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Contents

A SURVEY OF MOTIVATION IN EFL CLASSES FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF LEARNERS AND TEACHERS

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ABSTRACT

Incentives, drives and motivation are the main terms in psychology that strengthen the persistence towards the desired achievement. This paper investigates teachers and students' perception of how motivation can be promoted and consolidated in the EFL classroom. More precisely, how teachers can raise the level of motivation inside and outside the language classroom. The significance of this study lies in the fact that once learners are motivated, they can easily realise that they are achieving a purpose of their language learning and that they are more willing to accept the challenge of some demanding tasks. In this study two questionnaires were used: one for 46 teachers (in English) and one for 75 students (in Arabic). Teachers were in favour of almost every item related to motivation, and their average scores were higher of than that of the students. Probably experience and knowledge of the issue played a major factor. In general, the questionnaires for both groups yielded higher results than the calculated average for every group; for teachers, it was 72%, and it was 60% for the students. In conclusion, encouragement, appraisal, and motivation are important in classroom activities to raise language learning awareness and learning persistence.

Key words: motivation; classroom learning awareness; EFL; EFL learners

Introduction

Globalisation has resulted in the need for a common language in the world in order for people to communicate effectively with each. Thus, English has become a global medium of communication as it is used worldwide as a lingua franca. Arabic learners who speak English as a foreign language (EFL) usually face a number of difficulties when they get to university learning level since English is the medium of instruction for the majority of the courses taught. Motivating these learners is largely dependent on the teachers and others concerned with the learning process. One of the influential determinants of EFL learning is motivation, and this has long been identified as of great influences (Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015; Moskovsky, Alrabai, Paolini, & Ratcheva, 2013; Spolsky, 1990).

Al-Rabai (2014, p. 225) has the view that although "[m]otivation is a key factor in the acquisition of second and foreign languages, it is widely acknowledged that Saudi EFL learners generally do not possess very high levels of second language (L2) motivation". Ekiz and Kulemtov (2016) remind us that teachers and researchers have acknowledged that motivation or demotivation plays a role in the progress and success of foreign language (FL) learning. In a recent study, Ho (2016, p. 68) shows that patience and motivation, along with others, scored higher than other factors in bringing about better vocabulary learning. Other beliefs included factors related to teachers' positive feelings, learners' styles, and positive backwash effect of testing. What is of immediate interest to this research is how EFL learners can increase their motivation to learn the language.

Research questions

The aim of this research is to investigate how teachers of English can increase the motivation level of their students. Specifically, the objectives are as follows:

- From the point of view of students, what are the most common techniques that teachers should use to motivate students to learn English?
- From the point of view of teachers, what are the most common techniques that teachers should use to motivate their students to learn English?
- Are teachers and students aware of the importance of motivation in learning English?

Significance of the research

Motivation is among the most significant factors that can enhance learning of a language. Thus, the success of language learning depends, to a large extent, on how motivated they are (Brown, 1994; Cheng & Dörnyei, 2007). It is worth highlighting here that with the rise of learner-centeredness, teachers have to look into elements that help develop this learner-centeredness, which can be motivation. When learners are highly motivated, they are able to realise that they are achieving a purpose of their language learning, accept some demanding tasks and understand that they are gaining success as they progress in their FL learning (Al-Kaboody, 2013; Bahous, Bacha & Nabhani, 2011; Ramage 1992).

Literature Review

Motivation is described a drive that pushes or incites people to take actions, or do tasks or activities (Clément, Dörnyei, & Noels, 1994; Dörnyei, 2005; Dörnyei, 2011). Dörnyei (1998, p. 117) maintains that "although motivation is a term frequently used in both educational and research contexts, it is rather surprising how little agreement there is in the literature with regard to the exact definition of the concept".

It is important to shed some light on the two types of motivation: the instrumental or extrinsic versus the integrative or intrinsic. In the instrumental type, learners are interested in learning a language for practical purposes, for example getting a degree, or getting a job. In this type of motivation, usually there can be an immediate benefit for the person. On the other hand, learners who are integratively motivated are interested in getting integrated with the speakers of the target language, its society and culture (Brown, 1994).

Dörnyei (1998, p. 118) believes that "motivation has been widely accepted by both teachers and researchers as one of the key factors that influence the rate and success of second or foreign language learning." In a similar manner, Tuan (2012) confirms the role of motivation in language learning, and others (such as Rehman et al., 2014) reiterate that motivation is of immense importance in achieving the desired goals of language learning.

As far as the debate regarding whether the instrumental or integrative type matters most, Dörnyei and a number of his contemporaries agree that in an EFL context, instrumental motivation plays a greater role in language learning (Dörnyei, 1994, 2001, 2003). Some studies, for example, (Al-Kaboody, 2013) revealed a need for a more pragmatic education centred approach. This indicates that EFL teaching/learning settings should be largely instrumentally oriented.

Why motivation?

Lamb (2016) stated that one cannot imagine a group of learners learning a second or a foreign language without a certain level of motivation. Thus, the influence or rather the relationship between motivation and language learning has been well-established among those concerned, to name a few, (Spolsky, 1990; Cranmer, 1996). Motivation must be there because from a psychological point of view, human beings are complex creatures so they have complex desires, complex needs, complex moods and different feelings and reactions towards certain stimuli, which all have their influences on learning. In sum, it is natural that they are different. This is why we say that for learning to happen, the required degree of motivation should exist in the classroom, which will enable teachers to teach effectively (Ramage, 1990; Dörnyei, 1998; Chambers, 1999; Dörnyei, 2005). Dörnyei (1994, p. 273) reiterates that there has been a great deal of investigation into "the nature and role of motivation in the L2 learning process". Again, Dörnyei (1998, p. 117) adds that "motivation energises human behaviour and gives it direction". Therefore, it is widely believed that students start to see learning as rewarding particularly when they are highly motivated.

The role of the teacher

It goes without saying that the teacher is the cornerstone of any teaching-learning situation and its process. This the view held by so many researchers and educators (Al-Kaboody, 2013; Assalahi, 2013; Bahous, Bacha, & Nabhani, 2011; Brown, 1994;

Cook, 2013; Davis, 2003; Dörnyei, 2001, 2003; Lightbown & Spada, 2006; Reeve & Jang, 2006; Spolsky, 1990; Williams & Burden, 2002).

And in order to make such a process a success, the teacher is to create the required amount of motivation that can make the teaching-learning process continue as much as possible. Nadeem (2013, p. 209) confirms that the teacher is supposed to "play a highly significant role in creating motivation strategies" that can make the teaching practice motivational. The teacher has to be motivated to be able to create that required level of motivation. Gonzales (2010) explains that the idea of teacher as a friend, a guide, an inspiration provider, a source of knowledge and a role model is not new as it has been there for centuries. Koran (2015, p. 38) adds that "[t]eachers are seen as the major determinant sources of motivation for language learners … and are, further, expected to enhance learners' motivation for better language learning." Al-Kaboody (2013, p. 45) goes further to say that "teachers have a huge responsibility to initiate learners' motivation and keep it alive throughout the learning process". Teachers play a central role in motivating learners; therefore, we can conclude by saying that creating and consolidating motivation in class depends highly on the teacher.

Teachers are, with no doubt, the providers of motivation. This is because they are the people who feed the learners' minds with knowledge, skills and information. While parents raise their children biologically, teachers raise them mentally to become successful learners. It is stressed by Assalahi (2013, p. 1) that teachers have gained this high position "through in-service teacher education, college preparation" and the experiences gained from their field. This means teachers should be aware of observing motivation while teaching and subsequently to create awareness of learning and motivation for their learners.

Methodology

The participants in the study were 75 students and 46 teachers. The students were in their first and second year of their degree programme in sciences, medicine, and engineering from three colleges at Jazan University. The teachers had received in-service training through seminars and short sporadic training sessions. Therefore, it is important to investigate their opinions on the importance of motivation in the language classroom. A number of researchers advocated teachers' views on the development and students' involvement in the learning process as crucial (Borg, 1998; Dörnyei, 2008; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011Moskovsky, Alrabai, Paolini, & Ratcheva, 2013; Ruesch, Bown, & Dewey, 2012; Tuan, 2012;).

Two questionnaires were designed and developed based on Cohen, Manion, and Morrison (2007, pp. 317-348). The questionnaire for students was originally in Arabic to make sure that the students fully understood the items. It was later translated to English (Appendices A & B). To construct the questionnaires, the researchers held informal discussions with colleagues from the English Language Institute of Jazan University regarding item coverage and topics as well as wording and sequencing. Selection of these statements was done through combining and paraphrasing many statements related to the topic in question. Later on, similar discussions were held with other colleagues for further checking and a small-scale piloting. A five point-Likert scale was chosen to measure the teachers' and students' attitude towards motivation during the English lesson in the classroom.

Both questionnaires were provided to the judges in English. The judges were two PhD holders in applied linguistics at the English Language Institute of Jazan University. The questionnaire for the teachers included 24 statements (Appendix A), and the questionnaire for the students contained 20 statements (Appendix B). The printed questionnaires were distributed during classes in the first semester 2020. To observe privacy and level of freedom for doing the research, names were not required, and completion of the questionnaire was optional. This measure may have slightly affected the turn-out of the questionnaires.

The statistical analysis focused on calculating percentages and values for each item. Brace (2004, p. 86) states that "[r]esponses using the Likert scale can be given scores for each statement, usually from 1 to 5, negative to positive". Since our questionnaires were based on similar responses' scale, we adopted a simple tallying analysis. The procedure we used to analyse the responses applies for both groups except for the average value. It was calculated as "YES" for teachers to be 72, and for students to be 60 (as shown in the *italicised* middle value in Table 1). Difference in the neutral value is due to the difference in number of items for each questionnaire: i.e. (3x24), and (3x20) respectively.

Table 1
Values assigned to the two questionnaires

	Teachers (46)	Students (75)
	Choice	Choice
Likert 5-point scale	**SA** = strongly agree (5) **A** = agree (4) **N** = neutral (3) **D** = disagree (2) **SD** = strongly disagree (1)	**SA** = strongly agree (5) **A** = agree (4) **N** = neutral (3) **D** = disagree (2) **SD** = strongly disagree (1)
Highest value	120	100
Middle (neutral value)	***72***	***60***
Lowest value	24	20

The following example is taken from the teachers' questionnaire. The sixth item states, "Teachers should accept students' answers even if wrong in grammar or wrong in the choice of vocabulary items." The highest value should be 120, the middle is 72, and the lowest is 24. Therefore, the statement weight is calculated in the following steps (calculations are presented in Table 2):

1. Tallying the number of responses under each choice.
2. Multiplying the number of responses under each choice by the assigned value (as coded above).
3. Summing up the total points for each statement.
4. Calculating the average (total points for each statement divided by the number of responses for that particular statement).

5. Converting the average into a percentage as the real weight of the statement.

Table 2
The average number of a questionnaire and how this average (mean) is converted to percentages

STATEMENT	SA	A	N	D	SD	TOTAL
Teachers should accept students' answers even if wrong in grammar or wrong in the choice of vocabulary items.	11	23	0	12	0	**46**
Weight given for each choice	5	4	3	2	1	
Total points for each choice	55	92	0	24	0	**171**
***Average for this statement* is calculated as: 171/46= 3.72 (3.72 / 5 = 74%)**						

In short, the *Percentage Formula* for this statement is: (*average / 5*100)*. The number 5 is the highest value an item statement can get. If an item gets above the neutral value (72% for teachers, and 60% for the students), it indicates “YES” to the item (positive agreement), but if it gets less than neutral value, it means “NO”, (negative agreement). For the full results of all items, see Appendices A and B. The above example shows “satisfaction”, yet it is not a strong one because the result is slightly above the average point.

Results and Discussion

The teachers in this research consider certain aspects related to actual teaching highly, like “teachers’ knowledge of their students’ attitudes towards learning English” (99%), “calling their students by name when asking questions” (97%) and “praising students’ individual works and achievements” (98%). Likewise, they strongly consider certain other aspects as very important keys for learning, such as “giving attention to the students’ individual differences” (90%), “creating a pleasant and supportive classroom environment” (93%) and “establishing a good rapport with their students” (90%). Using the white board in an organised manner (94%) and using their teaching aids (94%) are among the points mostly agreed upon. They also think highly of making use of available technology or teaching aids (97%), changing their teaching techniques from time to time (96%) and setting the goal for learning English for a good future (92%). At another level, the teachers highly believe that increasing their students’ self-confidence and autonomy (90%), increasing their students' satisfaction and reward of learning English (93%) and creating awareness among students that they can overcome difficulties as there is nothing impossible for the human mind (95%) are very effective in making their students develop the love for learning the English language.

EFL teachers also believe that making their classes interactive (95%), using lesson planning appropriate for each class (94%) and using appropriate methods of teaching and suitable teaching aids (97%) as excellent procedures to motivate their learners learn English. Furthermore, they admit that using appropriate verbal as well as non-verbal language (93%) should make their students feel at ease with the use of the language (94%). The use of positive words when dealing with students should lead to building bridges with them (96%) and that teachers can be good “models” for their students so that they can follow them (97%).

The reaction of the students to the items in the questionnaire is presented briefly here. The students praise highly (89%) that their teachers call them by name when dealing with them in the classroom, and also, they react in quite a similar manner to the statement that their teachers praise their individual works (87%). They responded positively to the fact that their teachers accept their talk in class even if there are mistakes in grammar and in the choice of vocabulary items (88%) where teachers create a supportive atmosphere in the classroom.

The two statements of establishing good rapports with the students and using the white board in an organised manner have been equally valued extremely largely by the students (87%) each. At another level, the points of telling students that English has a promising future and relating what is taught to learners’ lives by teachers are well received by the students (87%) and (86%) respectively. With regard to making of class interactive, the use of appropriate teaching methods and the good care given to the different stages of the lesson are eminently considered by the students, (86%), (85%) and (83%) respectively, as motivating techniques.

The students of this study deeply value the use of positive (good) word (87%), the feeling at ease when using English (84%) and the use of appropriate verbal and non-verbal language all by their teachers during classroom teaching and (81%). The two statements of telling students of the promising futurity of English and those teachers being good models for their students are remarkably accepted by those students (85%) each. The students also agree to the idea that their teachers are well aware of the fact that English is important for those students’ higher education (87%).

Implications

The teachers of this research strongly believe that having knowledge of their students’ attitudes towards learning English, praising students’ individual achievements, and calling them by name when asking questions are highly important in establishing a successful rapport between teachers and their students. All these are bound to ultimately lead to creating motivation towards learning English. These are excellent elements that make the teaching-learning process not only a physical mental process, but a cordially mutual relationship. The implication here is that those teachers highly consider giving attention to the students’ individual differences, creating a pleasant and supportive classroom environment and establishing a good rapport with their students as strong bridges that can make both teachers and learners pass through to achieve successful learning outcomes. These implications are supported by Sugita and Takeuchi (2009).

From a pedagogical point of view, as supported by Brog (2003), the teachers in this study highly consider certain practical procedures used in classroom such as using the white board in an organised manner and using other teaching aids that are essential to ensure success in learning.

The teachers also pay a great attention to the psychological aspects that surround the learning of English. This is clear from the great care and concern they give to the development of their students' self-confidence and autonomy, increasing their students' satisfaction and reward of leaning English and creating awareness among students that they can overcome difficulties so as to energise their mental abilities to learn. The teachers are also well aware of the importance of making their classes interactive, using lesson planning appropriately for each class and using appropriate methods of teaching, carefully selecting suitable teaching aids confirm that these are among the things that maximise learning.

Furthermore, the teachers see the use of appropriate verbal as well as non-verbal language, making their students feel at ease with the use of the language, using positive words when dealing with students and being good models for their students to follow as exceptionally effective factors resulting in effective learning. This supports the idea that teachers strengthen the role of students' autonomy through guided motivation (Yang, 1998).

Conclusion

This study reinforces the findings of many studies in the field, particularly the strong correlational relationship between "[i]deal L2 self and motivated learning" (Prasangani, 2014, p. 33). Motivated teachers can help learners to exert more efforts of learning a foreign language in general. From the point of view of students, the most common techniques that teachers use to motivate them in the classrooms have a variety of facets, namely, encouragement, appraisal, tolerance, professionalism, friendly and positive attitude towards learners. On the other hand, the most common techniques that teachers should use to motivate their students in the classrooms are being aware of the needs of the students and the continuous evaluation of the learning situation, where teachers are supposed to act accordingly. Monitoring students learning and keeping motivation in mind are a good strategy to keep motivation present in the classroom activities and interactions. Teachers and students alike stress the importance of motivation in pushing learning ahead, and they almost share the same assumptions, but from different stances and perspectives.

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Appendix A: Analysis of teachers' questionnaire

Dear teacher,
This questionnaire intends to get your opinion on how you exert efforts and use classroom to motivate your students learn English. You are kindly requested to put a tick (ü) against the choice that you see suitable, and according to your opinion. We assure you that the data you provide will be used strictly and only for the purposes for research purposes, hoping that you provide your answers honestly. This questionnaire is optional and you can withdraw at any time if you are not interested in competition.

CODE: SA = strongly agree, **A** = agree, **N** = neutral, **D** = disagree, and **SD** = strongly disagree.

SERIAL	Statement	Number of answers					Answer values					Answer totals	Sum of answer values	Statement value in %
		SA	A	N	D	SD	**5**	**4**	**3**	**2**	**1**			
1	Teachers should try to know about their students' attitudes towards learning English.	43	3	0	0	0	**215**	**12**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**46**	**227**	**99%**
2	Teachers should call students by name when asking questions and assigning tasks.	38	8	0	0	0	**190**	**32**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**46**	**222**	**97%**
3	Teachers should praise students' individual works and achievement.	41	5	0	0	0	**205**	**20**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**46**	**225**	**98%**
4	Teachers should look into their students' past experience; how they were taught before getting into the university.	21	25	0	0	0	**105**	**100**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**46**	**205**	**89%**
5	Teachers should give attention to students' individual differences.	22	24	0	0	0	**110**	**96**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**46**	**206**	**90%**

6	Teachers should accept students' answers even if wrong in grammar or wrong in the choice of vocabulary items.	11	23	0	12	0	**55**	**92**	**0**	**24**	**0**	**46**	**171**	**74%**
7	Teachers should create a pleasant and supportive classroom environment.	31	15	0	0	0	**155**	**60**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**46**	**215**	**93%**
8	Teachers should establish a good rapport with the students.	23	23	0	0	0	**115**	**92**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**46**	**207**	**90%**
9	Teachers should use the white board in an organized manner.	32	14	0	0	0	**160**	**56**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**46**	**216**	**94%**
10	Teachers should make use of any available technology/ teaching aids.	39	7	0	0	0	**195**	**28**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**46**	**223**	**97%**
11	Teachers should change their teaching techniques from time to time.	37	9	0	0	0	**185**	**36**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**46**	**221**	**96%**
12	Teachers should increase the learner's goal of learning the language in such a way that it has a good/ promising future.	27	19	0	0	0	**135**	**76**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**46**	**211**	**92%**
13	Teachers should relate what they teach to the learner's life.	19	27	0	0	0	**95**	**108**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**46**	**203**	**88%**
14	Teachers should try to increase the students' self-confidence and their autonomy.	22	24	0	0	0	**110**	**96**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**46**	**206**	**90%**
15	Teachers should try to increase the students' satisfaction and reward of leaning English.	31	15	0	0	0	**155**	**60**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**46**	**215**	**93%**

16	Teachers should create awareness among students that they can overcome difficulties as there is nothing impossible for the human mind.	35	11	0	0	0	**175**	**44**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**46**	**219**	**95%**
17	Teachers should try to make their class interactive.	34	12	0	0	0	**170**	**48**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**46**	**218**	**95%**
18	Teachers should use lesson planning appropriate for each class.	33	13	0	0	0	**165**	**52**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**46**	**217**	**94%**
19	Teachers should use appropriate methods of teaching & suitable teaching aids.	38	8	0	0	0	**190**	**32**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**46**	**222**	**97%**
20	Teachers should use appropriate verbal as well as non-verbal language.	30	16	0	0	0	**150**	**64**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**46**	**214**	**93%**
21	Teachers should make students feel at ease with the use of the language.	32	14	0	0	0	**160**	**56**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**46**	**216**	**94%**
22	Teachers should use positive words when dealing with students so as to build bridges with such students. ***	36	10	0	0	0	**180**	**40**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**46**	**220**	**96%**
23	Teachers should be good models for their students so that they can follow such good models.	38	8	0	0	0	**190**	**32**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**46**	**222**	**97%**
24	Teachers should create awareness among their students that English is important for their higher/ further education	27	19	0	0	0	**135**	**76**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**46**	**211**	**92%**

Appendix B: Analysis of students' questionnaire

Dear Student,
This questionnaire is intended to get your opinion on how the teacher(s) of English motivate you in class in order to learn English effectively. You are requested to put a tick (ü) against the choice that you see suitable, and according to your observation of your teacher and experience in the classroom. Your responses will be kept confidential and will be used for research purposes to encourage your teachers to teach better. Kindly answer with honesty. This questionnaire is optional and you can withdraw at any time if you are not interested in competition.

CODE: SA = strongly agree, **A** = agree, **N** = neutral, **D** = disagree, and **SD** = strongly disagree.

SERIAL	Statement	Number of answers					Answer values					Answer totals	Answer values	Statement value in %
		SA	A	N	D	SD	5	4	3	2	1			
1	The teachers who teach me English ask us whether, or not we like English.	32	18	10	10	5	**160**	**72**	**30**	**20**	**5**	**75**	**287**	**77%**
2	The teachers who teach me English call students by name.	53	10	6	3	3	**265**	**40**	**18**	**6**	**3**	**75**	**332**	**89%**
3	The teachers who teach me English praise our individual works and achievement.	50	10	8	7	0	**250**	**40**	**24**	**14**	**0**	**75**	**328**	**87%**
4	The teachers who teach me English ask how we were taught before getting into the university.	30	12	10	17	6	**150**	**48**	**30**	**34**	**6**	**75**	**268**	**71%**
5	The teachers who teach me English accept students' answers even if wrong in grammar or wrong in the choice of vocabulary items.	52	10	5	6	2	**260**	**40**	**15**	**12**	**2**	**75**	**329**	**88%**

6	The teachers who teach me English create a pleasant and supportive classroom environment.	42	12	10	6	5	**210**	**48**	**30**	**12**	**5**	**75**	**305**	**81%**
7	The teachers who teach me English establish a good rapport with the students.	51	10	5	6	3	**255**	**40**	**15**	**12**	**3**	**75**	**325**	**87%**
8	The teachers who teach me English use the white board in an organized manner.	54	6	5	7	3	**270**	**24**	**15**	**14**	**3**	**75**	**326**	**87%**
9	The teachers who teach me English change their teaching techniques from time to time; giving different tasks, telling little stories etc..	31	9	11	15	9	**155**	**36**	**33**	**30**	**9**	**75**	**263**	**70%**
10	The teachers who teach me English tells the students that English has a good/ promising future.	50	10	8	7	0	**250**	**40**	**24**	**14**	**0**	**75**	**328**	**87%**
11	The teachers who teach me English relate what they teach to the learner's life.	43	17	10	5	0	**215**	**68**	**30**	**10**	**0**	**75**	**323**	**86%**
12	The teachers who teach me English make their class interactive.	47	9	12	7	0	**235**	**36**	**36**	**14**	**0**	**75**	**321**	**86%**
13	The teachers who teach me English take good care of the beginning, middle and end of the lesson.	45	12	9	4	5	**225**	**48**	**27**	**8**	**5**	**75**	**313**	**83%**

14	The teachers who teach me English use appropriate teaching methods & suitable teaching aids.	48	9	8	10	0	**240**	**36**	**24**	**20**	**0**	**75**	**320**	**85%**
15	The teachers who teach me English use appropriate verbal as well as non-verbal language while teaching.	33	21	11	10	0	**165**	**84**	**33**	**20**	**0**	**75**	**302**	**81%**
16	The teachers who teach me English make students feel at ease with the use of the language.	45	12	6	12	0	**225**	**48**	**18**	**24**	**0**	**75**	**315**	**84%**
17	The teachers who teach me English use positive (good) words when dealing with students.	53	5	7	10	0	**265**	**20**	**21**	**20**	**0**	**75**	**326**	**87%**
18	The teachers who teach me English tell their students to learn English for a promising future.	47	8	10	10	0	**235**	**32**	**30**	**20**	**0**	**75**	**317**	**85%**
19	The teachers who teach me English are good models for their students to follow.	48	7	12	8	0	**240**	**28**	**36**	**16**	**0**	**75**	**320**	**85%**
20	The teachers who teach me English make their students aware of the fact that English is important for their higher/ further education.	51	5	15	4	0	**255**	**20**	**45**	**8**	**0**	**75**	**328**	**87%**

HOKKIEN AS A HERITAGE LANGUAGE OF CITIZENRY IN SINGAPORE

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ABSTRACT

In examining Hokkien as a heritage language in Singapore, this discussion hopes to contribute to an enriching of the perception of citizenship in an ever-evolving national narrative towards one people (Mathew, 2017). The Singapore Census of Population statistics indicate that 11% of ethnic local Chinese households speak Hokkien. Singaporean television serials and movies that use Hokkien as the medium of narration achieve encouraging viewership and box office ratings, hinting that Hokkien is understood, or appreciated by a significant number of the local population as a language of prominence. Therefore, since Hokkien holds a key to common Chinese Singaporean cultural memories, this paper contemplates if learning Hokkien could cultivate a collective resilience when balancing professional, and personal challenges. To this end, *冰冰 Show,* a contemporary Taiwanese variety program available on *YouTube*, is used to evaluate the potential power of this language in nurturing citizenship.

Keywords: Heritage language; Hokkien proverbs; ethnocultural intelligence; multicultural literacy; Singapore citizenry

Introduction

Singapore has a rich dialect profile, even when one considers the Chinese community per se. A survey conducted in 2005 by the Statistics Department of Singapore showed that 277,910 persons aged 5 years or older spoke Hokkien in Singapore (Dept. of Statistics, 2010). This total amounts to 8.95% of the Singapore population of the same age group. In the ethnographic poll by the Census of Population in 2010, however, 238,843 out of 492,031 dialect speakers in Singapore reported speaking Hokkien (Sew, 2016). The decrease in the number of Hokkien speakers between 2005 and 2010 is alarming, and Li (2018) notes the increasing disappearance of Hokkien in Singapore in his discussion on translanguaging as a mode of communication in the multilingual societies.

The dwindling number of Hokkien speakers suggests a bleak sociolinguistic future facing the heritage language in Singapore (Chua, 2012). In offering his comparative cultural and political analyses between a local Hokkien film *Money No Enough* (钱不够用) and a Taiwanese film *Tai ping tian guo* (太平天国), Chua Beng Huat wrote poignantly (Chua, 2012, p. 64):

> … the educated and successful speak only English and Mandarin in all social transactions and increasingly also at home, the marginalisation and suppression of Hokkien and its speakers are processes of internal colonisation … Hokkien speakers in Singapore are condemned to a slow but certain silencing and eventual disappearance. The erasure of their histories in the collective memory of the Singapore nation because their past and participation in local history can no longer be communicated fully becomes more certain as each successive generation becomes less and less competent in the Hokkien language, to the vanishing point of total incompetence ... the language's demise all the more tragically, as fewer and fewer Singaporeans are able to understand the films, beyond the comic scenes, for want of linguistic competence.

Currently, the ability to speak the dialect of one's origin seems to be a concern of some local undergraduates. Such a conjecture is based on a recent enrolment of 41 tertiary learners in a student-driven *Design Your Own Module* initiative that teaches spoken Hokkien at the National University of Singapore (NUS NEWS, 2020). A study examining the social cultural traits and language attitudes of Hokkien and Foochow speakers in Sarawak informs that the ability to speak one's dialect is important to the Sarawakian Hokkiens. The 150 Hokkien participants of the study reported feeling embarrassed at their inability to speak the Chinese dialect (Ting & Puah, 2015).

This discussion, nonetheless, claims that Hokkien ethnocultural intelligence remains relevant to the Singaporean society as the dialect contributes to original social schemata relevant for enriching the nation's multicultural heritage. Essentially, Hokkien contributes to the diversification of Singapore's ethnography, not least because it underscores ethnocultural practices such as Chinese hawker food, worship, folk ritual, as well as ethnic-communal celebrations including the Hungry Ghost Festival in Singapore. We begin the discussion by highlighting how Hokkien may broaden the horizons of English and Mandarin speakers in the diverse cultural environment of Singapore.

Hokkien in Singapore

The competitive edge of Singapore's workforce arguably stems from its bilingual language policy. In the national education system, there are three official mother tongue languages in Singapore that complement English, namely, Mandarin for Chinese, Malay for the Malays, and Tamil for the Indians. This linguistic combination equips a person with the skills to compete in a global economy that has English as a de-facto lingua franca, while maintaining a sense of rooted loyalty in one's Asian heritage (Wee, 2006). Official information is disseminated in Mandarin through the mass media in Singapore. For example, the afternoon and evening news for the

Chinese-speaking communities are broadcasted in Mandarin on two free-to-air television channels, both managed by MediaCorp Singapore. While Mandarin is the official medium of dissemination, selected Chinese dialects occupy a segment in the mid-afternoon news broadcast on radio through *Capital FM95.8*, which involves a reading of news bulletins in Foochow, Hainanese, Hokkien, Cantonese, Teochew, and Hakka (Ang, 2017). Recently in July 2020, *Capital FM95.8* included a Cantonese storytelling segment on Friday nights. While acknowledging the existence of other linguistic sub-groups symbolically on air, Hokkien faces devaluation since 1979:

> Because the Chinese community in Singapore's early history was characterised to convince Chinese Singaporeans to replace their various dialects with Mandarin. This Speak Mandarin Campaign is re-launched annually, amidst pomp and fanfare, where the state reiterates the importance of speaking Mandarin. (Wee, 2006, p. 350)

The ban on dialect use was formalised in the interest of learning the mother tongue without any distraction from dialect influence (cf. Chua, 2012; Lee, 2016). We can imagine the silencing of other Chinese dialects by gauging Aboriginal English, often referred as rubbish English, in Australia. According to Malcolm (2007, p. 59), "aboriginal people have preferred not to be heard using their dialect in the company of the 'standard' dialect speakers" because they were told by the educators that they speak a wrong language.

