Article

Digital Plagiarism in Second Language Writing: Re-Thinking Relationality in Internet-Mediated Writing

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Introduction

Concern over student plagiarism is not new (Sutherland-Smith, 2005), but with the internet and the prominence of digitally-mediated writing as the academic norm, plagiarism has become an increasing concern for higher-education instructors. Student use of technology to complete academic coursework often occurs outside of class, beyond the instructor's watchful eye and with access to means that facilitate plagiarism, such as copy-and-paste functions (Kaufmann & Young, 2015), online paraphrasing software (Rogerson & McCarthy, 2017), and translation tools (Jones & Sheridan, 2017). Opportunities for digitally facilitated plagiarism provoke suspicion and unease amongst instructors (e.g., McCabe, 2005) and perpetuate the presumption that more technology leads to more plagiarism (Davies & Howard, 2016). In response, universities are increasingly adopting plagiarism detection software to combat the perceived rise in digital plagiarism

This paper posits that while the internet has radically changed student-writing processes, the notion that the prevalence of the internet alone leads to increased plagiarism is misguided; furthermore, the silver-bullet solution of automated detection as the antidote to digital plagiarism is incomplete (Davies & Howard, 2016; Curtis & Vandanega, 2016). Such a premise oversimplifies two complex phenomena: student plagiarism in source-based writing and the use of the internet and digital technology in the writing process. More importantly, they frame digital plagiarism as an issue of student integrity and values, and thus direct educational interventions towards detection, deterrence, and punishment. Unfortunately, a punitive approach leaves little space for pedagogical interventions that position plagiarism as a learning process, one of conducting research and integrating source ideas to form logical and coherent arguments, all while complying with academic writing conventions (Pecorari, 2015b). Indeed, much of what manifests as textual plagiarism may be

unintentional, a position reflected in the growing body of scholarship that distinguishes between deliberate acts of deception and the fact that novice L2 writers may still be in the process of developing mastery of text-based writing and source attribution. Building on the work of L2 writing scholars (Li & Casanave, 2012) that have examined plagiarism in digital composition, this study explores how students in an English-for-Academic-Purposes program compose source-based research papers and how plagiarism and digital-technology shapes this learning process.

The Transgression of Plagiarism in Second-Language Academic Writing

Plagiarism is typically defined as "presenting language or ideas derived from another work as one's own" (Pecorari, 2015a, p. 329), and, traditionally, it has been considered an issue of integrity and moral character (Park, 2003; Walker& White, 2014). However, *plagiarism*, as an umbrella term, covers wide-ranging practices: "From simple errors in citation to patchwriting and to downloading and purchasing whole essays" (Shi, 2006, p. 264). In L2 writing contexts, observational research (Campbell, 1990; Currie, 1998; Pecocrari, 2003; Petric, 2004; Shi, 2006; Abasi, Akbari & Graves, 2006; Flowerdew & Li, 2007; Li & Casanave, 2012, Keck, 2006) has long documented the occurrence of questionable textual borrowing practices. Explanations have largely been linguistically and culturally focused and have included, for example, language hurdles (Currie, 1998; Hayes & Introna, 2005), language-learning strategies (Flowerdew & Li, 2007), diverse educational practices (Currie, 1998; Shi, 2006), and differences in conceptualized textual ownership and developments of authorial voice (Chandrasoma, Thompson & Pennycook, 2004). Studies have also highlighted differences between L2-student confusion of rules and teachers' expectations of appropriate writing (Abasi & Graves, 2008; Hayes & Introna, 2005; Gu & Brooks, 2008) with diverging understandings of acceptable sourcing protocol (Pennycook, 1996; Shi, 2006, 2012; Hirvela & Du, 2013), and, more importantly, insufficient procedural knowledge of what constitutes plagiarism and how to avoid it (Pecorari, 2003; Li & Casanave, 2012).

For instance, one common writing practice is patchwriting: "copying from a source text and then deleting some words, altering grammatical structures, or plugging in one synonym for another" (Howard, 1995, p. xvii). In L2 classrooms, patchwriting is largely considered a development strategy that novice writers outgrow as their language and literacy skills improve. Many L1 and L2 students, however, have difficulty distinguishing proper paraphrasing from patchwriting (Roig, 1997; Shi 2012; Hirvela & Du, 2013), thus the propensity to engage in inappropriate textual borrowing

increases when working with unfamiliar disciplinary content and "expert" texts (e.g., Roig, 1999). Moreover, encounters with unrealistic, heavy demands to read overly complicated texts places L2 writers in a position wherein patchwriting or direct copying (with or without complete attribution) is more feasible than rewriting the text in the original language (Abasi & Akbari, 2008; Li & Casanave, 2012). Given the challenges that L2 writers face when working from source texts, scholars have called for a move away from characterising inappropriate textual borrowing as intentional and deceptive practice, to transgressive writing as an issue of language and learning (Pecorari, 2003; Chandrasoma, Thompson & Pennycook, 2004).

