

# Complexity and Sequencing of Argumentation in Japanese and English Editorials\*

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## 1. Introduction

This paper investigates and contrasts the sequencing of arguments and their internal complexity in Japanese and English online editorials. The sequencing of arguments is considered in terms of the order of claims and the grounds for those claims, and complexity is considered in terms of the number of elements contributing to an argument under the Toulmin model of argumentation. It will be shown that the Japanese editorials have a clear preference for the ‘Grounds-to-Claim’ order while the English editorials have the opposite tendency. Regarding complexity of argumentation, results will be presented showing no significant difference between the Japanese and English groups, and a discussion of the possible inadequacy of the Toulmin model in this investigation will follow. Additionally, results will be presented showing that the English editorials used significantly more markers of rhetorical function to signpost arguments to the reader.

This research is situated within the tradition of contrastive rhetoric. While research in this area is often focused on the second-language writing of students (e.g. Mok 1993, Matsuda 1997, Wikborg 2000, Nishi 2006), genre-specific studies in particular have applications in translation and foreign language literacy. In translation, Hasegawa (2012) discusses the necessity for translators to adjust sequencing of information and paragraphs to match the rhetorical style of the target language. Similarly, despite having limitations<sup>1</sup> as an empirical study, Yutani (1977) presents a clear look at some of the considerations of translators in this area. In foreign language

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<sup>1</sup> To begin with, there is a complete lack of information about the samples used. See Donahue (1998: 245) for more detailed criticism.

literacy, Hasegawa and Kambara (2008) discuss how students of Japanese could read but not grasp the main point of a passage which followed a rather different rhetorical structure than would be expected in inner-circle English-speaking countries. We can see that translators and language students alike would benefit from genre-specific empirical studies showing rhetorical trends.

Contrastive rhetoric has faced difficulties in explaining the source of observed differences in rhetoric between languages. Overly language-centric or cultural explanations run the risk of “colonialism” (Kubota and Lehner 2004: 18), taking away “agency” (Matsuda 1997: 49), and violating “the [ESL] writer’s personal identity” (Matsuda 1997: 51) when applied to language education. Additionally, it is clear that these language-wide factors cannot account for all rhetorical decisions made by an individual. In this respect, this study is informed by Matsuda’s (1997) “dynamic model.” While not outright dismissing the existence of “static model” factors (linguistic explanations, cultural explanations, and educational explanations), Matsuda (1997: 53) presents a series of more local factors which are seen as more decisive: the writer’s knowledge of the subject matter, for example, or her past experiences or membership of various discourse communities. Matsuda (1997: 53) brings up the convincing example of a Japanese student writing a letter to the editor of a university newspaper in America: In addition to and above the static factors such as her first language, her cultural upbringing, and her education in Japan, dynamic factors such as her experience of having edited a school newspaper in Japan, or her living in the same residence as the editor will have an effect on the rhetoric she employs in her letter.

This paper deals with newspaper editorials which represent the view of an organization and are not written by a knowable single individual. Still, this paper looks to get close to the level of the writer by considering typical training, career paths, and company practices and cultures. In considering the source of the inter-language differences found, this paper considers both static model factors (language-wide tendencies and cultural aspects) and dynamic model factors such as those noted above.

## 2. The Toulmin Model

In investigating argumentation in the editorials, this paper employs Toulmin’s model of argumentation. This popular model looks at the field-invariant structure of micro-arguments which reflects our methods of making and assessing arguments in everyday life (Hitchcock and Verheij 2006: 1). In other words, the model looks at the same basic structure of argumentation which can be found from the courtroom to the mathematical proof. The elements employed in this model are shown in the table below.

Element	Brief overview
Claim	The claim being made.
Grounds	Your reasons. Your response to, ‘What have you got to go on?’
Warrant	The link from your Grounds to your Claim. Why are Grounds suitable evidence? In other words, your response to ‘How do you get there?’
Backing	Evidence to back up your Warrant.
Qualifier	How far can we trust the claim? <i>Presumably, probably, definitely...</i>
Rebuttal	In what cases is the claim invalid? <i>Unless...</i>

Table 1: Overview of the Toulmin elements based on Toulmin (2003)

Besides its offering an array of elements which allow us to capture the structure of everyday reasoning, another advantage of this model is its sequence-independence. Any argument, be it of the form *Grounds, therefore Claim* or *Claim because Grounds* can be broken into its component elements and put into or thought of in terms of a diagram such as that in Figure 1.