The discriminatory sociolinguistic phenomenon reflects a linguistic hegemony in the local Chinese language situation. Even though dialects are officially discouraged, Hokkien has not retreated into total silence as the usage of Hokkien is traceable in the heartlands. Hokkien resides in the audiotopia of getai, and movie theme songs in Singapore (Liew & Chan, 2013). Getai, which literally means a song stage, is part of the folk performance during the Hungry Ghost Festival. Local and foreign performers sing, banter, and occasionally drag in the company of a live band on stage (Sew, 2016). Hokkien theme songs, on the other hand, have become a defining element in the films of local directors such as Roystan Tan, and Jack Neo (cf. Liew & Chan, 2013). It is, thus, not surprising that Hokkien has found its voice in the local silver screen. For example, *Money No Enough*, a 1998 movie directed by Jack Neo, used Hokkien as the medium of narration. The characters in the movie exploited what Pennycook (2007) calls cultural-communicative efficacy to win the local audience's hearts. Worthy of our attention, the idiosyncratic use of Hokkien speech and cultural norms transformed a seemingly moribund dialect into a lucrative theatrical medium. The movie has grossed S$5.8 million at the box office and sold another 70,000 pieces of video compact discs (VCDs) in the local entertainment market.

The commercial success of *Money No Enough* revealed that Hokkien is a bankable sociolinguistic choice in Singapore. For one thing, Hokkien captures common heritage memories, especially in reclaiming a Chinese-Hokkien identity based on linguistic origins. To this end, the National Heritage Board, through the cataloguing of Singapore proverbs, completed a project that recorded dialectal proverbs and wise sayings. As a result, a collection of 15 chapters based on the languages spoken in Singapore were published, and these included Cantonese, Hakka, Hokkien, Malay, Mandarin, Tamil, and Teochew (Nayak & Rao, 2013). The non-Chinese researchers have contributed to the revitalisation project of Singaporean Hokkien, initiating the restoration of Hokkien as a heritage language in Singapore's ethnocultural nexus. In salvaging his Hokkien memories, Kuan (2014), who sees the need to revitalise Singapore Hokkien, published a picture book containing Hokkien phrases entitled *My picture book of dialect* which affirmed that educated individuals are aware of the grave reality of their dialects disappearing in time. Tapping on social media, Kuan (2014) also teaches spoken Hokkien by posing occasional video on phrases from his book through the *Facebook* account *Sibey Nostalgic*.

Figure 1. Screenshot of *Sibey Nostalgic* in *Facebook*

As illustrated in Figure 1, the attempt to teach Hokkien phrases via Facebook is a commendable strategy to attract young speakers because Hokkien audio materials are scarce in Singapore. Apart from the movies that Jack Neo and other directors produced, there are only a handful of *YouTube* videos where Hokkien spoken in Singapore is audible. Notably, Singapore Telecommuncations Limited (Singtel), the largest mobile network operator in Singapore, commissioned and uploaded eight video clips entitled "Are You Hokkien?" to *YouTube* in 2014.

In exploring the dialect of origins as an identity marker, the Sarawakian Foochow and Hokkien speakers tend to show preference for multifaceted identity associations as they consider ethnic identity as only one of their many identities (Puah & Ting, 2017). In the same vein, Mathew (2017) reminds that many Singaporeans are looking forward to a collective definition of one's identity beyond the individual inherited markers. This is simply because a stereotypical reduction by virtue of one's race is not a popular categorisation.

> Enlightened multicultural students can emerge from building multicultural educational systems that incorporate the values and perspectives of different groups of people found in that society and who are contributing members of it. This approach is far from seeing multiculturalism as an "extra" in the classroom or to be fitted into the curriculum as and when time permits, leading student to form impressions of ethnic or religious groups based on snapshots. Students can be encouraged to see that inter-ethnic

ties are not separate from the broader system of social relations operating in society, moving away from the fallacy of particularism.

(Matthew, 2017, p. xxv)

In the interest of conceiving a well-rounded understanding of citizenry, Hokkien proverbs, as a resource, may be incorporated in the planning of civic and national education, not least because the proverbs are rich in the values of sociability (see the following sections). Such exploit of the proverbs in refining the citizenry knowledge is in line with the recent efforts of Senior State Minister, Dr Janil Puthucheary who promoted the sharing of respectful conversations on citizenship experiences in *Channel News Asia* (Chia, 2018).

Specifically, this discussion explores the ways in which the local speech community may be reinvigorated with a sense of camaraderie from using Hokkien as a medium of intra- and interpersonal communications. In an effort to fortify a mindset that supports each other as fellow countrymen, we wonder if Hokkien equips its speakers with the resilience to face challenges, such as the economic crisis, and job-related hardships brought about by COVID-19. This discussion explores the potentials of Hokkien schemata to foster personal commitment for the common good. Armed with optimism, we want to identify the Hokkien ethnocultural intelligence that galvanises civility amongst its speakers. Eventually, we hope to see aspects of Hokkien proverbs generating a positive ripple effect in everyday life. This would underscore the belief that the Hokkien proverbs is a sociolinguistic instrument that enhances positivity against what Lakoff (2005) calls the culture of victimisation or the blame game, especially when one faces major ordeals, for example, life-threatening health issues, pandemic-related restrictions and retrenchment.

Hokkien from the *Bing Bing Show*

The data under analysis are a set of Hokkien proverbs identified by an experienced and learned Taiwanese artist, *Bai Bing Bing* (白冰冰) in a Hokkien variety show she hosted. In the competitive Taiwan television world, Bai's variety show, which aired weekly in the afternoon, have raked in top ratings (中視新聞, 2018). Based on the *YouTube* video clips, Table 1 contains a selection of 12 Hokkien proverbs shared by 白冰冰 in her *冰冰 Show*.

Table 1
Hokkien proverbs derived from 冰冰 Show (2017)

冰冰Show 20171123

Kan-khóo-thâu; khuìnn-uah-bué.
Bitter start; sweet ending (*冰冰* Show, 2017, Nov. 23)

冰冰Show 20171207

Tsò-lâng tio̍h jīn-tsin; tsò-sū tio̍h tíng-tsin.
Showing your remarkable self; performing with the best effort (*冰冰 Show*, 2017, Dec. 07)

冰冰Show 20171215

Kang-hu kàu-tshù; beh-iōng tio̍h-ū.
Be prepared for future (*冰冰* Show, 2017, Dec. 15)

[冰冰Show 129 - 2017/11/20]

Muî-hue hân-tiong khui; sîng-kong khóo tiong lâi. Blossoms bloom in cold; success comes with struggle (*冰冰* Show, 2017, Nov. 20).

冰冰Show 20171117

Ū-sim phah-thih thih sîng tsng; u-sim khui-suann suann piàn hn̂g.
Iron and mountain can be village and farm if willing (*冰冰 Show*, 2017, Nov. 17)

冰冰Show 20171204

Tsi̍t-ki tsháu tsi̍t-tiám lòo; ū phah-piànn tio̍h-ū tsiân-tôo.
Each blade of grass begets a dew, great effort begets the future (*冰冰 Show*, 2017, Dec. 04)

 冰冰Show 20171221	 冰冰Show 20171227
Ka-kī tsìng tsi̍t-tsâng; khah-iânn khuànn pa̍t-lâng. Growing in the our lawn. Yearning nothing next door (冰冰 *Show,* 2017, Dec. 21)	*Sian-lâng phah-kóo ū-sî tshò; kha-pōo ta̍h-tshò siánn-lâng bô.* Deities might miss a drum beat; human may miss a step (冰冰 *Show,* 2016, Dec. 27)
 冰冰Show 20171218	 冰冰Show 20171211
Sann-pah la̍k-tsa̍p hâng; hâng-hâng tshut tsōng-guân. In each of the three hundred and sixty five skills, a leader exists (冰冰 *Show,* 2017, Dec. 18)	*M̄-pat jī tshiánn-lâng khuànn; m̄-pat lâng liáu tsi̍t-puànn.* Illiterate hires a reader; solitary losses half of the battle (冰冰 *Show,* 2017, Dec. 11)
 冰冰Show 20171219	 冰冰Show 20171213
Ang-bóo nā tâng-sim; ka-hô bān-sū hing. Collaborative husband and wife makes a harmonious home (冰冰 *Show,* 2017, Dec. 19)	*Bô-uan bô-ke; put-sîng hu-tshe.* Small quarrel makes a couple (冰冰 *Show,* 2017, Dec. 13)

It is evident that the underlining morphosyntax of the data in Table 1 is a bi-phrasal construction. This prototypical construction consists of a prelude statement followed by a proposition statement. In other words, each proverb presents a preface that foregrounds the underlying message. Such a bipolar construction resembles a Malay *pantun* in that the poetic statement is accompanied with the actual message (Salleh, 2018; Sew, 2015a). The Malay *pantun* typically appears as a four-line verse with the first two lines foregrounding the actual intention of the last two lines (Salleh 1991; Sew, 1996). Where a poetic statement of a *pantun* could be semantically independent of the intended message the Hokkien proverb's prelude statement, however, forms an integral and coherent part with the proposition. Without the prelude premise, the proposition becomes a hanging phrase lacking the causal reasoning of a persuasive idiom and vice versa. In terms of composite design, the bi-phrasal proverbs are underscored by four types of constructions. The unique composite design in each type operates figuratively to connote the pragmatics of the common good. For our discussion purpose, we classify these composite designs into H1, H2, H3, and H4.

H1 consists of a prelude statement contradicts the proposition. Inferring from the vividness hypothesis (Gibbs, 1994), we highlight that the contradictory style of cross-referencing is a relevant strategy for conveying a richer image to address the subjective experience. The pragmatic contradiction lies with the phrases *bitter head* in the prelude contradicting *sweet end* in the proposition. In the second example of H1, the argument contradicts with *husband and wife* that symbolises marriage in the proverb. Both arguments in the prelude as well as the metonymic *husband and wife* in the proposition corroborate to denote family. Furthermore, the composite design in both examples exhibits the conventional discourse-pragmatic principle, namely, the definite reference (e.g. bitter head, argument) precedes the indefinite counterparts (e.g. sweet end, husband and wife) (Heine, 1997). Common sense suggests that the *head* (thâu) is more salient than the *end* (bué). Further, compared to *husband and wife*, the definiteness of *argument* is augmented with the iterative negation of (bô) in Hokkien (cf. *bô-uan bô-ke* in the second proverb of Table 2).

In H2, on the other hand, the prelude statement serves as a foreground that incrementally amplifies the message in the proposition. There are four examples of H2. The first example parallels the principles of becoming a remarkable person with that of performing a task superbly. In the second example, the blooming of cherry blossom entails the arrival of success. In the third example, a gradual development is observable in the expansive transformation of village from iron and farm to mountain. Lastly, the reference of *husband and wife* correlates with the notion of home. All the H2 examples indicate that the prelude statements serve as the pragmatic launch pads, so to speak, to conjure the contention of the underlying messages. We may understand the composite design of H2 with the compactness hypothesis that sees the use of metaphorical descriptions as a useful pragmatic strategy for partitioning the continuity of conscious experience into succinct references (Gibbs, 1994).

H3 uses a logical configuration that presents a unidirectional causal reasoning. The first example of H3 explicates that self-sufficiency trumps the yearning of others' possession. The second example correlates two phrases of logical equivalents that rhyme, namely, if one is illiterate one may hire a reader, and solitude is half of the battle lost. In the third example, a hardworking person who attains success is equivalent to the effort of an individual grass blade collecting a drop of morning dew by persevering through the night. Affirming the importance of skill-readiness, the fourth saying reminds us about the ease of performing a job if one is equipped with the required expertise. Comparatively speaking, we notice the similar logical configuration in Malay proverbs, e.g., *kalau pandai meniti buih; selamat badan ke seberang* (with skills, success follows), and *kalau takut dilimbur pasang, jangan berumah di tepi pantai* (those afraid of smoke should not stay in the kitchen) (cf. Daipi, 2018).

Unconstrained by a singular template of composite design, H4 appropriates either a contradictory configuration, an incremental development, or a causal-logical equation. The first example suggests that a leader is bound to exist in every task. Divine errors are exploited in the second example to lessen the adverse impact of miscalculations the humans make. The motion thrives on a cultural logic that even the supreme deities err. The inexpressibility hypothesis in Gibbs (1994) explicates that figurative language is used to manage difficult ideas. While Gibbs' (1994) difficult notions refer to swiftness, suddenness or ungraspability), the difficult thing in Hokkien is about offering face-threatening remarks, and negation. As such, a composite design based on a logic of causal reasoning may mitigate impoliteness by appealing to common sense in Hokkien. The selected 12 sayings are, thus, classifiable into the four idiomatic patterns presented in Table 2.

Table 2
Pragmatic configuration of Hokkien proverbs

Semantic types	Hokkien sayings	English glosses
H1: Contradictory configuration	1. *Kan-khóo-thâu; khuìnn-uáh-bué*	Bitter start; sweet ending
	2. *Bô-uan bô-ke; put-sîng hu-tshe*	Small quarrel makes a couple
H2: Incremental configuration	1. *Tsò-lâng tio̍h jīn-tsin; tsò-sū tio̍h tíng-tsin*	Showing your remarkable self; performing with the best effort
	2. *Muî-hue hân-tiong khui; sîng-kong khóo tiong lâi*	Blossoms bloom in cold; success comes with struggle
	3. *Ū-sim phah-thih thih sîng tsng; u-sim khui-suann suann piàn hn̂g*	Iron and mountain can be village and farm, if willing
	4. *Ang-bóo nā tâng-sim; ka-hô bān-sū hing*	Collaborative husband and wife makes a harmonious home
H3: Logical consequence	1. *Ka-kī tsìng tsi̍t-tsâng; khah-iânn khuànn pa̍t-lâng*	Grow it in the lawn; nothing next door we yearn
	2. M̄-pat jī tshiánn-lâng khuànn; m̄-pat lâng liáu tsi̍t-puànn	Illiterate hires a reader; solitary losses half of the battle
	3. *Tsi̍t-ki tsháu tsi̍t-tiám lòo; ū phah-piànn tio̍h-ū tsiân-tôo*	Each blade of grass begets a dew, great effort begets the future
	4. *Kang-hu kàu-tshù; beh-iōng tio̍h-ū*	Be prepared for future
H4: Cultural rhetoric	1. *Sann-pah la̍k-tsa̍p hâng; hâng-hâng tshut tsōng-guân*	In each of the three hundred and sixty five skills, a leader

		exists
	2. Sian-lâng phah-kóo ū-sî tshò; kha-pōo tȧh-tshò siánn-lâng bô	Deities might miss a drum beat; human may miss a step

This discussion differentiates ethnocultural intelligence from linguistic intelligence in that the former represents the voice of the subjugated group whereas the latter is the typical mainstream intelligence (cf. Nolan, 2004). The data in Table 2 demonstrate that maintaining amicable interpersonal relationships is a tenet undercutting all the Hokkien proverbs. Arguably, sociability is the main code of civility underscoring communal well-being, not least because the power of renegotiation is reinstated in a courteous conversation be it about the family, marriage, neighborhood, society, and leadership issues (Sew, 1997). Furthermore, Hokkien sociability as a quality is also traceable to a study conducted at University of Sarawak Malaysia. It is reported that the solidarity traits of Hokkien speakers is rated as informal compared to Mandarin speakers (Ting & Puah, 2010).

Table 2 presents an ethnocultural window to the Hokkien way of being, as it were. The Hokkien proverbs are ingrained with ethnocultural values befitting a harmonious speech community (cf. Sew, 2015b). In the following section, we examine the potential contribution of this dialectal heritage in the nation building narrative of one people.

Discussion

Thus far, the alternative worldview appropriated by the Hokkien proverbs presents a spectrum of celestial, communal, deductive, inductive, logical, and superior-subordinate relations. Through these contemplations of Hokkien intelligence the speakers may procure the cognitive capacity to develop a flexible logic of causal reasoning robust in resilience. In this respect, the Hokkien proverbs pose mirror images of a series of social practice (Wee, 2011, 2018) suitable for reinterpreting livelihood. Indeed, the proverbs are schemata appropriate for developing a positive citizenry mindset. We argue that the Hokkien proverbs make a valuable resource for boosting the confidence of vulnerable social groups, which include care givers, children with special needs, patients, senior citizens, unemployed, etc. By developing a robust self-confidence, the resistance against any domestic, and workplace frictions is, thus, strengthened.

The corrosion of resilience is manifested in challenging times such as the threat of a pandemic. In the event of a conflict and discontentment, however, the ability to rectify one's error, and improve on one's shortcomings becomes precious survival skills. At the very least, a decent citizen is expected to observe civility by withholding any bad intentions that one might have otherwise done (cf. Lakoff, 2005, p. 25). We suggest that the appreciation of the proverbial schemata may mitigate, if not neutralise, the negative perceptions typical of the blame game. That even the deities make mistakes offers the Hokkien listeners the courage to reboot and recalibrate the less than favourable existence in the face of precariousness. Exploiting divinity in this way adds to the significance of Hokkien proverbs as a powerful verbal weapon. If incorporated to civic education, the Hokkien proverbs may offer valuable schemata complementing the mainstream adages.

This discussion examines further the mission statements of the Ministry of Culture, Community and Youth (MCCY), which explicate that the deployment of heritage is one of the strategies for attaining the following outcomes:

> pursue our aspirations for fulfilling lives;
> be a gracious society built on mutual appreciation and trust;
> have a strong sense of belonging to Singapore, our home.
> (MCCY, 2018)

The intended outcomes outlined in the mission statements contain at least two grand values that MCCY strives to achieve, namely, aspirations, and mutual appreciation. In alignment with the MCCY's action plan, cultural literacy educators may consider presenting the Hokkien proverbs as a resource applicable for maintaining the social ideals of nation building.

Table 3
Aligning the Hokkien proverbs with the social ideals

Aspirations	**Mutual appreciation**
Kan-khóo-thâu; khuìnn-ua̍h-bué Bitter start; sweet ending	*Bô-uan bô-ke; put-sîng hu-tshe* Small quarrel makes a couple
Tsò-lâng tio̍h jīn-tsin; tsò-sū tio̍h tíng-tsin Showing your best self; performing with the best effort	*Sann-pah la̍k-tsa̍p hâng; hâng-hâng tshut tsōng-guân* In each of the three hundred and sixty five skills, a leader exists
Kang-hu kàu-tshù; beh-iōng tio̍h-ū Be prepared for future	*M̄-pat jī tshiánn-lâng khuànn; m̄-pat lâng liáu tsi̍t-puànn* Illiterate hires a reader; solitary losses half of the battle
Muî-hue hân-tiong khui; sîng-kong khóo tiong lâi Blossoms bloom in cold; success comes with struggle	*Ang-bóo nā tâng-sim; ka-hô bān-sū hing* Collaborative husband and wife makes a harmonious home
Ū-sim phah-thih thih sîng tsng; u-sim khui-suann suann piàn hn̂g Iron and mountain can be village and farm, if willing	*Sian-lâng phah-kóo ū-sî tshò; kha-pōo ta̍h-tshò siánn-lâng bô* Deities might miss a drum beat; human may miss a step
Tsi̍t-ki tsháu tsi̍t-tiám lòo; ū phah-piànn tio̍h-ū tsiân-tôo Each blade of grass begets a dew, great effort begets the future	
Ka-kī tsìng tsi̍t-tsâng; khah-iânn khuànn pa̍t-lâng Grow it in the lawn; nothing next door we yearn	

In his discussion on super-diversity in the 21st century, Li (2018, pp. 14-15) reminds us that we are dealing with a post-multilingualism challenge:

> where simply having many different languages is no longer sufficient either for the individual or for society as a whole, but multiple ownerships and more complex interweaving of languages and language varieties, and where boundaries between languages, between languages and other communicative means, and the relationship between language and the nation-state are being constantly reassessed, broken, or adjusted by speakers on the ground.

Widening the dialectic framework to include the Hokkien proverbs is a translanguaging move (cf. Cummins, 2017; Garcia & Lin, 2017). Translanguaging, as Garcia (2017) puts it, is a bilingual mechanism that actuates and uses linguistic features from different languages available in the bilingual speaker's repertoire, for personal meaning-making, and interpersonal communication with others. A translanguaging move exploiting the Hokkien proverbs makes good common sense if we agree with Li (2018) that "multilinguals do not think unilingually in a politically named linguistic entity, even when they are in a 'monolingual mode' and producing one namable language only for a specific stretch of speech or text" (p. 18). In a multilingual Singapore, the understanding of certain Hokkien values, by means of translanguaging, may be the relevant pragmatics for boosting aspiration and mutual appreciation. For a start, adaptation of the Hokkien wise sayings into the performing discourse may commence in the local musical scenes such as the getai as well as the musical performances in the Malay month and Mandarin week celebration, respectively. Hokkien proverbs may also be integrated into the theme songs of television series. A Mandarin drama serial with the theme song such as "*Kang-hu kàu-tshù; beh-iōng tio̍h-ū"* (Be prepared for future), for example, may inspire the viewers to engage in skills upgrading and self-improvement courses.

Conclusion

Despite its status as a diminishing dialect, and a former lingua franca, research on Singapore Hokkien receives little in-depth attention. The heritage status of Hokkien may eventually become a historical memory if there is no intervention to slow the Hokkien language shift in Singapore. Regardless of the future outcomes, Hokkien ethnocultural schemata advance a mindset cognisant of self-improvement towards the common good. In addition, incorporating the Hokkien proverbs by means of translanguaging to enhance the curriculum of civic and national education may pave the way for boosting sociocultural values. It is possible for Hokkien to invigorate the national education, thus, advancing a diversified perspective on citizenry in the nation building road map, because an added layer of positive values may amplify and beautify the narrative one people in Singapore.

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KETIDAKPATUHAN MAKSIM PERBUALAN DAN KOMUNIKASI BERKESAN DALAM "SOAL RAKYAT"

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Abstrak

Keberkesanan komunikasi sering kali dikaitkan dengan pematuhan maksim perbualan (MP) yang diusulkan oleh Grice (1975). Terdapat empat MP yang diusulkan, iaitu Kuantiti (MPKTT), Kualiti (MPKLT), Hubungan (MPHUB) dan Cara (MPCR). Ketidakpatuhan MP dianggap sebagai ketidakberkesanan komunikasi. Walau bagaimanapun, kajian telah membuktikan bahawa ketidakpatuhan MP tidak bererti komunikasi yang berlangsung tidak berkesan. Analisis yang dilakukan ini menggunakan temu bual berkisar politik, iaitu *Soal Rakyat* (SR) sebagai korpus. SR disiarkan di televisyen. Analisis yang dilakukan mempunyai dua objektif, iaitu pertamanya, mengklasifikasi ketidakpatuhan MP dan kedua, membincangkan tujuan serta faktor berlakunya ketidakpatuhan MP dan keberkesanan komunikasi dari perspektif Melayu. Analisis yang dilakukan mengaplikasi kaedah penyelidikan kualitatif, antaranya muat turun, transkripsi dan analisis teks. Dapatan analisis memperlihatkan berlakunya ketidakpatuhan keempat-empat MP dalam SR dengan MPKTT dan MPCR memperlihatkan kecenderungan yang tinggi. Ketidakpatuhan MP tidak menjejaskan keberkesanan komunikasi berdasarkan lima faktor, iaitu latar belakang khalayak, isu semasa, budaya, konteks komunikasi dan wibawa interlokutor. Ketidakpatuhan MP dilakukan bertujuan memberikan penjelasan, membuat penegasan, melahirkan rasa tidak puas hati/marah tentang sesuatu isu dan berkata benar/jujur. Rumusannya, dapatan ini telah menyangkal MP Grice yang dikatakan bersifat universal dan sekali gus menolak pendapat Grundy (2008).

Kata Kunci: Pematuhan maksim; ketidakpatuhan maksim; komunikasi berkesan; interlokutor; politik

ABSTRACT

The Non-Observance of Conversational Maxims and Effective Communication in "Soal Rakyat"

The effectiveness of communication is often linked to the observance of conversational maxims (MP) proposed by Grice (1975). There are four MPs proposed, namely Quantity (MPKTT), Quality (MPKLT), Relation (MPHUB) and Manners (MPCR). The non-observance of MP is considered as an ineffective communication. However, studies have shown that the non-observance of MPs does not mean that ongoing communications were ineffective. This analysis used an interview regarding politics - Soal Rakyat (SR) as a corpus, which was broadcasted on television. The analysis has two objectives: first, to classify the non-observance of MPs; and second, to discuss the purpose and factors of non-observance MPs and the effectiveness of the communication based on Malay perspective. Qualitative research methods were applied in the analysis including download, transcriptions and text analysis. The results show that the non-observance of all MPs occurred in SR with the MPKTT and MPCR dominating. There are five factors that influenced the non-observance of MPs, which are audience background, current issues, culture, communication's context and the interlocutor's credibility. The purpose of non-observance of MPs is to explain, to emphasise, to express anger/dissatisfaction, and to express honesty. In conclusion, the non-observance of MPs was found not to affect the effectiveness of communication and has refuted that MP Grice is universal and simultaneously rejects Grundy's (2008) opinion.

Keywords: *Observance of maxims; non-observance of maxims; effective communication; interlocutor; politics*

Pendahuluan

Komunikasi melibatkan dua pihak yang dirujuk sebagai penyampai dan penerima. Penyampai dan penerima dirujuk sebagai interlokutor (Brown & Miller, 2013), iaitu individu yang terlibat dalam sesuatu proses interaksi. Kedua-dua pihak ini berperanan penting dalam memastikan kejayaan sesebuah komunikasi. Kejayaan dalam komunikasi lisan khususnya, diukur daripada pelbagai aspek yang mengiringi lisan yang berlangsung misalnya bahasa dan bukan bahasa, iaitu ayat, pemilihan kata, cara penyampaian termasuk intonasi, kinesik, ton suara, visual dan sebagainya. Sementara dalam komunikasi bertulis, kejayaan komunikasi ini ditentukan oleh kesempurnaan, kejelasan dan sifat betul penulisannya. Merujuk khusus kepada komunikasi lisan, menurut Prabavathi dan Nagasubramani (2018) kejelasan, keringkasan dan ketepatan merupakan ciri mandatori dalam komunikasi lisan. Interlokutor perlu mengelakkan ayat yang kompleks dan jargon bagi memastikan mesej disampaikan dengan betul. Hal yang sama dinyatakan oleh West dan Turner (2010) yang merujuk situasi ini sebagai gangguan semantik. Sementara dari aspek linguistik, komunikasi berkesan dibincangkan oleh Grice (1975) berhubung Prinsip Kerjasama (PK) dalam perbualan yang antara lain menyatakan pematuhan maksim perbualan (MP) akan memastikan berlangsungnya komunikasi berkesan. Menurut Okanda, Asada, Moriguchi, dan Itakura (2015), penyataan Grice ini berasaskan pertimbangan rasional dalam berkomunikasi secara berkesan dan efisen. Hal yang sama dinyatakan oleh Grundy (2008), iaitu interlokutor mengaplikasi maksim Grice bagi mencapai komunikasi berkesan dan mengelakkan salah faham. Walau bagaimanapun mematuhi maksim tidak merupakan syarat mutlak keberkesanan komunikasi yang berlangsung. Ini kerana kejayaan komunikasi berkaitan dengan tiga faktor, iaitu budaya, latar belakang penutur dan konteks komunikasi tersebut (Davies, 2007; Kheirabadi & Ahhagaolzadeh, 2012; Lumsden, 2008; Msuya & Massanga, 2017; Simons, 2017) dan MP Grice tidak bersifat universal (Fadhly, 2012). Ini selari dengan penyataan Yaqin dan Shanmuganathan (2018) bahawa apabila individu terlibat dalan sesuatu perbualan, mereka akan berkongsi prinsip umum yang memungkinkan mereka mentafsir sesuatu tuturan.

Mematuhi maksim ada kalanya tidak berlaku dalam realiti komunikasi (Al-Saedi, 2013; Darighgoftar & Ghaffari, 2012; Nieto Álvaro, 2011; Zahid, 2018). Ini berlaku baik secara sedar mahupun tidak. Penyampai mungkin telah merancang komunikasi yang akan berlangsung dengan baik tetapi penerima belum tentu dapat memahami mesej yang ingin disampaikan sebagaimana yang dinyatakan oleh West dan Turner (2010) tentang empat jenis gangguan semasa komunikasi yang berpunca daripada diri penerima. Ini menjadikan komunikasi berisiko kejayaannya kerana mesej yang dihantar tersebut belum tentu diterima sebagaimana yang dihasratkan oleh penyampai (Prabavathi & Nagasubramani, 2018). Sehubungan itu berlakunya ketidakpatuhan maksim Grice semasa berkomunikasi yang disebabkan oleh faktor-faktor yang akan dibincangkan dalam analisis ini.

Dalam kasus temu bual, iaitu rancangan yang disiarkan di televisyen, Zahid (2018) menyatakan aspek keberkesanan komunikasi dititikberatkan baik oleh moderator mahupun oleh tetamu undangan kerana rancangan seperti ini mempunyai khalayak sasaran tertentu dan mempunyai mesej yang ingin disampaikan. Hal yang sama dalam *Soal Rakyat* (SR). Sehubungan itu, keberkesanan komunikasi akan dianalisis melalui ketidakpatuhan maksim yang dilakukan oleh interlokutor. Lanjutan itu, analisis ini akan membincangkan ketidakpatuhan maksim dalam SR episod lapan, iaitu rancangan soal jawab berkisar tentang politik negara sebelum, semasa dan selepas pilihanraya umum keempat belas (PRU14).