Digital Literacies, Digital Authorship and Plagiarism

Student academic source-based writing is almost exclusively mediated through technologies (i.e., word-processing software, internet access, digital texts, spelling-and-grammar-check tools, and translation software), whereby L1 and L2 learners develop new sets of academic digital-literacy skills, such as abilities to conduct keyword selections, internet-database searches, and determinations of source credibility (Li & Casanave, 2012; Stapleton, 2005; Radia & Stapleton, 2008). Moving from pen and paper to digitally mediated composition entails a shift in how "cognitive resources are allocated…possibly being replaced by a more strategic process that has the writer using multiple tools and resources for reaching their textual goals" (Stapleton, 2010, p. 304). Choi (2016) further contends that advents in the electronic writing environment lead to more distinctive, context-specific, and individualized writing-strategy and resource-use patterns.

Closely connected to digital-mediated academic writing are concerns of student digital plagiarism. For example, based on his large-scale case study of Norwegian high school student-writing practices, Skaar (2015) proposes a new form of "pseudo-writing," wherein translating ideas into original language is replaced by the selection and insertion (cutting and pasting) of existing texts—material that may or may not be later reworked and appropriately attributed in a student's assignment. For novice students, this practice is problematic because rewriting at the word level is more likely to lead to plagiarism (Howard, Serviss & Rodrigue, 2010). Wrigley (2017) calls this process "de-plagiarising" a strategy that student writers erroneously perceive as easier and quicker than rewriting entire sentence. Not only does word-level substitution lead to failed paraphrases, but "de-plagiarising" often leads to writing that is less consistent with students' own language repertoires and contains more grammatical and lexical errors.

While many studies have explored how students undertake L2-source-based writing (e.g., Thompson, Morton, & Storch, 2013), and their use of technological tools in L2 academic writing (e.g., Stapleton, 2010), few studies have explored the relationality between technology, the transgression of plagiarism, and how students write to *avoid* plagiarism. Given the risk of inadvertent plagiarism that novice L2 writers face, this exploratory study focuses on how plagiarism functions in digitally mediated L2-source-based writing by posing the following research question: How does the *threat* of plagiarism shape how L2 students writers use technology to compose a source-based research paper?

Collection of Field Materials

Context of the Study

This study was conducted at a large urban university in its institution-affiliated English Intensive Program. Participants in this study were enrolled in the pre-university, non-credit English for Academic Purposes program designed to prepare incoming international students for undergraduate- and graduate-level study. The program consists of four levels, with Level 4 as the bridging level where successful students can then enter their program of study. Most students at the bridging level hold conditional acceptance to undergraduate programs (and, sometimes, graduate programs). Student and teacher participants were recruited from two classes: one class in the fall 2016 semester (three student participants) and another in the winter 2017 semester (four student participants and their teacher).

The purpose of the study was to observe how students use technology in the process of writing a source-based essay, in this case, a major research paper of approximately 800-1000 words designed to develop the following competencies: 1) research of a topic, using a variety of valid sources and methods to collect information and data; 2) proper citations and references to avoid plagiarism; and 3) proofreading of grammar, vocabulary, and reference. This was a considerable task in terms of weight, 40% of their final course work grade, and length, spanning 10 weeks. As such, the assignment was broken down into the stages of topic selection, preliminary reference list, summary of source texts, outline of main points and thesis statement, multiple drafts, revising, and final editing with the instructor providing feedback at each stage.

Instruments and Tools

A naturalistic case study approach was employed to obtain data reflective of real-life situations (Stake 1995). Accordingly, data collection followed the students as they worked on their research papers and involved multiple data sources: interviews, document and textual analysis, screen-capture recordings, and researcher journals. The primary data sources were the student interviews. Four to six interviews of approximately 20-40 minutes were conducted with each participant to explore connections between technology use and plagiarism at specific stages of writing. Pre-established, open-ended questions for each writing stage related to students' perceptions, experiences, and expectations of completing the assignment. At each interview, participants were asked to provide documents relevant to their writing process at the stages of brainstorming, outlining, note taking, drafting, and revising, with instructor's comments and feedback.

Screen-recordings were also collected. At the first interview, participants were asked to download Screen-casto-matic screen-capture software onto the computers they would each use to work on their essays. Screen-capture software provides a behind-the-scenes view of the multiple and simultaneous literacy events involved in digitally-mediated academic writing (Bhatt, DeRoock & Adams 2013; Seror 2013). Each student was invited to record their screen as they worked on their essay, to save the recording on a USB stick provided, and to share the recording, as well as all related drafts and documents, with the researcher.

Not all students provided complete screen-cast recordings or the written drafts with instructor feedback in a timely manner making the preparation of detailed questions regarding specific practices, thought processes, and decisions difficult. In these cases, participants were asked about their overall writing processes and, when possible, the content of their screencast recordings and drafts.

