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Language Strategies of Japanese English Learners in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) Parliamentary Debate: A Case Study of a National Debate Tournament

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Abstract

Decades of research on communication strategies of English learner has offered a full picture of the field. However, previous studies are generally concerned with either daily or classroom conversation whereas little has been known concerning the language strategies in academic debate with non-native speakers of English being the debaters. Given the debater's dual identities as language learners as well, strategies utilized in debate may be influenced by a wider scope of elements that are peculiar to the situation. Centering on language-related strategies used by Japanese EFL debaters, this study made use of discourse analysis of a national parliamentary debate tournament. Combining rhetorical situation theory, the results suggest that the debaters adopted strategies including audience-oriented strategies and speech-structuring strategies that are considered unique to debate for the purpose of better conveyance of information. This indicates the debaters' awareness of a differing rhetorical situation which calls for different language-related strategies from daily conversation. Additionally, the following strategies are frequently used by debaters in the current study: fillers, code-switching, similar-sounding words, Japanese-made English, and paraphrase.

Keywords

parliamentary debate, Japanese EFL learner, language strategy, rhetorical situation

1. Introduction

The past few decades have witnessed the rapid development concerning communication strategies of non-native speakers in daily conversation and classroom communication (Nakatani, 2006; Dörnyei & Scott, 1995; Dörnyei & Scott, 1997; Tarone, 1980) whereas little has been known regarding non-native speakers' language behaviors in other contexts such as academic debate. Debate textbooks tend to concentrate on how to construct arguments as the major parts in the discussion of strategies in debate, leaving strategies on the language level rarely touched upon. This research attempts to address the gap via identifying strategies that are used in English academic debate with non-native speakers of English being debaters. In the following sections, special attention will be paid to identification of strategies in parliamentary debate for educational purposes in English, differences of these strategies in debate and daily conversation, and major constraints in academic debate that may influence the choice of strategies.

1.1. Key Concepts

1.1.1. Strategy

Dörnyei and Scott's (1995, 1997) integrated approach identifies various communication strategies employed by language learners to cope with problems of resource deficiency, problems due to self or other speakers, and time pressure. Dörnyei and Scott (1997, p. 197), in their review of previous research on communication strategy, define strategy as "the implementation of a set of procedures for accomplishing something." In this sense, three key terms concerning strategy emerge in the realm of second language acquisition: problem, plan, and goal.

Strategy is also a frequently mentioned term in argumentation studies. Ziegelmueller and Kay (1997) define strategy in the context of argumentation and advocacy as:

Broad plans that determine how the presentation of argumentative analysis can be adapted to the constraints and opportunities of a particular communication situation. Strategies are designed to make the analysis more acceptable by altering perceptions, emphases, or both...to increase the chances of achieving the goal in that particular situation. (p. 309)

Again, the three key elements identified earlier appear in rhetorical studies, which indicates that both fields seem to view strategy as plans aiming to solve problems or constraints. It is also necessary to point out that strategies in debate refers to not only language-related strategies as its counterpart in SLA studies, but also strategies that are concerned with proposition analysis, case construction, and proposing counterplan, etc. To ensure that both frameworks are at a comparable level, strategy in this research will only focus on language-related strategies; therefore, strategy in debate that is concerned with the logical level will not be included.

Given that participants in this study are English learners and debaters, they may encounter communication problems not only in terms of making themselves understood but also for persuading judges and audience. Therefore, I call these strategies as language strategies and define them as potentially conscious plans used to make debaters understood by others and persuade others when encountering communication problems and constraints in academic debate.

1.1.2. Rhetorical situation

In situations such as academic debate, a speaker's aim is no longer limited to conveying information. Rather, one needs to convince his or her interlocutors. Due to this significant characteristic, appropriate responses in discourse are thus required (Bitzer, 1968). The situation in which the responses are made is called a rhetorical situation. In such a situation, several factors impose constraints on the strategic discursive choices rhetors (speakers) make.

According to Bitzer (1968), before the creation and presentation of a rhetorical discourse, there are three constituents: exigence, audience, and constraints. Rhetors and his or her speech are considered "additional constituents," which only comes into existence after the rhetor "enters it (the rhetorical situation), and creates and presents discourse." Concerning this point, Grant-Davie (1997) argues that, like audience, rhetor should be included as a constituent before rhetorical discourse is produced. Integrating both Bitzer's and Grant-Davie's categorization of constituents, the factors that may influence a rhetorical situation are: exigence, rhetors, audience, and constraints.