Objektif Kajian

Analisis yang dilakukan ini mempunyai dua objektif:

1. Mengklasifikasikan pelanggaran maksim perbualan interlokutor.
2. Membincangkan tujuan serta faktor pelanggaran maksim perbualan dan keberkesanan komunikasi yang berlaku dari perspektif Melayu.

Kajian ini tidak akan menyentuh aspek nonverbal ujaran, kinesik interlokutor, campur kod yang digunakan dan kesalahan tatabahasa yang berlaku dalam data.

Sorotan Kajian

Ketidakpatuhan MP dikaitkan dengan kegagalan interlokutor mematuhi MP Grice (1975) dalam pelbagai situasi komunikasi antaranya dalam sesi temu duga, filem, novel, temu bual, perbualan seharian dan sebagainya. Ketidakpatuhan ini dikatakan berpunca daripada pelbagai faktor yang akan mempengaruhi sama ada penyampai mahupun penerima. Dengan menyempitkan sorotan kepada skop kajian yang sama dan hampir sama, perbincangan berfokus kepada kajian ketidakpatuhan MP dalam temu bual dalam kalangan ahli politik dan pihak pemerintah berkaitan isu negara sepanjang tempoh tahun 2011 sehingga tahun 2019. Kajian oleh Putri (2011) berhubung pelanggaran MP oleh Barack Obama mendapati semasa temu bual, Obama didapati telah melanggar kesemua MP dengan memberikan penyataan umum dan tidak secara langsung, iaitu pelanggaran MP cara (MPCR) dan kuantiti (MPKTT) semasa temu bual. Pelanggaran kedua-dua MP ini didapati dominan berlaku dan bertujuan berhati-hati semasa membuat penyataan dan menunjukkan kuasa Amerika Syarikat terhadap negara tertentu. Presiden Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yudoyono (SBY) pula didapati tidak mematuhi MP dalam tiga korpus teks temu duga (Fadhly, 2012). Fadhly mendapati SBY telah melanggar keempat-empat MP dengan lapan tujuan, iaitu penjagaan muka, perlindungan diri, kesedaran, kesantunan, mendapatkan perhatian, kawalan maklumat, penghuraian dan kejahilan. Kajian ini juga mendapati MP tidak bersifat universal. Sementara itu, dapatan yang sama diperoleh oleh Bilal dan Naeem (2013) yang menganalisis dialog Presiden Pakistan semasa sidang media. Presiden Pakistan pula didapati melakukan ketidakpatuhan MP atas tujuan mencuci minda khalayak dalam cubaan untuk mendapatkan sokongan dan mengalih tumpuan daripada agenda politik yang sebenarnya. Begitu juga dengan dapatan kajian Seftika (2015) yang menganalisis temu bual Barack Obama dengan ABC News dalam rancangan *Good Morning America* menunjukkan terdapat lapan belas pelanggaran maksim berlaku yang mencakupi MPKTT, hubungan (MPHUB) dan MPCR. Pelanggaran MPKTT dan MPCR didapati kerap berlaku bertujuan mengelakkan pemberian pandangan yang tepat.

Ketidakpatuhan MP yang dilakukan oleh ahli politik Tanzania sebaliknya didapati berpunca daripada bentuk soalan pelbagai dan soalan yang tidak patuh pada MP (Msuya & Massanga, 2017). Antara bentuk soalan yang tidak mematuhi MP termasuklah yang bersifat pelanggaran, pilihan keluar dan pertembungan maksim. Ketidakpatuhan MP didapati bertujuan menjaga kredibiliti sosial dan politik, mewujudkan kesantunan, mengelakkan ancaman muka dan membina imej positif. Kajian Msuya dan Massanga juga mendapati ketidakpatuhan MP tidak menjejaskan komunikasi berkesan. Sementara itu Presiden Syria, Bashar Al-Assad didapati melanggar keempat-empat MP atas tujuan cuba mendapatkan sokongan daripada khalayak dengan implikatur jawapan yang berpihak kepada dirinya dan usaha mendapatkan sokongan secara berterusan daripada rakyat Syria (Ayaserh & Razali, 2018). Situasi yang sama ditemui dalam kajian yang dilakukan oleh Majeed dan Abdulla (2018) berhubung temu bual pertukaran maklumat dalam taklimat jabatan akhbar Amerika Syarikat tentang situasi di Iraq. Dapatan memperlihatkan berlakunya pelanggaran tiga MP, iaitu MPKTT, MPHUB dan MPCR selain berlakunya pencabulan MPKTT dan pilihan keluar. Ketidakpatuhan ini berlaku bertujuan menjaga kedudukan Amerika Syarikat dan rakyatnya daripada risiko dan bahaya di samping menjaga dan melindungi kepentingan Amerika Syarikat. Sementara itu, masih berkisar kajian berkaitan Amerika Syarikat, Buddharat, Ambele, dan Boonsuk (2017) menganalisis debat presiden Amerika Syarikat, iaitu antara Donald Trump dan Hillary Clinton yang telah memperlihatkan berlakunya ketidakpatuhan MP, iaitu pelanggaran, pertembungan dan pencabulan MP. Didapati ketidakpatuhan ini berlaku atas beberapa faktor, iaitu bertujuan menyampaikan pemikiran mereka supaya undian akan berpihak kepada mereka, perancangan awal tentang apa yang akan diperkatakan, melindungi diri daripada memberikan justifikasi tentang sesuatu isu dan penentuan berhubung pencalonan untuk mendapatkan kuasa. Hal yang sama dilakukan oleh Presiden Libya, Muammar Gaddafi dalam temu bualnya (Ayasreh, Nada, Awwad, Mansoor, & Razali, 2019). Ketidakpatuhan yang berlaku ialah pelanggaran dan pencabulan MP. Sama seperti dapatan kajian yang lain, ketidakpatuhan ini berlaku secara umumnya bertujuan mendapatkan sokongan rakyat dan mendapatkan kuasa.

Sorotan kajian ini memperlihatkan bahawa ketidakpatuhan MP berlaku dengan tujuan yang tertentu dan kebanyakan dapatan memperlihatkan ketidakpatuhan MPKTT dan MPCR yang dominan. Tidak keterlaluan jika dikatakan bahawa ketidakpatuhan MPKTT dan MPCR berkorelasi dengan tujuan ketidakpatuhan tersebut berlaku, iaitu dalam skop politik yang berkaitan kuasa dan sokongan yang diperlukan bagi mendekati khalayak ramai dalam lingkungan yang lebih besar dan menyeluruh kerana disiarkan di televisyen. Ketidakpatuhan MP tidak menjejaskan komunikasi berkesan yang berlangsung kerana makna ujaran dapat diperoleh daripada implikatur dan konteks ujaran. Sehubungan itu kajian ini akan membuktikan bahawa ketidakpatuhan yang berlaku merupakan satu keperluan dalam temu bual politik serta dilakukan atas tujuan yang tertentu dan sama sekali tidak menjejaskan komunikasi berkesan.

Kajian yang dilakukan sebelum ini telah memperlihatkan bahawa MP Grice tidak bersifat universal (Fadhly, 2012) malah pematuhannya tidak merupakan syarat mutlak keberkesanan komunikasi (Davies, 2007; Kheirabadi & Ahhagaolzadeh, 2012; Lumsden, 2008; Msuya & Massanga, 2017; Simons, 2017). Ketidakpatuhan MP dalam temu bual politik dilakukan atas tujuan yang tertentu tambahan pula rancangan tersebut disiarkan di televisyen yang menyediakan ruang penyebaran maklumat dan liputan yang luas. Situasi ini mendedahkan individu yang ditemu bual melakukan ketidakpatuhan MP dalam menyampaikan misi dan visi mereka. Lanjutan itu, kesemua kajian daripada pelbagai korpus menemui dapatan ketidakpatuhan MP yang hampir sama dengan pelbagai punca ia berlaku, iaitu masing-masingnya berkaitan faktor budaya, latar belakang penutur dan konteks komunikasi. Sehubungan dengan MP Grice yang tidak universal, kajian ini akan menggunakan korpus Melayu yang membincangkan tujuan serta faktor ketidakpatuhan MP dan keberkesanan komunikasi. Situasi ini diperkukuh dengan kajian terdekat Melayu/Indonesia yang hanya terdapat satu, iaitu data temu bual SBY, Presiden Indonesia pada tahun 2012. Lanjutan itu, kajian ini akan melakukan analisis ketidakpatuhan MP dari perspektif Melayu. Perspektif Melayu di sini bermaksud aplikasi adat dan budaya Melayu selain aspek akidah dalam agama Islam semasa menyampaikan maklumat.

Metodologi

Analisis mengaplikasi kaedah kualitatif yang mencakupi muat turun, ulang dengar, transkripsi dan analisis teks.. Muat turun dilakukan pada video rakaman yang telah dimuat naik oleh pihak TV3 diikuti dengan proses ulang dengar untuk tujuan transkripsi. Analisis teks melibatkan proses klasifikasi dan pelabelan data ujaran yang dikenal pasti melanggar MP. Analisis berfokus kepada ujaran yang dikemukakan oleh tetamu undangan (TU) dalam rancangan.

Kajian ini menggunakan data temu bual dalam rancangan *Soal Rakyat* (SR) episod lapan yang telah dimuat naik oleh TV3MALAYSIA Official pada 5 September 2018 di URL https://www.youtube.com/user/TV3MALAYSIAOFFICIAL/ (Jaafar & Mohd Janor, 2018). Rancangan ini berlangsung selama 1 jam. Dua orang moderator telah mengendalikan temu bual ini, iaitu Tan Sri Johan Jaafar serta Mustapha Kamil Mohd Janor dengan tetamu jemputan Tun Daim Zainuddin, iaitu Pengerusi Majlis Penasihat Kerajaan (MPK). Temu bual berkisar tentang perkara yang berlaku sebelum dan selepas kemenangan Pakatan Harapan (PH) dalam piliharaya Malaysia yang keempat belas (PRU14). Antara aspek yang dibincangkan ialah persediaan, strategi dan harapan sebelum dan selepas kemenangan PH dalam PRU14.

Kesemua data yang telah dikenal pasti, diklasifikasi dan diberikan label, iaitu kod. Kod diwakili dengan penggunaan singkatan MP dan nombor. Perincian kod ini bertitik tolak daripada kata kunci bagi setiap MP yang diusulkan oleh Grice, iaitu MPKTT, bersifat informatif; MP Kualiti (MPKLT), bersifat kebenaran; MPHUB, bersifat relevan dan MPCR bersifat kejelasan. Perincian kod ini merupakan submaksim daripada maksim induk yang dirujuk. Perincian kod adalah seperti berikut: kod MKTT1-MKTT3 untuk pelanggaran maksim kuantiti; MKLT1-MKLT2 untuk pelanggaran maksim kualiti; MHUB1-MHUB3 untuk pelanggaran maksim hubungan dan MCR1-MCR3 untuk pelanggaran maksim cara. Perincian ini juga mengambil kira dua perbincangan yang telah dilakukan sebelum ini, iaitu oleh Buddharat et al. (2017) dan Majeed dan Abdulla (2018) yang kemudiannya telah disesuaikan dengan analisis yang dilakukan. Perician kod dibincangkan dalam Kerangka Teoritis.

Kerangka Teoritis

Grice (1975) menyatakan bahawa terdapat cara komunikasi yang diterima sebagai perlakuan standard. Perlakuan standard ialah anggapan umum bahawa komunikasi tersebut benar dari aspek pemilikan jumlah maklumat yang tertentu, relevan dan akan dapat mengungkapkan sesuatu yang dapat difahami semasa menghasilkan dan mendengar ujaran (Davies, 2007). Perlakuan ini dirujuk sebagai kerjasama dalam komunikasi, iaitu perbualan yang rasional dan dikawal oleh Prinsip Kerjasama (PK). Menerusi PK, Grice mengemukakan empat kategori MP, iaitu: i. maksim kuantiti (informatif), ii. maksim kualiti (kebenaran), iii. maksim hubungan (relevan) dan iv. maksim cara (kejelasan). MP diringkaskan seperti dalam Jadual 1:

Jadual 1
Maksim perbualan

Maksim Kuantiti (informatif)	**Maksim Kualiti (kebenaran)**	**Maksim Hubungan (relevan)**	**Maksim Cara (kejelasan)**
a. Pastikan sumbangan anda bersifat informatif seperti yang diperlukan. b. Jangan jadikan sumbangan anda lebih informatif daripada apa yang diperlukan.	a. Jangan bercakap sesuatu yang palsu /tidak benar. b. Jangan bercakap sesuatu yang kurang bukti.	a. Pastikan berkaitan /relevan.	a. Elakkan kekaburan. b. Elakkan ketaksaan. c. Ringkas (elakkan lewah). d. Pastikan teratur.

Walau bagaimanapun dalam realiti komunikasi tidak semua interlokutor mematuhi MP. Sehubungan itu berlaku kasus ketidakpatuhan MP yang berjumlah lima dan dilabelkan sebagai pelanggaran, pencabulan, penjejasan, pilihan keluar dan penggantungan yang setiap satunya boleh berlaku pada keempat-empat MP. Ketidakpatuhan MP secara ringkas adalah seperti berikut:

1. Pelanggaran MP berlaku dengan kesedaran atau pengetahuan interlokutor. Contohnya, dalam ujaran, “Pekan merupakan ibu negeri Johor” berlakunya pelanggaran MP kualiti, iaitu tidak benar dalam konteks maklumat nama ibu negeri.
2. Pencabulan maksim berlaku apabila interlokutor sememangnya berniat atau sengaja tidak mematuhi MP untuk menimbulkan salah faham atau dilakukan atas tujuan tertentu. Contohnya, pembohongan nilai harga barangan yang dibeli, iaitu harga sebenar tidak dimaklumkan dengan tujuan tidak dihukum atau dipersalahkan. Penyataan sebegini merupakan pencabulan maksim kualiti.
3. Pilihan keluar maksim berlaku apabila interlokutor memilih keluar daripada MP dengan menggunakan frasa yang menyingkirkan atau mengurangkan kesan maksim dan memberikan isyarat kepada penerima misalnya dalam contoh ujaran “saya tidak dapat komen”, pada soalan yang diajukan kepadanya.

4. Penjejasan maksim berlaku apabila interlokutor kurang pengetahuan atau kemahiran bertutur sesuatu bahasa, rasa cemas, keterujaan dan sebagainya yang menyebabkan gangguan kepada prestasi interlokutor.
5. Penggantungan maksim berlaku apabila interlokutor menjangkakan ketidakperluan pematuhan pada maksim kerana ia tidak menghasilkan implikatur. Contohnya dalam upacara pengkebumian, perkahwinan dan sebagainya, iaitu kebiasaan mengujarkan pujian kepada individu yang dirujuk dalam kedua-dua acara tersebut

Analisis berfokus hanya kepada pelanggaran MP bertitik tolak daripada lima faktor, iaitu pertamanya, sifat rancangan SR yang disiarkan secara langsung; kedua, tempoh rancangan yang terhad masanya; ketiga, rancangan ditontoni ramai sehubungan itu interlokutor akan berusaha menyediakan jawapan yang terbaik; keempat, soal jawab berhubung masa depan negara bersama pengerusi MPK tidak memungkinkan ketidakpatuhan MP selain pelanggaran yang jumlahnya dominan dan kelima, interlokutor akan menjaga wibawanya sebagai individu yang dihormati dan dipercayai. Sehubungan itu, pelabelan dengan kod-kod yang tertentu digunakan berdasarkan pelanggaran MP dengan perincian seperti dalam Jadual 2:

Jadual 2
Perincian pelanggaran maksim perbualan

Maksim Perbualan (MP)	**Ciri Pelanggaran**	
Maksim Kuantiti (MKTT)	KTT1	maklumat yang diberikan melebihi sepatutnya – lewah, mengulang perkara yang sama, tidak bersifat langsung kepada topik.
	KTT2	maklumat ringkas – maklumat yang diberikan tidak memadai.
	KTT3	maklumat tidak bersifat informatif – tidak menepati kehendak soalan.
Maksim Kualiti (MKLT)	KLT1	maklumat tidak benar – memperkatakan sesuatu yang tidak betul atau tidak dapat dipastikan kesahihannya.
	KLT2	maklumat yang diberikan bersifat sensitif, sarkasme, tabu dan sebagainya.
Maksim Hubungan (MHUB)	HUB1	maklumat keluar daripada topik perbincangan– tidak relevan.
	HUB2	Maklumat diberikan bersifat penukaran topik perbualan/perbincangan.
	HUB3	maklumat yang diberikan tidak menjawab soalan.
Maksim Cara (MCR)	CR1	maklumat lewah – memperbesar-besarkan sesuatu yang diperkatakan bagi tujuan menonjolkan sesuatu dengan jelas.
	CR2	maklumat taksa dan kabur – menggunakan slanga, jargon

	dan lain-lain.
CR3	maklumat tidak tersusun, iaitu tidak tertib.

Sehubungan itu analisis yang akan diaplikasi dalam kajian ini akan menguna pakai teori Grice (1975) berkaitan komunikasi, iaitu berfokus kepada ketidakpatuhan yang berlaku.

Dapatan dan Perbincangan

Analisis yang dilakukan pada ujaran TU dalam SR memperlihatkan dominasi pelanggaran MKTT dan MCR yang mencakupi kesemua perincian yang dipaparkan dalam Jadual 2. Sementara itu bagi pelanggaran MKLT, yang berlaku hanya pada MKLT2 manakala MHUB, pelanggaran pada MHUB3. Kesemua dapatan ini akan dibincang dan dipaparkan dalam bentuk jadual dan disertai dengan dua contoh bagi setiap satunya, iaitu Jadual 3, Pelanggaran Maksim Kuantiti; Jadual 4, Pelanggaran Maksim Kualiti dan Jadual 5, Pelanggaran Maksim Hubungan dan Jadual 6, Pelanggaran Maksim Cara. Perbincangan analisis akan menggunakan kod seperti berikut, misalnya MPKTT1(1) yang bermaksud maksim perbualan kuantiti perincian 1 (rujuk Jadual 2) dan nombor dalam kurungan merujuk kepada urutan contoh yang dipaparkan dalam jadual yang berkaitan tentang data yang dianalisis. Jadual 3 merupakan antara dapatan pelanggaran MKTT dalam ujaran TU.

Petunjuk yang digunakan dalam Jadual 3-5 ialah Bil untuk Bilangan; TU untuk Tetamu undangan; ... untuk ellipsis, dan .. untuk jeda.

Jadual 3
Pelanggaran maksim kuantiti

Bil	Interlokutor	MP	Ujaran
1	Moderator		Tun nampaknya …ramalan … tiga pilihanraya …. … ramalan hampir tepat. … yang membezakan 2018 dengan … yang lain. Mengapa Tun … yakin … Barisan Nasional menghadapi masalah … pilihanraya tahun 2018?
	TU	MKTT1	… Ramai kawan. Kawan-kawan ramai. … saya bertemu dengan UMNO, … DAP, … AMANAH … KEADILAN … dapat banyak laporan. Kerana saya ada ramai kawan di dalam. … UMNO sendiri saya dapat laporan. Kajian-kajian mereka …. Saya bincang dengan Perdana Menteri, … saudara Anwar…. … jumpa Anwar susah. … mengatasi dengan jadi peguam balik. … dapat laporan daripada UMNO mengatakan depa akan kalah.
2	Moderator		…. Parti komponen Pakatan Harapan terutamanya DAP, … akhirnya sanggup meninggalkan lambang roketnya? ….

	TU	MKTT1	…. *Game changer over that*. Bila orang tengok DAP sanggup berkorban, itu penting … dia pentingkan negara. .. look at DAP. *Prepared to sacrifice*. MCA sanggup dak? … *this how you play*. DAP … orang Melayu … tak boleh terima … dia sanggup berkorban. Berkorban besar sekali. … dia sanggup berkorban. Tu yang penting.
3	Moderator		Nampaknya kita semua terpaksa buat penyesuaian la ye.
	TU	MKTT2	Ye.. ye.. ye.. ye.
4	Moderator		Adakah keadaan itu amat berat nampaknya atau pun …
	TU	MKTT2	Kalau kita sebut, kita kadang-kadang *very sensitive* tapi .. very ... sedihlah. Sedih.
5	Moderator		Banyak sekali *horror story* … adakah Tun sendiri terperanjat …?
	TU	MKTT3	Dari segi performance … yang kita dengar semuanya tak betul.
6	Moderator		Maknanya institusi-institusi kita pun sudah …
	TU	MKTT3	Habis.
	Moderator		Rosak.
	TU	MKTT3	Habis semua rosak. I mean masa.. masa.. masa.. pilihanraya, KSU pegi kempen? Apa dah jadi?

Dapatan analisis MPKTT1(1) dalam Jadual 3 memperlihatkan unsur kelewahan penyataan TU dengan perulangan maklumat yang sama dalam respons yang diberikan. Frasa "ramai kawan", "kawan-kawan ramai", "ada ramai kawan" apabila menjelaskan kelompok individu yang dirujuk dalam parti-parti yang tertentu dan menjelaskan maklumat dalam bentuk laporan yang diterima secara berulang kali dengan frasa "banyak laporan", "dapat laporan" yang berulang dua kali dalam respons TU. Danesi (2012) berpendapat perulangan maklumat bertujuan menonjolkan sesuatu mesej dalam peristiwa bahasa sistem komunikasi yang berlangsung. Malah perkara yang sama dinyatakan oleh Sperber dan Wilson (1995) bahawa perulangan maklumat bertujuan emphatik. Ini dilakukan oleh TU dalam menegaskan keyakinannya tentang ramalan yang dilakukan selama tiga pusingan penggal PRU yang berlangsung. Oleh kerana fokus jawapan TU kepada penjelasan tentang ramalan TU yang tepat, topik soalan kedua berhubung perbezaan ramalan TU berbanding tahun-tahun sebelumnya tidak dijawab.

MKTT1(2) pula memperlihatkan perulangan frasa dengan maksud yang sama, iaitu "sanggup berkorban", "berkorban besar sekali", "dia sanggup berkorban", "itu penting", "tu yang penting" dan "dia pentingkan" dalam respons TU kepada soalan moderator. TU mempertegas tentang sikap parti DAP yang dirujuk sanggup mengenepikan kepentingan parti dari aspek kaum yang diwakili, iaitu prinsip dan perjuangan mereka sebelum ini. TU memperkukuh penyataannya dengan membandingkan sikap DAP dengan parti yang hampir sama keanggotaan, misi dan visinya, iaitu MCA. Perkara ini memperkukuh apa yang diperkata oleh Danesi (2012) dan Sperber dan Wilson (1995) tentang perulangan maklumat. Sehubungan itu, kelewahan maklumat ini walaupun tidak mematuhi MP, ia didapati tidak menjejaskan intipati komunikasi kerana maklumat yang terperinci ini menguntungkan khalayak (Fadhly, 2012; Zahid, 2018).

MKTT2 (3) dan (4) memperlihatkan penyataan yang diberikan oleh TU ringkas, iaitu tidak memadai dalam konteks temu bual dan penyampaian maklumat untuk kefahaman khalayak. Sebaliknya dalam MKTT2 (3) TU menegaskan persetujuan beliau dengan mengulang frasa "ye" berjumlah empat kali kepada penyataan yang bersifat pertanyaan bermaksud meminta kepastian oleh moderator. Hal yang sama berlaku dalam MKTT2 (4) apabila TU hanya menyatakan "*very sensitive*" tanpa menjelaskan situasi yang dirujuk sebagai sangat sensitif tersebut. Sebaliknya TU terus menyatakan situasi yang dirujuk itu sangat menyedihkan. Persoalan tentu sahaja berbangkit dalam minda khalayak penonton tentang perkara yang ternyata sukar untuk dinyatakan oleh TU dalam responsnya kepada soalan moderator. MKTT2 (3) memperlihatkan respons yang ringkas kerana jawapan TU untuk perkara ini terdapat dalam jawapan dialog yang sebelumnya, iaitu TU menyatakan tentang masalah yang berlaku selepas kemenangan PH dalam PRU14, tentang masalah yang dihadapi apabila mengetahui situasi sebenar yang berlaku dalam ekonomi negara, pengurusan tertinggi negara, dokumen sulit dan sebagainya. Jawapan TU dengan frasa "ye" tersebut diperoleh dari implikatur jawapan secara lewah pada soalan moderator sebelum ini, iaitu tentang jangkaan pencapaian seratus hari PH memerintah negara. Dalam hal ini ternyata moderator menghubungkan jawapan TU tersebut dengan soalan baharu yang berimplikasi TU tidak perlu mengulang semula jawapan yang telah diberikan. Dalam kasus ini didapati moderator mengemukakan soalan dengan tujuan untuk mendapatkan kepastian implikatur yang telah diperoleh sebelum ini. Ketidakpatuhan MP ini juga tidak menjejaskan mesej yang ingin disampaikan kerana implikatur telah pun diperoleh dalam jawapan TU sebelum ini. Sementara itu MKTT2 (4) memperlihatkan bahawa TU tidak menjelaskan situasi sensitif dan sedih tersebut kerana memaklumkan sesuatu perkara secara tepat akan menjadikan interlokutor mengeluarkan implikasi yang tidak disengajakan dan tidak diperlukan (Yus, 1999). Kenyataan yang sensitif berkenaan negara kemungkinan menyalahi Akta Keselamatan dalam Negeri (ISA) dan ini tentulah sedia dimaklumi oleh TU.

MKTT3 (5) dan (6) memperlihatkan penyataan yang diberikan tidak bersifat informatif. MKTT3 (5) memperlihatkan TU hanya menyatakan frasa "semua tidak betul" tanpa menjelaskan perkara yang dirujuk kerana isu yang ditanyakan terlalu luas skopnya dan sukar untuk dijelaskan dalam tempoh rancangan yang singkat. Sementara itu MKTT3 (6) memperlihatkan struktur jawapan TU yang ringkas dan celahan jawapan oleh moderator dengan menggunakan frasa "rosak" bagi memperkukuh jawapan TU dengan frasa "habis". Jawapan ringkas ini kemudiannya dilanjutkan oleh TU tentang frasa "habis semua rosak" dan persoalan "apa dah jadi?". TU mengujarkan persoalan ini bertujuan melahirkan rasa tidak puas hati dengan apa yang berlaku sehingga kerosakan yang dirujuk tersebut sukar untuk dihuraikan dan TU sendiri tidak faham mengapa situasi yang dirujuk itu berlaku. Ketidakpatuhan ini pada aras permukaan ternyata tidak bersifat informatif tetapi dalam komunikasi yang berlangsung, interlokutor telah pun berkongsi maklumat secara bersama seperti yang dinyatakan dalam model komunikasi transaksional, iaitu *shared field of experience* (West & Turner, 2010). Di samping itu khalayak ramai juga telah mempunyai pengetahuan umum tentang perkara yang dibicarakan dan dapat menghubungkan maklumat yang diperoleh dengan konteks (Sperber & Wilson, 1995). Sehubungan itu, keberkesanan komunikasi tetap wujud dalam kasus ini.

Sementara itu Jadual 4 memperlihatkan pelanggaran maksim kualiti MKLT2 dalam SR.

Jadual 4
Pelanggaran maksim kualiti

Bil	Interlokutor	MP	Ujaran
1	Moderator		... perubahan ... dikalangan orang Melayu sendiri, ... orang percaya .... Orang Melayu tak akan berubah, tak banyak berubah la ... di luar bandar ... berlaku tsunami Melayu? Apa pandangan Tun ...?
	TU	MKLT2	... tengok GST. Kata harga hendak turun, mana? Goverment tipu rakyat. Suka tipu rakyat.
2.	Moderator		Dari UMNO sendiri?
	TU	MKLT2	... kita tengok waktu tu bongkak. ... ingat mesti menang. ... depa sombong. Sombong sekali. Dari segi adat ... biadap .... Orang Melayu biadap tak boleh terima .... over confident. Even MCA biadab.... …undikan biru tua, jangan undikan orang tua.

MKLT2 merujuk kepada penyataan yang sensitif, sarkasme dan sebagainya. Dalam kasus SR, interlokutor menggunakan frasa “tipu”, berulang dua kali dalam MKLT2 (1) dan frasa “bongkak”, “sombong” dan “biadap”, dengan kata “sombong” berulang dua kali dan kata “biadap” berulang tiga kali dalam MKLT2 (2). Kesemua frasa ini ternyata sensitif dalam konteks siaran di televisyen apatah lagi ia ditonton oleh khalayak ramai. Dari aspek kesantunan Melayu pula, frasa seperti ini tidak sesuai digunakan kerana budaya Melayu menekankan penggunaan bahasa berlapik (Omar, 2007). Walau bagaimanapun, sebaliknya dalam Islam, menyatakan yang benar, bersih daripada kedustaan dan kebatilan itu merupakan sesuatu yang dituntut (Al-Quran, al-Ahzab 30:70). Dalam kasus ini TU telah menyatakan sesuatu yang benar (jujur) berdasarkan bukti misalnya tentang *goods and services tax* (GST), sikap bongkak yang dimiliki oleh individu yang dirujuk atas keyakinan akan memenangi PRU14, sikap biadap terhadap mantan Perdana Menteri keempat Malaysia, iaitu Tun Dr.Mahathir. Dalam hal ini TU telah melakukan pemilihan perkataan yang tepat dan sesuai dalam konteks penyampaian mesejnya. Tidak terdapat kata lain yang tepat bagi menggantikan “bongkak” dan “sombong” dalam konteks kasus, sama keadaannya bagi “tipu” yang bermaksud muslihat bertujuan menyesatkan orang (Teuku, 2015) berbanding dengan “bohong” yang bermaksud umum, iaitu penyataan yang berlainan daripada yang sebenarnya (Teuku, 2015).

Penggunaan "biadap" pula didapati lebih formal dalam konteks kasus di samping struktur katanya yang lebih ekonomi berbanding dengan "kurang ajar". Sehubungan itu, walaupun dalam budaya Melayu, telah berlaku ancaman muka kepada pihak yang dirujuk oleh TU dan kemungkinan wujudnya tanggapan khalayak ramai bahawa TU beremosi semasa membicarakan perkara ini, kebenaran kenyataan ini tidak dapat dinafikan. Situasi yang dinyatakan ini telah menyebabkan berlakunya perubahan pimpinan kerajaan dalam PRU14. Keberkesanan komunikasi TU dalam kasus ini disokong dengan penyataannya berkaitan dengan adat, budaya Melayu dan Islam. Selanjutnya Jadual 5 memaparkan pelanggaran maksim hubungan, MHUB3.