Table 1. Field Materials Collected

Participant 1: Sally			Participant 2: Amy		
Interview	Screencast	Documents Submitted	Interview	Screencast	Documents Submitted
Length: 20:52	14:47	Working Schedule: No	20:48	29:43	No
Length: 10:15	36:20	Research Paper Outline: No	16:30	51:46	No
Length: 23:58	50:41	Draft 1: No	14:36	15:50	Yes
Length: 3:46	13:50	Draft 2: No	31:41	2:14:24	Yes

Length: 7:23	3:05:59	Final Draft Submitted: Yes	13:11		Yes
Length: 18:29	15:23	Final Draft Assessed: No			No
	1:22:12				
Total 83:14 minutes	399 minutes		Total: 95.66 minutes	Minutes	

Data Analysis

Data analysis followed a constructivist orientation to be reiterative, inductive, and flexible (Stake, 1995). Analysis began by reviewing researcher notes made during data collection and adding new notes of impressions during the transcription phase. Without an a priori coding protocol, all data sets were reviewed to get a comprehensive view and to begin thinking about relevant themes, relations, and meanings. Data analysis involved categorical aggregation, establishing patterns, and direct interpretation (Stake, 1995). As the primary data source, interviews were first coded for similarity and frequency of elements relevant to the students' writing, technology and plagiarism (Table 2). From this, patterns between and across participants were established. Finally, direct interpretation was used to give tentative meaning to key events reported in the interview data (Stake, 1995).

Table 2. Key Themes and Elements Across the Data

Technology	University library website and databases; search engines in L1 and L2; online bilingual dictionaries; online translation tools (Google translate); Microsoft Word and associated affordances and functions (spelling and grammar check, copy and paste, highlight, save, down-load etc.); digital text in PDF format; referencing and citation tools; online commercial sites (eg. www.study.com); webpages and blogs; Wikipedia; Youtube; social media platforms (eg.Wechat, Messenger etc.)
Plagiarism (perceptions, attitudes, experiences, and knowledge)	Plagiarism as an important issue to the university but not serious nor enforced by the teacher; awareness of plagiarism rules and what constitutes plagiarism at the host university; confusion over precise rules; differences between L1 and L2 conceptualizations and treatment of plagiarism; plagiarism associated with laziness and negligence; it won' t happen to me; difficulty avoiding plagiarism and confusion over language re-use and citation; it happens to me and I don't know why
Information search, reading,	Searching for source texts; reading and scanning; taking notes, organizing, and writing drafts; using assistive technology-online dictionaries, grammar and

and writing practices	spell check, google translate; revising and editing; checking references and citations; consulting with the instructor; consulting with peers/friends
Academic skills and requirements	Nature of the task and specifics of the assignment: topic, content, finding and reading source texts, organizing information and critical thinking, rewriting ideas in own words, completing stages on time; weak language skills and weak academic reading and writing skills; procrastination and time management; large number of assignments and multiple deadlines and priorities; pressure to pass
Institutional/ Instructional	Program curriculum; course instruction including teaching strategies and methods; institutional policy of academic misconduct behaviour and penalties; variance and inconsistency in implementation of institutional policy; use of automated plagiarism detection software
Perceptions of digital intertextuality	Blurring of authorship for unauthored resources; distinguishing between common knowledge, prior knowledge, and ideas that should be cited; fusing academic/scholarly knowledge, mass media, and individual opinion

Because of the highly individualized practices demonstrated by each student, separate participant profiles from initial coding chart were compiled (Strauss, 1987).

Next, the screencast recordings were analyzed by taking notes of key impressions and emerging patterns and elements. All tools and resources that each participant accessed were noted and added to the chart. Actions related to the information search strategies (Li, 2012) and the writing process (Stapleton, 2010) were also classified. Because of the overwhelming volume of screencast data, it was necessary to heed to Stake's advice to pay attention to the "best data" as "full coverage is impossible" (1995, p. 84). As such, focus was placed on areas of high movement (moving between websites, sources, and tools) and intertextual activity. In these segments, precise actions were coded with a second-by-second (adapted from Seror, 2013) breakdown of activities to allow for microanalysis of source-text and technology use in the composition process. Composites of high movement events were tabulated to give a general impression of the patterns and functions performed. Screencast analysis was then cross-referenced to each participant and added to participant profiles.

Finally, all textual documents were reviewed. A preliminary reading was conducted to note first impressions and correlate sections in the interview and screencast data. In the second reading, instructor comments were identified and traced to corresponding revisions in the students' drafts to form a composite-timeline of drafts, feedback, and revisions (Pecorari, 2015a). Each participant's timeline was cross-referenced to their interview data and screencast recordings, not only for convergences but also divergences (Stake, 1995). Lastly, written drafts were analysed for the possibilities of inappropriate textual borrowing.

Findings

Below, data from the interviews, screencast recordings, and drafts are presented to demonstrate how the threat of plagiarism shaped students' researching, reading, writing, and citing strategies at various stages of their composition process. Each student is introduced individually, starting from their first interview and moving chronologically to the submission of the final draft. Consistent with Stake's approach to data analysis, meaning is made through a careful balance of researcher impressions, observations, and intuition with systematic categorization and guiding protocol (1995). As such, the following discussion is related to the literature on source-based writing, digital composition, L2 learning, and plagiarism to ground student-participant experiences within the greater body of empirical scholarship.

Amy

Amy (pseudonym selected by the participant) was retaking the course because she failed it in the fall semester. In the first interview, she told me that she was not concerned about plagiarism and that most students in her past and present classes "don't care." Her previous instructor in the EAP program (fall 2016 session) had warned of the seriousness of plagiarism and possible consequences of being found plagiarizing, but Amy believed that this issue didn't concern her:

> …for me, it won't be that serious. Maybe because it never happened around me, or they [the teachers] won't know about it. They won't find out. I don't think the students care about.