Broadly speaking, exigence is a situation that demands action by people. According to Bitzer (1968, p. 6), exigence is an "imperfection marked by urgency", "a defect", "an obstacle", "something waiting to be done", and "a thing which is other than it should be."

Rhetors are viewed as an equally important part of the audience in a rhetorical situation, and play multiple roles simultaneously (e.g., persuading the audience, attacking the opposite team, and defending his or her standpoint, etc.).

Bitzer (1968) defines audience as actual people. In such a spoken rhetorical situation, the audience may include both judges and a regular audience. A series of strategy is expected to be utilized in debate since the judges are professional debaters as well. This suggests that either mere emotional appeal or plain content without linguistic "decoration" alone can hardly achieve an ideal effect.

Constraints encompass a broader scope of factor that influence the choice of strategy in debate. Grant-Davie (1997), based on Bitzer's theory, proposes the simultaneous existence of both positive and negative constraints. Grant-Davie (1997, p. 273) defines constraints as "all factors in the situation, aside from the rhetor and the audience, that may lead the audience to be rather more or less sympathetic to the discourse, and that may thus influence the rhetor's response to the situation." Grant-Davie specifies (1) text which emerges from discourse, (2) linguistic constraints (imposed by the genre of the text or the conventions of language use), and (3) geographical and historical background (e.g. recent event, other people, culture, religion, politics, moral values, economy, etc.) as plausible elements of constraints. In addition, Grant-Davie points out that not all of the constraints are relevant to the situation, and rhetor and audience are aware of the relevant ones.

2. Methodology

Data in the current study were collected from a rookie final round of parliamentary-style national debate tournament held in 2017. The debate topic was "The House believes that final decisions on environmental policies/agenda should be made purely by scientists." For further analysis, the one-hour long debate was audio-recorded and transcribed afterward. The analysis concentrated on language uses beyond the sentential level, and took into consideration nonlinguistic and nonspecific uses of language suggested by Jaworski and Coupland (1999). For the convenience of presentation, the identified strategies were coded and assigned respectively to strategies that are unique to debate and strategies that are as well commonly used in daily conversation in this article. To include as much detail as possible, fillers and mistakes made by the debaters were included. Additionally, given the study's exploratory nature and small sample size, this study does not seek generalization, and the findings are limited to this study.

2.1.Participants

There were in total six rookie debaters (three female debaters and three male debaters) in this study. The six debaters were all undergraduate students (freshmen and sophomore) and native speakers of Japanese. A rookie debater is defined as one who has the experience of debating less than two years (inexperienced debaters). At the time when the data were collected, the participants' debate experience was around one year after entering university. Rookie debaters were chosen for this study because most of them were intermediate English learners and not sufficiently experienced in academic debate. This criterion will ensure that their uses of strategy are relatively more representative than their advanced and beginner counterparts. All six participants met the requirement of a non-native speaker of English with an intermediate level of language proficiency. Permission was obtained from all six debaters before recording the debate. In addition to the six debaters, there were three judges (one chairperson and two panelists), and four audiences (including the researcher).

2.2. Rules for the debate

The tournament adopted the Asian parliamentary format. Each round of debate involves two three-person teams, and the preparation time in total is 30 minutes. The three debaters of the Government team are respectively called *Prime Minister*, *Deputy Prime Minister*, and *Government Whip*, and the three debaters from the Opposition team are named *Leader of Opposition*, *Deputy Leader of Opposition*, and *Opposition Whip*. The debate topic will be decided within the first five minutes from three candidate topics. After the topic has been decided, each team needs to prepare their cases using the remaining 25 minutes. After the 30-

minute preparation time, debaters will be asked to present their arguments in the following order:

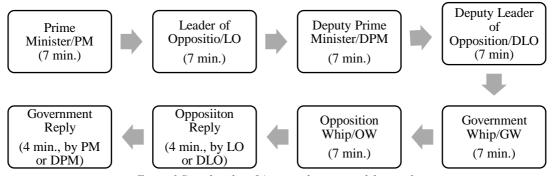


Figure 1 Speech order of Asian parliamentary debate style

In addition, debaters from the opposite side can ask questions or offer statements within 15 seconds to the current speaker in the first six speeches, called point of information (POI). However, POI is only allowed from the second minute to the sixth minute. The current speaker has the right to accept or refuse the POI but is encouraged to accept at least one. This session may allow the debaters to exhibit more varied uses of strategies since it involves conversation instead of monologues.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. Strategies unique to debate

Two types of strategies were found frequently used in rhetorical situations such as academic debate: audience-oriented strategies and speech-structuring strategies. The use of audience-oriented strategies indicates the debaters' awareness of the audience as a major factor in rhetorical situations. Also, since debate speeches are informative and rich in detail due to the textual and linguistic constraints, the debaters adopted speech-structuring strategies to convey information better. Further, paying tributes to the audience appears to be formulaic and functions as a speech-structuring strategy as well.

3.1.1. Audience-oriented strategies

As an essential factor in a rhetorical situation, judges and audiences greatly influence debaters' choice of strategy because judges are the decision-maker on the winner of each round of debate. Across all eight speeches, the debaters adopted similar patterns to greet judges and audiences at the beginning. Some examples from the transcript are listed as follows:

(Prime Minister) Honorable judges and audiences.

(Leader of Opposition) Thank you everyone.

(Opposition Whip) Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

Some debaters referred to the judges and audiences as "everyone," whereas some only paid tribute to Speaker. Similar patterns were found used repeatedly by other debaters.

Although judges and audiences were "greeted" by the debaters, such highly formulaic expressions at the beginning of each speech may have lost its original function and become a marker of the start of a speech. Thus, the fixed expressions can also be viewed as a signposting strategy as a result of training and practice.

In addition to directly paying tributes to judges and audiences at the beginning of each speech, "you" was identified as another frequently observed device to indicate the audience-orientation. In the following extracts, the second personal pronoun "you" was formulaically used to refer to a previous argument coming from either the debater's team or the opposite team.

(Deputy Prime Minister)

However this is not true because as my partner clearly told you, citizens are lacking their, uh, sci-, scientific ability and scientific knowledge.

(Government Whip)

Like even in the case of cars what they told you like...

(Opposition Reply)

What we have to what we told you is that...

3.1.2. Speech-structuring strategies

Following Wood and Goodnight's categorization (2006), there are four types of speech-structuring strategies identified: highlighting, forecasting, signposting, and summarizing. Highlighting in debate is an approach that emphasizes the "well-written statements of their major issues so that the issues will be easy to remember" (p. 358). Secondly, forecasting, as indicated by the name, tells the audience what a speaker will talk about in his or her speech. It usually occurs at the beginning of a speech. Thirdly, signposting originally refers to signs that give information on direction and distance. In public speaking and debate, signposting languages "tell the judge where the debater is at a particular time" (Wood & Goodnight, 2006, p. 359). In all eight speeches, these strategies occurred at different parts, and sometimes served functions more than signposting. Fourthly, summarizing helps solidify one's primary point in the judges' mind and usually occurred at the end of a speech.

Except for the Opposition Whip speech, highlighting was found in all the other seven speeches. Highlighting seems to have relatively fixed location in a speech. In the seven speeches, the highlighting strategy was found at the beginning before forecast. In addition, except for the Deputy Leader of Opposition, other give debaters used "we" for self-reference when highlighting their basic stance.

(Prime Minister)

Honorable judges and audiences, we believe that the burden of proof coming the, uh, coming from our side is that which actor is better, politician or scientist, to make decision. It is just like about which actor is better.

(Leader of Opposition)

We say that as a democratic country, as long as citizens get a hand of this policy, citizen have the right to make a value judgement. What they try to do is only the, only the (scientist) make a value judgement by neglecting citizens' vote. This is creating harm. This is our stance from opposition side.

(Deputy Leader of Opposition)

So firstly I want to point out the huge failure coming from their side of the house. So, let me first, uh, ((laugh)) point out their failure. So they have never explained why they can sacrifice the people who are certainly going to suffer in the status quo by taking their motion.