Figure 1 below is an example of this model in action. Here we can see a Claim of unfair treatment and the Grounds for that Claim. The Warrant connects them (shows the admissibility of the Grounds for that Claim) and its Backing appeals to our present-day principles regarding a husband-and-wife relationship. ‘Considering these principles,’ the arguer is thought to be saying, ‘these Grounds support my Claim of unfair treatment.’ Of course, we cannot be 100% assured of this Claim, and so it is qualified with ‘on the face of it’ and a Rebuttal (a case invalidating the claim) is given.

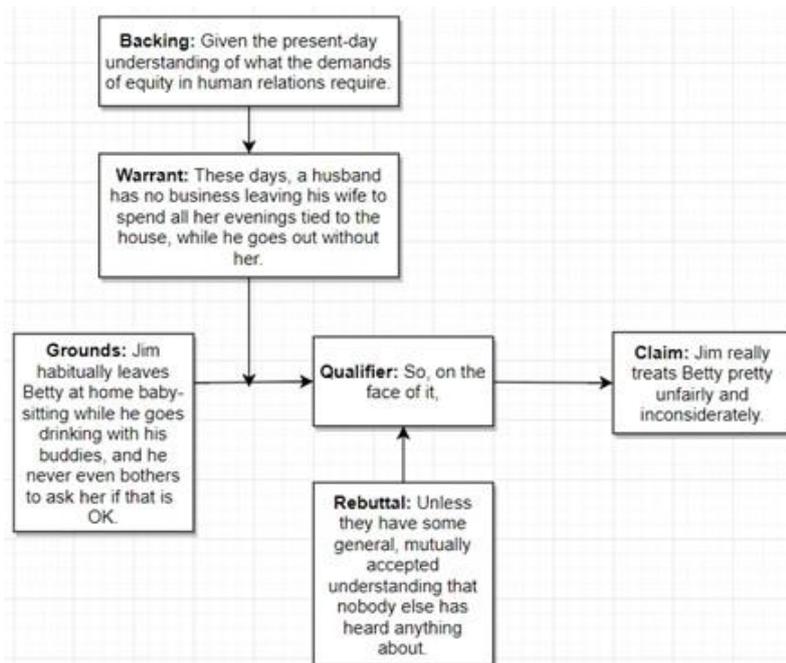


Figure 1: Use of the Toulmin model in ethical argumentation (example from and figure recreated based on Toulmin et al. (1984: 125))

The Warrant is perhaps the most controversial element of the model, its nature being a frequent subject of discussion (e.g. Hitchcock and Verheij 2006, Kock 2006, Klumpp 2006). My analysis in this paper is informed by Klumpp’s (2006) paper which focuses on the dynamic nature of Toulmin’s original conception. Toulmin (2003) defined his elements as if one were in the middle of an argument, and the function of the Warrant was, after giving one’s Claim and its Grounds, to respond to the question, ‘And how do you get there?’ questioning the link between the Grounds and the Claim. This paper therefore defines a Warrant not by its nature (e.g. being a general principle) but rather by its argumentative function as defined above.

### 3. Method

This study uses the same data set as my previous study (Spreadbury 2017), namely a total of 42 editorials collected from a total of 6 major news organizations, 3 British and 3 Japanese. The news organizations were chosen for their reputations as major organizations, their ease-of-access, and for some balance over the political spectrum in each language group. The data were collected indiscriminately (i.e. without preference for a particular topic or length) from the news organizations’ respective websites over the period May 2017 to early June 2017.

Japanese Editorials	21	British Editorials	21
Asahi	7	Guardian	7
Yomiuri	7	Telegraph	7
Sankei	7	Observer	7

Table 2: Breakdown of data set (n=42)

The tagging process consisted of identifying argumentative sentences (evaluation, prediction, etc. (cf. Reynolds 2000)) and seeing how they fit with surrounding sentences in building an argument. It is worth noting that an argumentative sentence in context is not necessarily a Claim in the Toulmin model. For example, ‘Broccoli is the best food’ would be an evaluative Claim by itself, but would instead be Grounds in a larger argument if the next sentence were to be ‘Therefore, we should eat broccoli tonight’.

Difficulties were initially encountered in identifying the relationship between sentences and assigning them different Toulmin elements. While explicit markers of Grounds (*because, therefore, dakara* ‘so’, *node* ‘so’, etc.) were helpful when present, it was often the case that Grounds and Claims were simply put side-by-side without such markers; the reader was to infer that relationship between the sentences. While a natural way of writing and a reasonable expectation of the reader<sup>2</sup>, this presents problems for the researcher who must make consistent, repeatable judgments on the nature of the relationship between sentences. To this end, I employed a number of tests which used known patterns for giving Grounds for a Claim, and for giving Grounds for a Claim along with a Warrant.