Trouble finding sources

In the second interview, Amy explained her difficulties searching for sources, organizing her outline, and finding evidence and arguments to support her main points. Amy was searching for texts that not only contained relevant content but were also not too long and difficult to read. These challenges are common in research-paper writing in introductory-level courses, wherein students are expected to work independently with expert-level source texts (Li & Casanave, 2012). To resolve this dilemma, in the third interview, Amy reported that she had strategically changed her main paper's argument because she could not find suitable texts, and she had now formed a new outline based on information from grey literature (government and nongovernment organizations and institutional reports) that would act as the research paper's primary sources. She, however, explained that she was still having

difficulty working these sources and that it was taking her several hours to write the content (body) paragraphs:

> …because it is a government report, a lot of things are there, so I have to pick out the main point and if the main idea fits into my research paper… I can only pick around three sentences that are suitable for my paper. So, I just spend a lot of time finding the sources, but it is not balanced—I spend one day just finding my sources and just only a few hours doing my paper.

The disproportionate amount of time spent on prewriting is confirmed in other studies: in Stapleton's (2010) study, 24% of total composing time was allocated to searching, reading, and copying and an additional 33% on formulating thoughts into language. To use her time strategically, rather than a detailed reading of the publication in its entirety, Amy "forage[d]" (Keller, 2014) through the text to find key sentences she could paraphrase (Howard, Serviss & Rodrigue, 2010).

> A: Because most of the sentence structures are already very basic, and I have to think because it is already very basic, I don't want to make it with very difficult sentence structure. So I have to think about ways to make it more easy and simple to understand…I have to paraphrase…because the teacher keeps saying that we cannot plagiarism—we need to have to the reference citations and be very careful with this because, at the end, he will use the plagiarism, like some machine, to check to see whether there is any plagiarism, like copy and paste or whatever. If there is that, we will get zero, and we will be expelled. Like this, I think it is a very serious problem, so it is very important to be careful.
>
> R: When did the teacher tell you that?
>
> A: At first, but now he says it more. He keeps on saying that because many people are doing it without referencing. So, he finds that this is very serious problem.
>
> R: Did he say that he will use Turnitin?
>
> A: No, he didn't say that he will use that but that he will check it. But now, he is telling us that he has some software on the computer that he can just type it in, and he will tell us how many percent of this is plagiarism, not only this teacher but other teachers as well.

Amy was concerned that if a sentence of hers was too complex, her paraphrase would also be too complex, and that might lead to grammar errors. Additionally, she was worried that her restatement might have been too close to the original and that excessive similarity between texts might lead to plagiarism.

"I didn't think that she would check it…"

In the fourth interview, Amy described an event that took place in her EAP class (taught by another teacher). In this class, the teacher assigned a short article for students to read and summarize through reporting verbs (i.e., "the author claims," "the author states," and "according to the passage") and paraphrasing. Students were instructed not to use quotations but to use in-text citations to indicate the paraphrased material. Amy said,

> …because we have to do the assignments based on the article and paraphrase five sentences—I didn't. I just copied it directly, and I didn't think that she [the teacher] would check it or whatever. I was going to do the in-text citation reference, but I think that she is not going to check it. So, I just handed it in, and she found out and I got zero. And she sort of said, she didn't…she never thought that I would do that kind of that stuff. She was very angry.

Amy explained that her decision to directly copy one sentence from the source text into her summary was simply because of the time and cognitive energy required to paraphrase:

> A: No, it is not difficult, like hard to read, just because I don't want to think how to paraphrase it. It is one sentence, just one sentence, and she gave me a zero…
>
> It was time consuming—like so much energy for one sentence? And also, she assigns a lot of work that we have to do, so the time is not enough, and sometimes the sentence structure is already very simple, like I can just copy it directly…and also, I don't want to make the sentence too complicated. I don't want too complicated sentence.

By the time of fifth interview, Amy had just submitted the final assignment. Amy explained the final stages of preparing her research paper for submission:

> A: He said it is good; it is okay. Just be careful with the references and also the grammar too.
>
> R: Ok. What did he mean by be careful with the references?
>
> A: Like he means if you use one source remember to give some citation or else you are going to get zero or more trouble because the school is looking for this stuff. Like plagiarism, like it is a very serious problem, maybe because of our classmates—they think that it is not a problem like copying stuff from the internet, so they said, just be careful with the references.
>
> R: And do you think that you were careful with the references?
>
> A: Yeah, like, at the end of every sentence, I copied it into Google to see if there is the same sentence on a website.

R: You checked your sentences on Google?

A: Yeah. Every sentence.

R: You checked to make sure that there was nothing…

A: Yeah, like nothing that was the same.

R: Ok. why did you do that?

A: Because I don't want to get zero. Because this is my work, and I don't want that, because of a few sentences, I will get a zero for that.

R: Ok. Did the teacher tell you that they will be checking?

A: Yeah, they will be checking, and they have some software and just type everything in or just scan the paper, and it will tell you how many percent you plagiarized.