Jadual 5
Pelanggaran maksim hubungan

Bil	Interlokutor	MP	Ujaran
1	Moderator		Tun nampaknya …ramalan … tiga pilihanraya …. … ramalan hampir tepat. … yang membezakan 2018 dengan … yang lain.
	TU	MHUB3	Ø
	Moderator		Dari UMNO sendiri?
			Dari UMNO sendiri. Dia punya *Think Tank* ... menasihatkan bekas perdana Menteri, ... akan kalah ni. .... Sebabnya banyak. Jadi memang itu saya kata bezanya itu saja.
2	Moderator		…. ... mandat yang diberikan kepada CEP ini, Tun?
	TU	MHUB3	Ø

Kedua-dua MHUB3 (1) dan MHUB3 (2) memperlihatkan TU tidak menjawab soalan yang diberikan oleh moderator, iaitu dalam MHUB3 (1) tentang ramalan TU dalam PRU 2018. Sebaliknya TU menjawab secara ringkas perbezaan ramalan TU pada tahun 2018 dalam soalan moderator yang berikutnya. TU didapati tidak menjawab soalan yang dikemukakan kerana soalan oleh moderator dibahagikan kepada dua, iaitu yang pertama, perbezaan PRU 2018 dan kedua, keyakinan TU bahawa Barisan Nasional (BN) akan kalah. TU didapati lebih teruja membincangkan keyakinannya tentang kekalahan BN (rujuk analisis MKTT1 (1)) dan tidak keterlaluan jika dikatakan bahawa soalan bahagian pertama tidak begitu signifikan bagi TU kerana penjelasan lewah tentang keyakinan TU akan kekalahan BN sudah memberikan implikatur akan perbezaan yang berlaku dalam PRU 2018. Kasus ini selari dengan penyataan Levinson (1983) tentang implikatur perbualan khusus yang berkaitan dengan konteks khusus ujaran semasa melakukan inferen, iaitu berkaitan penutur, pendengar, konteks ujaran dalam menyampaikan mesej. TU dalam konteks ini merupakan individu kepercayaan pemerintah dahulu dan kini, ahli perniagaan, mantan menteri kewangan 1984-1991 dan mantan peguam. Hal ini dapat dilihat dalam MKHUB3 (2), iaitu walaupun TU tidak menjawab soalan tentang mandat CEP, pengetahuan tentang latar belakang TU sudah memberikan implikatur peranan CEP yang dipengerusikannya. Sehubungan itu tidak timbul isu komunikasi yang gagal.

Paparan Jadual 6 pula memperlihatkan pelanggaran maksim cara yang berlaku. Pelanggaran maksim ini melibatkan ketiga-tiga perinciannya.

Jadual 6
Pelanggaran maksim cara

Bil	Interlokutor	MP	Ujaran
1	Moderator		... kuasa pada satu orang, ... selalu berlaku dalam kerajaan... orang tertinggi membuat keputusan mutlak ... yang lain ... akur pada arahan.
	TU	MCR1	... kepimpinan ... ada integrity ... *high moral value*, ... ingat ... dipilih rakyat ... tanggungjawab .... tengok sekarang, di rumah, berbillion-billion, bermillion-million, cash. ... bila dia tengok kepala buat hat ni, yang bawah semua turun la. ... 48 *million*, ... tak dengar cerita betul, kalau dengar... lagi marah. ... malangnya orang Melayu, orang Islam. .... Mana ... pelajaran tentang Islam? ... *moral value*? ... *moral value* mana? .... Dah serius.
2.	Moderator		... skandal ... pada negara... 1MDB. ... mengatakan ... tak berlaku ... khayalan. ... Apa Tun rasa ... ?
	TU	MCR1	Jho Low kata dia tak terlibat. ... kita ada keterangan... bukti. ... mereka yang terlibat sanggup jadi saksi.... kita dapat bukti.... ... tak usah tipulah. ... kontrak apabila *bilateral* ... *a bit sensitive*. ... *investment* kena jaga. ... *ambassador* jumpa saya .... Saya kata tak apa, kita kawan. ... kita perbetulkan yang silap. .... kenapa duit simpan di *Cayman Island* ... semua diam .... Jho ... mastermind. ... . Dia *link* bukan main. *This is real international*. Satu dunia tahu. ... dengar CNN, BBC, even *Chinese news*... Afrika pun tahu. Cuma di Malaysia saja tak tahu. .... Akhirnya orang tahu juga. Apa guna tipu. .... rakyat berani ... tahniah, rakyat berani. Tanpa rakyat, ... kita menderita. ... Jho *provoke*, dia nak bercakap dengan saya, saya tak mahu .... Dia kata dia boleh tolong.
3	Moderator		CEP ini Tun, telah memanggil pimpinan GLC, syarikat-syarikat .... Tun berikan gambaran jumlahnya ataupun begitu ramai sekali ....
	TU	MCR2	Memang ramai, kerana kita nak tahu keadaan. .... Dia suka sekali nak datang bagitahu. ... kata bebas datang kepada kita .... Kita buat analisalah. Buat *feedback*. Tiap-tiap minggu, saya mesti tulis balik kepada Tun. Minggu ni, ini saya berjumpa itu, ini, ...
4	Moderator		.... bahawa 1MDB ni dah macam kata orang 1MDB? .... Selepas ini apa nak berlaku?

	TU	MCR2	... ambil tindakan. ... pasal fail ditutup. ... kita mula balik. MAC kata baru siap 60 peratus. ... kita mesti ada MLE. ... si bekas AG tak mahu. ... money trail sudah cukup. ... siapa dapat siapa tak dapat ... depa tak boleh lari.
5	Moderator		Adakah Tun nampak ... larinya sokongan daripada masyarakat Melayu ni terhadap UMNO atau Barisan Nasional pada masa itu? ... jelas ataupun rasa sedikit sahaja?
	TU	MCR3	Dia begini … Kita tak perlu banyak. ... tsunami semua. Lima hingga 10 *percent* cukup. ... 50 *percent* susah. *We must play on the psycology*. ... Kalau kita lihat undi Melayu sekarang masih dengan UMNO dan PAS. Tapi tak perlu ramai nak *swing*. ... Kita buat analisa. Saya kata tak perlu. Jawapannya, tak perlu saya kata.
6	Moderator		... di mana kelemahannya?
	TU	MCR3	Kelemahan? Semua, daripada kewangan, *management* semualah. ... ramai yang letak jawatan, itu ini semuanya. .... laporan kepada PM ... kita kaji Kumpulan Wang Amanah Pencen (KWAP), ... tengok Lembaga Tabung Haji (LTAT), ... kita tengok macam FELDA, kita tengok dengan MARA, kita tengok dengan apa lagi. Sebut je la yang kita panggil semua. ....

MCR1 (1) dan (2) memperlihatkan penyataan TU yang lewah dengan maksud memperbesar-besarkan sesuatu yang diperkatakan bagi tujuan menonjolkan sesuatu dengan jelas. Dalam MCR (1), TU membuat penyataan tentang “integriti pimpinan teratas”, “*high moral value”*, “teladan”, “orang Melayu” dan “agama Islam” kerana isu yang diperkatakan adalah tentang mantan Perdana Menteri. Implikatur kepada penyataan TU jelas mengaitkan sifat yang diperkatakan sebagai perbuatan orang munafik yang dinyatakan dalam hadis riwayat Bukhari dan Muslim tentang tanda-tanda orang munafik, iaitu pertamanya, apabila dia berbicara dia dusta; kedua, apabila dia berjanji tidak ditepati dan ketiga, apabila diberi amanah dia khianati (Jabatan Kemajuan Islam Malaysia, 2019). Sementara dalam MCR1 (2), TU memperkatakan tentang “isu *1Malaysia Development Berhad* (1MDB)”, “dalang”, “kesan kepada negara”, “Pulau Cayman”, “maklumat tidak diketahui dalam negara tetapi menjadi intipati berita di luar negara” dan “peralihan kuasa apabila PRU14, Malaysia di bawah kerajaan baharu”. Penyataan yang lewah ini tidak menjejaskan keberkesanan komunikasi sebaliknya, maklumat seperti ini sememangnya amat digemari oleh wartawan dan khalayak penonton (Fadhly, 2012; Zahid, 2018) yang mungkin sebelum ini hanya membaca dan mendengar berita dari media sosial yang kesahihannya tidak dapat dipastikan. Sehubungan itu, sumber penyataan daripada tokoh yang ada wibawa dan dipercayai kesahihan maklumatnya telah menjadi berita utama di akhbar Berita Harian Online, 6 September 2018 dengan kapsyen “Daim dedah rahsia PH tewaskan BN” (Rohman, 2018) pada keesokan harinya.

MCR2 (3) dan (4) pula berhubungan dengan kekaburan penyataan TU dalam jawapan yang diberikan. Kekaburan maklumat ditemui dalam MCR2 (3) apabila TU menyatakan jumlah individu atau pihak yang ditemui itu ramai. Dalam konteks ini logik kepada jawapan TU ini dapat diterima kerana apabila peralihan kuasa berlaku, pengumpulan maklumat diperoleh dari banyak sumber sama ada mereka ini dipanggil ataupun datang secara sukarela sebagaimana yang dinyatakan dalam jawapan TU. TU tidak mungkin dapat memberikan jumlah yang tepat kerana tugas mencatatkan berapa ramai yang datang menemui CEP tidak dilakukan oleh TU. Penyataan kabur seperti ini tidak sama sekali menjejaskan keberkesanan komunikasi yang berlangsung. Maklumat yang disampaikan masih dapat difahami.Penggunaan jargon bidang perundangan ditemui dalam MCR2 (4) apabila TU menggunakan bentuk akronim bahasa Inggeris bagi merujuk kepada Suruhanjaya Pencegahan Rasuah Malaysia (SPRM, TU menggunakan akronim bahasa Inggeris, MAC, sepatutnya MACC), *Mutual Legal Exchange* (MLE) dan Peguam Negara (AG). Bagi sesetengah khalayak ramai, kemungkinan akronim MAC, MLE dan AG yang masing-masingnya merujuk kepada SPRM, pertukaran maklumat perundangan dan Peguam Negara tidak diketahui walau bagaimanapun seperti yang dinyatakan dalam perbincangan sebelum ini tentang konteks khusus dan khalayak sasaran khusus yang mencakupi aspek kedwibahasaan, kefahaman konteks dan pengetahuan perkembangan berita semasa telah menyebabkan penyataan ini tidak menjejaskan komunikasi yang berlangsung (Zahid, 2018; Yaqin & Shanmuganathan, 2018; Levinson, 1983; Msuya & Massanga, 2017).

Terakhir MCR3 (5) dan (6) memperlihatkan penyataan TU yang tidak tersusun semasa berkomunikasi. Dalam analisis ini ditemui TU tidak secara tertib memberikan penyataan jawapan sebaliknya mengambil tindakan menjelaskan apa yang berlaku dan kemudian baharulah secara spesifik menjawab soalan yang dikemukakan. Ini dapat dilihat dalam MCR3 (5). TU dalam konteks ini seharusnya menjawab soalan moderator dengan frasa “ya/tidak” walau bagaimanapun ini tidak berlaku. TU dalam konteks ini didapati telah menjawab soalan moderator tetapi dari aspek susunan jawapannya tidak teratur kerana TU menyediakan senario dan kemudian baharulah diikuti dengan jawapan yang dikehendaki. Dalam MCR3 (5), TU memulakan jawapan dengan ujaran “Dia begini” bagi menjawab soalan moderator tentang sokongan yang diterima oleh PH semasa menjelang PRU14. Soalan tersebut bertanyakan tentang larinya sokongan masyarakat Melayu terhadap UMNO atau BN. Pada akhir penyataannya baharulah TU menyatakan jawapannya bahawa “… tak perlu saya kata”. MCR3 (6) pula memperlihatkan sekali lagi TU tidak terus menjawab soalan yang dikemukakan tetapi secara umum menyatakan sememangnya ada kelemahan dan jumlahnya banyak. Setelah mengemukakan ujaran tersebut baharulah TU secara sistematik menyebutkan beberapa institusi yang dirujuk, iaitu KWAP, LTAT, *Federal Land Development Authority* (FELDA) dan Majlis Amanah Rakyat (MARA). Walaupun didapati jawapan yang diberikan tidak mematuhi MP, khalayak masih lagi dapat memahami mesej dan mengetahui bahawa TU akhirnya telah menjawab soalan yang dikemukakan. Situasi yang berlaku, jawapan yang diberikan didapati tidak menurut susunan, iaitu TU tidak terus menjawab soalan sebaliknya mengambil strategi menerangkan situasi. Komunikasi TU ini dilabelkan sebagai komunikasi ostensif-inferensial (*ostensive-inferential communication)* yang berkaitan dengan niat memberitahu maklumat kepada khalayak ramai dan stimulus ostensif pula bertujuan menarik perhatian khalayak ramai serta memberi perhatian kepada makna komunikasi dan seterusnya mencapai kerelevanan optimal (Sperber & Wilson, 1995). Sehubungan itu, kasus ini juga tidak menjejaskan keberkesanan komunikasi yang berlangsung.

Keseluruhan analisis telah memperlihatkan tujuan ketidakpatuhan berlaku adalah disebabkan oleh hasrat TU memberikan penjelasan yang lengkap, membuat penegasan, menyampaikan maklumat yang benar dan melahirkan rasa marah atau tidak puas hati dengan beberapa isu yng berlaku. Ketidakpatuhan ini didapati tidak menjejaskan keberkesanan komunikasi kerana MP yang mempunyai implikatur dapat ditafsirkan oleh khalayak ramai berdasarkan faktor yang berikut; pertama, khalayak ramai (sasaran) mempunyai latar belakang pengetahuan yang sama atau maklumat pengetahuan yang hampir sama; kedua, isu yang diperkatakan merupakan isu semasa; ketiga, budaya hidup yang berkaitan kepercayaan dan adat; keempat, konteks komunikasi temu bual yang terhad dan mementingkan kepadatan maklumat dan kelima, individu yang dirujuk, mempunyai wibawa dalam isu yang diperkatakan.

Kesimpulan

Analisis yang dilakukan telah menemukan ketidakpatuhan keempat-empat MP oleh TU dengan kecenderungan yang tinggi diperlihatkan oleh MPKTT dan MPCR. Ketidakpatuhan ini didapati tidak menjejaskan keberkesanan komunikasi yang berlangsung kerana implikatur ujaran telah diperoleh oleh khalayak ramai melalui lima faktor, iaitu latar belakang khalayak ramai, isu semasa, budaya, konteks komunikasi dan wibawa interlokutor. Tujuan berlakunya ketidakpatuhan ini disebabkan oleh pemberian penjelasan, penegasan maklumat, sikap berkata benar dan melahirkan emosi marah dan tidak puas hati TU. Dapatan analisis ini juga memaparkan ketidakpatuhan MP dari perspektif Melayu dan sekali gus menolak pendapat Grundy (2008) bahawa aplikasi teori Grice bertujuan mencapai komunikasi berkesan dan mengelakkan salah faham. Walaupun analisis yang dilakukan hanya terhad kepada aspek verbal korpus, dapatan yang diperoleh telah memberikan gambaran sebenar ketidakpatuhan yang berlaku dalam komunikasi, khususnya lisan. Sehubungan dengan itu, pada masa hadapan kajian lanjut boleh dilakukan dengan mengambil kira aspek nonverbal ujaran yang mempengaruhi komunikasi yang berlangsung.

Penghargaan

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LOCATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN DANGME

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores locative constructions in Dangme, a language that belongs to the Kwa family of languages. The paper discusses the components of the basic locative construction in Dangme. It also examines the syntax and semantics of verbs of position and verbs of change of location that function in the basic locative constructions in Dangme. Data were drawn from mainly primary sources from 14 native speakers of Dangme. I demonstrate that postposition and locative nouns mainly express location in Dangme. There are a set of nouns that also function as indicators of location and direction to places. It is to be noted that in locative constructions, the postposition class and the adjunct of location indicate the location of entities in Dangme as in other languages. The postposition class can take the form of a word or a phrase. The phrase is made up of an NP and locative morphemes: *mi* 'inside', *se* 'back', *nɔ/hiɔwe* 'top', *kpɛti* 'middle', *he* 'side' *nya* 'edge of, *tue* 'edge' and *sisi* 'under'. The data also revealed that in Dangme, a locative morpheme or phrase can co-occur with a positional verb in a construction to express the position of an entity at a location.

Keywords: Dangme locative constructions; positional verbs; change of location verbs; postposition

Introduction

Every language has a way of indicating a location for an entity. This could be expressed with a word, or a phrase in a clause or a construction. In some languages, existential, locative and possessive predications are handled by verbs, verbal auxiliaries or copulas with tailored existential, locative or possessive meanings such as "be (at)", "live", "have" or "exist". In other languages, some or all of these functions may be coded by verbs of posture or orientation such as "sit", "stand" and "lie", among others (Hellwig, 2003; Newman, 2002). According to Levinson and Meira (2003), a basic locative construction is the prototypical locative construction in a given language. The prototypical locative construction is understood as a construction used to locate an easily movable inanimate figure with respect to a ground to which it is attached in response to a “where” question (Levinson & Wilkins, 2006, p. 15). A locative construction is the construction that occurs in response to a given question of the kind, “where is the X” where X represents the entity the speaker has in mind (Fortis, 2010, p. 1). In Dangme as in other languages, it is common to find out that the locative predications are handled by verbs.

The literature have shown that verbs of position have alternative terms with similar or overlapping semantics in the semantic literature. These include “posture verbs” or “verbs of posture”, “positionals” or “verbs of body position”, and “verbs of spatial configuration” as posited by researchers (Ameka & Levinson, 2007, p. 847; Borneto, 1996, pp. 459-505; Levinson & Wilkins, 2006, pp.15-16; Grinevald, 2006, p. 37; Hellwig, 2003, p. 10; Lemmens & Perrez, 2010, pp. 315-325; Levin, 1993, p. 255; Levin & Hovav, 1995, p. 282; Newman, 2002; Rothmayr, 2009, pp. 147-156; Talmy, 1985, 2000a, p. 25; 2007, p. 118 cited in Atintono, 2013, p. 25). According to Atintono (2013, p. 24), the term “positional verbs” is used as a cover term that refers to a class of verbs that semantically code the static assumed body posture or position of animate entities (humans and animals). According to Keegan (2002), posture verbs define a language type in the MPI-based research on basic locative constructions. These verbs can occur in transitive and intransitive constructions.

Newman (2002) uses posture verbs because the contributors focused on human posture while Ameka and Levinson (2007) also use posture and positional verbs as two classes of locative verbs. My use of positional verbs in this paper represents both posture and positional verbs in Dangme. The positional verbs in Dangme as in other Ghanaian languages such as Akan, Ga, Gurene often combine with the postpositions to describe the location of an entity in relation to the ground in a spatial relation.

Dangme is a three-level tone language and it belongs to the Kwa group of Niger-Congo family of languages. It is spoken in two regions of Ghana – Eastern and Greater Accra mainly in South-Eastern Ghana. The people inhabit the coastal area of the Greater Accra Region, east of Accra, and part of the Eastern Region of Ghana. Its closest linguistic neighbours are Ga, Akan and Ewe. Dangme has seven dialects: Ada, Nugo, Kpone, Gbugblaa/Prampram, Osudoku, Sɛ, and Krobo (Yilo and Manya). There are several small communities east of the Volta Region that trace their origins to Dangmeland; most of these have shifted to Ewe as the language of daily life, but others have not (Dakubu, 1988; Sprigge, 1969 cited in Ameka and Dakubu, 2008, p. 215). Patches of speakers are also found in Togo- Nyetoe and Gatsi who have been mentioned in Christaller (1888), Rapp (1943), Westermann and Bryan (1952).

The purpose of this paper is to discuss locative constructions in four main categories in Dangme; postpositional class, nouns that function to indicate location and direction to places, positional verbs and verbs of change of location that function in the basic locative constructions in Dangme.

Purpose of study

The aim of this paper is to discuss the formation of locative constructions in Dangme in the following ways:

1) to discuss the simple locative constructions in Dangme**;**
2) to examine the syntax and the semantics of positional verbs that co-occur with locative elements in Dangme; and
3) to discuss verbs of change of location in basic locative constructions in Dangme.

The findings of the study will add to the relatively limited literature on the grammar of Dangme and also serve as a basis for further research into other areas of the syntax and semantics of Dangme. It is also hoped that the findings of this study will add to the literature on locative constructions universally.

Methodology

The data were collected from 14 native speakers of Dangme. Two from each dialect group in 2019. The primary data were collected through unstructured interviews, overheard spontaneous speech, picture and positional posture discussions, and from texts. Photographs showing various locations of items (Appendix A and B) were also presented for native speakers to describe. The responses of informants were recorded on audio tape and later transcribed. As a native speaker of Dangme, I also provided some of the data for this study. The data elicited and those which were provided by me were however, cross-checked by other native speakers of Dangme.

Locative constructions in Dangme

Locative expressions refer to statements that speakers provide as natural responses to questions demanding the location or whereabouts of people and objects or spontaneous statements that speakers make to draw the attention of the addressee to the location of entities in a discourse context with or without a question posed (Atintono, 2013; Fortis, 2010). Levinson and Wilkins (2006, pp. 1-2) have indicated that basic locative constructions are the expressions that are commonly used in response to a where-question in delivering the basic locative function. Thus, these expressions are the answers one gives to a questioner when a question is posed about the location of an object. In the field of linguistics, a lot of work (Ameka, Witte, & Wilkins, 1999; Bobuafor, 2013; Dorvlo, 2008; Levinson & Wilkins, 2006) has been done in this area.

The simple locative construction in Dangme consists of adpositions. According to Van Valin Jr. & LaPola (1997, p. 52), adpositions consist of prepositions and postpositions (see also Ameka, 1995; Boadi, 1992; Dovlo, 2008, p. 117; Tallerman, 2014, p. 45). Ameka (1995, p. 145) asserts that some African languages such as Hausa and Maa have both verb-like and noun-like prepositions. In Kwa languages such as Akan, Ewe and Ga, however, the verbal adpositional elements tend to be prepositions and the nominal adpositions tend to be postpositions. The prepositional phrase in English consists of a preposition which is followed by a prepositional complement normally a noun phrase or a *wh*-clause or a *V*-ing clause (Quirk & Greenbaum, 1973). Quirk and Greenbaum (1973, p. 143) posit further that "a preposition expresses the relationship between two entities, one being that it is represented by the prepositional complement". According to Dakubu (1987, p. 83), there is often a relationship between the NP and the VP required in a postposition in Dangme. That is a word is included in the NP that serves in some sense to "locate" the NP in question. Consider the examples of adpositional phrases in italics in (1a-c).

1. (a) The boy is *in the classroom.*
   (b) The stick is *on the table.*
   (c) The dress is *under the bed.*

From the English examples in (1a-c), we observe that the preposition *in, on, under* occur at the initial position of the prepositional phrases. Thus, this makes English a prepositional language. By contrast, Dangme is a postpositional language because the adposition occurs usually after the noun phrase or the content question which is referred to as *Wh*-clause in English, it follows. The locative construction in Dangme is made up of a verb, *ngɛ* "is", a postpositional phrase which consists of a noun phrase and a postposition. The postposition occurs after the NP (the object), to which the speaker draws the addressee's attention to. The NP is what Aarts (2001, p. 44) refers to as prepositional object or complement in English. Consider samples of locative constructions in (2a-c) that attest to the claim that Dangme is one of the postpositional languages. Postpositions form a closed class of grammatical class in Dangme as in some other Ghanaian languages.

2. (a) Gbé ɔ ngɛ̀ **tsō ɔ sìsì**.
   Dog DEF at tree DEF under
   "The dog is under the tree." (LOCP1)

   (b) Jíjé à ngɛ̀ ní ɔ yèé ngɛ́?
   QP 3PL at food DEF eat.PROG at?
   "Where are they eating the food?"

   (c) À ngɛ̀ ní ɔ yèé ngɛ́ **kpókú ɔ nyà**.
   They are food DEF eat.PROG at entrance DEF edge
   "They are eating the food at the edge of the entrance." (LOCP2)

   (d) Jíjé wà màá nà lò ɔ èkō ngɛ́?
   OP IP FUT see fish DEF some at
   "Where will we get some of the fish to buy?"

   (e) Nyɛ̀ màá nà èkō **ngɛ̀ jùà à mì**.
   2PL FUT get some at market DEF inside
   "You will get some in the market."

We observe in example (2a) that the postposition *sìsì* "under" in the adpositional phrase occurrs clause finally. The postposition *nyà* "edge of" in (2c) points to the position of the postpositional object, *kpókú ɔ* "the entrance". Similarly, construction (2e) is the response to the question in (2d). *Ngɛ̀ jùà à mì* "in the market" is the postpositional phrase indicating the location where the object *lo* "fish/meat" could be bought from.

3. (a) Bùɛ́ bágì ɔ` ngɛ̀ dákà à **mì**.
Bùɛ́.POSS bag DEF COP box DEF inside
"Bùɛ́'s bag is in the box." (LOCP3)

(b) Tsɔɔ́lɔ` ɔ` ngɛ̀ **pà à nyà**.
Teacher DEF at river DEF mouth.
"The teacher is at the river bank." (LOCP4)

(c) Àtí ɔ́ ngɛ̀ tsū ɔ **yī nɔ**.
Cat DEF at room DEF head top.
"The cat is on top of the roof." (LOCP5)

(d) Àdétà ngɛ̀ sùkúú tsū ɔ` **hè**.
Àdétà at school building DEF side
"Àdétà is by the school building."

(e) Sɔlèmì tsū ɔ́ ngɛ̀ mà à **kpɛ̀tí**.
Church building DEF at town DEF middle
"The chapel is at the centre of the town."

(f) Kɔ́ɔpòó ɔ` ngɛ̀ nyū ɔ` **hɛ́**.
Cup DEF at water DEF face
"The cup is on the surface of the water." (LOCP6)

(g) Tòkòtá à ngɛ̀ òkplɔɔ ɔ **sìsì**.
Foot wear DEF at table DEF under
"The foot wear is under the table." (LOCP7)

(h) Safie ɔ ngɛ̀ tànki ɔ **tūé**.
Key DEF at tank DEF edge
"The key is at the edge of the tank."

In (3a-h), the verb *ng*ɛ̀ "at" is a be-located verb that takes arguments that express the location of the object. From the data available, *ng*ɛ̀ is used in reference to the position or the location of an entity which can be animate (human and animal) and inanimate. *Ngɛ* also has the meaning "be.at" or can be interpreted as X, the subject, is at a certain location as discussed in positional verbs and verbs of change of location in section 3 and 4 of this paper. In (3a), *Bùɛ́ bágì ɔ* is the subject of the clause. "*Bùɛ́'s* bag" is at a certain location *dákà à mì* "in the box" *mì* "inside" is the portion of the box where the subject, *Bùɛ́ bágì ɔ*, "*Bùɛ́'s* bag" can be found or located at the time of speech. In (3b), *tsɔɔ́lɔ ɔ`* "the teacher", is at a particular point, *nyà* "edge of" of *pà à* "the river". In (3c), *tsū ɔ yī nɔ* "at the top of the building" is where the subject, *àtí ɔ́* "the cat" is situated at the time of speech. *Àdétà* in (3d) can be located by *hè* "side of" the object of the phrase, *sùkúú tsū ɔ`* "the school building". In (3e), *sɔlèmì tsū ɔ́* "the chapel" is situated at a location, *kpɛ̀tí* "middle" of *mà à* "the town". In (3f-h), *kɔ́ɔpòó ɔ`* "the cup" is at the surface, *hɛ́* of *nyū ɔ* "the water", *tòkòtá à* "foot wear" is at a point, *sìsì* "under" of the object *òkplɔɔ ɔ* "the table" and *safie ɔ* "the key" is at a location, *tànki ɔ tūé* "at the edge of the tank" respectively.

I discuss locative pronouns that point to places in (4a-5b).

4. (a) Wà bā **híɛ́ ɔ** līngmī nɛ́ ɔ`.
1PL come.AOR here recently this
"We came here recently."

(b) Sūkúú bímɛ̀ ngɛ̀ **híɛ́ ɔ.**
school children at here
"School children are here."

5. (a) À hō **lējɛ́ ɔ`** yà píɔ`.
3PL go there PRT now.
"They have just gone there."

(b) Tɔ ɔ` ngɛ̀ **lējɛ́ ɔ** kpàmìsá.
Bottle DEF at there still.
"The bottle is still there."

In (4a) and (4b), híɛ́ ɔ "here" is the object of the clause that points to a location. Híɛ́ ɔ "here" in (4a) is followed by an adverbial phrase, līngmī nɛ́ ɔ` "recently". In (5a), the locative NP lējɛ́ ɔ` "there" is preposed in the construction. That is, it has occurred in between the verb phrase hō …yà "have gone". Lējɛ́ ɔ` "there" in (5b) has occurred after the verb of be-located ngɛ̀ as in (4a). According to Van Staden (2007), the ground space indicating verbs are classified into two classes; those encoding location "be prox/ dist/ media-Generic/ down/ up/ seaward/ landward); those encoding direction (same semantic distinction). When an NP with postposition is an adjunct filling the role of an adverbial phrase, it clearly indicates direction or location (Dakubu, 1987:84). Dangme has a set of nouns that function to indicate location and direction to the cardinal points. Consider examples (6a-d).

6. (a) Yo` ɔ` jè **bōká blɔ** kɛ̀ ma`.
Woman DEF leave east way AUX come.
"The woman is coming from the eastward."