Presented with two sentences with no explicit connection, we can imagine inserting *because* or *therefore* between them and assess the naturalness of the result to identify the Grounds and Claim (if that is indeed the relation). Example (1) has no conjunction between the sentences, but the insertion of *therefore* or *dakara* ‘so’ between the sentences proves natural

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<sup>2</sup> “The moment you put together any two sentences for a purpose, your listener or reader looks for a sensible relation between their topics ...” (Winter 1994: 49).

(and *because* produces nonsense). The writer's argument that it is BECAUSE they go against UN resolutions and can potentially harm civilians that such provocations cannot be allowed.

(1) 国連安全保障理事会の決議に違反するだけでなく、漁船や民間航空機に被害が及びかねなかった。北朝鮮が危険な挑発を繰り返すことは、決して容認できない。

[Not only does it go against the United Nations Security Council resolution, there was also the possibility of damage to fishing vessels or civilian aircraft.]<sub>grounds</sub> [We certainly cannot allow North Korea to repeat its dangerous provocations.]<sub>claim</sub> (Y3)<sup>3</sup>

Similarly a test which could identify the Warrant was '*Since* grounds, *and* warrant, claim' (to use Toulmin's (2003) famous example: *Since* Harry was born in Bermuda, *and* people born in Bermuda are British citizens, Harry is presumably a British citizen). This test allows us to distinguish the Warrant (which shows how we get from the Grounds to the Claim) from multiple different Grounds for the same Claim. In the first case, the *and*-clause is spoken almost as an aside; in the case of multiple different Grounds, the sentences either sound unnatural when inserted into the test pattern, or *and* has to be prosodically emphasized (*Since* broccoli tastes great, *and* it is very healthy, we should eat broccoli tonight). Another more discriminative test for Warrants was '*Because* grounds, *and since* warrant, claim' (*Because* Harry was born in Bermuda, *and since* people born in Bermuda are British citizens, Harry is presumably a British citizen). This somewhat wordier test has the advantage of making it much less natural to swap around the position of the Grounds and Warrant and was employed when there was confusion as to which was which in a given argument.

In the example below, a Claim is made in the first sentence in support of recent security legislation. The role of the next two elements is made clear through the use of the test described above. '*Because* the JGSDF can now fulfill the minimum requirements, *and since* this must have promoted trust, the legislation is meaningful.' This makes clear the role of the Warrant

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<sup>3</sup> All translations under the Japanese examples are my own translations. The letter and number in parentheses following an example shows the source: see Appendix 1.

showing the relevance of the Grounds to the Claim, and swapping the two would make for a nonsense argument.<sup>4</sup>

(2) 安全保障関連法に基づき、昨年11月、駆けつけ警護、宿営地の共同防護という新任務が陸自部隊に付与されたのも意義深い。／近くの民間人に助けを求められても、断るしかない。そんな法的不備を解消し、国際平和協力活動の参加部隊として最低限の責務を担えるようになった。実際に任務を行う機会はなくても、他国軍との信頼醸成に寄与したはずだ。

[It is meaningful that the JGSDF were given new missions of rushing to provide security (kaketsuke-keigo) and the joint defense of encampments last November under national security legislation.]<sub>claim</sub> / [Having to refuse when asked for aid by nearby civilians. Such legal limitations have been resolved and the JGSDF can now fulfill the minimum responsibilities of a participating force in international peacekeeping operations.]<sub>grounds</sub> [Even if there is no actual opportunity to carry out such missions, this must have contributed to promoting trust with the forces of other nations.]<sub>warrant</sub> (Y7)

Arguments can also form a chain where the Grounds is treated as a Claim which needs its own Grounds. This relation between 3 sentences can be identified by observing that they do not fit naturally into the patterns for identifying a Warrant given above, but do work logically with *because/therefore* (our original test for Grounds) inserted twice. A constructed example could be ‘Broccoli is a good source of vitamin C. *Therefore* it is very healthy. *Therefore* we should eat it tonight’ where writer argues that because broccoli is healthy they want to eat it, but treats the statement that broccoli is healthy as a Claim that itself needs Grounds to establish its veracity. Such cases were treated as two separate argument (pairs of Grounds and Claim) for the purposes of this study.