More experienced and confident writers may question the logic behind double checking the originality of each sentence, but novice writers often second-guess the appropriateness of their online textual borrowing (De Voss & Rosati, 2002). Ideally, the instructor would have integrated the use of plagiarism-detection software into the writing process to make students aware of areas in their writing that are too close to source material (Graham-Matheson & Starr, 2013).

Misrepresenting authorship

The last screencast recording submitted at her final interview shows Amy checking key sentences in the Google search engine to ensure that the exact string of words was not published online.
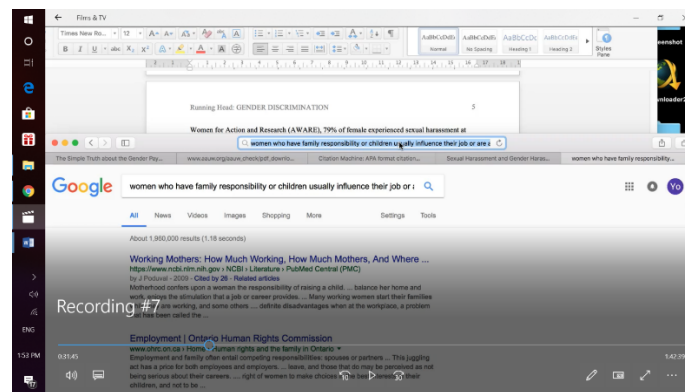

Figure 1. Screenshot of Amy self-checking her writing

The final video also shows Amy adding in-text citations to her essay. A close look at the names of authors reveals that Amy misstated source attribution in her in-text citations and falsified authorship in the reference list.

Table 3. Misrepresentation in Amy's Reference List

Source as listed in the reference list	Actual source reference
Miller, K., & Benson, K. (2017). The Simple Truth about the Gender Pay Gap.	American Association of University Women. (2017). *The Simple Truth about the Gender Pay Gap.* AAUW Educational Foundation: Washington, DC.

Interestingly, Miller and Benson are not the authors of the document. Their names only appear on the third page of the documents, in the acknowledgements and reads as follows:

> The Simple Truth about the Gender Pay Gap was written by AAUW Vice President of Research Catherine Hill in 2011. It was substantially revised by Senior Researcher Kevin Miller and Research Associate Kathleen Benson in 2016. (American Association of University Women, 2017, p. 3)

However, Miller and Benson are cited as source authors and are included in in-text citations in Amy's paper.

Table 4. In-text Authorial Misrepresentation

> Unequal employment refers to the unequal job opportunity in the employment. Although women's and men's choices on choosing their type of jobs are different, women who have family responsibility or children usually influence their job or are at disadvantages in their careers **(Miller, K., & Benson, K., 2017, as cited in Goldin, 2014)**. Many research studies show that employers are unlikely to hire mothers compared to women without family responsibility. AAUW's Behind the Pay Gap Reports discovery that 23% of mothers were out of workplace, and 17% worked part time. On the other hand, there were only 1% of fathers were out of the workplace, and 2% worked part time **(Miller, K., & Benson, K., 2017, as cited in AAUW Educational Foundation, 2007).**

In Amy's text, "Miller, K., & Benson, K. (2017)" are incorrectly cited as original authors referred to in multiple texts. In the first citation, "as cited in Goldin, 2014", Goldin is a source cited in the AAUW 2017 report. "Miller, K., & Benson, K." does not appear in Goldin, nor in the AAUW 2007 report. Both in-text citations are inaccurate.

Looking at Amy's case in its entirety, she tried to avoid patchwriting and was extremely careful in her paraphrasing spending significant time findings accessible texts and even more time searching for sentences from which she could confidently paraphrase. Furthermore, Amy heeds to her instructor's warning to "be careful with references". She methodically checks her own writing to ensure it is plagiarism free. Interestingly, she is not as meticulous with the in-text citations or the reference list.

Sally

Like Amy, Sally (pseudonym selected by the participant) was also retaking the Level 4 class. In the first interview, Sally was asked to comment about her ability to read and put research into her own words. She responded:

> P: I have a problem with that one, summarize and paraphrasing. I use a lot of words from the original text, so the teacher calls it plagiarism, maybe they think…When I was in the 300 level, the teacher told me this is almost plagiarism, so beware. I had to rewrite. I think I got a zero on that assignment.
>
> R: Are you worried about being accused of copying again?
>
> P: Yeah, I am really worried about that…Because, if I try to find the word in the dictionary, then they give me an example, and I think that I am just copying some words, not whole sentence, but some words. For example, I only know social policy, but the example gives me social change, so I will use change instead of policy.
>
> R: Ok, so does this help you expand your vocabulary, like a thesaurus?
>
> P: Yeah, I cannot only use one word for my whole paper, and I can't use the same words from the book

In this exchange, Sally referred to how she took words from the dictionary as synonyms to substitute nouns, adjectives, and verbs in the original sentence. However, from her explanation, above, she seemed to conflate copying words from a thesaurus to copying entire sentences. This issue resurfaces in later interviews.