(b) Kɔɔ́hīɔ` nɛ́ fìà à jè **ànɛ́ blɔ**.
Wind that blow PRT leave westward way.
"The wind that blew was from the west."

(c) Ɛ́lóplèé ɔ̀ jè **wò mì blɔ**.
Airplane DEF leave sea inside way.
"The airplane appeared from the southern part."

(d) Sàlífù jè Ghana mà ā è **yìtí màjè**.
Sàlífù leave Ghana country DEF 3SG.POSS top area
"Sàlífù comes from the northern part of Ghana."

The locative nouns *bōká* "east", *ànɛ́* "west" and the descriptive nouns , *wò mì blɔ*" south" and *yìtí màjè* "north" locates the cardinal points in Dangme.

Positional verbs of Dangme

Positional verbs are those verbs which, in combination with one of several locational preverbs, may appear in the basic construction that functions as an answer to a "where" question, the so called basic locative construction (Kutscher & Genc, 2007). According to Ameka and Levinson (2007), in addition to the prepositions and postpositions used in expressing locative statements, there are many more languages that have a set of alternative verbs or verbal affixes such as verb of "sitting", "standing" and "lying". The verbs, "sit", "stand" and "hang", etc. are classified according to which verbs they take in both existential and locative statements (Levinson & Wilkins, 2006, p. 173). The use of postural verbs to code basic locative functions on Goemai, dates back to the 2003 (Ameka & Levinson, 2007; Hellwig, 2003).

Dangme positional verbs express the posture of an animate (human or animal) in a construction. The posture can be *dàá sí* "standing", *hìí sí* "sitting", *hwɔɔ sí* "lying down", *kpláà sí* "hanging" or "dangling", *sɔɔ sí* "squatting", *kplãã sí* "kneeling down" and *kpásà sí* "leaning". These states, according to Keegan (2002), are typically entered into through relatively brief movements. They code a static position of animate and inanimate entities. Posture verbs according to Fortis (2010, p. 4) and Atintono (2013, p. 183), constitute a small set, often with an anthropomorphic source such as "sit", "stand", "lie" though not exclusively "hang" which often have causative counterparts. They have a "sortal" character, i.e. they classify their subject nominal concepts by semantic criteria (Ameka & Levinson, 2007, p. 859). Position verbs indicate the positions that verbs assume (move to) and the positions such verbs currently occupied (Atintono, 2013). It is to be noted that these verbs strictly mean "come to be in X position" where "X" can be "sitting", "lying", "standing", "leaning against" or "hanging". That is, to be: at---, on---, in---, by--- position and become "sitting", "lying", "standing", "leaning against" or "hanging" that are used in expressing locative function (Ameka, 1999; Dakubu & Ford, 1988). Dangme positional verbs denote the posture of animate and inanimate entities and have causative meaning. They are in the form of phrasal verbs.

In Dangme as in English, phrasal verbs are made of two parts: a base verb and a word that is either a postposition or an adverb particle. These phrasal verbs occur as a V + Particle. It is not always possible to guess the meaning of a phrasal verb from the individual morphemes that constitute the word as indicated above. They occur as postpositions. These postpositions denote change of positions. They include:

7. (a) *hìí sì* "sitting"

(b) *kplãã´ sì* "at kneeling position"
sit down kneel down

(c) *dàá sì* "standing"

(d) *tè sì* "get up/stand up"
stand down rise down

(e) *hwɔ̀ɔ̀ sì* "lying down"

(f) *kpásà sì* "lean against"
lie down lean down

(g) *ngɔ̀ɔ´ fɔ̀ sì* put (lying down)

(h) *wó da sì* "put (standing)
take put down take stand down

(i) *bɛ̀lé sì/ kpláá sì* "hanging"

(j) *bile sì/fiá sì* "lie prostrate"
hang down lie down straight

Dàá sì "standing" is a posture verb that indicates that the reference is supported from the ground and points vertically upwards. *Dàá sì* "standing", applies both to animate and inanimate entities. For instance: *Tawiah dàá sì.* "Tawiah, is at a standing position" (on or in or by or under something, or at a location). *Hìí sì* "sitting" is used to denote a stable position for animate and inanimate entities on the surface of an object. For example, *Gad hìí sì. "*Gad is at a sitting position" (on or in or by or under something or at a location).

kpláà sì "hanging" or "dangling" is used to refer to an object tied to one end upwards and pulling down vertically from the point of the attachment, that is, a "hang" verb describes an entity suspending on the surface of the ground as in *kpà à kpláá sì* "the rope is hanging" (on or in or by or under something or against something, from a direction or at a location). *Sɔɔ` sì* "squatting" refers to a postural shape. It is a verb used to denote entities that are at the lowering position of the body with reference to folding of the legs at the knee level. *Nàkí sɔɔ` sì. "Nàkí* is at a squatting position" (on or in something, or at a location).

Kpásà sì "lean against" is used for entities that are positioned diagonally with their tips against the edge of the upper part of the entity receiving support as exemplified in *Tsàátsɛ́ kpásà sì ngɛ̀ gli ɔ he.* "Father is leaning against the wall". *Hwɔɔ´ sì* "lie down" is a positional verb mostly predicating the posture of an animate entity on a ground surface. The verb, *fɔɔ´ sì* "lie down" is, however, used for inanimate entities to express the same meaning as *hwɔɔ´ sì.* These verbs of position can occur with postpositions to indicate the location of the postures expressed by the verbs as exemplified in (7-8).

8. (a)

Tɛɛ	hwɔɔ	sì	ngɛ́	mángòó	tsō	ɔ	sìsì.
Teye	lying	down	at	mango	tree	DEF	under

"Teye is lying down under the mango tree."

(b)

Tsō	ɔ	fɔɔ´	sì	ngɛ́	blɔ	ɔ`	mì.
Tree	DEF	lie	down	at	path	DEF	inside

"The stick is lying in the middle of the path."

Hwɔɔ´ si and *fɔɔ´ sì* express the posture of the entities at a location, *ngɛ́ mángòó tsō ɔ sisi,* "under the mango tree" and *ngɛ́ blɔ ɔ mi,* "in the middle of the path" in (7a-b). The objects of the postpositional phrases in (8a & b), *mángòó tsō ɔ`* "the mango tree" and *blɔ ɔ* `"the path" are preposed. That is the postpositions *ngɛ́ sìsì* "is under" and *ngɛ́ mi* "is inside" have become *ngɛ́… sìsì* "at … under" and *ngɛ́… mi* "at…inside". The positional verbs in Dangme often combine with postpositional phrases to describe the location of an entity in relation to a ground in a spatial relation. The entity designates the object that is located (Talmy, 1985, pp. 60-61; 2000a, pp. 311-315, 2007, p. 70; Levinson, 1992, p. 11). The ground acts as the reference point or the place where the figure is located (Talmy, 2000a, p. 312; 2000b, p. 25). Consider these examples (9):

9. (a)

Nyumu	ɔ`	**hìí**	**sì**	ngɛ´	sɛ´	ɔ`	mì.	
Man	DEF	sit.PROG	down	be.at	chair	DEF	inside.	(PPOS1)

"The man is sitting in the chair."

(b)

Bímwɔyo´	ɔ`	**hwɔ`ɔ´**	**sì**	ngɛ´	**sà**	**à**	**nɔ**.
Baby	DEF	lie.PROG	down	be.at	mat	DEF	on.

"The baby is lying on the mat." (PPOS2)

(c)

Nàkí	**kpláá**	**sì**	**ngɛ´**	**zugba**´.
Nàkí	kneel.PROG	down	be.at	ground.

"Nàkí´ is at a kneeling position on the ground." (PPOS3)

(d)

Sìàde´	**sɔɔ´**	**sì**	**ngɛ´**	**àgbo´**	**ɔ`**	**nyà**.
Sìàde´	squat.PROG	down	be.at	gate	DEF	mouth.

"Sìàde´ is at a squatting position at the entrance of the gate." (PPOS4)

(e)

Àdò	**kpásà**	**sì**	**ngɛ´**	**glì**	**ɔ`**	**hē.**
Àdò	lean.PERF	down	be.at	wall	DEF	side.

"Àdò has leaned against the wall." (PPOS5)

The positional verbs in the constructions in (9a-e) express stative locative relations. The entities that have assumed the varied positions and postures in sentences (9a-e) are represented by the nouns in the subject positions: *Nyūmū ɔ̀* "the man" in (9a), *bímwɔ̄yo ɔ́* "the baby" in (9b), *Nàkí* "a personal name" in (9c), *Sìàde ́*"a personal name" in (8d) and *Àdò* "a personal name". The subject NPs are human nouns whose body positions are described by the posture predicates *hìí sì* **"**be sitting"**,** *hwɔ ɔ̀ ́sì* "be lying", *kpláá sì*, "be kneeling" *sɔɔ ́sì* "be squatting" and *kpásà sī* "be leaning against". As in (8a-b), the objects of (9a-b) and (9d-e): *sɛ ́ɔ ̀* "the chair", *sà à* "the mat", *àgbo ́ɔ̀* "the gate" and *glì ɔ ̀*"the wall" - have occurred in between the locative markers: *ngɛ ́mì* "is inside", *ngɛ ́nɔ̄* "is on top", *ngɛ ́nyà* "at the entrance" and *ngɛ ́hē* "by the side". (9c) however, points to a location represented by *zūgba ́*"ground".

10. (a) Ngmòngmlòkí **hì** nyùmù ɔ **sì ngɛ́ tsū ɔ sē.**
Ngmòngmlòkí sit man DEF down at house DEF POSTPOS
'Ngmòngmlòkí put the man at a sitting position at the back of the house.'

(b) Nùɛ́$_j$ **kplã́** jokùɛ$_k$ ɔ **sì ngɛ́ yálè ɔ mì** nɛ́ è$_k$ jɛ́ lɛ$_j$.
Nùɛ́$_j$ kneel child DEF down at yard DEF inside when 3SG insult
SG.OBJ
'Nùɛ́$_j$ put the child to a kneeling position in the yard when he/she insulted him.'

In (10a), *Ngmòngmlòkí* caused *nyùmù ɔ* "the man" to be at a sitting position at a location, *ngɛ́ tsū ɔ sē* "at the back of the house" . In (10b), the subject, *Nùɛ́$_j$,* moved the object *jokùɛ$_k$ ɔ* "the child" from an unspecified position at time one (t_1) to *kplã́ sì* "a kneeling position" at a subsequent time two (t_2) at a location, *ngɛ́ yálè ɔ mì* "in the yard" for insulting him. In the syntax, this form of verbs involves a separate rule which shifts complements one step to the left of the main verb in a transitive construction. For instance, *hì sì* "sit down", *kplã́ sì* "kneel down" with the objects *nyùmù ɔ* "the man" and *jokùɛ$_k$ ɔ* "the child" in (10a) and (10b) respectively, will become ***hì*** *nyùmù ɔ* ***sì*** "sit the man down" and ***kplã́*** *jokùɛ$_k$ ɔ* ***sì*** "put the child at a kneeling position". Also in (11), a verb like *kpásà sì* "lean against" plus an object *pàmplòó* "bamboo" will become *kpásà pàmplòó sì* "lean the bamboo against something" as in the transitive example in (11a). Thus, *kpásà sì* + object → *kpásà* + object + *sì*.

Position verbs can be expressed transitively and intransitively in Dangme as in other languages. The transitive verbs of change of position are causative. They are verbs of motion that indicate the position in which the direct object is placed. Thus, position verbs express the meaning that an entity is causing another entity (the object) to be placed in a certain position with respect to the ground which can be "be in a position" of sitting, standing, lying, hanging, etc. That is the stative locative constructions are used to code "be in a position".

11. (a) Jàbàté **kpásà** pàmplòó **sì** **ngɛ́** **gbògbò** **ɔ** hè.
Jàbàté lean bamboo down by wall DEF side
'Jàbàté lean bamboo against a wall.' (PPOS6)

(b) Pàmplòó **kpásà sì** **ngɛ́** **gbògbò** **hè.**
Bamboo lean down by wall side
'A bamboo is leaned against a wall.'

12. (a) Kúmá **bɛ̀lé** kpà à **sì** **ngɛ́** **tsō** **ɔ̀** **nɔ̀**.
Kúmá hang.PERF rope DEF down by tree.POSS DEF top

'Kúmá hanged the rope to the tree.'

(b) Kpà à **bɛ̀lé** **sì** **ngɛ́** **tsō** **ɔ̀** **nɔ̀**.
rope DEF hang.IPFT down by tree .POSS DEF to
'The rope hangs on the tree.'

Thus, in (11a) the direct object, *pàmplòó* "bamboo" moved to be at a leaning position at a location, *gbògbò hè* "by the wall" by Jabate. The intransitive verbs distinguish between verbs of motion, which indicate the position where the subject currently occupies. Thus, "come to be in a standing position" only if the previous position is lying or sitting and from a standing position in one place to another standing position. The original position of the theme is not expressed, but, the new position is denoted by postposition. In the intransitive example in (11b), the new position of the subject, *pàmplòó* is indicated by the position *kpásà sì* "lean down" at a location, *gbògbò hè* "by the wall". In (11b), a resultative state of the new position *pàmplòó* "bamboo" has assumed, is presented. Thus, the subject for the new position is covert or not expressed.

The example in (12a) indicates a change of position of the object *kpà à* "the rope", from a lower level to a hanging position. This change of position came about as a result of an action initiated by the subject, *Kúmá.* The phrasal verb, *bɛ̀lé sì* "hang down" means "come to be in a hanging position" *ngɛ́ tsō ɔ̀ nɔ̀* "on the tree" is the location goal of the object. The phrasal verb, *bɛ̀lé sì* "hang down" has become discontinuous in the transitive sentence of (12a); the object *kpà à* "the rope" appears in between the verb *bɛ̀lé* "hang" and its postposition *sì* "down". *Hang* is used to indicate that the object, *kpà à* "the rope" is supported from above. This means that the rope is attached only to one point of the tree. The result of the action of the subject, *Kúmá,* is the current position the object *kpà à* has assumed. In other words, X brought it about that Y had to change position and became placed up high at location two, on the tree. In (12b) on the other hand, the object, *kpà à* "the rope" fills in the subject position since the subject position of the clause was vacant. The verb *bɛ̀lé sì* "hang down" is not discontinuous as in (12a) simply because, the use of *bɛ̀lé sì* in (12b) does not require a complement as in (12a). Sentence (12a) implies that (x), *Kúmá* did something that brought it about that (y), *kpà à* "the rope" has come to be at a hanging position at a location on the tree. The semantics of sentence (12b) is that (y) has come to be in a hanging position at a location.

Consider other verbs of change of position in (13a-14b).

13. (a) Dèdé$_k$ **hwɔ̀ɔ̀** è$_k$ bí ɔ̀ **sì** **ngɛ́** **tsù** **ɔ̀** **mì.**
    Dèdé lay.PERF 3SG.POSS child. DEF down in room DEF inside
    "Dèdé put her child to bed in the room."

(b) Dèdé bí ɔ̀ **hwɔ̀ɔ̀** **sì** **ngɛ́** **tsù** **ɔ̀** **mì.**
    Dèdé.POSS child. DEF lie down in room DEF inside
    "Dèdé's child is lying in the room."

14. (a) Amúzù **kpásà** àtsìlé ɔ̀ **sì** **ngɛ́** **gbògbò** **ɔ̀** **hè.**
    Amúzù lean ladder DEF against at wall DEF side
    "Amúzù leaned the ladder against the wall.
    "Amúzù caused the ladder to be by the wall."

(b) Àtsìlé ɔ̀ **kpásà** **sì** **ngɛ́** **gbògbò** **ɔ̀** **hè.**
    ladder DEF lean against at wall DEF side
    "The ladder leans against the wall." (PPOS7)

In (13a), *Dèdé* and *è bí ɔ̀* "her child" are the NPs of the sentence. *Hwɔ̀ɔ̀ sì* "lying" is a verb of posture. *Dèdé* is the subject of the clause and *è$_k$ bí ɔ̀* "her child" is the object-undergoer of the action of move designated by *hwɔ̀ɔ̀ sì* "be in a lying position". As in (13a), the phrasal verb of (13a) is also discontinuous with its object intervening. This action of change of position initiated by the subject is expressed by the verb phrase *hwɔ̀ɔ̀ sì* "lying down" which co-occurs with the postpositional phrase, *ngɛ́ tsù ɔ̀ mì* "in the room". The postpositional phrase indicates the location where *Dèdé bí ɔ̀* "*Dede's* child" currently lies. The verb, *hwɔ̀ɔ̀ sì* "lying down" implies that *Dèdé bí ɔ̀* is being supported from the ground. The result of the action of the subject, *Dèdé*, is the current position the object, *è bí ɔ̀,* has assumed at a location. Clause (13b) as in (12b) has the object of *hwɔ̀ɔ̀ sì* "be in a lying position" as the subject of the intransitive clause. By contrast, the verb phrase, *hwɔ̀ɔ̀ sì* is not discontinuous as in (13b). The semantics of clause (13a) is that (x), *Dèdé,* brought it about that *è bí ɔ̀* "her child" became at a lying position in a room. While clause (13b) means that (y) has come to be in a lying position in a room.

In (14a), *Amúzù* is the subject of change of position and *àtsìlé ɔ̀* "the ladder" is the complement of the verb phrase *kpásà sì* "lean against". *Àtsìlé ɔ̀* "the ladder" is the object of the clause which change of position is attributed to *Amúzù,* the subject. The new position of the ladder has been indicated by the predicate, *kpásà sì* "lean against" at a location, *ngɛ́ gbògbò ɔ̀ hè* "by the wall". *Kpásà sì* in (14a) is discontinuous as in (12a & 13a). "Lean against" is used to indicate that the object, *àtsìlé ɔ̀* "the ladder", is supported from the side of the wall. This means that the ladder is attached to one side of the wall. The result of the action of *Amúzù,* is the current position the object, *àtsìlé ɔ̀*, has occupied. In other words, X causes Y to change position at time one (t_1) and become placed by the side of the wall at a subsequent time two (t_2). *Ngɛ́ gbògbò ɔ̀ hè* "by the wall" is an adjunct of location. Example (14a) denotes that (x), *Amúzù* did something that resulted in (y), *àtsìlé* coming to be at a position of leaning at a location, *ngɛ́ gbògbò ɔ̀ hè* "by the wall".

The semantics of sentence (14b) is that (y) has come to be in a leaning position by the wall.

Verbs of change of location

In the previous section, I dealt with phrasal verbs of change of position. In this section, I discuss lexical causative verbs that denote a change of location in an entity at locations expressed by the postposition class or adjunct of location. They express the notion of "be.on", "be.at", "be.in", "be.by" and "hang" (see Essegbey as cited in Ameka & Levinson, 2007; Ameka, de Witte, & Wilkins, 1999).

Positional and locational verbs employ almost the same postpositions to express change of position or location, but in change of position, the postpositional phrase focusses on the positioning of the object. Change of location however, has more to do with a place. Some postpositions and adverbs especially of place used to denote a change of location in Dangme include:

15. *hè* "side" *nɔ̀* "on"
mì "in/inside" *zùgbá* "(on the)ground"
sìsì "down/downstairs" *wē mì* "in the house"
hɛ́ mì "in front of" *hé* "place"

These postpositions co-occur with lexical verbs to denote the change of location in objects. A verb of this nature requires an actor/causer (initiator of the process of change of location), object-patient-theme and a location where the patient-theme is deposited as expressed by the locative complement. In addition, the lexical verb with an adverb of place can also be used to express location in Dangme. Verbs made complete by postpositional phrases to illustrate change of location include:

16. *fá* "order" *plɛ́/kpá* "pour"
kɛ̀ "take" *fɔ̀* "put"
tsì nyà "detain" *bú nyà* "cover"

These verbs can be used transitively and intransitively. I now examine transitive sentences that express cause-and-effect relation only in locative constructions in Dangme. Consider sentences (17-23):

17. Dòósì **fá** Àkùàfò$_j$ **ké** é$_j$ yá hì **tsù ɔ̀ sìsì.**
Dòósì order Àkùàfò that 3SG go sit vroom DEF down
"Dòósì ordered Àkùàfò to sit at the ground floor of the building."

18. Bàtsá **plɛ́/kpá** nyù ɔ̀ kɛ̀ pùé **zùgbà à *nɔ̀*.**
Bàtsá pour water DEF AUX pour ground.OBLQ DEF on
"Bàtsá poured the water on to the ground."

19. Kòjólɔ̀ ɔ̀ **wò** jùlɔ̀ ɔ̀ **tsu mì**.
Judge DEF put thief DEF prison inside.OBLQ
"The judge put the thief into prison cell."

In (17), *Dòósì* is the subject and *Àkùàfò* is the grammatical object of the clause. The verb of the predicate, *yá hì* “go sit” is made complete in causation with the locative phrase *tsù ɔ̀ sìsì* “under the tree”. *Tsù ɔ̀ sìsì* is an adverb of place that indicates the new location of *Àkùàfò*$_j$. This means that *Dòósì* causes *Àkùàfò* to change location and be at the ground floor of the building. Thus, the cause is in *fá* “order”. This implies that but for the order from *Dòósì* at an earlier time one (t$_1$), *Àkùàfò*$_j$ would not have been sitting at that new location *tsù ɔ̀ sìsì* at that particular time which is at a subsequent time two (t$_2$).

The verb *plɛ́/kpá* “pour” takes two NPs: *Bàtsá* is the subject and *nyù ɔ̀* “the water” is the complement of the action of *plɛ́/kpá*. *Nyù ɔ̀* “the water” is the object whose position has been changed. It is said that *Batsa*, the subject is responsible for the new location of the object *nyù ɔ̀*. This change in location has been expressed by the discontinuous VP in the predicate, *plɛ́ … pùé* “poured on to”. On the floor, *zùgbà à nɔ̀* is therefore the new location of the theme, *nyù.* This means that the water would not have been at that new location *zùgbà à nɔ̀* “on the floor” at that subsequent time (t$_2$) if *Batsa* has not, at an earlier time (t$_1$), caused it to happen.

Sentence (19) has *Kòjólɔ̀ ɔ̀* “the judge” as the subject and *jùlɔ̀ ɔ̀* “the thief” is the theme whose position is assigned by the verb *wò* “put”. The subject, *kòjólɔ̀ ɔ̀* “the judge” *is* construed as being responsible for the action of change of location from an unexpressed location of the theme, *jùlɔ̀ ɔ̀* “the thief” into a prison’s cells. This action of the subject is expressed by the lexical causative verb *wò* “put” and the postpositional phrase, *tsu mi* “in cells” at (t$_2$). The object would not have been at his current location *tsu mì* “in to prison cell”, if the subject, *kòjólɔ̀ ɔ̀* has not, at an earlier time (t$_1$), caused him to move from the unexpressed position.

I now examine another group of verbs of location constructions in (20-22) which become discontinuous as in the transitive constructions discussed in (11a, 12a &13a).

20. Sàbúkí kɛ̀ plɛ̀ɛ́tè ɔ̀ fɔ̀ sɛ́ ɔ̀ nɔ̀.
Sàbúkí. take plate DEF put chair OBLQ DEF on.
“Sàbúkí put the plate on the chair.”

There are two participants in (20) as in (11a), (12a), (13a), (14) and (17). These are *Sàbúkí* and *plɛ̀ɛ́tè ɔ̀* “the plate”. *Sàbúkí* is the subject for the phrasal verb *kɛ̀ fɔ̀* “take put”. The postpositional phrase *sɛ́ ɔ̀ nɔ̀* “on the chair” indicates the new location of the theme. The subject is responsible for the change of location of the object, *plɛ̀ɛ́tè ɔ̀* “the plate”. This change of position would not have happened at (t$_2$) if *Sàbúkí* has not initiated an action which moves the object at an earlier time (t$_1$). The sentence denotes that (x), *Sàbúkí* in (17) changed the location of (y), *plɛ̀ɛ́tè* “plate” by placing it not at its original point but on the chair, *sɛ́ ɔ̀ nɔ̀.*

21. Yàò **kɛ̀** sìká à **fɔ̀** **òkplɔ̀ɔ** **ɔ̀** **nɔ̀**.
Yaw take money DEF put table DEF top
“Yaw put the money on top of the table.”

In (21), *Yàò,* the subject of the clause changed the position of *sìká à* "the money" by moving it from an unexpressed location to on to the table. *Yàò* is therefore the agent of *kɛ̀ fɔ̀* "put" and *sìká á* "the money" is the undergoer of the action initiated by *Yàò.* The original location of the *sìká á* "the money" in sentence (21), has been changed by the action of the subject. *Yàò's* action is expressed by the phrasal verb *kɛ…fɔ* "put" and the postpositional phrase *òkplɔ̀ɔ ɔ̀ nɔ̀* "on the top of the table."

It is observed that sentences (19-21) make use of the lexical verb *wò* and the phrasal verb *kɛ̀ fɔ̀* both translating as "put" and *tsì nyà* "detain" in (21) and (22) to express cause which move objects from one location to another. The structure of the verb *kɛ̀ fɔ̀* "put" and *tsì nyà* "detain" have an order in the syntax where the object is moved in between the two locative verbs (pre-posed) as discussed earlier in this paper. Each of the actions expressed are triggered off by subjects whose earlier actions resulted in relocating the objects.

22. Dɔ́kìtà à **tsì** Màámlé **nyà** **ngɛ́** **tsámì** **hé** **ɔ̀**.
    Doctor DEF detain Màámlé body-part at hospital.OBLQ place DEF
    "The doctor detained Màámlé at the hospital."

Change of location verbs also expresses various degrees in direct and indirect causative. These verbs typically express movement, manner and path or goal. Path or goal information is expressed by locative nouns. The kind of change this type of verbs denotes is physical. Verbs of change of location in Dangme can be in the form of phrasal verbs. These include:

23. (a) *mà fo kɛ̀ jè* — "run race move leave"
    (b) *tè kɛ̀ jè* — "fly move leave"
    (c) *tè sì kɛ̀ jè* — "get up/wake up move leave"
    (d) *nyɛ̀ɛ́ kɛ̀ hò* — "walk move go"
    (e) *tlòó kɛ̀ bè (kɛ̀ hò)* — "carry move pass (move go")
    (f) *wo zí* — "vanish"
    (g) *lá kɛ̀ jè/bà/hò* — "sing move leave/come/go"
    (h) *jè kɛ̀ bà/yà* — "leave move come/go"

Consider the basic sentences and causative sentences that express a change of location in Dangme. The basic sentences are non-causative.

24. (a) Dèdé **mà** **fo** **kɛ̀** **jè** **Sékésùá.**
    Dèdé run.AOR race move away from Sékésùá.
    "Dèdé ran away from Sékésùá."
    (b) Tsɔ̀ɔ́lɔ̀ ɔ́ **há** Dèdé **mà** **fo** **kɛ̀** **jè** **Sékésùá.**
    Teacher DET make.AOR Dèdé run race move from Sékésùá.
    "The teacher caused Dèdé to run away from Sékésùá."

25. (a) Òkó **tè** **sì** **kɛ̀** **jè** **è** máhé ɔ̀ mì.
Òkó wake.AOR up move from 3SG.OBJ.POSS sleep DEF inside
"Òkó woke up."

(b) Ngmlàá à **há** Òkó$_j$ **tè** **sì** **kɛ̀** **jè** è$_j$
Noise DEF make.AOR Oko$_j$ wake up move from 3SG$_j$.OBJ.POSS

máhé ɔ̀ mì.
sleep DEF inside
"The noise caused Oko to wake up from his sleep."

In examples (24a) *Dèdé* is the subject of the predicate, *mà fo* "run". The intransitive sentence in (24a) though declarative, does not express any causative meaning. Thus, it has not pointed out any cause of the action of *mà fo* "run" undergone by the subject, *Dèdé* in the syntax.

Example (24b) however, has two clauses. A cause clause, (i) *tsɔ̀ɔ́lɔ̀ ɔ´ há* "the teacher make" and the result clause, (ii) *Dèdé mà fo kɛ̀ jè Sékésùá* "Dèdé run away from Sékésùá". *Tsɔ̀ɔ́lɔ̀ ɔ´* is the subject and actor of the predicate, *há* and *Dèdé* is the subject-Undergoer of *mà fo* "run race" expressed in the second clause of result in (ii). The verb phrase *mà fo* designates a change of position initiated by the subject-agent, *tsɔ̀ɔ́lɔ̀ ɔ´*. This sentence expresses two actions in a process. Firstly, the object "run" *mà fo* from a place, *Sékésùá* and then "moved away" *kɛ̀ jè* "move from" to a second position not expressed by the syntax. *Sékésùá* is a locative noun that indicates the location of the object at (t_1). This verb of motion in (24b) implies volition, energy exertion and control. Change of position indicated in (24a) has not expressed any causer but (24b) falls in the domain of direct causation.

Sentence (25a), just as (24a), is a simple declarative one that has the phrasal verb *tè sì* "wake up" which designates a change of position. On the other hand, (25b) is bi-clausal, a cause clause, (i) *ngmlàá à há* "the noise cause" and a result clause, (ii) *Òkó$_j$ tè sì kɛ̀ jè è$_j$ máhé ɔ̀ mì* an expressed causer *ngmlàá à* "the noise" as the subject of the sentence. *Òkó$_j$* is the patient of cause of *há* and the subject of the result clause. The verb phrase, *tè sì kɛ̀ jè* "woke up from" expresses two actions involved in a process. Firstly, the object "woke up" *tè sì* from a position of lying and then "moved from" *kɛ̀ jè*, *máhé ɔ̀ mì* "from sleep" the second position. *Máhé ɔ̀ mì* is a postpositional phrase denoting the location of object at (t_1). *Ngmlàá à* in the cause clause of (i), is responsible for the change in the position express by *tè sì kɛ̀ jè* "woke up, moved from". The result clause in (ii) is the sentential complement of *há*. Constructions (26a-27b) give us examples of specified new locations of the objects.