In the example below, the description of Macron in the first sentence is used as Grounds for the Claim that he is more of a Tony Blair than a Theresa May. This conception of Macron

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<sup>4</sup> A linguistic test could not be devised (by me at least) in Japanese which so clearly distinguishes a Warrant from a Claim. My analysis of example (2) shows that distilling the essence of the Japanese argument into English and inputting it into the English test described above was helpful.

that has been built up is then used as Grounds for the Claim in the final sentence regarding his probable approach to Brexit negotiations.

- (3) Macron is described as a centrist of the left, youthful, modernising, liberal on social issues, Anglophone, with a technocratic background. That makes him more of a Tony Blair than a Theresa May. He could be expected to take a rational, not overtly hostile approach to the Brexit negotiations. (G1)

Claims did not always take an easily identifiable form with markers such as *should*, *must*, *hazuda* ‘should be’, *ni tigainai* ‘must be’, *bekida* ‘should do’, etc. A frequent offender was arguments in the form of rhetorical questions, taking the form of a question but easily identifiable in context as a claim of the writer. Where present, the existence of Grounds give us confidence in identifying such sentences as Claims. This is the case in the example below, where the intended answer to the rhetorical question is clear from the context: no.

- (4) 森喜朗会長は、小池知事や日本オリンピック委員会を全面的に批判する著書を先月出版し、世間を驚かせた。今回の都の方針表明についても、「遅すぎる。500億円が空中で回っていたかのような」と述べた。一緒に準備を進めていこうという姿勢を、感じ取ることはいかない。／こんな様子で、組織委トップの任にたえられるのか。

[Yoshiro Mori, the head of the Committee, surprised the public by publishing a book last month which utterly criticized Governor Koike and the Japanese Olympic Committee. Regarding the recent announcement of Tokyo’s plans, too, he stated, ‘It’s too late. It’s as if 50,000,000,000 yen was spinning in the sky.’ We cannot sense a stance of being prepared to advance the preparations as a team.]<sub>grounds</sub> / [With such a display, is he really up to the task of leading the Organizing Committee?]<sub>claim</sub> (A7)

Grounds-less Claims made up a significant portion of the arguments made in both language groups, and another difficulty was where to draw the line. Should any sentence with any evaluative or subjective content mark be considered a Claim (when not another element of a larger argument)? This study drew the line at the overt main rhetorical function of the sentence.

We are interested in arguments PRESENTED as arguments (to be evaluated as such by the reader). In this sense, Claims in the form of rhetorical questions fit the bill: they are a conventional form of Claim making, able to be identified as such by the reader. What this line excludes is so called “hidden evaluation” (Hoey 2003: 28) in which evaluative content is included in a non-focus position in sentences which purport to have another function.

(5) below is an example of a sentence which was not counted as an argument for the purposes of this study. While the sentence certainly contains evaluative content (*finally, rightly*) it avoids making these the focus of the sentence, in context purporting instead to be a description of the news event and others’ reactions.

(5) The document it **finally** published last Friday was **rightly** condemned as utterly inadequate to the task, lacking any specific proposals for tax changes or a diesel scrappage scheme. (O4; my emphasis)

Finally, the whole argument (consisting of all sentences contributing to the argument as Toulmin elements) was given a single tag showing its constituent elements and their order. An example is given below:

(6) 勤務先の防止策が不十分でも、簡単に転職はできない。仕事の都合で喫煙可の飲食店に行かざるを得ない場合もある。患者の立場を考慮した政策論議が望まれる。

{ [Even if the preventative measures at the workplace are insufficient, they cannot easily change jobs. Some jobs may also require them to visit eateries which allow smoking.]<sub>grounds</sub> [A policy discussion which considers the position of [cancer] patients is desirable.]<sub>claim</sub> }<sub>grounds-claim</sub> (Y6)

In summary, arguments (defined as arguments which are clearly presented as such by the writer to the reader) were tagged for the order of the Toulmin elements which comprised them, these elements being identified through a number of linguistic and logical tests.

### 3.1. Limitations

This study applies Toulmin's model to editorials, an area to which it is not often applied. Further, the analysis was carried out alone without the opportunity to compare and discuss the analysis in any depth with others. I can take heart from the fact that when analyzing a Japanese editorial presented by Fukuzawa (2018: 210-212) as if for this investigation, my analysis of the micro-arguments in terms of the Toulmin model almost entirely matched his.<sup>5</sup> Still, it would have been desirable to make comparison and discussion with other researchers a part of a qualitative analysis such as this.

Another limitation of the present study is the limitations of the Toulmin model in capturing certain elements of the arguments being made. In particular an adversative conjunction relation (A *but* B) is not an element of this model (remember that Rebuttal represents an invalid case for the Claim, characterized not by *but* but by *unless*). In the tagging of the texts, it was often the case that two Claims had to be treated as separate arguments despite holding such an adversative conjunction relation. This limitation of the model will be discussed further in section 4.2.