In the second interview, Sally explained how she was having a hard time finding information, organizing information, and articulating these ideas in a clear paraphrase:

> I really struggle with paraphrasing. I got a lot of information from the book, but I don't know how I can match it, put it into a paragraph on my paper. The teacher told me to avoid the quotation, the direct quotation, so I have to summarize…I read book and then I copy the

> quotation with the source like where is this from. Then, I will make my outline. I think I have
> to make an outline with a clear topic sentence, but I can't make my topic sentences, and that is
> why I struggle putting my words on the paper.

Sally's difficulty with paraphrasing relates to broader reading and writing skills of identifying relevant content, differentiating between major and minor details, developing arguments, structuring and providing evidence for an argument, and integrating multiple views and details to support an argument. Because the main points were not clear in her mind, she could not paraphrase key arguments from the source texts to support her thesis statement.

"I go to my country website and see the example"

By the fourth interview, Sally was writing her body paragraphs:

> R: When you were writing the essay, did you have any problems?

> S: With some grammar structure. I know, I already know the answer in my own language, but
> I don't know how to write the sentence in English…So, I go to my country website, and see
> the example…The Korean website, naver.com, and you look up the word, and they give
> some meaning, and then they give an example, thousands of examples, so if I am looking
> for "what if," if I put the "what if" it gives a lot of examples. So, I just use it for something—
> I type in woman things, so I just read, and copy and paste and fix and fit it into my essay.

> R: Is it like a translation service?

> S: No, it's not. I think that translation service the grammar is not good. It is really bad.

Sally's third screencast video shows how she used an online bilingual Korean English dictionary for lexical and sentence-level support.
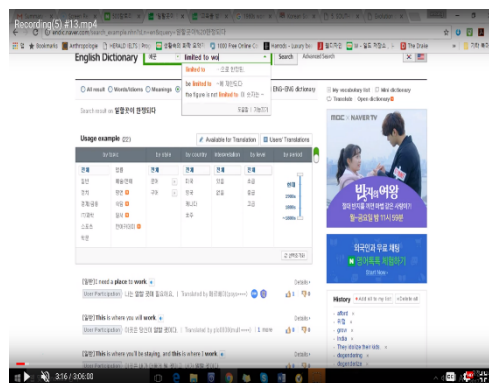

Figure 2. Screenshot of Naver Online Korean English Dictionary

In the webpage image, Sally can be seen to enter the expression "limited to work" while the website, below, offers Korean/English translations of sentences using the expression. The screencast recording further shows how Sally used the online bilingual dictionary to rewrite the following section of her paper.

Table 4. Sally's text at 00:20 and 7:59

Section of text at 00:20	Section of text at 7:59
Korean women did not receive enough education because only men could go to school. They usually worked in factories	Korean women did not receive enough education because only men **allowed to** go to school. **Without education, workplaces for women were limited (Renshaw, 2011)).** They usually worked in factories

In the next seven minutes, Sally entered seven terms into the search bar: "go to school," "education," "work," "place to work," "limited to work," "get limited," and "have limited choices to work." She also moved back and forth through five widows (the Word document, the online dictionary, and three different online texts) 17 times. She scrolled the three texts up and down, highlighted and un-highlighted sections, and previewed them within 60 seconds. In the remaining time, Sally entered search terms, scanned search results, typed and deleted text to compose one sentence and slightly modify another. In the last few seconds, Sally inserted the reference to Renshaw, 2011.

For L2 writers, use of bilingual, online dictionaries may be necessary to confirm appropriateness of vocabulary and structure (Seror, 2013), as well as to produce a target language equivalent (Yoon, 2016). For Korean students, the Naver Korean English Dictionary is a well-known and widely-accessed tool to search for synonyms, collocations, and appropriate expressions or sample sentences to widen their vocabulary (Choi, 2016). The excerpt from the screencast video is just one example that shows Sally's overreliance on language input to compose and modify basic sentences.

Unattributed Text

Sally submitted her last screen cast recording at the final interview. The recording shows Sally working with multiple Microsoft Word documents. The image below shows a document entitled "2nd body." The end of the document includes a list of 39 expressions, presumably taken from the Naver Korean English online dictionary.
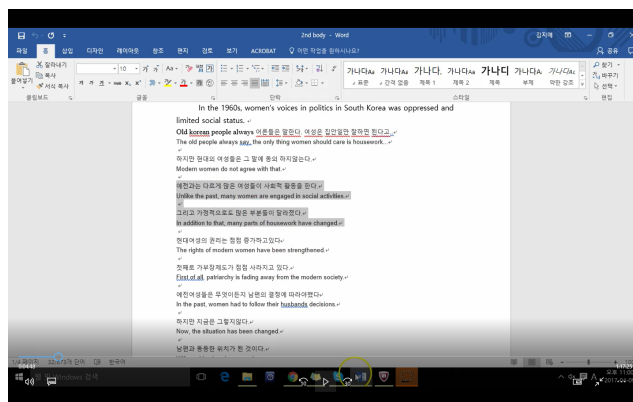

Figure 3. Screenshot on document containing copied sentences

Textual analysis of the final draft and the 39 expressions listed in the document shows how the expressions are integrated into two paragraphs of her final paper.