Forecastings were identified in all eight debate speeches, which served the function of presenting a blueprint of the speech and helping judges understand their stances. Consider the following extracts:

(Prime Minister)

In my speech, I will mainly talk about how under the status quo the pollution is continuing that is very harmful to the environment and citizens especially to the citizens', uh, citizens' health due to the collusion of government and, uh, major, uh, and major polluters, and after I'll talk about how after taking this proposal better environmental policies can be adopted and implemented, uh, that are more, uh, beneficial to the environment and the citizen, citizens. But before that, let me quickly set up this, uh, debate.

As discussed in the earlier session, the formulaic expressions of paying tribute to judges and audiences may be seen as a marker of the speech. In this sense, paying tribute can be categorized as a device of signposting. In addition, numeric signposts were also found in the speeches. Numeric signposts were also found frequently used along with forecasting.

(Government Whip)

Two things would be simply talked about in my speech. Firstly about how their alternatives like referendums (?) understandable information or so forth work in a bad way even if it's even if it be workable in their side of the house. But secondly about, considering about the incentive of scientist have, which is still a better action, to decide such kind of political decision whether- whether such kind of politician or such kind of scientist are simple comparison for those kind of situation.

(Opposition Whip)

Before that I have one independent rebuttal. Uh, first of all, uh uh uh, sorry, uh, they said that, uh, company have much incentive to give, uh, fake information (?) and so on, but first of all such kind of uh fake information is uh already banned, uh, under the status quo.

Summarizing is similar to highlighting that both are relatively small groups of sentences that help important points stand out from other less important ones. In this debate, summarizing occurred in all eight speeches at the end of each speech. There seems to be a common pattern in terms of ending speech. All eight speakers chose to end their speeches by asserting that they, as a team, are proud to either propose or oppose the proposition. Like highlighting, most speakers chose to address self in the plural form to enhance the rhetorical effect and solidarity among the team members. Furthermore, the language in summarizing sections tend to be relatively disjointed compared with its counterpart in highlighting sections. In summarizing sections, fillers are frequently used, which may be caused by the shortage of time and inadequate preparation.

(Prime Minister)

And we believe that like, uh, we believe if we do this, uh, like, at least pollution that were caused by, uh, uh, the collusion of, uh, the collusion and ch-, uh, collusion of, uh, governments and oil companies will, uh, will not likely to, uh, happen to (degree) that, uh, will not, uh, those kin- kinds of harms will be like reduce, and it will uh, it will, harm less the citizens', uh, health, and, uh, we believe that like, uh, in terms of the actors who are going to make the decisions and heavily related to environment we-, uh, environmental policies we believe these are the appro-, uh, these are the better actors than politicians. Therefore we are very happy to propose.

3.2. Other language strategies identified

In addition to the strategies reported above, language strategies that were identified among English as a foreign language (EFL) learners were also found in the debate speeches. These strategies are: fillers, code-switching to L1, similar-sounding words, Japanese-made English, and paraphrase.

3.2.1. Fillers

Filler words "uh", "so", and "like" were found in the speeches. Possible causes for the frequent use of filler words may be time limitation due to the nature of debate and resource deficiency (Dörnyei & Scott, 1995). The fillers respectively functioned as time-buying devices for organizing speech, self-correction, topic beginning, reference making, exemplification, etc.

The filler "uh" mainly functioned as a time-buying device and self-correction device in the data. Such usage can be found in the following extracts:

(Prime Minister)

But before that, let me quickly set up this, uh, debate. Sir, uh, as a model we believe that, uh, we are going to, uh, hire or we are going to have professional scientists that are specialized in a particular, uh, field depending on which policy or issue is, uh, being discussed.

(Deputy Leader of Opposition)

So in the status quo, there are, uh, people who suffer by environmental problem but after taking their plan, also there are certain number of people who are going to suffer by taking their plan.

Unlike the inferential and sequential functions of the filler "so" used by native speakers of English (Bolden, 2009), House (2013) argues that the fundamental reason for non-native speakers of English using this filler is "self-attentiveness" and for the purposes of text-structuring, self-supporting, and gap-filing. However, Bolden's and House's findings are based on daily conversations which may not apply to the current study. The data suggest that "so" in the speeches functioned as a gap filler, topic beginner, and inference maker.