26. Àdú há nɛ́ dɔ́kità ko **jè** **Akosombo** **ba** **tsá**
Àdú make COMP doctor INDEF from Akosombo come heal

è huno ɔ̀.
3SG.POSS husband DEF
Àdú made a doctor move from **Akosombo** to heal her husband

"Àdú caused a doctor to move from Akosombo to heal her husband."
(Asante 1972, p.33)

27. (a) Ehìmó há Nàtɛ̀ **tlòó** mádàá **kɛ̀** **jè** Òbényɛ̀mí
Ehìmó make Nàtɛ̀ carry plantain move from Òbényɛ̀mí

kɛ̀ **yā** **Mãnyàkpōngúnɔ.**
move to Mãnyàkpōngúnɔ
"Ehìmó made Nàtɛ̀ carried plantain from Òbényɛ̀mí to Mãnyàkpōngúnɔ."

(b) Akrobettoe **mane** kénámí **kɛ̀** **jè** Asɛ̀sɛ̀wá **yā** **há** **Tɛ̀ɛ̀** **ngɛ̀** **Àdàá**.
Akrobettoe send fried fish move from Asɛ̀sɛ̀wá go give Tɛ̀ɛ̀ at Àdàá
"Akrobbettoe sent some fried fish from Asɛ̀sɛ̀wa to Teye at Ada."

As in (25), example (26) has two clauses, a cause clause and a result clause. *Àdú* is the subject and the initiator of the discontinuous VP *jè… ba tsá* "leave…come heal" in the embedded clause of result. The verb phrase of the embedded clause, *jè… ba tsá* entails movement from one location to another location, that is, from *Akosombo* to an unspecified destination. *Dɔkità ko* "a doctor", is the subject of the second clause and the entity that *Àdú* has caused to relocate. *È huno ɔ̀* "her husband" is the object of *tsá* "heal", the new state of the object-patient, and the result of *há* "make", while *Akosombo* is the adverb of place. This implies that, *Àdú huno ɔ̀* "Adu's husband" would not have been healed at that particular time (t_2) if the intermediary subject, *dɔkità ko* "a doctor" has not at an earlier time (t_1) moved from the said location, *Akosombo* to the new location (not specified in the syntax) to treat him.

We observe that examples (27a-b) entail movement of the direct objects *mádàá* "plantain" in (27a) and *kénámí* "fried fish" in (27b) from one location to the other. In (27a), the direct object, *mádàá* "plantain" changes location from *Òbényɛ̀mí*, the original base to a new location, *Mãnyàkpōngúnɔ* as a result of *Nàtɛ̀* carrying it from its original location at an earlier time one (t_1). Similarly, *kénámí* "fried fish"; the direct object of construction (27b) is relocated from *Asɛ̀sɛ̀wá* to *Àdàá,* the new location.

Conclusion

This paper explored the formation of locative constructions in four categories in Dangme; the use of the postpositional class, nouns that function to indicate location and direction to places, positional verbs and verbs of change of location that occur with postpositions and adverbs of location in locative constructions in Dangme. The data showed that postpositions and locative nouns mainly express location in Dangme.

The paper revealed that locative constructions in Dangme can take the form of postpositions which are made up of an NP and locative morphemes: *mi* "inside"*,* *se* "back"*, nɔ/ hiɔwe* "top"*, kpɛti* "middle", *he "*side", *nya "*edge of, *tue* "edge", *sisi* "down"; and locative nouns such as *zùgbá* "ground", *híɛ́ ɔ* "here", *`lējɛ́ ɔ* "there", *bōká* "east", *ànέ* "west", *wò mì blɔ̄* "south" and *yìtí màjè* "north". The data have shown that *bōká* "east". *ànέ* "west". *wò mì blɔ̄* "south" and *yìtí màjè* "north" can be used to mark cardinal relations in locative constructions as exemplified in (6). In dealing with the locative NP *híέ ɔ`* "here" and *lējέ ɔ* "there", it is observed that each of these NPs can occur with adverb of time as an object of a locative construction as in (4a-4b) and (5a-5b).

In dealing with verbs, it has been shown that in Dangme, there are quite a number of locative predicates used to express causation. They specify the positions or locations assumed by entities. Some of these verbs could however, refer to a number of postures such as sitting, *hìí sì*, standing *dàá sì,* lying, *hwɔɔ sì,* hanging, leaning against something *kpásà sì,* kneeling, *kplãã´* sí, squatting, *sɔɔ sí* that the object may have assumed. These posture verbs signal the relationship between the objects and the ground which is expressed in Dangme by *si* "down". It is to be noted that in Dangme, a locative morpheme or phrase can co-occur with a positional verb in a construction to express the position of an animate or an inanimate entity at a location. Positional or locative causative verbs indicate re-location of the object in a sentence. In other words, they are characterised by motion.

It is also observed that the verbs of change of location: *kὲ fɔ̀* "put", *wò* "put" *tsì nyà* "detain" are used to indicate a re-location of the object in a sentence. Each of these transitive verbs indicates various positions assumed by the object of the clause. The said positions are complemented by postpositions such as *zùgbá* "on the ground", *mwɔ´ mì* "into prison cell", *nɔ̀* "on", *ngέ tsámì hé* "at the hospital", *gbògbò ɔ̀ hè* "by the wall". In the intransitive clauses, the themes assume the subject's positions of their respective clauses because the subject positions are not filled. They result in the change of location in the objects.

In conclusion, the Dangme locative constructions are composed from the basic locative construction, a construction with a set of nouns that function to indicate location and direction to places and verbs of position and verbs of change of location that function in the basic locative constructions to indicate the location of entities. It is to be noted that postposition and locative nouns mainly express location in Dangme. The postposition class can take the form of a word or a phrase. The phrase is made up of an NP and locative morphemes: *mi* "inside"*, se* "back"*, nɔ/hiɔwe* "top"*, kpεti* "middle", *he "*side" *nya "*edge of, *tue* "edge" and *sisi* "down"*.* A locative morpheme or phrase can co-occur with a positional verb in a construction to express the position of an entity at a location. The findings of the paper will add up to the limited literature on the language and to the study of locative constructions universally.

Abbreviations

ADJ	Adjective
ADV	Adverb
AOR	Aorist
CAUSE	Causative
DEF	Definite Article
FOC	Focus

FUT	Future
HAB	Habitual
IPFT	Imperfective
NP	Noun Phrase
OBJ	Object
OBLQ	Oblique
PERF	Perfective
POSS	Possessive
PL	Plural
PROG	Progressive
PRT	Particle
QP	Question Particle
t_1	The Time of the Event
t_2	After a Given Earlier Time
V	Verb
VP	Verb Phrase
x	First Argument/Subject Actor/Instrument at Subject Position
y	Argument of the Verb/Object Undergoer
z	Intermediary Actor/Causer
1SG	First Person Singular
1PL	First Person Plural
2PL	Second Person Plural
3PL	Third Person Plural
3SG.OBJ	Third Person Singular Object
3SG.POSS	Third Person Singular Object Possessive Pronoun
j/k/i	Referential Indices

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APPENDIX A

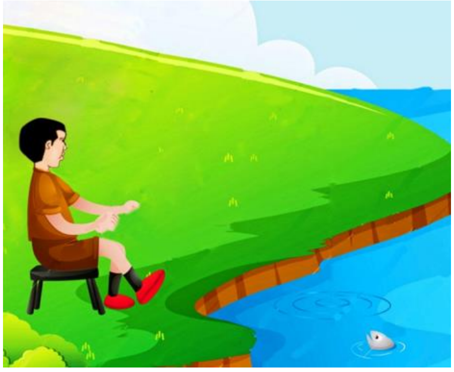
Pictures in Appendix A represents photos pointing at some locative positions in Dangme discussed in the paper. They are labeled as LOCP.

1. A dog under a tree. (LOCP1)

2. Some people eating at an entrance of a door. (LOCP2)

3. A bag in a box.(LOCP3)

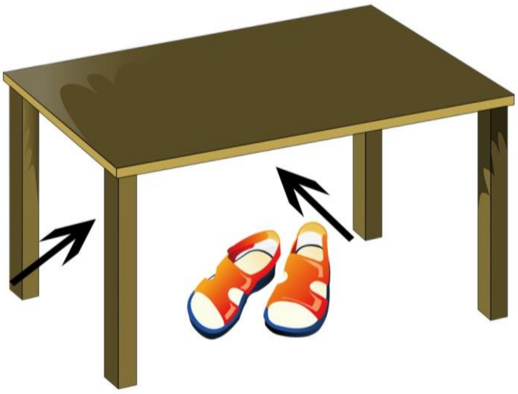
4. A teacher at the river bank.(LOCP4)



5. A cat on a roof top. (LOCP5)

6. A cup on the surface of water.(LOCP6)

7. A pair of sandals under a table. (LOCP7)



8. A nice car parked in front of a house.(LOCP8)

https://www.bing.com/images/search/

APPENDIX B

Pictures under this section represent various positions and postures of entities discussed in Dangme. Each of these photos is prefixed with PPOS…

1. A man sitting on a chair. (PPOS1)

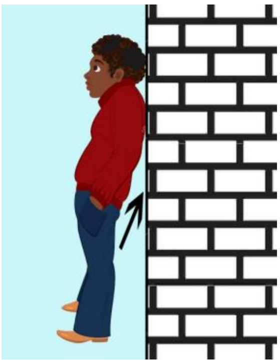
2. A baby lying down on a mat. (PPOS2)

3. Someone at a kneeling position. (PPOS3)

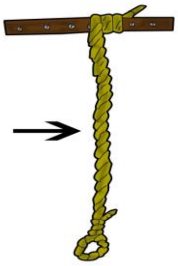
4. A man at a squatting position. (PPOS4)

.

5. A man leaning against a wall. (PPOS5)



6. A rope hanging on something. (PPOS6)



7. A ladder leaning against a wall. (PPOS7)

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8. A lady at a standing position. (PPOS8)

THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF IDIOMATIC COLLOCATIONS IN THE NOBLE QURAN: PROBLEM AND SOLUTIONS

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to investigate the ability of translators to translate idiomatic collocations in Quranic text. Quranic collocations have the features of containing figurative or idiomatic meaning that is different from the literal meaning of the components. It is a rhetorical feature that distinguishes Quranic ones. The methodology of this study is descriptive-qualitative. An interpretive analysis is used to examine the data. The authors rely on Baker's (1992) model which indicates that cultural-specific collocations constitute a problem in translation. The findings of the study show that not all translators were aware of the idiomatic meaning of collocations. This non-awareness results in the inability, by some translators, to translate such collocations equivalently. The study also reveals that literal translation is not a functional strategy to translate idiomatic collocations. Therefore, translators should support their translations by a functional strategy. The findings of the present study have pedagogical implications for the translators in general, translators of Quranic texts and translation students and teachers. Such findings present an essential resource for researchers of Quranic translations, idiomatic meaning of the Quran and problems of Quranic translation between Arabic and English.

Keywords: Collocation; idiomatic collocation; meaning in the noble Quran; Quranic translation

Introduction

A collocation is a lexical and semantical relation between two words or more that habitually occur together to form a meaningful unit. The meaning of the collocation cannot be predicted from the meaning of the associated words as it is "idiosyncratic" (Palmer, 1986, p. 79). Palmer (1986) illustrates his point by giving the example of the adjective (blond), which can associate with the lexical item "hair" to constitute a collocation, but not with "door". Therefore, "blond hair" is a collocation, but "blond door" is not an acceptable one.

The importance of collocations in language and translation arises from the vital role of collocations in producing meaningful units. Thus, the ability to produce acceptable collocations is a remarkable sign of language proficiency. Moreover, collocations play a vital role in organising the relations between words which affects the cohesion and coherence of a text as they are "crucial to the interpretation of a text" (Halliday & Hasan, 1976, p. 287).

Linguists like Newmark (1988) and Baker (1992) assume that translators always face various problems in translating collocations. The mistranslating of a collocation usually results in a change of meaning or in making the translated collocation odd for native speakers. Baker (1992) argues that someone can break the law in English according to the English collocation "break the law". However, in Arabic, the law is contradicted and not broken. The Noble Quran is considered as one of the most important resources of collocation in the Arabic language. It contains all types of collocations including the idiomatic collocations.

The translation of collocations from Arabic into English becomes more difficult when it deals with religious text. The encountered problems are due to the sensitivity of certain lexical items which are deeply rooted in Arabic culture, religious connotations of specific lexical items and the idiomatic meaning of some word combinations. Farghal and Shunnaq (1999) believe that most of the collocations of religious texts such as the Noble Quran carry unique linguistic semantic and cultural features that constitute a real challenge in translation. Ayyad and Mahadi (2019) also argue that "the translator of Quranic terms is required to be very accurate as the mistranslation of such terms may lead to a complete distortion of the meaning" (p. 319).

The present study is an attempt to discuss the problem of translating collocations from Arabic into English by discussing a sample of collocations that are collected from the Noble Quran. It hypothesises that idiomatic collocations are not translated appropriately if the translators do not pay special attention to understand the meaning of such collocation then use a functional strategy to translate it.

Statement of the Problem

Idioms can be defined as a group of words whose meaning is established by usage and not deducible from individual words (Idioms, 2005). This definition states a general introduction of the idiomatic meaning which is different from the dictionary meaning of the components of an idiom or collocation. It also indicates that idiomatic meaning requires searching for this meaning, then finding the appropriate equivalent in the target language (TL).

Most of the translations of the Noble Quran in the 20th century fail to render the idiomatic meaning of these collocations. Translators use the literal strategy to convey their meaning which results in ignoring the figurative and idiomatic meaning in one hand and failing to render the rhetorical function on the other hand. The present study investigates the translation of idiomatic collocations in the Noble Quran into English. Since collocations in general are problematic in nature, due to the fact that their meanings cannot be deducted from the literal meaning of their constituents, then inaccurate or even faulty translation is likely to result in case translators do not pay attention in dealing with them. Quranic collocations are not an exception, especially those that carry idiomatic meaning. Such problem is more sensitive due to the sacredness of the Quranic text.

Review of Related Literature

Theoretical Studies

The term "Collocation" refers to certain words that regularly co-occur with other items in a language. It was first introduced by Firth who believes that the meaning of collocation is completely a lexical one (Firth, 1957). He states that lexical meaning should be studied in two axes: horizontal (Syntagmatic) and vertical (Paradigmatic). He stresses that collocational meaning "is an abstraction at the syntagmatic level" (Firth, 1957, pp. 195-196). Thus, this meaning is not concerned with the conceptual or literal meaning of a word (Firth, 1957). Robins (2013) states that the equation of one-word meaning is rejected by Greek Stoic philosophers. They paid more attention to the semantic structure of a language. Robins (2013) also says that they believed that the meaning of a single word is not isolated because the meaning may differ according to the accompanying words. The relation between words in a collocation is a lexical relation while the use of those collocations is covered by the tendencies rather than rules. Mitchell (1975) defines collocation as the relation between words which is based on the lexical meaning more than the actual words. Mitchell (1975) adds that the inherent properties of a lexical item do not make it meaningful. However, the contrastive or deferential relationships it has with other items have this vital role to make it meaningful (Mitchell, 1975). Hence, the components of a collocation should not be translated as single word, but as one meaningful unite. This, of course, requires more investigations on the possible meanings of a word according to its accompanying word and the context where a collocation is used.

According to Baker (1992), collocations can be defined as semantically arbitrary restrictions that do not refer to the logic of the dictionary meaning of a word. The mentioned definitions of collocations indicate that the meaning of collocations is above the word level (Baker, 1992). By investigating the definition of collocations more deeply, it will be clear that most of the definitions focus on the word co-occurrence; "you shall know a word by the company it keeps" (Firth, 1957, p. 179). Another definition is stated by Cruse (1986) who defines collocations as "sequences of lexical items which habitually co-occur" (p. 40). Most of the definitions offer the focus of the co-occurrence of lexical items. For example, Sinclair (1991) defines collocations as "The occurrence of two or more words within short space of each other in a text" (p. 170), while Cowie (1978) defines it as "the co-occurrence of two or more lexical items as a realization of structural elements within a given syntactic pattern" (p. 48), and Kjellmer (1987) describes it as "A sequence of words that occurs more than once in identical form and is grammatically well-structured" (p. 133).

Due to the significant role of collocations in language proficiency, collocations were classified according to the lexical and semantic approaches in various manners. Scholars have divided them according to different dimensions such as strength, use and other dimensions. For example, Baker (1992) classifies collocations into marked collocations and unmarked collocations, while Lewis (2000) classifies them into lexical and grammatical collocations.

Arabic linguists such as Husamaddin (1985) and Ghazala (2004) and others also adopt the concept of collocations. In his outstanding work about fixed expressions and multi-word units in Arabic, Husamaddin (1985) states that collocations are a type of idioms or a form of idiomatic expressions. Husamaddin (1985) defines collocations " *المصاحبة اللغوية* " as "المصاحبة الاعتيادية لكلمة ما في اللغة بكلمات اخرى" [The normal occurrence of a word with certain words in a language] (p. 257). Husamaddin (1985) classifies collocations in Arabic into many types like sounds made by different animals or different objects, names of the places where animals or insects are found, group of objects and others.

The work of Husamaddin (1985) was followed by many works like Dawood (2003). Dawood's (2003) book is about the fixed expressions in modern standard Arabic. Dawood (2003) states that fixed expressions could be easily found in all types of texts (p. 10). Dawood (2003) defines collocations in modern standard Arabic as "التعبيرات التي يرتبط بعضها ببعض بعلاقة دلالية وثيقة كالترادف او التضاد او غيرها" [the lexical items that occur together based on a relation between them like synonyms, opposites or others] (p. 15). Emery (1988) discusses four types of word combinations to make a clear distinction between them. He classifies them into bound collocations, open collocations, restricted collocations and idiomatic collocations (Emery, 1988).

Empirical Studies

The translation of collocations in the Noble Quran was the material for investigations by many scholars like Abdelwali (2002), Ghazala (2004), Abdul-Raof (2007) and Dweik and Abu Shakra (2011). Most of the studies focus on the problem of translating Quranic collocations among EFL learners, the classifications of Quranic collocations and the translatability of Quranic collocations**.**

Abdelwali (2002) declares that translating collocations of the Noble Quran is a real problem due to the features of the Quranic language which are alien to the linguistic features of other languages. Abdelwali (2002) also argues that the rhetorical, cultural, semantic and linguistic features of the Quran are not only alien to other languages, but also "distinct from other types of Arabic prose" (p. 3). These distinct features of the Noble Quran affect the translation into other languages because they are not captured in most of the English versions of translation (Abdelwali, 2002).

Ghazala (2004) studies the collocations of the Noble Quran in two separated studies. The first study proposes the classifications of collocations based on their grammatical, lexical and rhetorical structures. The second study discusses the problems of translating collocations and concludes to acknowledge that "Quranic metaphorical collocations create a tremendous challenge to translators who often fail to capture the cultural features of the Quranic discourse" (Ghazala, 2004, p. 26).

Abdul-Raof (2007) argues that the emotive and cultural association of the Quranic expressions pose a great obstacle to translators. He refers to this obstacle to the "stylistic variation" (Abdul-Raof, 2007, p. 1) which is one of the intriguing linguistic problems of the Quranic discourse. He adds that Quranic lexical items have conditions in their combination to other lexical items due to the unique semantic features. Thus, Quranic lexical items have restrictions to associate to other lexical items, which may not exist in other text types. Therefore, a reader of the Quranic text may find words combinations which violates the regular combination rules in Arabic such as فبشرهم بعذاب اليم, which have the verb "بشرهم" that means to carry positive news. However, in this context, it is used to carry the bad news of the torture.

Dweik and Abdu Shakra (2011) conduct their studies to assert the importance of studying the case of collocations in religious text. They found that translation of collocations in the religious text has always encountered lexical and semantic errors due to the "unfamiliarity with certain collocations in the source language (SL) as well as in the TL" (Dweik & Abdu Shakra, 2011, p. 32). They refer to the difficulty of translating collocations in the Noble Quran to the cultural diversity between the two languages, which results in having cultural lexical items that do not have equivalents in the TL (Dweik & Abdu Shakra, 2011).

Shammas (2013) examines the translation of collocations from Arabic into English and vice versa. The study consists of three questionnaires which were given to MA students from different universities in different Arab countries. The focus of the study was on adjective – noun collocations to limit the scope of the study. The results of the study show that students encounter difficulties in translating collocations due to the usage of literal translation strategy and the lack of bilingual dictionaries that may help students or translators to deal with collocations.

Many other studies have been conducted to find out the problems that the translators may face in translating collocations such as Zhgoul and Abdul-Fattah (2003). All of the mentioned studies show the result of low ability of translators to deal with collocations in general and in Quranic discourse in particular due to different reasons.

What is Idiomatic Collocation?

Firth (1968) states that the meaning of a word relies on the company it keeps. In other words, some fixed expressions such as collocations and idioms have a different meaning other than the literal meaning of their components. Collocations are classified into marked and unmarked collocations due to this idea. Baker (1992) states that marked collocations are unusual as they are used out of the collocational ranges to create new images. They have a special meaning, figurative images and rhetorical purposes. Idiomatic collocations have the same features of the marked ones. They have a meaning beyond the literary meaning of its components. Quran is full of such collocations which have a rhetorical function in the Quranic text. For example, حبل الله (Literary: God's rope) is an idiomatic collocation that has a meaning beyond the components which is "The Noble Quran".

Translating such collocations requires the translator to be aware of the intended meaning. A translator may not be able to translate idiomatic collocations unless being fully aware of the Quranic meaning of such collocations. Therefore, translating idiomatic collocations is considered a problem in translating Quranic text. This will be illustrated later by examples from the Quranic texts.

Translation of Collocation

Hatim and Munday (2004) state that translating collocations starts by recognising them in the Second Language (SL) and then rendering them conveniently. In one hand, this leads to the fact of the translator's ability to read the collocation as one meaning unit. On the other hand, the ability to translate it in a collocation in the TL (i.e. find an appropriate equivalence). According to Newmark (1988), transferring collocations from one language to another is a struggle. He states that the most important role that the translator plays is to recognize the collocation first. Moreover, he states that translation is a challengeable task of finding the appropriate combination of a noun with other nouns or adjectives, adverbs and verbs. It is also a continuing struggle to find the appropriate collocating connectives or conjunctions.

The translator will not be able to find the appropriate collocation in the TL unless he has a wide knowledge of both SL and TL and their cultures. Shakir and Farghal (1991) argue that the memory of the translators should include a bank of collocations which will help them in the translation process. Hatim and Mason (1990) also discuss the collocations as a major problem that a translator may face. They note that "there is always a danger that, even for experienced translators, source language interference will occasionally escape unnoticed and unnatural collocations will flaw the target text" (Hatim & Mason, 1990, p. 112).

Baker (1992) states that the main challenge of translating fixed expressions like collocations and idioms is finding equivalence above the word level. Furthermore, she states that the translator should have the ability to work to reduce the meaning loss by knowing which feature in the SL should be valued. It is commonly known that the exact equivalence in translation is almost impossible especially between Arabic and English as they are from different origins. Larson (1984) states that finding an exact equivalence between words in a language is often. This will also produce an overlap over the translation product.

Methodology

This study is a descriptive qualitative one. The main source that constitutes the theoretical framework of this study is Baker's (1992) model, *equivalence above word level*, which deals with idioms, fixed expressions, proverbs and collocations. Baker (1992) states that translators fail to translate collocations due to five main reasons. These reasons are: (1) the engrossing effect of the source text patterning, (2) misinterpreting the meaning of a source-language collocation, (3) the tension between accuracy and naturalness, (4) culture- specific- collocation and (5) marked collocation in the source text. The focus of this study is to examine the difficulty of translating idiomatic collocations due to culture- specific- collocations. According to Baker (1992), culture-specific collocations result in distorting or changing the meaning of a collocation. It also may result in having unnatural or odd collocations in the TL. Furthermore, translators may fail in rendering this collocation by using omission or literal translation. The present study hypothesises that translators have a problem in translating idiomatic collocations in the Noble Quran due to this reason.

The study sheds lights at the difficulties of translating the idiomatic collocations in the Noble Quran by discussing selected examples that are randomly selected from the Noble Quran. The number of examples is accredited based on the concept of saturation that was suggested by Creswell and Creswell (2017). They suggest the sample size of the qualitative study to be from 3-10 examples and argues that "the idea of saturation comes from the grounded theory when gathering and discussing data no longer sparks new insights or reveals new properties" (Creswell & Creswell, 2017, p. 229). Accordingly, 20 examples are randomly selected to highlight this phenomenon, whereas 7 examples are discussed accordingly.

Procedures

The discussion of translating idiomatic collocations will be supported by examples from the Noble Quran. The researcher will follow the following steps:

1. 20 examples of Quranic collocations that have idiomatic meaning are randomly selected.
2. The English equivalents are limited to three interpretations by Hilali and Khan, Pickthal and Yusof Ali. The selection of those translations relies on the fact that Hilali and Khan's translation is considered the best translation in the 20^{th} century, while the translation of Pickthal is assumed to have many problems. Finally, the translation of Yusof Ali is one of the best translations. However, it has some problems.
3. 7 examples of the rendered collocations by these translators are studied and analyzed.
4. The meaning of each collocation will be given according to the interpretation of the Noble Quran, *Fi Zilalil – Quran*, by Qutb (2004).
5. By comparing the three translations according to the Quranic meaning, the effective equivalents will be identified.
6. The last step is to suggest some solutions to the problem in this study.

Scope of the Research

The selected examples for this study are categorised under the type (Noun + Noun) and (Noun + Adjective) collocations. Three translations of the Noble Quran are also selected to analyze the way that translators use to render the idiomatic meaning of Quranic collocations. Quran as a sacred text is considered a challenge to any translator. Therefore, translators try to render the words of the Quran which sometimes leads to mistranslation or meaning deletion. Translating a collocation requires the translator first to recognise it, understand the meaning and then translate it. Baker (1992) assumes that even native speaker translators cannot, sometimes, assess the acceptability of culture-specific collocations.

Text Analysis

One of the most important principles of a successful translation is the ability to recognise the fixed expressions as a meaningful unit. Larson (1984, p. 141) states that the translator should understand the notion of collocations to provide an adequate translation of a text. In the Quran, collocations have a rhetorical function. This includes the idiomatic collocations. Therefore, misinterpretation of the meaning of such collocations will result in mistranslation because of the literal translation. This problem will be more complicated when no equivalence is available in the target language.

Table 1 shows 20 examples of collocations that have idiomatic meaning. The following examples are collected from different parts of the Noble Quran. Each collocation is provided together with its three selected translations and the idiomatic meaning according to the interpretation of the Noble Quran:

Table 1
Selected Idiomatic Collocations from the Noble Quran

ST Collocation:	Hilai & Khan:	Yusof Ali:	Pickthall:	Comment:
حبل الله (ال عمران 103)	The rope of Allah (i.e. this Quran)	The rope which Allah (stretches out for you)	The Cable of Allah	The meaning is the Quran itself.
دار البوار (ابراهيم 28)	the House of Destruction	the House of Perdition	the Abode of Loss	The meaning is the house of destruction (hell).
الصلاة الوسطى (البقرة 238)	The middle Salat (i.e. the best prayer - Asr)	The middle prayer	The midmost prayer	The meaning of this collocation is the prayer Asr.
لحما طريا (النحل 14)	Fresh tender meat (i.e. fish)	Flesh that is fresh and tender	Fresh meat	The meaning is the fish.
الملأ الاعلى (ص 69	Chiefs on high (angels)	Chiefs on high	The highest chiefs	
اليوم الموعود (البروج 2)	The promised day (i.e. the day of Resurrection)	The promised day (of Judgment)	The promised day	The meaning is the Day of Judgment.

ليال عشر (الفجر 2)	The ten nights (i.e. the first ten days of the month of Dhul-Hijja)	The nights twice five	Ten nights	the meaning is the first ten nights of the Hijri month Dhul-Hijja
السابحات سبحا (النازعات 3)	And by those who that swim along (i.e. angels or planets in their orbits)	And by those who glide a long (on errands of mercy)	The lone stars floating	The meaning refers to the angels or planets in the sky.
الاية الكبرى (النازعات 20)	The great sign (miracles)	the great sign	The tremendous token	The meaning of the great miracles of the stick turning into a snake.
روح القدس (البقرة 87)	Ruh-ul-Qudus (Jibrael-Gabriel)	The Holy spirit	The Holy Spirit	The meaning of this collocation refers to Gabriel.
الطامة الكبرى (النازعات 34)	The greatest catastrophe (i.e. the day of recompense)	The great overwhelming (event)	The great disaster	The meaning of this collocation refers to the greatest day which is the day of Judgment.
البيت العتيق (الحج 29)	The ancient house (the Ka'bah at Makkah)	The ancient house	The ancient house	The meaning of this collocation refers to the Holy House of Muslims, i.e. the Ka'bah in Mekkah.
البيت المعمور(الطور 4	The Al-Bait-ul-Ma'mur (the house over the heavens parallel to the Ka'bah at Makkah, continuously visited by Angels)	The much-frequented Fane	The house frequented	The meaning of this collocation is shown clearly at Hilali & Khan Translation.
شديد القوى (النجم 5)	One Mighty in power (Jibril – Gabriel)	One Mighty in Power	One of mighty powers	The meaning of this collocation refers to Gabriel.
النشأة الاخرى	another	Second	the second	The meaning of

(النجم 47)	bringing forth (Resurrection)	Creation (Raising of the Dead);	bringing forth	this collocation refers to the life after death.
ام القرى (الانعام 92)	The mother of towns (i.e. Makkah)	The mother of cities	Mother of villages	The meaning of this collocation refers to Makkah.
صاحب الحوت (القلم 48)	The companion of fish	The companion of fish	Him of the fish	The meaning refers to Prophet Jonah
الروح الامين (الشعراء 193)	Trustworthy Ruh (Jibril – Gabriel)	Spirit of faith and truth	True Spirit	The meaning of this collocation refers to Gabriel
الكتاب المبين (الشعراء 2)	The manifest Book [this Qur'ân	The book that makes (things) clear	the Scripture that maketh plain	The meaning refers to the Qur'an itself
البلد الامين (التين 3)	This city of security (Makkah)	This city of security	This land made safe	The meaning refers to Makkah

Table 1 shows that the meaning of this type of collocations is not easy to be understood without explanation. The hidden idiomatic meaning is very important to be added in the translated version. Otherwise, the TL recipients will misunderstand the intended message in the Quran. The examples show that the translators frequently use the literal translation procedure to translate this type of collocations. However, the reader of the translated version can understand that there is a hidden meaning which should be given to fully understand the verse.