Table 5. Textual analysis of Sally's writing

Sample usage from Naver Online Dictionary	Page 3, paragraph 2
First of all, patriarchy is fading away from the modern society In the past, women had to follow their husbands' decisions. Now, the situation has been changed.	**<u>Unlike the past, many women are engaged in social activities.</u>** They have acquired an economic power (Renshaw, 2011). Therefore, women's family roles have changed. **<u>First</u>**, patriarchy and Confucianism are **<u>fading away from the modern society</u>** (Deuchler, 1992). **<u>In the past, women had to follow their husbands' decisions</u>**, but **<u>now, the situation has been changed.</u>**

	Page 6, paragraph 1
The rights of modern women have been strengthened.	Women's lives are completely changed comeapre to the past. **<u>The rights of modern women have been strengthene</u>**.

…patriarchy is fading away from the modern society. Women's participation in social activities is increasing. In the past, women thought that they only get married and be good at house work. Consequently, modern women have many rights and the rights will increase. It is hard to say that women and men are equal now. However, compared to in the past, it has been changed dramatically.	Confucianism and **patriarchy** have been **fading away from the modern society**. Family roles of women have altered and wife battering has decreased. **Women's participation in social** and political **activities** has **increas**ed. **In the past, women thought that they only get married and be good at housework. In the** 21st, Women work and involve in political issue. **Consequently, modern women have** become independent of their husband. **It is hard to say that women and men are** exactly equal. **However, compared** with **the past, it had been changed dramatically.**

Included in the above is overwhelming non-attributed duplication of full sentences taken from the online dictionary.

"Maybe he will catch me…"

Interestingly, at the final interview, Sally did not mention the list of sample expressions borrowed from the dictionary. Instead, she explained how she thought her writing had improved:

> P: I think that I improved my writing because I want to make less grammatical mistakes, so I read again, read again…I think the paraphrasing is really hard. The reading is ok, but changing it into my own words, it is really hard.
>
> R: Do you think that you will have any problems with plagiarism in your paper?
>
> P: I want to, but I'm so lazy at the end that I just put quotations on the part. Two, just two. I tried to change it into my own words, but, the rest of the part, I was so lazy, so I just used quotations…maybe he will catch me…he emphasizes, don't plagiarise to everyone. Not just me. Don't be lazy and just use quotations.
>
> R: Alright so you just worried about using quotations and looking lazy and not plagiarism?
>
> R: Yeah

Despite the unattributed sentence-level copying in two sections of her paper, Sally was not concerned about plagiarism detection but rather was apprehensive about hastily using quotations, despite her teacher's caution to not be lazy and simply quote.

Discussion

This study interrogates the relationality between digital-composition and plagiarism and how the fear of being accused of plagiarism impacts novice L2 students' writing. In contrast to reports citing the overwhelming propensity of student online plagiarism and the practice of "pseudo-writing" (Skaar, 2015) and "de-plagiarising" (Wrigley, 2017), the participants' experiences with digital composition and plagiarism were significantly more complex and intricately connected to their unique circumstances and conditions. At different points of the writing process, both participants expressed confidence, and at other times, concern about plagiarism. It can be inferred that their reading, writing, citing and referencing practices are related to a desire to avoid patchwriting, failed paraphrase, and possible automated plagiarism detection.

Indeed, the students were warned against plagiarism and dutifully attempted to avoid working too closely to the source text. In the case of Amy, this meant spending an undue amount of time scavenging grey literature for sentences that she could confidently paraphrase from. For Amy, it was important to demonstrate a strong command of grammar as she did not want to be penalized for poor language, and presumably, she believed that this strategy would be more effective than reading lengthy and complex academic texts and reformulating the relevant content in her own words. Furthermore, consistent with Amy's pragmatic use of time, copying a sentence on her homework assignment was considered more efficient that attempting to paraphrase it to the satisfaction of her teacher. Surprised and disappointed by the outcome for this minor transgression, Amy is reminded of the importance in ensuring the originality of her language in the final assignment. For this reason, Amy verifies that her writing is not a duplicate of easily retrieved internet content. In contrast to the care Amy takes in self-checking for plagiarism, the misrepresentation of authorship to conceal the overuse of the grey literature as opposed to scholarly publications, suggests a skewed understanding of source attribution: misrepresenting sources is not as bad as copying.

From the start, Sally was concerned about her ability to write without inadvertently plagiarising. To avoid working too close to the source text while at the same time receiving linguistic input and support, Sally relies extensively on the online dictionary, at first, to paraphrase ideas relevant to her topic without patchwriting from the source text, and then, as the assignment deadline approached, to integrate sample sentences from the online dictionary without attribution. Here, Sally does not perceive her language re-use as transgressive. While the unattributed textual borrowing is particularly heavy, perhaps the nature of an unauthored digital tool leads Sally to believe that this intertextuality does not require attribution in contrast to copying from an authored book or article (Bloch, 2012; Blum, 2010). More problematic for those dedicated to policing plagiarism, the

questionable language re-use is untraceable, and thus would not be detected in an automated originality report.