As a gap filler to increase time for thinking and organizing speech, "so" was frequently used along with "uh" for the same purpose as an alternative option. An example is from Prime Minister's speech:

(Prime Minister)

We believe, we are just saying that in order to implement those kind of environmental policies that are appropriate to what's happening in the status quo, scientist are the better actors than politicians, right? So, uh, this, uh, so moving back to my speech. So, uh, we, believe, that like when politicians and, uh, and big companies make these kind of

agreements, this amendment or like change, uh, or like, uh, change to law can be done in subtle ways that citizens don't necessarily realize.

As a topic beginner, "so" was found used when the speaker moved on to the next point of argumentation.

(Prime Minister)

Also, we believe that, uh, the goal of this debate is to adopt policies, uh, that are better for the environment and citizens, and, uh, we believe our side is much better, therefore, uh, we are very happy to, uh, propose. So now let me move on to my speech, how under status quo, uh, pollution is continuing because of, uh, the collusion of government and major polluters.

(Deputy Prime Minister, POI)

So under your model, polician can arbitrary and disproportionately support scientist who support their policy. How can you say, ah, it is equal, and, uh, fair.

Although rarely occurred, "so" also functioned as an inference maker in Leader of Opposition's speech.

(Leader of Opposition)

On the occasion, as long as citizen have the right, have the, as long as citizen have the right to live freely, right to live so, as long as, right to seek the happiness, as long as possible, on the talking, there are not any justification, just (?) a bia, it is so important we we can justify sacrifice. Such kind of argument does not stand as long as citizen get harm. So, we say if there no right to, so what is the justifiable thing is that right to vote.

In addition to "uh" and "so", "like" was another filler frequently made use of by the debaters. "Like" was used to serve as a filler for increasing time for organizing the following utterance. Further, since "like" has semantic meaning as a verb, a preposition, a conjunction, a noun, and an adverb, it served multiple functions in the debate as a tool for increasing time, exemplification, and approximation.

In some speeches, "like" was found used with the filler "uh" to increase time for thinking and organizing. Despite its time increasing function, overly frequent use of fillers seems to decrease the speaker's credibility, as has been suggested by Conrad et al. (2013). Andersen and Fretheim (2000) argue that "like" represents the non-equivalence between thought and utterance, and is used in loose talk to express the non-identical resemblance, indicating a "less-then-literal" nuance. The debaters may unconsciously do so due to the imbalanced focus on speech content, time limitation, and resource deficiency.

(Prime Minister)

And we believe that like the cause of this kind of collusion, uh, collusion is continuing very subtly, and that like, uh, of course, environment like like ocean or air like they being polluted, but this kind of like harm trickles down to citizens who get like, uh, uh, health diseases like, uh, many.

"Like" can also function as an exemplification device, which is called "focus 'like" by Underhill (1988). A focus "like" adds "new concept or identities" to a discourse, or highlight some critical information. Such functions can be realized through approximation and hedging

as well (Fuller, 2003). Here are two examples of exemplification "like" occurred after the phrase "for example":

(Deputy Prime Minister)

However such kind of decision and influence on politics are not so absolute. For example, like citizen are choosing a bureaucrat even though they, uh, choose a politician, because they can, uh, because bureaucrats are ch- make the, uh, uh, specific policy itself, and so also in the situation citizen cannot know, uh, s- specific policy and s-, uh, the co- very complicated and uh politics.

(Leader of Opposition)

And of course some people have the other value, like they prioritize future value, like they think utilitarian (?), they support utili- utilitarian (?).

Approximation "like" was also found in the speeches:

(Leader of Opposition)

Or other example is that in the, in this, gradually, in the five, within five years, there are some po-, the possibility of you get a disease will increase *like* twenty present et cetera.

3.2.2. Code-switching

There are two types of code-switching found in the debate: code-switching of fillers and code-switching of content words. For filler code-switching, "ando" was found in Opposition Whip's speech and may be considered an English filler with a Japanese vowel added at the end. In addition, Japanese fillers "etto $(\grave{\mathcal{Z}} \supset \mathord{\mathcal{L}})$ " and "nanka $(\mathord{\mathcal{L}} \bowtie \mathord{\mathcal{L}})$ " were also used by the debaters. For code-switching of content words, the debaters often switched to Japanese when encountering resource deficiency in the target language.