It is noticed that the first translation by Hilali and Khan provides the meaning of all the selected collocations between brackets. Yousef Ali also gives the meaning of few collocations. On the other hand, Pickthall does not provide any meaning or explanation. The following examples show a full discussion of some selected collocations to stand on the problem of translating idiomatic collocations.

Example 1:
(واعتصموا **بحبل الله** جميعا ولا تفرقوا) (ال عمران 103)
Translation:
Hilali & Khan: The rope of Allah (i.e. this Quran) (Al-Imran 103)
Yusof Ali: the rope which Allah (stretches out for you) (Al-Imran 103)
Pickthall: the Cable of Allah (Al-Imran 103)

In this verse, Allah orders all Muslims together to hold fast to the bond of Allah i.e. the Quran. Qutb (2004) states that the rope of Allah means the Quran.

Accordingly, the rope of Allah is an idiomatic collocation that has a meaning beyond the literal meaning of the collocation components. The words “rope” and “Allah” have a specific meaning when they collocate. Therefore, the three translators misinterpret the meaning of this collocation and render the collocations literally, except Hilali and Khan who illustrate the idiomatic meaning of this collocation by giving the meaning between brackets i.e. (This Quran).

Yusof Ali tries to describe the rope as it is stretched by Allah for Muslims. Unfortunately, he was not able to recognise the idiomatic meaning of this collocation. Pickthall was also not able to understand the meaning of such collocation. He tries to use a synonym to render the meaning of rope by using the word cable, but it did not convey the idiomatic meaning. Therefore, we can say that only one translation, which is by Hilali and Khan, succeeds in relaying the exact meaning of this collocation from the source text. The other two translators have misinterpreted the meaning of this collocation and failed to convey its meaning.

Example 2:
(الم تر الى الذين بدلوا نعمت الله كفرا واحلوا قومهم **دار البوار**) (ابراهيم 28)
Translation:
Hilali & Khan: the House of Destruction (Ibrahim, 28)
Yusof Ali: the House of Perdition (Ibrahim, 28)
Pickthall: the Abode of Loss (Ibrahim, 28)

In his book of interpretation of the Quran, Qutub (2004) says that the meaning of *دار البوار*" is hell (2004, p. 28). We can notice that the strategy used in the three translation is the literally translation. The components of such collocations indicate that there is a meaning beyond their literal meaning, especially the word *دار* which is used to refer to a place in Judgment day. This place could be Paradise such as in *دار السلام* (the Home of Peace) or Hell such as in *دار البوار* (the Home of Destruction).

Two of the translators use the word "House" to render the meaning of *دار* , and Pickthall uses the word *abode*. Abode has been defined as the place of residence (Abode, 2005). This semantically includes the meaning of *rest and peace*. However, in this collocation, the meaning is completely different as it means a place of doom. Furthermore, the word البوار in Arabic means *destruction* or *loss*, but Yusof Ali tries to convey the idiomatic meaning by using the word perdition, which means a state of eternal punishment and damnation into which a sinful person passes after death (Perdition, 2005).

In one hand, Yusof Ali is the only translator who was able to render the idiomatic meaning of this collocation by using a cultural equivalent according to the Christian Theology, i.e. Perdition. On the other hand, Hilali and Khan and Pickthall fail to illustrate this meaning in their translations. The best way to convey such collocation is to provide the idiomatic meaning between brackets.

Example 3:
(وحافظوا على الصلوات و**الصلاة الوسطى**وقوموا لله قانتين) (البقرة 238)
Translation:
Hilali & Khan: The middle Salat (i.e. the best prayer – 'Asr) (the Cow 238)
Yusof Ali: the Middle Prayer (the Cow 238)
Pickthall: the midmost prayer (the Cow 238)

In this regard, Qutb (2004) mentions that the collocation "middle prayer" in this verse refers to the "Asr" which is the third prayer for Muslims. By referring to the translations, it is clear that the three translators use the strategy of literal translation and translated it into "middle prayer". Another point that can be discussed is Pickthall's translation when he uses *Midmost.* Oxford dictionary defines the word *midmost* as "in *the very middle*". This indicates that Pickthall tries to refer to the idiomatic meaning of this collocation. However, he fails to illustrate this meaning to the reader. The word "*midmost"* indicates the time of this prayer and does not define it.

Hilali and Khan use a mix strategy in their translation when they use the word *Salat*. This word was translated based on the transcription strategy. Newmark (1988) says that "This strategy relates to the conversion of different alphabets of a word in the source text to the equivalent alphabets in the target text" (p. 81). They keep the Arabic word *صلاة* as the same in the translation. This strategy is used because the word is already known to any Muslim reader or even to non-Muslim reader. Based on the interpretation of the meaning of this collocation by Qutb (2004), the meaning of this collocation is the prayer of *Asr*. The only translators who render the idiomatic meaning of this collocation are Hilali and Khan. On the other hand, Hilali and Khan also give more explanation about this prayer by describing it "*the best prayer*". This meaning is semantically included in this collocation.

Example 4:
(وهو الذي سخر البحر لتأكلوا منه **لحما طريا** وتستخرجوا منه حلية تلبسونها) (النحل 14)
Translation:
Hilali & Khan: Fresh tender meat (i.e. fish) (the Bee, 14)
Yusof Ali: flesh that is fresh and tender (the Bee, 14)
Pickthall: fresh meat (the Bee, 14)

The fresh and tender meat in this verse refers to the fish. Qutb (2004) comments that "The sea and its life forms also meet many human needs and satisfy various human desires. From it we obtain fresh fish and other species to eat" (p. 14). The meaning of this collocation may be already included in this verse as the meat that is extracted from the sea is the fish. However, this collocation has a rhetorical function in this verse as Allah does not mention it directly. The job of the translator is to convey this rhetorical function by translating the collocation and giving the meaning. Otherwise, the reader may be confused with the meaning of this meat.

The three translations show the lack of equivalence in English to give a direct meaning of it. The translators use a different strategy to illustrate the meaning. The first translation is the only one that includes the idiomatic meaning of this collocation, i.e. "fish". However, the translators fail to find an equivalent collocation in the TL to translate this collocation. They use the strategy of descriptive equivalent to convey the meaning of this collocation. The second translation by Yusof Ali is a descriptive strategy as well, but again he uses the word flesh, which gives a different meaning of the word لحما (literally: meat). The last translation, by Pikhthall, shows the weakness of translation by using literal translation without referring to the idiomatic meaning of this collocation. Therefore, we can say that the best translation of this collocation is the one by Hilali and Khan. However, they also fail to translate this collocation into a collocation in the TL.

Example 5:
(ما كان لي من علم **بالملإ الاعلى** اذ يختصمون) (ص 69)
Translation:
Hilali & Khan: Chiefs on high (angels) (Sadd, 69)
Yusof Ali: Chiefs on High (Sadd, 69)
Pickthall: the highest Chiefs (Sadd, 69)

No one can deny the creatures in the heaven i.e. "angels". This concept may be clear especially in the religious texts. Readers of religious texts like to receive a clear message when they read or listen to religious texts. A specialist in the Quran may have the ability to understand such collocations without looking for the meaning, but a reader from other cultures looks for clear translation that may help in understanding religious points. This collocation refers to God's creations in the sky i.e. the angels.

The three translators use the word "chiefs" to refer to the creatures in heaven. They use the descriptive equivalent strategy to render the meaning of this collocation in one hand. On the other hand, they fail to translate this collocation into an equivalent collocation in the TL. This problem is due to the fact that translating collocation is more problematic when the meaning of the word's combination is different from the literal meaning of the components. Accordingly, the only translation that conveys this idiomatic meaning is the first one by Hilali and Khan.

Example 6:
(والسماء ذات البروج، و**اليوم الموعود**) (البروج 1-2)
Translation:
Hilali & Khan: By the heaven, holding the big stars (1) And by the Promised Day (i.e. the Day of Resurrection) (Alburuj, 1-2)
Yusof Ali: By the sky, (displaying) the Zodiacal Signs, by the promised Day (of Judgment) (Alburuj, 1-2)
Pickthall: By the heaven, holding mansions of the stars, And by the Promised Day. (Alburuj, 1-2)

Quran is full of such collocations that have a hidden meaning. This feature is a rhetorical feature of the Quran that encourages the readers to think of its meanings. In this verse, Allah swears by the sky itself, then by the promised day. However, the exact meaning of this day is not clear since Muslims have many important days like Eids, Ramadan, Arafat, Hajj and others. As Qutb (2004) says "The sūrah starts with an oath: "In this way the sūrah links heaven and its magnificent constellations, the promised Day of Judgement and its great events" (p. 103).

Thus, the idiomatic meaning of this day is "the Judgment day". The three translators translate this verse literally as "the promised day". However, Hilali & Khan clarify this idiomatic meaning by adding its meaning between brackets "the day of Resurrection" to make it easy for the readers to understand this meaning.

Yousef Ali also adds the meaning of this idiomatic meaning between brackets "the Judgment day" which enables the readers to connect the meaning of this verse to the pre and post verses. On the other hand, Pickthall fails in rendering the idiomatic meaning of this collocation and leaves it hidden. Accordingly, it can be stated that Hilali & Khan and Yousef Ali render the meaning of this collocation equivalently by adding interpretation between brackets.

Example 7:
(والفجر، **وليال عشر**) (الفجر 1-2)
Translation:
Hilali & Khan: By the dawn; (1) By the ten nights (i.e. the first ten days of the month of Dhul-Hîjjah) (Alfajr, 1-2)
Yusof Ali: By the break of Day, By the Nights twice five; (Alfajr, 1-2)
Pickthall: By the Dawn, and ten nights (Alfajr, 1-2)

The ten nights in this verse refer to the first ten nights of the Arabic month Dhul -Hijjah. They are blessed days because they have the day of Arafat and the days of Haj worship in Islam. The meaning of this collocation is difficult even for Muslim - Arab readers if they are not aware of the Quranic meaning. A reader may wonder which ten days Allah means in this verse. In this regard, Qutb (2004) states that "The Qur'ān does not specify which these ten nights are. Several explanations, however, have been advanced. Some say they are the first of the month of Dhu'l-Hijjah" (p. 149).

The translations of this verse show the difficulty of rendering the meaning because the source text collocation is idiomatic. The translations of Yusof Ali and Pickthall only show the literal meaning of this collocation which is *the ten days*. Hilali and Khan illustrate the meaning of this collocation by explaining the meaning between brackets.

Conclusion

In this paper, the researchers attempt to discuss one of the most important problems that translators may face when translating the Quranic collocation into English. The problem refers to the collocations that carry an idiomatic meaning. The researchers find that it is not easy to overcome this problem if the translators are not aware of understanding the message of the SL collocation and its linguistic, idiomatic and cultural dimensions. Translators of Quranic text have to pay more attention to collocations; especially those that carry an idiomatic meaning. They have to find the meaning of such collocation by referring to the interpretation of the Noble Quran, then choosing the convenient strategy that covers this idiomatic meaning. Meaning of such collocation may not be conveyed by using the literal strategy due to the intended meaning they have (Aresta, 2018). Therefore, the researchers suggest that the translators should support their translations by functional information or explanation such as in Hilali & Khan's translation. Such a method will save the channel of communication between the source text and the target reader in one hand. On the other hand, it will convey the message of the

Quran clearly to the target readers. However, a translator has to be aware of the semantic and beautiful features of the Quranic text such as ambiguity by committing to the Quranic text as possible as he can, in addition to the cultural aspects that a collocation may have (Obeidat & Mahadi, 2019).

To solve such a problem of idiomatic meaning, translators need to rely more on special dictionaries of Quranic texts. For this purpose, the study recommends investigating more all of the idiomatic expressions in the Quran and to collect them in such a special dictionary. Translators also need to investigate more the meaning of the collocation based on its contexts by referring to the interpretations of the Noble Quran. Collocations can be found under several categories within a text, such as lexical, grammatical or cultural collocations. This study was limited to discuss the problem of translating idiomatic collocations in the Noble Quran. Further researches may be conducted to discuss more this concept in different aspects. The result gained from this study will contribute to the fields of the problems of the Quranic expressions translation.

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THE HYPERTEXTUAL GATEWAY OF ELITE CHINESE UNIVERSITIES: A GENRE ANALYSIS OF THE "ABOUT" WEBPAGES

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ABSTRACT

This article reports a genre study of the "About" webpages published in the websites of nine elite Chinese universities (the C9 League). This study explored the macro-level rhetorical structure and communicative purposes, followed by a micro-level discussion of the discursive strategies employed in this institutionalised genre. The findings reveal a dynamic interweaving of two distinct discursive resources – linguistic and multimodal – rhetorically organised through the interplay between the mixing of thirteen move types and various interdiscursive elements. The analytical results indicate that the trend of marketisation, other than a predominant rhetorical feature of being informative, indeed influences the institutional web structuring through employing branding strategies to promote academic excellence as well as strengthen relationship with web readers. The dynamic interactions unfolded by this research not only deepen users' knowledge of a previously undiscovered yet discursively complex web genre, but also contribute to theoretical and methodological development in genre studies in this digital era.

Keywords: Genre analysis; rhetorical move; hypertextuality; "About" webpages; university

Introduction

Academic institutions, particularly represented by public universities, for a long time, are considered as the pinnacle of learning knowledge, and the predominant job of the universities is providing the best tertiary education to the learners and serving the society development (Osman, 2008). In the era of information, the World Wide Web contributes to distributing learning and information resources to numerous students, as well as supporting dialogue and collaboration within a dispersed community of education (O'Reilly & Newton, 2000). The contemporary World Wide Web profoundly changes the communicative practices of higher education institutions (HEIs). In this regard, the usage of the online discourse is an integral part of the universities' daily routine to widen the margin of higher education and exert a pull on the students for admission (Bano & Shakir, 2015; Caiazzo, 2013; Erhan & Semira, 2010). The globalisation and marketisation of higher education are greatly organised owing to increasing geographical mobility and the universal infiltration of English as the language of marketing and education. The acknowledged interpretation of the university website is that it is the first page which is viewed by the outsiders, therefore they are presenting the university "virtual face" or as a valuable gateway to the audience (Caiazzo, 2013, p. 12). The use of university website plays a crucial role in creating a prestigious university identity, publicising university missions, as well as attracting potential students in the competitive marketisation of tertiary education in the present 21st century of globalisation (Fletcher, 2006). Grasping the knowledge of this university web discourse is therefore a vital key to understand how the universities position themselves and operate professional practices (O'Reilly & Newton, 2000; Zhang & O'Halloran, 2012).

Hypertextuality

The internet radically changes the relationship between readers with online discourses, the method of text production, and the ways of comprehension. The website is no longer simply a device, by contrast, it is a medium that provides readers with a set of novel media forms and genres (Gervais, 2013). In web-mediated discourses, intertextuality can be manifested in diverse manners via explicit reference to other textual resources, in which the use of hyperlinks is regarded as one of the fundamental characteristics of the contemporary Internet society (Deuze, 2001). The hypertextual connections encompass site-internal and site-external, in which the former relates to the hyperlinks connecting parts within the same webpages/website, on the other hand, the site-external refers to connecting sub-pages from different webpages/websites. This hypertextual connectivity of different internal and external sources enables web users to access to multiple social voices and information (Bargiela-Chiappini, 2006). It also alters the conventional, linear reading mode in which the audience interact with texts (Kress, 2010). In the case of web reading, the online users have various pathways (Lemke, 2002) to choose from rather than following a sequence predetermined by the content producers. Thus, the multisequential hypertexts encourage users to actively get involved in meaning making and therefore increase the interactivity between information producers and readers (Lam, 2013).

Hypertextuality is regarded as a ubiquitous form of discourse in contemporary web contexts, whereas the understanding of it remains deficient. The previous theories and analytical models for investigating communication have frequently been established for language and traditional forms of media. Nevertheless, the continuous development of interactive digital technology has revealed new theoretical challenges, particularly with regard to the integration of linguistic elements with other resources (e.g. visual images, hyperlinks) in dynamic hypertextual conditions. Although some academic investigations shedding some light on generic structures and hypertextual features of online genres have been identified in recent decades (Askehave & Nielsen, 2005; Suen, 2013; Zhang & O'Halloran, 2012), the focus and analysis are specifically intended to address homepages of institutions. Nevertheless, the functions and distribution of hypertextual construction of non-homepage within and across web genres remain a largely unexplored area. Henceforth, this article is intended as a genre-based investigation to examine the rhetorical features of the "About" webpages of Chinese universities, with a purpose to unfold the identification of emerging conventions that characterise institutional communicative practices in the hypertextual web context.

"About" Webpage as a Hypertextual Genre

The "About" or "About Us" webpage is an autobiographical, educational and personal description of the website. This webpage reveals the background and history of the company/institutions, and presents the business/information to visitors or customers (Tan, 2013). The "About" webpage is usually regarded as an introductory section that aims at introducing and describing "profile" of companies, institutions, and individuals (Bano & Shakir, 2015, p. 133). Additionally, it sets trust and loyalty, as well as differentiates companies from their competitors (Casañ-Pitarch, 2015). Today, both profit and non-profit making organisations deploy the "About" webpages to engage themselves with their audience in a personal way (Nutter, 2009). In universities' websites, in addition to offering a brief description of the characteristics and information of the universities, the "About" webpage is intended to shape what may be conceived as an explicit "narration" of how the university wishes to be perceived by others.

The "About" webpage is formed by one single page consisting of a number of sub-pages and elements which jointly form a suitable text to present the company or the individual (Graham, 2013). Furthermore, Graham (as cited in Casañ-Pitarch, 2015) summarised some conventionalised information that an "About" page should:

> (1) introduce and explain how the institution started; (2) state the origin of the business; (3) tell the story behind the products: how they are made and designed; (4) share creative inspiration for the institution's products and management; (5) present the institution's or owner's background experience with the aim of establishing instant credibility; (6) discover the institution's vision, dreams, and aspirations; and (7) link work, values and beliefs with motivation. (p. 71)

However, it is also possible to see "About" pages constituted by distinct sections, as Lam (2009) suggested a variety of possible sub-sections that enable a complete typical "About" page of business companies, for instance, sections of *Contact Information, FAQs*, etc.

The language used on university web genres, especially on the "About" webpages, received much attention by the early researchers who aimed to identify the emerging conventions that characterise institutional communicative practices in the web-mediated contexts (Caiazzo, 2013). In the study of Caiazzo (2014), the linguistic characterisations of the "About" webpages of British universities have been qualitatively analysed in terms of the heading of sections, diatypic variability (welcome messages and informative content), text length, and the role played by the navigation options as further sources of information. The results show that although communicative practices of the universities still leave room for a diversity of individual choices, some emerging conventions are identified in the verbal presentation of the "About" webpages. The promotional feature is also uncovered in the "About" discourses in that the marketisation increasingly permeates contemporary discursive practices in some contexts of higher education (e.g. British universities) (Morrish & Sauntson, 2013). The process of commodification within universities is mirrored at some "About" sections, in which the textual elements are used to achieve the communicative purpose of showing promotional nature of universities (Villanueva, Dolom, & Belen, 2018).

Based on what has been reviewed so far, it shows that there is worth concentrating on the generic investigation to find out the way how the "About" webpage is constructed, used and understood, then what linguistic or non-linguistic features are used to construct its rhetorical structure to make it as a characteristic hypertextual web genre. With this objective in mind, the researchers draw on a particular genre-based approach to answer two research questions: (1) what is/are the communicative purpose(s) of the Chinese universities' "About" webpages? (2) What are the generic and interdiscursive characteristics of Chinese universities' "About" webpage?

Methodology

Data

This study aims at figuring out how Chinese universities organise their "About" webpages as an efficient gateway to show themselves to outsiders. The dataset was compiled from nine Chinese universities which are identified as the C9 League universities: *Fudan University (FDU), Harbin Institute of Technology (HIT), Nanjing University (NJU), Peking University (PKU), Shanghai Jiao Tong University (SJTU), Tsinghua University (THU), University of Science* and *Technology of China (USTC), Xi'an Jiaotong University (XJTU), and Zhejiang University (ZJU).* The selection of data was determined according to the reputation and profile of universities among the large database in China. Previous survey has indicated that there should be a particular focus on "investigation using smaller datasets for more qualitative and more delicate analysis" (Bednarek, 2014, p. 141). The C9 League universities admit more elite groups of students and academic experts than other higher educational institutes in China so that they are greatly dedicated to becoming academically renowned universities (Han, 2014; Xiong, 2012). On the whole, the C9 League has the fastest growth rate among its Western peers (e.g. Ivy League, Go8, U15, Russell Group) and it shows a trend to continue this increasing pace, and there is a great possibility that the C9 League may eventually catch up with the other peer groupings around the world in the near future (Allen, 2017). It is widely acknowledged that the C9 League to the greatest extent represents the highest academic and educational achievements of China's higher education to the world (Allen, 2017; Fang et al., 2013; Han, 2014; Xiong, 2012; Yang & Xie, 2015; Yue & Zhu, 2009). It is, therefore, important to investigate the effectiveness of such universities in their attempt to organise their web-mediated genres. All the nine "About" webpages that are published in English were collected and saved as data corpus between August 2019 and September 2019 before the next freshman registration.

Data Analysis

Osman (2005, 2008) has investigated universities' brochures as a professional genre from two perspectives: the applied linguistics perspective and the ESP practice perspective. Due to the similarity of data sources, the rhetorical structure of universities' brochures proposed by Osman (2005, 2008) was adopted as a preliminary framework in analysing rhetorical move structure of the "About" webpages in this study. In regard to data analysis, we first identify the "About" webpages in terms of the move structures based on Osman's (2005, 2008) move-step analytical framework as well as the previous genre investigations (Cheong, 2013; Suen, 2013). To begin with, a tentative coding scheme was developed on the basis of these analytical frameworks and studies, which was used to pilot code a representative sample of one university's "About" webpage to test its credibility. Following, this pilot code sample was subsequently checked by another expert who had done prior rhetorical analysis of web-mediated genres to ensure its viability. During the process of discussion and modification, some move types were combined or removed meanwhile new categories emerged (Teo & Ren, 2019). This process of securing inter-rater reliability assisted in achieving reliability and trustworthiness of the study. Then, the micro-level constituent steps (discursive strategies) realising each macro-level rhetorical move were discussed (Askehave & Nielsen, 2005). Last, the communicative purposes of the rhetorical moves of the "About" genre were unpacked based on the qualitative analysis.

Analyses and Results

Overview Features of the "About" Genre

Heading of a specific web page has defined as a "genre marker", which is one of those "distinctive expressions and devices that are utilised to structure a text from a particular genre" (Biber & Conrad, 2009, p. 54). A variety of headings are used by the universities to address this type of webpage, in which the preferred choice involves "About" in most cases (89% or 8/9) except XJTU. There is a propensity for the universities to deploy "About" (44% or 4/9) or "About + university name" (33% or 3/9). Moreover, the other minimally used titles also retain as a distinctive feature of this "about" (i.e. About Us, University + introduction). As a consequence, the heading of "About" is used to refer to this specific webpage throughout this article.

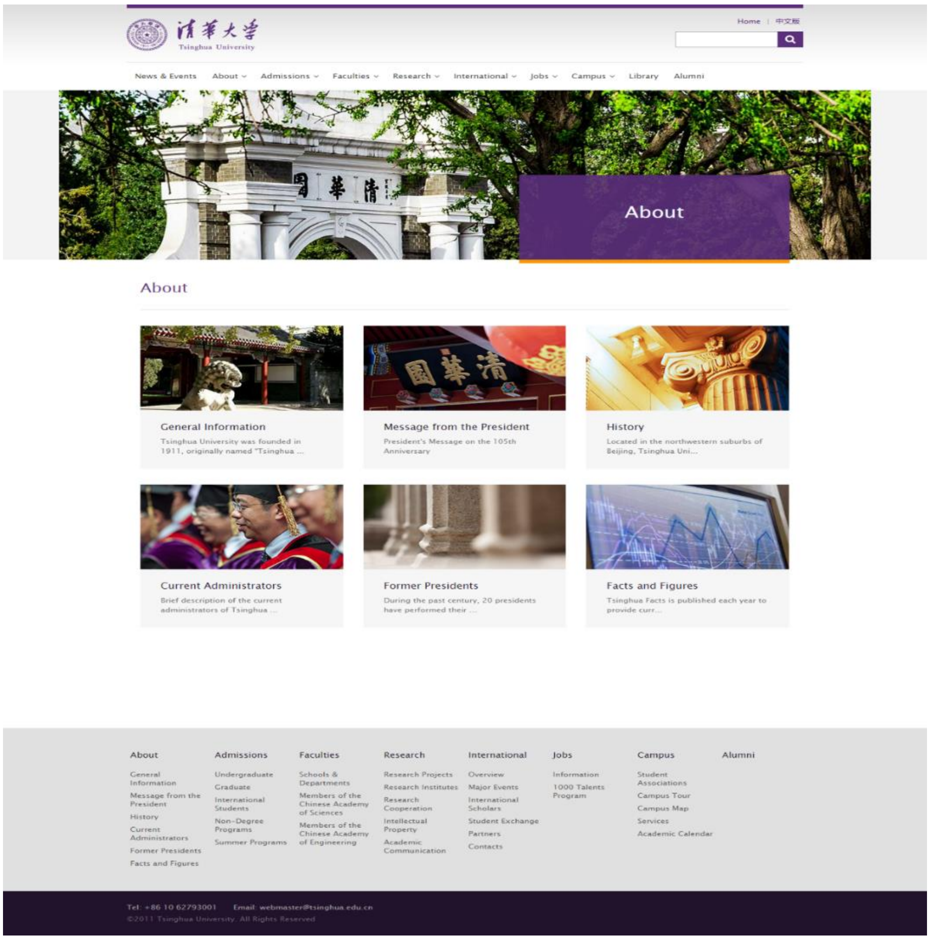

Figure 1. "About" Main Page of THU

All the nine "About" webpages are accessed from the universities' homepages through a link placed in a horizontal bar menu. The nine "About" pages are designed as a separate webpage which encompasses several sub-pages. It was observed that the first page (see Figure 1) appearing after clicking the "About" option tend to imitate universities' homepages, which serves as an indicator concerning with general content, sub-pages and lay-out of the "About" webpages. In order to differentiate with website homepages, this page is defined as "About" main page which is designed by five universities (56%) as the first page of their "About" webpages: *FDU, NJU, THU, USTC* and *ZJU*. This "About" main page still reveals the similarity between the website homepages and the book exordium in that it "displays an interesting mixture of promotional features intertwined with content information where texts, visuals, sound, and animation are combined with enticing summaries of web site contents to make the user stay and explore the site"

(Askehave & Nielsen, 2005, p. 124). The first page of the other four universities' "About" webpages (44%) is just the first sub-page displayed in the "About" navigation menus, in other words, there is no main page designed for those "About" webpages: *HIT, PKU, SJTU* and *XJTU.*

A sub-page is "a clickable object which allows the navigator to go from one place to another on a webpage/ website" (Askehave & Nielsen, 2005, p. 132). As shown in Table 1, twenty-two types of sub-pages with a total number of fifty-four were identified on the "About" webpages of the nine universities. Different universities share sub-page categories that offer similar information and content; however, the headings may be used differently. For example, both FDU and ZJU have a section to introduce their history, the terms of "*History*" and "*ZJU's history*" are employed respectively. In this regard, the term that more explicitly signifies the content will be used to refer to the sub-pages which occur on different "About" webpages.

Table 1
Sub-pages of the "About" Webpages

Sub-pages	Obligatory/ Optional	Frequency	Percentage
Introduction	Obligatory	9	100%
Administration	Low optionality	7	78%
History	Medium optionality	6	67%
Message from the president	Medium optionality	6	67%
Facts and figures	Medium optionality	6	67%
Visiting university	High optionality	3	33%
Identity	High optionality	2	22%
Past leadership	High optionality	2	22%
International collaborations	High optionality	1	11%
View of HIT	High optionality	1	11%
HIT Times	High optionality	1	11%
Message from the CUC	High optionality	1	11%
SJTU Today	High optionality	1	11%
International student services	High optionality	1	11%
Life@ SJTU	High optionality	1	11%
Administrative departments	High optionality	1	11%
Library	High optionality	1	11%
Museums	High optionality	1	11%
Contact us	High optionality	1	11%
Current leadership	High optionality	1	11%
Zhejiang university-wide publications (Journals)	High optionality	1	11%
Hang Zhou	High optionality	1	11%
Total: 22		54	

Note. Moves occurring: 100%: obligatory; 70% - 99%: low optionality; 40% - 69%: medium optionality; below 39%: high optionality (Mulken & van der Meer, 2005; Suen, 2013)

In the dataset, there is only one obligatory sub-page, *Introduction*, while all the other pages are identified as optional. One sub-page is classified as low optionality, *Administration*; four sub-pages are classified as being medium optional: *History*, *Message from the President*, *Facts and Figures*, and *Identity*. Another sixteen sub-pages found are considered as showing high optionality in that the majority of them are just shown in one university's "About" webpage. This finding reveals that the "About" webpages, as a sub-level document of a website discourse, is concerned with the dynamic interaction between discourses and flexible hypertextual practice (Bhatia, 2010). It is different from the top-level homepage of a website which performs overall consistent generic structures, content, and form (Askehave & Nielsen; 2005; Cheng, 2016; Cheong, 2013; Lam, 2013; Suen, 2013). Complexity is a pervasive phenomenon that it is manifested in different types of information and in different parts of the same web context. This complexity if further accentuated in the Information Age (Bhatia, 2010). Nevertheless, the "About" webpage still implies some similar pivotal information which substantiates a preferred way of organising the webpage text with the most important information (i.e. the obligatory and medium-optional sub-pages).

