claim. At the move level, Move 3 is obligatory, but it is absent in this writing.

FIGURE 2

Jae's Rhetorical Structure of In-class Writing



For remote writing, Jae employed a direct and linear introduction (Move 1) and conclusion (Move 3) but again, in Move 2, he used a fairly indirect rhetoric. Instead of

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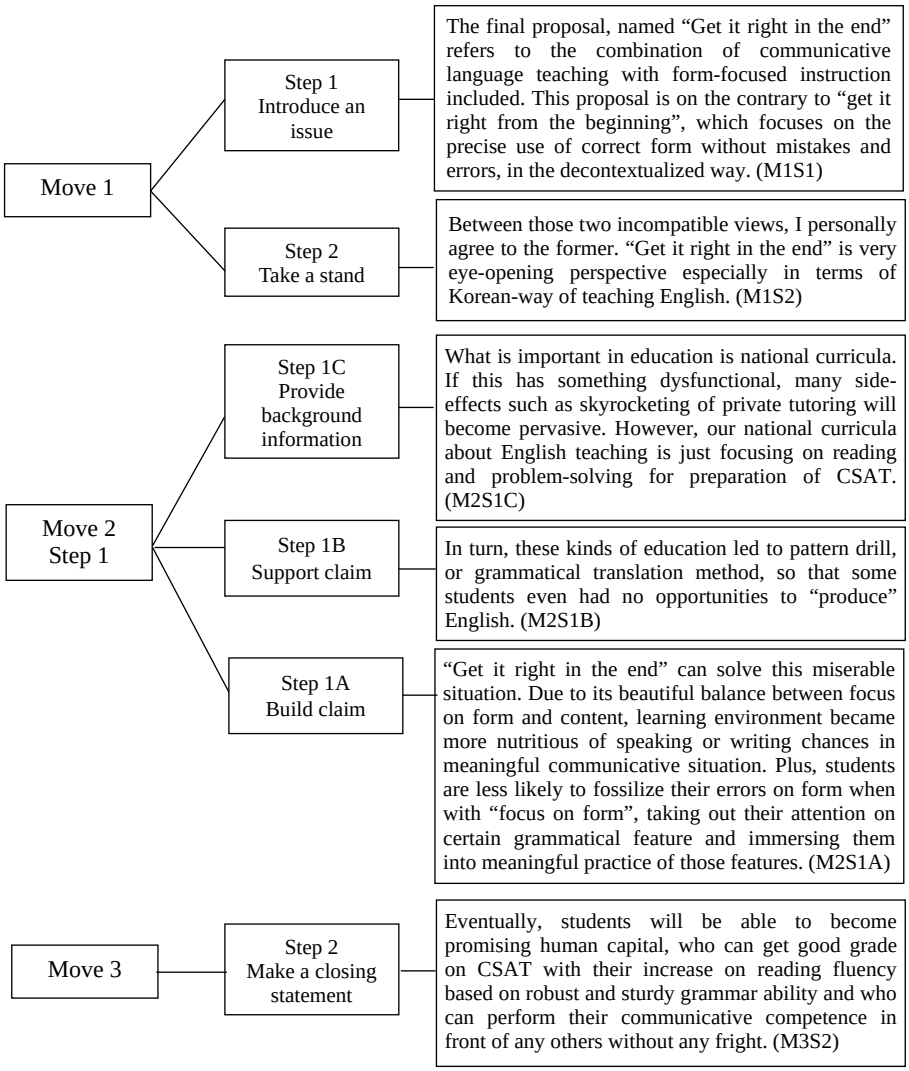
stating directly his main claim, he made the rhetorical effort to help the reader understand the research background (Move 2, Step 1C). Then he took a step to support his position (Move 2, Step 1B), and stated his claim at the end (Move 2, Step 1A). In comparison, he included Move 3 in this remote writing, making a closing statement (Move 3, Step 2), while he did not include Move 3 in the in-class writing (see Figure 3).