## 4. Results

Results are presented in the following order: first, on the sequencing of arguments; second, on the complexity of arguments; and finally, on the use of markers of rhetorical function. An alpha level of 0.05 was used for all statistical tests.

### 4.1. Sequencing of Argumentation

Table 3 below shows the ratio of Grounds-less Claims, 'Grounds → Claim' sequences, and 'Claim → Grounds' sequences in the two language groups. Arguments which included both a Grounds and a Claim as elements were counted as either 'Grounds → Claim' or 'Claim →

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<sup>5</sup> What did not match was his analysis of macro-level arguments in terms of the Toulmin model which sometimes took the length of the editorial to come to fruition. Such arguments are ignored in my analysis: this paper is concerned with local level arguments made up of nearby sentences.

Grounds' depending of the ordering of those two elements, regardless of what other elements came before, after or between them.<sup>6</sup>

	<b>Sole-Claim</b>	<b>Grounds → Claim</b>	<b>Claim → Grounds</b>	<b>SUM</b>
<b>Japanese</b>	62 (35.43%)	87 (49.71%)	26 (14.86%)	175
<b>English</b>	78 (30.12%)	45 (17.37%)	136 (52.51%)	259

Table 3: Ordering of Claim and Grounds

We see large a difference in the sequencing of Grounds and Claim between the two language groups, the significance of which is confirmed when Fisher's exact test<sup>7</sup> is performed on the frequency data ( $p < 0.001$ , two-sided Fisher's exact test). An example from each language group using their typical sequencing follows:

(7) イスラム教徒が日中の飲食を断ち、信仰心を高めるラマダン（断食月）に合わせ、報復攻撃を激化させる恐れがある。昨年のラマダン期間中もテロが続発し、バングラデシュで邦人が殺害された。各国は警戒を強めねばならない。

[There is a fear that retaliatory attacks will escalate during Ramadan when Muslims fast during the day and boost their faith. Last year there were multiple attacks during Ramadan and a Japanese citizen was killed in Bangladesh.]<sub>grounds</sub> [Each country must increase its vigilance.]<sub>claim</sub> (Y5)

(8) [Many must have installed the defences,]<sub>claim</sub> [because four in five hospitals were unaffected,]<sub>grounds</sub> [though it is also possible they were running newer software systems.]<sub>rebuttal</sub> (T4)

<sup>6</sup> A small minority of arguments were excluded from these results where the Claim was both preceded and followed by Grounds, or where the Claim and Grounds were so intermingled as to make it impossible to choose a category.

<sup>7</sup> This test was implemented using the *fisher.test* function in R version 3.5.0. (R Core Team 2018).

These differing tendencies of the two languages has practical significance for the learner or translator mentioned in the introduction, as it is not only statistically significant but also recognizable in practice as a Japanese-like or English-like writing style. This is evidenced by my previous study (Spreadbury 2017: 58) using the same data set in which I mentioned, as an impression of having carefully read the texts, the difference in evidence-giving sequences which I demonstrated quantitatively in this section.

#### 4.2. Complexity of Argumentation

As mentioned in the introduction, this study is also interested in the complexity of argumentation, defined here simply as the number of different Toulmin elements which make up a given argument. Table 4 shows the average complexity of an argument in each language group, and Figure 2 gives a breakdown of frequency by complexity.