The phenomenon of adding vowels to an English word has also been reported by Yokomori et al. (2012). According to Yokomori et al., Japanese English as a Second Language (ESL) learners tend to lengthen or add vowels to the end of English words which mostly are subjects, transitive verbs, be-verbs, auxiliary verbs, and conjunctions. Such a phenomenon is called Phrase-final Vowel Lengthening (PfVL), and the use of "ando" is among one of their findings. In Opposition Whip's speech, "ando" occurred with Japanese fillers, followed by code-switching of a content word.

(Opposition Whip)

citizen don't have information or citizen have no uh capacity ca- caliculation or so on but first of all, uh, such kind of things i-, uh, is not true just- because actually under the status quo uh many of uh ere- an- many of uh city many of, uh uh, the re-, uh uh, many of region, uh, have the system of, uh ando- ando- ((mixed pronunciation of English "and" and Japanese "etto")) etto ((えっと)), yu- yuuryou ((有料, for a charge)) yu- uh yu- ando ((laugh)) ando-, uh, (?) system with money, ((laugh)) or and so on so citizen can have already know this the capacity of the environment or and so on.

style on one hand, and a device to liven up the serious atmosphere in debate and identify with the Japanese judges and audiences.

(Opposition Whip)

And one scientist are (?) then when (.), on the occasion second point, if uh one, uh etto $((\lambda \supset \xi))$ one higher status scientist say, uh uh, I o- I oppose this argument.

(Deputy Leader of Opposition)

And secondly, they said that this is unfair burden but this is not true because they said the whi- why this is unfair burden is because the it's just too complicated issue for citizen, but ok the problem itself why CO2 eh uh, nanka $((\ndelta \wedge \ndelta \wedge))$ existing occurring is complicated, but what people have to do after policy is so simple, maybe they have to stop the driving car or those things right?

In addition to switching filler words to Japanese, code-switching of content words was also found in the debate. Debaters from the two teams switched to Japanese in their speeches, and both types of code-switching occurred in the latter half of the debate as the scope of argumentation expanded. In the process of adding new information to the discussion, one may inevitably use terminologies that are not immediately available, and switch to Japanese to express the intended idea.

(Government Whip)

...actually we say the citizen's choices is already limited even the voting right is uh existed, what does it mean by like even in our (?) environmental policy, like the kankyodaijin ((環境大臣, Minister of the Environment)) or-the- kankyodaijin ((環境大臣, Minister of the Environment)) which is the most influential actor to decide such kind of environmental policy is actually decided by the state, not by the citizen. In this occasion, even though if they say like citizen voice should be reflected to directly in the fir- in the first priority, in this occasion there is no legitimacy for the state to co-existency co-existence in such such kind kankyodaijin ((環境大臣, Minister of the Environment)) decided by the Prime Minister.

(Opposition Whip)

We are happy to take the legistration uh (?) legistanto legistration system that mean-like jyuumintouhyou ((住民投票, referendum)) or and so on.

3.2.3. Similar-sounding word

A possible reason for the use of the similar-sounding word may be because Japanese has a large amount of borrowed words from English. Due to the similarity of pronunciation and shortage of time, the debaters may be confused and use similar-sounding words to express their ideas instead. However, whether the use of similar-sounding words is conscious or not is unknown in this study since no retrospective interview was conducted.

The following is an example from a POI session on politician's role in making environment-related policies. Both speakers' speeches involved the word "politician", and both pronounced "politician" as "polician". A possible reason is the similar pronunciation between "pollution" and "politician", which were related to the debate topic. Under high pressure in debate and relatively high speed of speaking, the speakers confused the two words and created "polician" as a substitution which is easier to pronounce for native Japanese speakers.

(Deputy Prime Minister)

So under your model, polician ((politician)) can arbitrary and disproportionately support scientist who support their policy. How can you say, ah, it is equal, and, uh, fair.

(Leader of Opposition)

Sorry I can't catch you detail. It-. It-. Simply because in my, in our model all the people have the right to vote not polician ((politician)) is so irrelevant, that is a referendum we talk about.