FIGURE 3

Jae's Rhetorical Structure of Remote Writing



So far, Jae's rhetorical options were identified in order to see how Jae deliberately manipulated the concept of L2 rhetorical structures. Jae's move and step structure seem to be similar to the results of Chen (2008), who observed rhetorical patterns of Chinese college students' essays. In Chen (2008), the students showed strong preference for "deductive essay with inductive paragraphs" (p. 191). That is, while overall, the group directly organized introduction and conclusion, they organized the body paragraphs quite indirectly. Chen (2008) argued that Chinese students tended to "rely on the L1 discourse structure/thinking pattern which is a part of the learners' existing conceptual structure" (p. 198). Hence, it might be argued that because argumentation in body paragraphs draws on more complex, high-level cognitive process, they chose "habitual discourse pattern of native language" (Chen, 2008, p. 197).

In Jae's writing, deviations from five-paragraph essay formula resulting from cross-linguistic transfer were indicative of integrating his spontaneous L1 rhetoric and scientific L2 rhetoric. This entails that Jae naturally tends to signal his spontaneous L1 rhetoric deliberately or unintentionally when he produces a text. In this fashion, Jae's "scientific concepts... just start (his) development, rather than finish it" (Vygotsky, 1986, p. 159), at a moment when Jae learns five-paragraph essay formula denoting the new concept. So together, the fact that Jae came to EFL writing class with everyday knowledge is important because this knowledge forms the basis on which scientific knowledge can build.

Considering Figures 1-2 together, Jae developed a writing strategy in which he mechanically appropriated the surface features of academic writing in English (cf. Ferreira & Lantolf, 2008). It is unlikely that Jae did develop understanding of the five-paragraph essay formula at a conceptual level. Specifically, Jae had begun to think theoretically about writing (there was awareness at the level of conceptualization of L2 rhetoric); however, he was still deemed unable to internalize the concept to the point where he could shape the tool to fully mediate his L2 writing performance (García, 2018). Nevertheless, through the dialectical relations between everyday and scientific knowledge, Jae may develop strategies for "rhetorical negotiation" (Canagarajah, 2011), in that he reoriented to the dominant norms and conventions to his intention. We might argue that he would have explored his own ways of representing knowledge, ultimately exercising his rhetorical agency.

4.2. Jae's Challenge to the Gap from Spontaneous to Scientific Concepts

Jae has taken a number of English language courses in college. Among the courses that Jae took in the fall semester of 2018, an EFL writing course was distinct in its

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"absolute focus on the recipe rhetoric" (Reid, 2001, p. 211). Ironically, writing practices in this class were dominated by English-only ideology (Horner, 2011) despite Korean students' makeup of the class. Students had to follow the essay formula demanded by the NEST. Such formula surfaced explicitly in the ways that the NEST responded to students' written products. The NEST tended to make a fuss about rhetorical errors regardless of whether they impeded understanding or not. Jae explained that

> *From the nearly the first day of class, overwhelmingly the teacher educated us about the construction of English discourse. It seemed, writing is basically a matter of arrangement, of fitting sentences and paragraphs into prescribed patterns... I guess, a significant goal for this class is the introduction of Anglo-American academic traditions of writing, which limit student's repertoire in writing styles.*

Meanwhile, Jae's writings had been problematized back rather than accepted by his teacher. Jae described receiving his 1st writing from the NEST and being overwhelmed to find it covered with feedback on rhetorical patterns. Because of the hierarchical nature of the teacher/student relationship, or the native/non-native dichotomy, Jae felt pressured to follow teacher directives, even when he did not agree with the feedback. As Jae put it, "my writing is ineffective simply because I am employing the thought patterns of Korean discourse." Indeed, Jae noted that the NEST played the role of editor and gatekeeper, and in these roles, the teacher completely ruled out Jae's Korean patterns of thinking and writing. The teacher constrained Jae's possibilities for negotiating his texts, "holding a mechanistic view of the writer" (Matsuda, 2001, p. 245; cf. Silva, 1990). Under this view, the teacher did not view his students as human agents who negotiate the rhetorical norms of their writing. In this regard, Jae said:

> *When I took Advanced English Composition, the native-speaker instructor gave me very negative comments about coherence, organization, and word choices. Well... all students were required to write essays exactly following his structure sentence by sentence, but I felt I couldn't do it... How frustrating it was to sit for a whole lesson!! After struggling for a number of weeks and coming to feel that I couldn't learn at all, I never returned to the class.*

Jae was, in fact, very aware of the rhetoric of English paragraph, which was required from the NEST. In the meantime, however, Jae stated that he preferred to

write indirectly (see Figures 2 & 3). Although such a development in English discourse would strike the NEST as awkward, Jae argued that it is effective rhetorical strategies in his argumentative writing. In this way, for Jae, L2 rhetorical concepts should not be characterized as static (i.e., definitions that Jae is supposed to memorize and produce as needed) (García, 2018), but as cognitive tools that he can use to mediate his written performance both inside and outside of academic settings (García, 2018; Swain et al., 2015). Concerning his way of written communication, Jae states:

> *It seems like a more effective way to explain something to others because you can draw the listener's attention till the end... When you write in Korean, you don't necessarily have to put a thesis statement. Its organization is not strictly fixed like English. We talk about the circumstances or background first and then support your ideas and finally put your claim. Most of my teachers in Korean schools explained that way. It kind of helps to catch the reader's attention till the end of my explanation... I guess it's because I read lots of passages preparing for Korean SAT. They were organized inductively, so I had to read every single word and figure out the writer's intention or meaning in every step of argument...*

A particularly relevant notion in understanding rhetorical concepts is Bakhtin's (1981) two different discourses: *authoritative* and *internally persuasive* discourse. By extension, English discourse refers to *authoritative* discourse (i.e., directness), "the discourse of tradition, generally acknowledged beliefs and voice of authority that cannot be disrupted" (Lee, 2008, p. 113). And again, Korean discourse refers *internally persuasive* discourse (i.e., indirectness), the discourse that EFL students bring to the current EFL writing class. Here, the point is that Jae struggled with two contesting discourses – the authoritative discourse of normative ways of writing required by the NEST and his native language discourse that emerged in his past literacy experience. As Jae states,

> *Of course, I try to organize my overall text directly by putting the thesis statement in introduction. But when writing the actual argument where I need to explain something and convince the reader of my position, I guess I start talking about the surrounding situation or background theories, then give some reasons and present my claim at the end.*

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Jae felt strongly that his writing "is placed in the (NEST's) context, from which (he) is excluded" (Matsuda, 2001, p. 245) and the feedback that the NEST actually made on rhetorical organization was seen as culturally imperialistic, an attempt to teach EFL students that Anglo-American academic rhetoric was superior to Korean rhetoric. After all, Jae withdrew from that course in the middle of the semester. Perhaps in some way, Jae implicitly criticized the NEST for discouraging active negotiation of multiple rhetorics in his writing. Of course, formal instruction provides an important conceptual space for concept development. But equally important, as Newman, Griffin, and Cole (1989) point out, "we cannot lose sight of the continually active role of the (student)" (p. 58) in Vygotsky's scientific pedagogies.

4.3. Rhetorical Hybridity of Written ELF as a New Normal

We note that Jae struggled with the process of appropriating new power of Anglo-American discourses introduced by his NEST. Regardless of the NEST's instruction of English rhetorical concept in the EFL writing classroom, the concept could not provide the access to a new frame of rhetorical reference because it would conflict with Jae's spontaneous Korean rhetorical structure. Jae felt that he might lose the internally persuasive discourses with which he felt comfortable and which he believed to be good for his written performance. To refer back to his interview data, Jae believed that his spontaneous concept of L1 rhetoric was deemed a far more efficient tool for molding his argumentation.