Language group	Average complexity of argumentation
Japanese	1.736
English	1.882

Table 4: Average number of different Toulmin elements in one argument

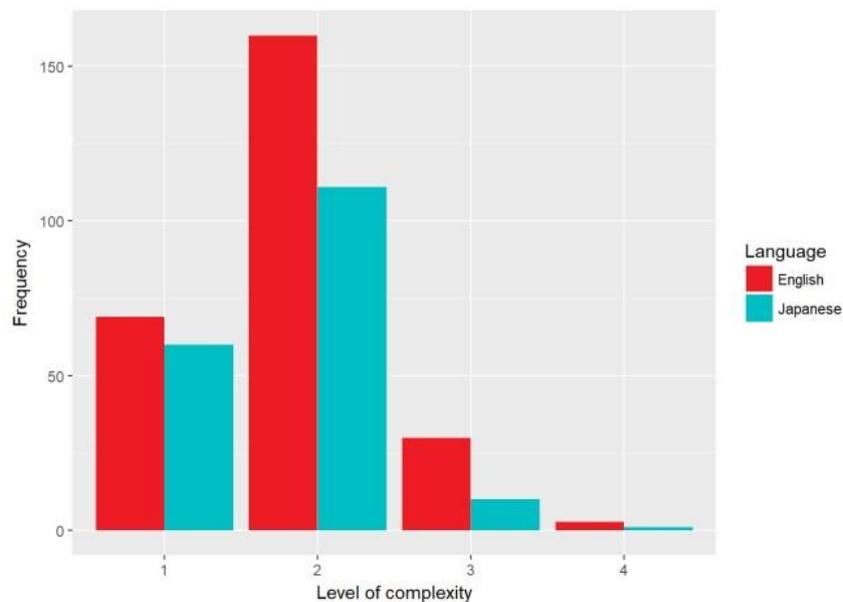


Figure 2: Bar plot of frequency of arguments of various complexity levels

We can see that while the English data featured slightly more complex argumentation (complexity being defined as above), the overwhelming pattern in both language groups was towards single Claims or Claims alongside a Grounds. While the data for complexity level 2 includes a few examples of Claim-and-Qualifier, in both language groups it is primarily made up of Claim-and-Grounds. Fisher's exact test performed on the frequency data in Figure 2 indicates the insignificance of any difference in complexity ( $p = 0.088$ , two-sided Fisher's exact test).

Here I would like to expand on the limitations of the Toulmin model as a framework for modeling complexity of argumentation which were discussed in section 3.1. These limitations were not perceived prior to the study but were picked up on during the tagging process. Mostly importantly, there is issue of the adversative conjunction relation which does not make up an element of the Toulmin model. Both sides of a 'Claim A *but* Claim B' structure generally had to be treated as two entirely separate arguments in this study. As seen in the examples below, such a structure can be used to bring up an opposing Claim before refuting it, or to express understanding or partial acceptance of an opposing Claim before asserting the dominance of your own. This relation is often interpersonal in nature (creating a dialogue with the other side, or with the reader who may hold the views of the other side) and is very noticeable in reading the texts. A language or news organization which employed such structures more than others would have a clearly different feel to its argumentation, but this could not be captured in this study.

(9) There is a line beyond which crime photographs turn into a kind of pornography of violence and increase the misery of grieving relatives and loved ones, **but** the pictures so far published do not approach that line. (G7; my emphasis)

(10) The principle of free and universal public services rightly sits at the heart of our NHS and state school system. **But** universalism is expensive and should be reserved for when it is clear that providing two-tier, means-tested services would erode quality and levels of provision and create harmful social stigma. (O6; my emphasis)

### 4.3. Grounds Markers

The English data appeared to signpost arguments with greater frequency than the Japanese data (*indeed, moreover, ‘:’, as a matter of fact, etc.*). This study shows this numerically specifically for markers of Grounds. In this investigation, Grounds-markers were defined as words or phrases which constitute a clear signal from the writer to the reader that a proceeding or following element is to be taken as the Grounds for the Claim. Obvious examples in English would be *because* or *therefore*, but constructions such as *indicates that* or *shows* also suggest that something is to be taken as evidence for a claim.

	No marker	Marker	SUM
Japanese	176 (95.65%)	8 (4.35%)	182
English	231 (87.83%)	32 (12.17%)	263

Table 5: Frequency of arguments (not) containing explicit Grounds-markers

Table 5 shows the frequency of arguments containing or not containing some form of Grounds-marker in each language group. Fisher’s exact test performed on the 2x2 table of frequencies suggests the significance of this difference ( $p = 0.004$ , two-sided Fisher’s exact test). While the tendency in both groups was to arrange sentences side by side without explicit marking of their argumentative function (leaving that to the reader’s inference), such explicit marking is significantly more frequent in the English texts and is another practical difference noticeable to the reader.

(11)But [the very fact that someone so uniquely unqualified to be prime minister could attract more than a third of the vote]<sub>grounds</sub> **indicates that** [Mr Corbyn cannot be left alone to damn himself]<sub>claim</sub>. (T6; my emphasis)

(12)こうした点を考えれば、都外の会場ごとに必要な運営費を算出した上で、各自治体も一定の負担をするのが自然ではないか。

**If we consider** [these points]<sub>grounds</sub> [is it not natural that each local government bears a certain burden after the cost of running each arena outside of Tokyo is calculated?]<sub>claim</sub>  
(Y1)

## 5. Discussion

Why should it be the case evidence-giving sequences and the frequency of explicit marking of Grounds differ between Japanese and English? Regarding sequencing. Maynard (1996: 413) looks at newspaper columns and presents similar results to my own, with 81.5% of her sequences going from ‘non-commentary’ sentence to ‘commentary’ sentence. The explanation she gives is at the level of the language itself: she talks about the prominence of the topic-comment structure in Japanese as a whole, and how phrases such as *ketsuron kara ieiba* ‘to state the conclusion first’ indicate that “placing conclusions early is a ‘marked case’” in the language (Maynard 1996: 414).