Strategic Solutions to Succeed

Both Sally's and Amy's questionable practices appear to be a strategic solution to the exceedingly daunting task of writing from academic source texts without inadvertently plagiarising. In doing so, they engage in practices that may be considered transgressive in other ways, namely failing to accurately identify source texts. Though dubious, and contrary to how in-class pen and paper paraphrasing and summarizing tasks are performed, the purpose here is not to pass judgement on Amy or Sally but rather to better understand how the threat of being accused of plagiarism, either intentional or unintentional, shapes how students undertake composing a research paper. Furthermore, from the data presented above, it is clear that Sally and Amy work around the linguistic, academic, and intellectual challenge of writing from academic source texts by relying on resources that do not qualify as scholarly publications. Certainly, one-time behaviour cannot form the basis for generalizations about character, morality, and future conduct as these student-participants' writing and referencing strategies were contingent on the specific requirements of this assignment, the approaching deadline of a high-stake assignment, and their ability to successfully complete this task. Mastering academic writing takes years (McCulloch, 2013). Only through time and practice can students acquire the language and skills necessary, so they do not have to turn to clandestine strategies to succeed (Currie, 1998).

Policing a Learning Process

Although the students' reading-to-write process deviated from what is expected in university level academic writing, they perceived their writing experience as productive. Both felt that they had improved their research, reading, and writing skills, which contrasts their learning experience in their previous Level 4 course. This time around, they expressed confidence when undertaking a research paper assignment in their disciplinary majors. In other words, despite their transgressions to avoid hewing too closely to source texts, important learning did take place, thus confirming Pecorari's observation that plagiarism is indeed the "learning of academic conventions for using and reporting sources, learning the phrases and patterns which sound like academic discourse; and learning to claim an authoritative position on the academic stage" (2015b, p. 95). If plagiarism is

about learning, students need to be less preoccupied with accidentally copying and, instead, be more focused on developing foundational reading and writing skills. At the same time, this does not mean that instructors should stop promoting academic integrity and protecting against dishonesty but that often strategies to police plagiarism emphasize only one aspect of writing, inappropriate duplication. As Li and Casanave conclude, "identifying strings of 'copied' words in students' texts is probably the most superficial and least educational aspect of helping students develop as writers" (2012, p. 178).

Magnifying punishment can inhibit students' experimentation with language and ideas in their writing (Howard, 1995). Growing numbers of educators are embracing software like Turnitin as pedagogic tools in the writing classroom (Heckler, Rice, & Bryan, 2013; Graham-Matheson & Starr, 2013) to support students in their language re-use by articulating the boundaries between what is deemed appropriate/inappropriate. Allowing for a safe space where students can make mistakes, can detect these errors through automated tools, and then can correct them has proven effective in reducing plagiarism, increasing student understanding of source attribution, and bolstering writer confidence (Batane, 2010).

To a large extent, plagiarism, either deliberate or inadvertent, occurring outside the classroom depends on what happens inside the classroom. Most instructors would agree that effective pedagogy, assignment design, and assessment are foundational. In day-to-day practices, this might mean returning to language-learning and literacy-development basics and reorienting teaching to individual processes rather than final products (Zamel, 1985). This includes paying closer attention to individual students' reading and writing abilities (Valentine, 2006), requiring (and carefully reviewing) students' written drafts, balancing language-learning outcomes with demonstrations of composition skills, genre knowledge, and disciplinary content, and, for L2 writers, making clear that evaluation of writing will not be based on native-speaker standards (Schmitt, 2005). Unrealistic expectations, such as the ability to write a research paper free of grammar errors, free of inappropriate textual borrowing and coupled with the pressure to pass, can lead students to desperate measures.

Conclusion

Student plagiarism, especially for language learners from diverse educational backgrounds, has been an ongoing concern in higher education. In the past decade, the proliferation of digitally-mediated writing has further stoked fear of growing online plagiarism (Sutherland-Smith, 2008). This study explores the relationality between plagiarism and how L2-student writers compose source-based

research papers. Findings demonstrate how the stigma associated with plagiarism influences the participants' searching, reading, writing, and citing strategies and the linguistic and textual risks that they take. Both students tried to avoid patchwriting, and, in doing so, both inadvertently committed other transgressions: Amy did not fully engage with academic source texts or disciplinary content and ideas—she worked at the sentence level to avoid patchwriting or making too many language mistakes—she misrepresented source texts. Sally relied on her online bilingual dictionary, a source that she knew could not be traced, to paraphrase sentences and compose entire paragraphs. Both Amy and Sally met the learning objectives of the assignment: to research a topic using a variety of sources, to cite and reference properly, and to proofread for grammar, vocabulary, and references. They also both received passing grades. At the same time, both played it safe in terms of plagiarism detection, cut corners by employing questionable strategies to save time, and misrepresented the authorship of works referenced in their writing.

These findings highlight the complexity of L2 digitally-mediated academic writing when policing plagiarism takes center stage. With the unstoppable growth of internet-based technologies and services, including online dictionaries, translations software, paragraphing tools, online editing, tutoring, and ghost writing, designed to assist student writers, eliminating plagiarism and academic dishonest may be an unattainable ideal. It also begs the question whether technology in relation to student writing and academic integrity can be both the cause and solution of plagiarism (Bruton & Childers, 2016). For instructors in higher education, then, it may be more strategic to work more closely with students to recognize what they are doing, what they need to improve their academic writing skills, and how technology can be incorporated in the curriculum and classroom practices to do so.

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