Nevertheless, the feedback from the NEST awakens Jae's ability to consciously regard and voluntarily manipulate rhetorical concepts. Besides, Jae's attention is directed to Korean discourse and the relationship between L1 and L2 rhetoric as Jae was forced to conform to five-paragraph essay formula by the NEST. In the locus of struggles, Jae employed a hybrid of authoritative L2 rhetorical structure and internally persuasive L1 rhetorical structure. In this way, "ELF emerged naturally" (Grazzi, 2018, p. 430) to serve Jae's purpose and his sense of the reader in his academic writing. For example, Jae said, "When you write in Korean, you don't necessarily have to put a thesis statement. Its organization is not strictly fixed like English. We talk about the circumstances or background first and then support your ideas and finally put your claim. It kind of helps to catch the reader's attention till the end of my explanation."

Following the NES Anglo-American academic traditions, one might argue that Jae's "rhetorical hybridity" (Kubota & Lehner, 2004, p. 20) as evidenced in his writings may be due to the lack of mastery of English rhetorical concept. For this reason, one further argues, Jae needs to learn more the rhetorical pattern preferred by the reader or the accepted genre conventions in the academic discourse community. Undoubtedly,

Jae is aware of differences of L1 and L2 rhetorical characteristics, having a better understanding of the dynamics of two concepts – their strong or their weak aspects. As discussed before, however, the development of a new concept is not simply picking-up a set of skills. This could mean restructuring into new epistemological assumptions that could be very different from what Jae was accustomed to and previously experienced in his Korean school communities.

Yet again, Jae, shuttling between Korean and English discourse, experienced constant negotiation of rhetorical choices. "In a highly fluid way" (Baker, 2013, p. 31), Jae exploits his own logically structured rhetorical strategies that he can voluntarily access and use in his English essay. Likewise, Jae exerted his agency in his writing, making a strategic choice (being able to combine two rhetorical concepts) to organize his argumentation in his academic writing. For example, he intentionally combined rhetorical structures with direct introduction and conclusion and indirect body paragraphs in his writing. That is, intentional violation of the five-paragraph essay formula was practiced strategically by Jae. According to Jae,

> *Starting a paragraph with the writer's claim in a topic sentence seems a bit inefficient. If readers do not know all the relevant concepts beforehand, they may not agree to the writer's main idea. Well, I truly want to be perceived as a logical writer when someone reads my writing. And I have confidence in my comprehension skills. So I wrote the essays in my own way I understood the theories. I believe readers would also be able to understand the theories I explain and finally agree to my argument. Also there is no merit in Korean culture to talk about your assertion up front to others. You may be seen as an impolite person. So we tend to cautiously go around the topic. I think this affected my discourse style, too. I know native speakers evaluate this kind of writing negatively. But even if I had had more sufficient time to write an essay, I think I would not have changed this style.*

Considering the current translingual contexts, the monolithic tradition of English writing instruction was strongly criticized by Horner (2011) for representing "the codification of standard English in its purest form" (p. 300) deeply entrenched English monolingual ideology. Indeed, it would appear that as Matsuda (2006) pointed out, "the assumption of linguistic homogeneity … became increasingly inaccurate as linguistic diversity grew over the last two centuries" (p. 648). In that sense, the rhetorical practice of academic writing is now shifting from the monolingual assumptions about fixed notions of Anglo-American rhetorical tradition to written

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language from ELF perspectives in global discourse community. At this point, Jae reminded us that the NEST imposed English-only ideology on him, devaluing his L1 rhetoric.

Accordingly, we argue that such Jae's rhetorical hybridity should be much in focus in discussion of writing from ELF perspectives (for empirical support of rhetorical hybridity, see Lorés-Sanz, 2016). Once more, this would seem to call for attention to emerging *new normal* discourses that make hybrids of globalized (scientific) and local (spontaneous) rhetorical concepts. In particular, ELF-oriented discourse can be considered to be of relevance to understanding rhetorical hybridity in context. This rhetorical hybridity in context compels us to think of the introduction of term *hybrid rhetoric of new normal*, which will involve the teaching of L2 writing as more complex rhetorical purposes and less certain rhetorical conventions but more empowering with students having greater agency (Baker, 2013).