Regarding both sequencing and marking rhetorical function, explanations on the level of regional culture can be explored. Often stated is the role of indirectness and politeness in Asian cultures. “The Japanese ... are oriented to shared social purposes and value indirectness and nuances. Language is, for them, a medium for social cohesion rather than self-expression,” writes Mok (1993: 155), for example. This does fit with the masking of arguments by avoiding marking evidence as evidence, and putting Grounds before Claims such that the Claim seems to naturally follow from the Grounds.

While not denying the partial explanatory power of the linguistic and cultural explanations above, here I will suggest some other possible explanations closer to the level of the individual writers, informed by Matsuda’s (1997) dynamic model mentioned in the introduction. Looking at the relative innocuousness of Japanese editorials in relation to the identity of their writers, Nanri (2006) brings up two major points: “political assimilation” (p.30) and “the *kisha* club” system (p.31).

Regarding the first point, the case is made that the typical career progression of young journalists (potential future editorial writers) involves time as a crime reporter connected to a local police station. Such reporters are fed facts which they publish without checking, and must establish close personal relationships with police officials for information (Nanri 2006: 30).

Promising young journalists may then be assigned to the *kisha* (press) club of the prime minister's official residence, reporting every movement of the prime minister. Next, they may be assigned to the *kisha* club of opposition parties, attending private meetings arranged by politicians and keeping close relationships with them to glean information (Nanri 2006: 31). Here we can see an industry culture of close personal relationships with sources, uncritical reporting and non-verification of facts.

Regarding the *kisha* club system in general, it is criticized as promoting being subservient to news sources and not scrutinizing information provided (Nanri 2006: 32). This is because these are exclusive clubs only open to journalists from allowed organizations (Nanri 2006: 32). Again, we see the themes of maintaining good relationships with sources and a lack of critical scrutiny.

The innocuousness of Japanese editorials which Nanri (2006) finds in their macro-structures, is also, I believe, reflected in the micro-arguments discussed in this paper. The premise is that a 'Grounds → Claim' order and a lack of explicit Grounds-markers makes for vaguer argumentation. Claims are presented as following naturally from the Grounds which proceed them, as opposed to being treated as something which must be argued for vigorously by the writer and evaluated by the reader (which is the case in the 'Claim → Grounds' order: 'This is my claim, and now here is why I think so'). Such vagueness of argumentation can mask or take the sting out of critical Claims, important in an industry built on close, uncritical relationships with sources. I certainly do not claim that these are the only reasons for difference in argumentative style, nor do I deny that some Japanese editorials can contain scathing criticism. I do believe, however, that an analysis of local-level factors such as training and industry culture may prove illuminating regarding the trends we have seen in this paper.

## **6. Conclusion**

This paper has shown that there exists a strong preference for the 'Grounds → Claim' order in Japanese editorials, and for 'Claim → Grounds' in English. Furthermore, we have seen a difference in the frequency of Grounds-markers, with the English editorials including significantly more such signposting. Regarding the internal complexity of argumentation, we have seen that while the English editorials used more varied elements of the Toulmin model

with greater frequency, this did not amount to statistical significance, and the overwhelming trend in both language groups was for arguments to consist of either Grounds-and Claim, or simply a sole Claim. There was some discussion of the Toulmin model perhaps not being the most appropriate model for capturing rhetorical complexity, being unable to handle clause or sentence relations such as adversative conjunction.

Regarding the reasons for these rhetorical differences between the Japanese and English editorials, this paper accepted, as a partial explanation, the often stated characteristics of Japanese culture and language use as a whole. In addition to these, the case was made for the consideration of more local factors inspired by Matsuda's (1997) dynamic model: the training and identity of Japanese journalists, and their close relationships with their subjects through the *kisha* club system.