Resource deficiency may be another reason for using similar-sounding words. In the following example, Opposition Whip made multiple attempts to pronounce "legislation" and ended up using "legislation". Additionally, the similar pronunciation between "legislation" and "registration" may be another reason for the misuse.

(Opposition Whip)

First of all as my partner as my part-, uh, first partner ((laugh)) -ready told you in model, uh uh, th- we uh happy to take the legistration uh (?) legistanto legistration system that mean- like jyuumintouhyou ((住民投票, referendum)) or and so on.

3.2.4. Japanese-made English

Japanese-made English is also referred to as Wasei-eigo. Japanese-made English is often a word or phrase that uses English words or morphemes (or even smaller parts) but does not exist or mean the same idea in British or American English varieties. Tobacco refers to the dried brown leaves that are smoked in cigarettes and pipes instead of the cigarette itself, whereas "tobacco (夕パコ/tabako)" refers to cigarettes in Japanese. Therefore, speakers may confuse the two words, and use tobacco in English speech to refer to cigarettes. In the example below, "tobacco" was used to refer to "cigarette".

(Leader of Opposition)

Ok, you use you used example of the alcohol and tobacco.

3.2.5. Paraphrase

Another way of coping with uncertainty with English expressions is paraphrasing. When encountering difficulties, the debaters seemed to resort to similar expressions that are also understandable to convey their ideas.

(Deputy Prime Minister)

For example, like, uh, uh, for example, like, uh, arbitrary, they, uh, uh, uh, like to buy the, using the media, uh, they say, uh, like using like for-like uh face ((social influence)) face ((social influence)), uh, face ((social influence)) scientist, uh, who say like, uh, this policy is really good, or something like that.

(Opposition Whip)

then, uh, an- even if, uh uh, an- on that occasion, uh, they say that uh, and the- they uh, and, uh, but, uh, even in our model their rebuttal to about citizen, uh, exist that's why I want to kick out ((attack)) their, uh, analysis of citizen uh citizen character.

Paraphrasing may also serve as a buffer strategy followed by self-correction. In this sense, paraphrasing strategies help increase time for organizing the speech and choosing appropriate expression.

(Leader of Opposition)

For example, in the future like the within twenty years, five percent there are (?) possibility to (?) increase the temperature, two point, two degree.

Conclusion

Combining theories and findings in argumentation studies, this research attempted to explore language-related strategies that are frequently used by rookie debaters who are also learners of English. Through the analysis above, the data indicate that the debaters in this study paid attention to the audience as an important factor in such a rhetorical situation and adopted strategies accordingly for the better conveyance of arguments. The similarity in terms of greeting the judges indicates that it may be a result of training which serves the function of structuring speeches as well. Also, besides identifying resource deficiency as a major motivation for the debaters' choices of strategy, shortage of time as another constraint in the rhetorical situation has been identified. To balance argument and language, the debaters in this study resorted to easily accessible language and adopted strategies including code-switching, similar-sounding words, Japanese-made English, and paraphrase. To cope with time imitation and nervousness, the debaters also frequently used filler words "uh", "so" and "like" as time-buying devices despite the possibility of decreasing credibility as a debater.

As an exploratory study on learner's language strategies using rhetorical theories, this study also has a few limitations. A major drawback of this approach is the potential bias caused by the researcher's subjectivity. The participants may offer new insights regarding their choices of strategy via questionnaire study or retrospective interview. In addition, the non-probability sampling approach makes the findings ungeneralizable and it is uncertain whether the findings apply to a larger group. Furthermore, due to the small sample size and debate topic, some strategies may have not been identified. A larger sample and a mixed approach using both qualitative and quantitative methods may prove fruitful in the future.

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Appendix

Transcription conventions of the debate speech1

Cut-off, unfinished word, false start, lengthened pronunciation
 () Transcription doubt, mistakes made by speakers
 (()) Analysist's note, e.g., ((laugh))
 (.) Brief pause
 (?) Incomprehensible word or phrase
 ... Longer pause
 [] Overlapping talk
 = Connected talk

¹ These transcript conventions are based on Jeffersonian Transcription Notation as described in *Structures of Social Interaction* (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984) and Gass and Houck's transcription conventions in *Interlanguage Refusals* (1999, p. 209).