5. CONCLUSION

From a Vygotskian perspective, concept formation should be thought about at two dialectically related levels (the spontaneous and scientific). That is, spontaneous concept formation and scientific concept formation are strongly connected to each other. Take, for example, Jae's L2 rhetoric emerged as a scientific concept linked directly to his L1 rhetorical structure. Jae's rhetorical concepts developed from a concrete, spontaneous concept (i.e., Korean discourse) to an abstract schooled concept (i.e., English discourse). Jae's concepts first form as *concept-in-itself* (object) and as *concept-for-others* (socially), then as *concept-for-himself* (individually) (Shepardson, 1999; Vygotsky, 1986). Even with the best intentions, when a didactic instruction only focused on scientific concepts with no connection to spontaneous concepts, concept learning is not transformative of students' worlds.

As noted earlier, writing practices Jae experienced in his EFL writing class were still "dominated by English-only ideology" (Horner, 2011, p. 300) with other rhetorical forms of English problematized and penalized by the NEST. When Jae simply learned scientific concepts in the EFL writing classroom away from his past experience with the rhetorical patterns of the L1 written discourse that might be influencing English rhetorical features, scientific ideas became disembedded from Jae's L2 writing practice. As scientific concepts, the five-paragraph essay formula was acquired consciously and systematically, and Jae was able to provide verbal definitions of the rhetorical rules. What creates a major problem for Jae, however, is that his knowledge of the five-paragraph essay formula "is not supported with the

mastery of relevant procedures" (Karpov, 2018, p. 109) for the use of this formula.

Presumably, Jae's spontaneous concept (i.e., L1 rhetoric) changes English-only ideology based scientific concept (i.e., five-paragraph essay formula), changing the conceptual system (cf. Shepardson, 1999). That is, scientific concepts "restructure and raise spontaneous concepts to a higher level" (Vygotsky, 1987, p. 220). In this way, rhetorical hybridity emerged naturally to allow Jae to achieve his pragmatic goals in his L2 written performance. Once more, we argue, the ELF paradigm has crucial implications for our understanding of rhetorical hybridity. Rather than the mastery of a single variety of English, Jae himself produced texts that better reflect the flexibility and variability inherent in written ELF (Baker, 2013; Pitzl, 2012). To transition to a *new normal* in Jae's conceptual development, *the normal* once attached to five-paragraph essay formula as rhetorical concepts must be integrated with Jae's rhetorical hybridity as a *new normal.*

Meanwhile, situating concept development within written ELF acknowledges a dynamic notion of writer agency that is related to autonomy, initiative, and contingency Jae has in his own writing, an element absent from EFL writing pedagogy. Taken together, Jae's case "provides evidence of the tendency of EFL and ELF to convergence through [Jae's written] performance" (Grazzi, 2018, p. 432) by the integration of Vygotsky's view of rhetorical concept development and written academic ELF. What is more important to note is that scientific knowledge has an adaptability that allows students to intentionally manipulate, transform, and eventually internalize very complex concepts (García, 2018). Therefore, within written ELF studies, English rhetorical concepts should not be characterized as fixed, but as fluid, emergent, and dynamic constructs in the construction of texts.

As an afterword, it needs to be pointed out that in this case study research, our goal is "to expand and generalize theories (analytic generalizations) and not to extrapolate probabilities (statistical generalizations)" (Yin, 2018, p. 21). In this respect, we invite Yin (2018) again to reiterate this point: "Case studies are generalizable to theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes" (p. 20). Granted, we do not believe that written academic ELF is supposed to replace standard written English in L2 writing classes. Instead, we hope to offer dynamic theoretical discussions that can frame L2 writing research, and we, as L2 writing teachers, want to develop "principled eclecticism" (Mellow, 2002, p. 1) for pedagogy "to facilitate our students' individualized movement toward greater flexibility in written communication" (Yang, 2020, p. 3) in the New Normal.

Applicable levels: College

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