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#### Appendix 1: Data Set

T1	17/05/17	The Lib Dems' manifesto flopped – as they will at the ballot box
T2	16/05/17	Labour is cultivating the politics of envy with its economically illiterate manifesto
T3	17/05/17	Justice hasn't been done for WPC Yvonne Fletcher – we are owed an explanation
T4	16/05/17	Lax cyber-security, not NHS budgets, are to blame
T5	28/05/17	Polls are a wake-up call for Conservatives
T6	26/05/17	Britain needs strong leadership, not socialist isolationism
T7	26/05/17	Jeremy Corbyn's intervention on terror is tasteless and wrong
G1	30/05/17	The Guardian view on Macron and Putin: pressing, not pushing away
G2	30/05/17	The Guardian view on the SNP manifesto: a step back for Sturgeon
G3	29/05/17	The Guardian view on Mrs Merkel's speech: ominous common sense

- G4 29/05/17 The Guardian view on higher education: trouble ahead
- G5 28/05/17 The Guardian view on Taiwan and same-sex marriage: a sudden victory years in the making
- G6 28/05/17 The Guardian view on defence and the election: where's the debate gone?
- G7 25/05/17 The Guardian view on secrets and leaks: openness is not treason
- O1 28/05/17 The Observer view on the Manchester bombing
- O2 21/05/17 The Observer view on Scotland's windfarm dilemma
- O3 28/05/17 The Observer view on Donald Trump's Middle East visit
- O4 07/05/17 The Observer view on curbing air pollution
- O5 23/05/17 The Observer view on the French presidential election
- O6 15/05/17 The Observer view on education and social mobility
- O7 26/05/17 The Observer view on the response to the Westminster attack
- A1 01/06/17 (社説) 個人情報 理解深め活用と保護を  
'(Editorial) Personal information: increase understanding for use and protection'
- A2 01/06/17 (社説) 原子力規制委 原点忘れず改革続けよ  
'(Editorial) Nuclear Regulation Authority: continue reforms without forgetting the starting point'
- A3 29/05/17 (社説) G7サミット 価値を守る責務今なお  
'(Editorial) G7 Summit: greater responsibility now to protect its value'
- A4 28/05/17 (社説) 憲法70年 学問の自由は誰のために  
'(Editorial) 70 years since constitution: who is academic freedom for?'
- A5 30/05/17 (社説) 「共謀罪」審議 国内外の懸念に応えよ  
'(Editorial) Conspiracy bill deliberation: answer to foreign and domestic concerns'
- A6 25/05/17 (社説) 英自爆テロ 暴力の根を絶つ結束を  
'(Editorial) Suicide terrorism in UK: come together to stamp out violence'
- A7 13/05/17 (社説) 五輪経費分担 危機感がなさすぎる  
'(Editorial) Partitioning of Olympic expenses: not enough urgency'
- Y1 01/06/17 五輪経費分担 積み残した懸案の決着を急げ  
'Partitioning of Olympic expenses: hurry to solve the remaining problems'
- Y2 31/05/17 成長戦略 新産業創出の実績が見たい  
'Growth strategy: show us the actual results of creating new industries'
- Y3 30/05/17 北ミサイル発射 国際包囲網への無謀な挑戦だ  
'NK missile launch: a reckless challenge against international siege'
- Y4 25/05/17 英自爆テロ 警備の弱点突いた卑劣な犯行  
'UK suicide terrorism: a vile crime exploiting weaknesses in defence'
- Y5 28/05/17 N A T O会議 米欧の対露認識の溝は残った

- ‘NATO summit: Gap remains between US and Europe anti-Russian consciousness’
- Y6 26/05/17 がん患者の就労 治療と両立できる環境作りを  
‘Cancer patients at work: make it so that they can both work and receive treatment’
- Y7 28/05/17 南スーダン撤収 陸自PKO経験を次に生かせ  
‘Pulling out of South Sudan: JGSDF should continue to make use of their PKO experience’
- S1 28/05/17 いじめ隠し 教師が救わずにどうする  
‘Concealing bullying: what kind of teacher would not help a student?’
- S2 27/05/17 日米とG7 北朝鮮対処で議論主導を  
‘Japan, America and the G7: lead discussion on anti-NK measures’
- S3 22/05/17 「ロシア疑惑」捜査 公正な手続きで真相探れ  
‘Russia investigation: search for the truth through proper means’
- S4 23/05/17 北のミサイル 一層の圧力をかける時だ  
‘NK missile: it is time to add even more pressure’
- S5 18/05/17 眞子さまご婚約へ 慶事を心よりお祝いする  
‘Princess Kako engaged: we sincerely celebrate this auspicious event’
- S6 17/05/17 サイバー攻撃 危機感持ち自衛策講じよ  
‘Cyber attacks: engage in self-defense measures with urgency’
- S7 20/05/17 国連拷問委 不当な日本批判をただせ  
‘UN Committee Against Torture: correct your wrongful criticism of Japan’