Communicative Purposes of Rhetorical Moves

In order to analyse the "About" webpages methodically and systematically, the analysis in this study was done according to grid sections starting from the top (left to right) to the bottom (left to right) of the webpages. Based on the content, form, functionality and communicative purposes of the elements found on the "About" webpages, thirteen rhetorical moves were identified (see Table 2). The communicative purpose constitutes the rationale for the genre that means what authors try to accomplish in a social context, thus it triggers a particular text structure and a set of conventionalised verbal and visual rhetorical strategies (Swales, 1990). These thirteen rhetorical moves are classified into three communitive purposes as (1) Informative purpose: to provide largely factual information about the universities; to inform the public about the academic programmes/ facilities offered at the universities; (2) Promotional purpose: to introduce and offer products of the university and promote the university as an academic institution; (3) Social purpose: to establish and strengthen a personal and close relationship with the webpage readers; to foster the formation of a discourse community between the university webpage and the actual/potential readers; (Lam, 2013; Osman, 2008).

Table 2
Communicative Purposes of Rhetorical Moves of the "About" Webpages

Rhetorical Move	Prop	Steps	IP	PP	SP
Identifying the institution	100%		√		
Establishing closer relationship with	100%	Users' options			√
		Welcome/ Greeting			√

audience					
Attracting readers' attention	100%	Motto/Slogan		√	
		Visual pictures	√	√	
Indicating content structure	100%		√		√
		History	√	√	
		Social status	√	√	
Establishing credentials	100%	Teaching & research	√	√	
		Alumni	√	√	
		Internationalization	√	√	
		Achievement	√	√	
Targeting the market	100%	Mission statement		√	
Locating the institution	100%	Location/Maps/Campus	√		
		Transportation		√	
		Describing the service	√	√	
Offering information about service	100%	Justifying the service	√	√	
		Endorsing value of the service	√	√	
		Indicating value of the service	√		
Giving related information link	78%		√		√
Supporting visuals	100%		√		
Detailing administrative information	78%		√		
Soliciting responses	100%		√	√	√

Note. IS: Informative purpose PS: Promotional purpose SS: Social purpose
Prop: percentage proportion over total nine "About" webpages;
Moves are listed largely in the usual order of appearance sequence.

It is worth noting that one single rhetorical move may be identified and classified into more than one of the four key communitive purposes, as a move may achieve more than one function at a time and these communicative functions may at times partly overlap (Lam, 2013; Suen, 2013). According to the main theoretical framework for the generic analysis of Osman (2008), only the dominant communicative purpose(s) was/were identified for each rhetorical move in this investigation, which are shown in Table 2. Eleven (85%) moves achieve the informative purpose that they provide information about the universities from multi-perspectives. Only two moves (15%) do not show the informative features, namely *Targeting the market* and *Establishing closer relationship with audience.* It shows that the information provision is the primary concern and function of the "About" webpages. The universities tend to provide factual information, and there is a predilection of presenting carefully curated details and strategical verbal descriptions with a purpose to maximise their appeal to the target readers, thereby to potentially accomplish the communicative purpose of being promotional (Bhatia, 2013). Being different from other genres, the "About" webpages of Chinese universities is therefore presented in a "mixed form" (Bhatia, 2004, p. 11) that they are employed with multiple strategies so as to achieve multifaceted communicative purposes.

The promotional purpose is realised via six moves (46%). It is observed that the promotional and informational purposes are frequently mixed, especially in the move of *Establishing credentials*, which indicates that the genre of universities' "About" webpages strategically blurs the lines between describing and selling (Teo & Ren, 2019). The less-than-half promotional feature validates that the global market-driven ideology does not privilege the "About" webpage construction of Chinese universities. On the other hand, four moves fulfil a function to strengthen the relationship with the readers, namely social purpose (Lam, 2013): *Soliciting responses, Establishing closer relationship with audience, Indicating content structure,* and *Giving related information link.* These moves are purposively used to ensure webpage readers feel at "closed" and convince them that the university tries to do its best to meet their needs and help them enjoy the webpage reading.

The phenomenon of "marketisation" indeed contributes to the hypermodal and hypertextual construction in the web genres of higher educational institutions. In the highly commercialised process of globalisation, universities are forced to marketise themselves as if they were "ordinary business competing to sell their products to consumers" (Fairclough, 1993, p. 141). As such, the webpages of the universities show more promotional features than past, which highlight university's identity, vision, reputation, and the vibrant campus life via the deployment of multimodal resources (both visually and verbally) (Zhang & O'Halloran, 2012). In order to appeal the elite students, universities make great effort to promote their value and quality by having series of promotional moves in their web genres as a simultaneously effective tool to extend the local market to the world. These promotional and corporate forms of C9 League's online webpages have expanded and shifted from elite education to a diversified system of education to increase the international reputation in order to achieve the government's goal of questing world-class universities (Yang & Xie, 2015).

As such, the Chinese universities, at least for these nine elite universities, pledge allegiance to their public attribute whose core value is to serve China's higher education and society (Ouyang, 2004). However, the promotional features revealed by the moves exhibit that they are not impervious to the global forces and international marketisation that are transforming education into a corporate-like context. Chinese universities are no longer perceived or work merely as an ivory tower or a base for knowledge dissemination, but have become a place to promote their prestigious image and brand themselves, with a purpose to compete with peer groups in the world. What is worth noting is that although the Chinese universities organise the web genres, represented by the "About", with a similar intention as many marketising higher educational institutions in the word, the dominant function relates to factual information presentation. In other words, the universities in China, such as the C9 League, undergo a lower degree of marketisation compared with other social contexts (Kheovichai, 2014; Morrish & Sauntson, 2013).

Table 2 suggests that this web genre is relatively stable in its internal rhetorical components, which is shown by the fact that the majority of the move categories identified (eleven out of thirteen) are obligatory and occur in all the nine "About" webpages. It may be interpreted that the designers of universities' "About" webpages commonly follow some conventions and possibly utilise some instructional templates in the process of producing this web discourse to speed up the publishing process and to maintain a level of structural consistency. Apart from the internal stability of used move types, some moves are found to be frequently placed at a fixed position, especially at the top (e.g. *Identifying the institution* and bottom (e.g. *Soliciting responses* parts of the webpages. The positional features in certain move types will be exemplified when each move type is discussed in the following discussions. By contrast, rhetorical variability in certain move types is observed in the findings. First, ten moves/steps in Osman's (2005, 2008) original rhetorical structure of universities' brochures were also identified as constructing "About" webpages of universities, whereas, six moves were found as rhetorical components of this university web genre instead of being deployed in persuasion-oriented genres in the print form. The analysis of the thirteen rhetorical moves uncovered several linguistic and non-linguistic features that contribute to the hypertextual and multimodal construction of the "About" webpages, which are discussed in detail in the following sections.

Rhetorical Moves of the "About" Webpages

Identifying the institution

The first move of all "About" webpages is to identify the university which aims to create university's identity thus shape its positive image. This move is realised by showing universities' names (verbal) and logos (visual) (see Figure 2) which jointly define the visual identity of a university (Idris & Whitfield, 2014) and capitalise on a brand's visual distinctiveness in the market (Mijan, Noor, & Jaafar, 2020). When audience browse other webpages, the university logo and name can be activated as a link to help them return to the homepage and orient themselves without getting lost on the website with numerous hypertextual resources (Pott, 2007), which are mainly intertextually linked within the "About" webpages.

Figure 2. Identification of PKU

Five universities use a combination of graphic symbols with both Chinese and English names in their logos (i.e. SJTU, THU, USTC, THU, ZJU), however, four universities just combine graphic symbol and English name as their logos (i.e. FDU, HIT, NJU, PKU). In contrast, the logotype and icotype are not used by the universities in which the logos just exclusively presented through letters and numerals, or graphics (Heilbrunn, 1997). It indicates, in fact, that all universities' logos are multimodal in nature and different semiotic systems, graphics and linguistic features are encompassed (Landa, 2006). In terms of placement, all the logos and names are nearly merged and joined on the left corner of the top row on the websites. This ideologically most salient position is supposed to lead to easy recognition of the universities (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). The audience are swayed to browse the top of the screen first before looking down for further details of the webpages, and the logo notifies them about the identification of the institution they are focusing (Suen, 2013). Therefore, the obligatorily used logo and name are considered as the first move of the universities' "About" webpages.

It indicates that they work together and take a salient position in the already-known part as the nucleus of the information to audience. The closer distance of these two components in one part maintains its cohesion and the two visual elements are still perceived as a cohesive whole in identifying a university. In specific, logos are all placed at the left side of the universities' names (see Figure 2), it is plausible to interpret that the logo is full of graphic features so that easily draws reader's immediate attention than the written language to identify the universities, and as a consequence, it deserves the first attention of audience. The Chinese names are vertically placed above the corresponding English names at almost the same length. Apparently, the Chinese names realise the communicative purpose of drawing reader's attention in the form of large font size and through occupying more than three quarters of the semiotic altitude at upper salient position. Additionally, the name presented in the first language of the university's social community is considered as more paramount to identify its presence, thus the Chinese name is positioned on the upper section showing ideal and thought-provoking information for the viewers (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). The English names located on the bottom are in smaller font size, which suggests that it contains secondary information supporting the main message of identifying Chinese universities. In general, typographic meaning potentials are more communicated in Chinese names that are vertically oriented in traditional calligraphy as well spaced out, taking up more space, which functions to attract more reader's attention and connotes elegance and confidence of the universities. The universities' English names are relatively light in weight with regular fonts which are more likely to be print style with an upright typeface, suggesting formality. Furthermore, the letters are connected in neither too tall nor too squat manners to depict a formal image of the universities (Machin, 2007).

This move of identifying the institution is imperative to the validity and integrity of the official websites of the national universities. This is because there are numerous university websites, including key or non-key, public or private, on the Internet to provide university information. The prospective online visitors are more likely to obtain information confidently from the official webpages of the C9 League universities that are supervised by the Ministry of Education. Hence, identifying the official university image can build trust and credibility among audience.

Establishing closer relationship with audience

This move functions to strengthen the relationship with the webpage visitors by making them feel comfortable and user-friendly when accessing information on the webpages. A variety of elements are incorporated in the "About" webpages to convince the readers that the universities are trying their best to fulfill their requirements. The elements realising this move are frequently placed on the top right corner above the navigation menu, which is the uppermost site of the webpages. However, some elements such as contact information may also be located at the bottom part of the webpages. As seen from the following Figure 3, the majority of universities (n=8) employ various elements with a purpose to cater to special users, assist readers in viewing the webpages and information retrieval, and provide relevant contact information that may make the potential readers stay more comfortable (Cheong, 2013). However, USTC has only one "*Search*" channel to help readers search for information by inputting key words.

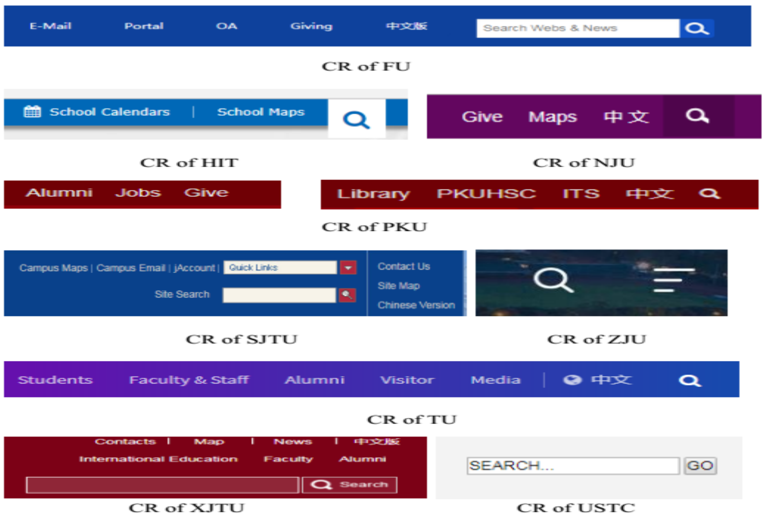

Figure 3. Elements of Establishing Closer Relationship with Audience

A total of 23 types of elements are used to strengthen the relationship with online audience (see Table 3). Among them, the "*Search*" option (100%/ n=9) is used as an obligatory one to assist the visitors to receive information that is tailored to their interests and needs, thus saving the time spent on looking at information that they may not be interested in. Webpage readers may look for someone who claims accountability and responsibility for the content thus the possibility of contacting the webpage is considered as a crucial strategy to strengthen the relationship with potential visitors. This may account for why all the nine "About" webpages provide their "*Contact*" options (100%/ n=9), such as mailing address, telephone number, fax, E-mail, social networking software (microblog, *WeChat*, *Facebook*, *Twitter*, etc.) at the top or bottom of the webpages or in the *Contact* or *Contact Us* hyperlinks. Besides, the language option (69%) that transfers to Chinese language (in English webpages) is shown on six "About" webpages (67%) to satisfy reader's language preference. This also contributes to widening the potential market for the webpage readers. The school map is presented on five universities' "About" webpages (56%) via pictures and details of campus. The majority of the elements are highly optional with a minimal frequency (see Table 3). Thus, a large degree of variability in this move elements is disclosed when the webpages attempt to enhance the usability and create a reader-friendly web interface.

Table 3
Elements of Establishing Close Relationship with Audience

Elements	Description	Frequency
Search	Searching particular content	9
Contact	Providing contact information (Email, phone, fax, mailing address, social networking software)	9
Language option	Chinese language option	6
School Map	Showing school map and campus views	5
Giving	Collecting donation	3
Alumni	Collecting information about alumni	3
Quick links	Links to other contents	2
Faculty Staff/ Faculty	Providing Information about faculties	2
Portal/ OA	Link to another webpage	2
School calendar	Describing important days of the university	1
Time	Showing time	1
Jobs	Providing information about jobs	1
Library	Providing information about the library	1
PKUHSC	Describing an important department	1
Internet service	Linking to another webpage related to Internet	1
Login	Student login page	1
Student	Descriptions on students' life and study	1
Visitor	Providing information about visiting	1
Media	Showing photos, news and press	1
News	Providing the latest news regarding the university	1
International education	Providing information about international education	1
Home	Homepage link	1
Apply	Leading to information about application	1

In terms of the presentation mode, a few visual and graphic elements are employedto enhance web visibility. Eight universities use the icon of a magnifying glass visually indicate the search option. Meanwhile, two universities present icons of social networking software (*WeChat*, *Facebook*, etc.) to solicit reader's responses. This establishing hypertextual linkage to social software occurs at the bottom of the webpages. Using these multimodal elements that are familiar to readers in their digital social life helps persuade them to activate the hyperlinks and transform web reading into a kind of social interaction with the universities. The semiotic potential of hypertextuality has been recognised. Nonetheless, the most commonly used elements tend to be presented via verbal resources, which means the web visitors read what is displayed on the webpages. These utilities facilitate website accessibility and make navigation of the webpage easier for readers to access contents and obtain relevant information.

A closer relationship with audience is also strengthened by adopting a conversational style to create a friendly, intimate and interactive approach. In a genre, an egalitarian relationship between the interlocutors can be created by the use of “speech-like forms in writing” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 204; Teo & Ren, 2019). This feature of conversational discourse is especially evident in the opening lines of the personal speech. For example in the following Extract 1, the welcoming remarks at the beginning of the president’s speech functions as a colloquial yet polite expression which indicates formality and mimics the tenor of a conversation to establish a friendly and warmly welcoming tone, thus strengthen the relationship between the readers and the president who represents the university. This can be understood as an attempt to imitate the “customer-oriented” discourses in marketing, to draw readers to the university and can be seen as an instantiation of advertising discourse commonly used in the tourist industry (Askehave, 2007; Teo & Ren, 2019, p. 10). Another salient feature of conversational discourse of simulating a close relationship between the university president and readers is found in the closing remarks of the president’s speech. As exemplified in Extract 2, the appreciative expressions (e.g. thank you) and invitation (e.g. let’s work together…) with the use of the exclamation marks further encode a feeling of warmth and goodwill.

1. <u>Welcome to Shanghai Jiao Tong University.</u> (SJTU)
2. <u>We thank you for your attention and look forward to your arrival! Let’s work together for a better future!</u> (NJU)

This type of speech-like form in writing is identified in the sub-page named as *Message from the President*, which is included in six universities’（67%）”About” webpages (i.e. NJU, PKU, SJTU, THU, XJTU, ZJU). The high frequency of this sub-page in the hypertextual construction of the “About” webpages is accounted as that web genres are not only related to communication, but also signify socialisation in which the community is rooted in (Hamid, 2016). China is identified as a high power distance culture. The value of respect for superiors in hierarchical social relationship especially those in honorifics and titles is reflected in using their statements as endorsement in Chinese universities (Ahmed, Mouratidis, & Preston, 2009; Xiong, 2012).

Attracting reader’s attention

This is usually realised by a combination of verbal, visual and/or audiovisual elements to make audience to stay on the webpages (Askehave & Nielsen, 2005). First, three universities (NJU, USTC and ZJU) present the university mottos on the “About” pages to attract reader’s eyes. Meanwhile, the term “spirit” is alternatively used along with mottos by NJU and ZJU to fulfill the eye-catching function. As Osman (2008, p. 64) mentioned, the majority of the universities “use the motto inscribed on them as the motto represents the culture or the way of life in the university." The purpose of stating the motto or spirit is to establish a positive image of the university thus to intensify the promotional effect. These mottos or spirit imply that the universities inherit excellent culture and contribute to offer qualified service that enables potential students to experience a fulfilling education. As shown in the following two examples, USTC motto is presented in Chinese calligraphy via visual picture, and ZJU motto and spirit are shown in English translation. Both verbal and visual modes display the words in a symmetrical structure, in which the rhetorical function is to enhance the memorability and literary aesthetics.

3. The University Motto: Zhejiang University encourages all its faculty members and students to follow the spirit of "<u>pursuing the truth, being rigorous and earnest, exerting oneself for never-ending progress, and pioneering new trails</u>". In short, the university motto is "<u>Seeking Truth and Pursing Innovation</u>". (ZJU)

Figure 4. Motto of USTC

Another rhetorical strategy realising the move *to Attracting reader's attention* is the use of visual elements. The semiotic resources found include static visual pictures with meaning potentials, and graphics that make the webpage visually attractive and interesting; and animations such as videos. In the "About" webpages, visual pictures (100% or 9/9) fulfill the eye-catching function partially through their dominant locations (on top and middle parts) and relatively large size. At the same time, visual pictures selected are vivid in color to create a stunning impression on the readers. To further increase the visual appeal, the universities often employ not one but several aesthetically pleasing visual images within different sub-pages so that multiple views of the universities can be shown.

Visual images, on the "About" webpages, mainly achieve the conceptual meaning (participants are concerned with class, structure, meaning) (n=40/ 66%) and narrative meaning (unfolding actions and events, processes of change, transitory spatial arrangements) (n=21/ 34%) (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 79). Specifically, the conceptual meanings conveyed by the visual images are bound up with the "symbolic" (n=39/97.5%) and "analytical" (n=1/2.5%) perspectives. The symbolic meanings of the visual pictures shown on the "About" webpages are classified into four categories: (1) portraying the cultural value and long-established history of the university (n= 20/ 51%); (2) depicting the graceful campus and harmonious environment (n=13/ 33%); (3) showing modernisation of the university (n=6/ 15%); and (4) depicting grandeur of the university (n=4/ 10%). In regard to narrative representation, it is optionally expressed since seven (78%) “About” webpages include this kind of visual pictures. The main narrative contents are related to university activity (n=7/ 33%, e.g. conference, ceremony), extracurricular activity (n=5/ 24%, e.g. discussion, selfie), studying activity (n=5/ 24%, e.g. reading in the library, class attendance) and research activity (n=4/ 19%, e.g. fiddling with chemicals, discussion in laboratory). The examples of visual images that realise meaning potentials are shown in Appendix 1.

The “About” webpages increase reader’s interest by evoking an atmosphere of a vibrant but harmonious university environment that presents themselves as cherishing historic traditions and at the same time keeping pace with modern development. This indicates that the universities aim to establish a prestigious image as elite-class in the global education circle, both working as inheritors of history and culture as well contributing to advanced modern education. The frequently used close-up and medium shots pictures invite the readers to engage in the colorful campus life at the universities. Furthermore, the visual pictures involving study and research activities reinforce the message of the university vision of disseminating knowledge.

Indicating content structure

The communicative function of presenting “informative” tables of contents and providing access to the website is realised by “links” which tie together the information chunks into a web structure. The hypertextual navigation route or menu is an inherent property of the web-mediated genres (Askehave & Nielsen, 2005). The functional value of navigation modes is concerned with using structural links to organise the information on the webpages hierarchically, as well as guiding the readers to know what should they know more about. The webpages can chart the users’ direction of their information access and identify where the users have moved in the webpages. Instead of providing the readers with a complete overview of the entire site, navigation menus present a selection of topics which range from the names of very broad topic categories to more elaborate leads.

All the “About” webpages include navigation menus which are classified into two categories. One is the navigation menu that provides access to the entire site, which indicates very general topic categories at the upper levels of the website (hereby referred to as homepage navigation menu). As shown in Figure 5, the homepage navigation menu incorporates “*Home*”, “*About*” “*Schools*”, “*Research*”, “*Faculty*”, “*Admission*”, “*Services*”, “*Library*”, “*News*”. It is horizontally positioned at the upper section of the webpages. This placement leaves the homepage navigation menu with a particular high information value as being ideal and salient (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006), which is crucial as the navigators can easily have access to an overview of the main topics covered on the entire university website (Askehave & Nielsen, 2005).

“About” navigation menu just provides access to specific information within the “About” webpages. As demonstrated in Figure 5, there are two sub-pages encompassed in USTC’s “About” webpage, namely “*USTC Introduction”* and “*Administration”*. All the nine universities have “About” navigation menus, in which six are presented vertically (FDU, NJU, PKU, SJTU, USTCC, XJTU) while three horizontally (HIT, THU, ZJU). In general, the "About" navigation menus are frequently located at the upper or middle parts of the webpages, which accounts for the information value that the mid-upper section tends to convey much practical and specific information for the viewers (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). Both types of navigation menus are static. Linguistically, they are realised by a noun or noun phrase (as the terms shown in Table 1 above), which reveal a descriptive nature as the function to bring the audience to identify information topics. As mentioned above in Table 1, the "About" navigation menus of the nine universities are diversified, the choice of topics presented in the navigation menus is governed by what the universities believe will satisfy the information need of the readers when they consult the webpage.

Figure 5. Navigation Modes of USTC

Establishing credentials

In the promotional genres, the function of establishing credentials is obligatory to fulfill the needs of the potential customers and build company's reputation in the market (Bhatia, 2013). In university discourses, the universities mainly provide objective information, present carefully curated details, and organise them strategically so as to maximise their preponderant aspects thus appeal to their target readers (Teo & Ren, 2019). By invoking notions of excellence, both text description (verbal strategy) and visual images with figures (visual strategy) are deployed by the universities. What is worth noting is that the universities have a penchant for depicting excellence in the obligatory sub-page, *Introduction* (n=9/ 100%), in which the credentials of the universities are established by foregrounding of particular attributes or qualities deemed desirable to prospective students.

The positive university profile is frequently construed by its academic excellence in teaching and research. The straightforward step showcasing the academic quality is that the universities either list the faculties/research-centers or the academic programmes offered. Meanwhile, the large number of students, teaching staff and renowned academics also enhance the positive image of the university and the academic capacity that it empowers the prospective students to have access to (see Table 4).

Table 4
Realisations of Establishing Credentials

Steps		Examples
History (n=6/ 75%) (underlined)	Founding year; Re-establishment or Relocation	Fudan University was established in 1905 as Fudan Public School…in 1959 it became *one of the first National Key Universities* along with Shanghai *First Medical College*…
Current status (n=5/ 62.5%) (italic)	Current status	As one of the first participants in the 211 and 985 Projects, *Fudan has developed into a comprehensive research university*, with Departments of Philosophy, Economics, Law, Education…
Teaching & research (n=9/ 100%) (bold)	Teaching (programme); Number of students; Number of teachers	Fudan is home to 14,100 undergraduates and associate degree candidates, 14,800 graduates including 3000 foreign degree candidates, 2,700 staff and 3,100 full-time teaching faculty members.
	Academics;	Fudan hosts 46 members of Chinese Academy of Science and members of Chinese Academy of Engineering … and 30
	Research	National Key Basic Research Program of China (also named "973 Program"). (FDU)
Alumni (n=4/ 50%) (underlined)	Outstanding alumni;	XJTU's outstanding alumni include Zhang Yuanji, Cai Yuanpei, Cai E, Huang Yanpei…………………………
Internationalization (n=3/ 37.5%)	International scholars; International cooperation;	Since 2000, 15 Nobel laureates, 1 Fields Prize winner and over 2,000 foreign professors have visited XJTU and gave lectures. XJTU also exchanged or established cooperation relations with……around the world or developed other kinds of collaborative projects. (XJTU)

Another attribute that the majority of the universities focus on is tracing the long historical background, implying a rich heritage. This foregrounding is syntactically realised by positioning the founding year encoding the university's long history at the beginning of the introductions (e.g. "1905" in Table 4). In some cases, the re-establishment or relocation of the university is also recounted to amplify its long historical development, such as in Table 4, FDU emphasises "*in 1959 it became one of the first National Key Universities along with Shanghai First Medical College*".

Excellence is also ascribed to current status or reputation that the universities directly allude to. The universities tend to allude to governmental affiliation, such as "*the 211 and 985 Projects*" in Table 4. In addition, the remarkable quality is frequently evident through the process of deploying positive appraisal inscriptions (e.g. national, key, first, comprehensive in Table 4) to intensify the university's prestigious social status and influence.

Instead of foregrounding the extensive number of internal students and names of academics, some universities lay emphasis on alumni to reinforce the value of having a worldwide reserve of talents as part of the branding strategy. Many universities emphasise the names of outstanding alumni rather than showcasing general numbers. As shown in Table 4, a list of renowned alumni's names is presented to show the readers that the university has cultivated many of the country's most illustrious talents and contributed to the nation's achievements. Internationalisation is valorised and keenly quested by the Chinese universities (Yang & Xie, 2015), therefore the level that the universities engaged in the international community is also considered as a hallmark of their excellence. The universities attach value to the number of the international scholars they have and international cooperation they participate in (see Table 4).

The semiotic resources are employed by some universities as a purposive strategy to establish their credentials. In Figure 6, logos of some academic ranking systems (e.g. QS, Global Nature Index) are presented on the webpage to intensify the academic excellence of NJU. The quality of university's academic teaching is strengthened through the numbers of full-time students at undergraduate, master, doctoral and international levels, which are presented via the use of graphics. The visual images fulfill the eye-catching function through their distinctive graphic design and vivid colour, creating a stunning impression on the webpage readers.

Figure 6. Visuals Illustrating Achievements of NJU

Targeting the market

This move is previously identified as targeting the market based on the communicative functions of the mission statements (Osman, 2008). In other words, this move provides information about what type of university it is and what it does (Falsey, 1989) at the same time highlighting the positive factors in the university. Therefore, in professional discourses, targeting the market is a corporate strategy (Sauntson & Morrish, 2011). In the "About" webpages, this rhetorical move is more likely to be compositionally presented at the last paragraph of the introductory texts which functions as the summary of the introduction. It is utilised as a strategy to bolster the university's quality and attractiveness in the minds of the readers, i.e.

prospective students and their parents. Besides opting to use mission statements and explicitly targeting objectives of the universities, many of the universities demonstrate a global vision and university's philosophy (i.e. motto/spirit/ tradition). Targeting the market of the universities is observed to provide information about what and how they can contribute to the public in terms of tertiary education and societal development, as underlined in the following example:

4. …the school has made outstanding contributions to the country by developing talent, innovating in science and technology, carrying forward civilisation, and serving society. Students and teachers of Fudan always keep in mind the school motto "Rich in knowledge and tenacious of purposes…" main the school spirit of "civilised…", practice the school traditions of being "hardworking…", and develop the Fudan spirit of "patriotic service…" They make great contributions to the liberation and development of the people, the construction and development of the nation, and civilisation and progress of society. (FDU)

In Extract 4, the words "contribution", "talent", and "innovating" are used to emphasise the university's contributive achievements of the science and technology which boost the country's foundation. The second sentence uses the university motto and spirit to convince the readers that the university has a good educational culture. The last part summarises its contribution to the liberation and development of people. Therefore, the statement targets the university as a successful comprehensive university with prestigious achievement as well as a contributor in developing the people, country and society.

Locating the institution

The common strategies used to fulfill this move are providing a textual description on university's geographical location (n=7) or a map (n=5). A textual description is concerned with two perspectives of information: providing the location of the campus (see Extract 6); describing the campus size (see Extract 5) (Osman, 2005). Three univeristies show their campus maps to locate the universities. According to Osman (2005), access to the campus/university also accomplishes this move. In the dataset, three universities describe the ways to access the universities, namely the transportation guide, which is presented in specific hyperlinks (e.g. *Useful Traffic Information, Public Transportation; Directions*) to evoke curiosity of the webpage readers and further persuade them to visit the universities. All the nine universities offer a full address in the "About" webpages to locate where they are (see Extract 6). As aforementioned, it is also identified as *Soliciting responses* as it is also the postal address of the university. The university's address is preferred to be provided at the bottom of the webpages where the real information is emphasised (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006).

5. The campus, known as "Yan Yuan"（the garden of Yan）, is situated at Haidian District in the western suburb of Beijing, with a total area of

2,743,532 square metres (or 274 hectares). It stands near to the Yuanmingyuan Garden and the Summer Palace.

6. Zhejiang University, 886 Yuhangtang Road, Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province 310058, P. R. China. (ZJU)

Offering information about service

This move refers to the introduction to the service, namely programmes and facilities, offered by the universities. Like the descriptions of credentials, this rhetorical move exhibits the fact that the universities attempt to intensify the value of the service and create a positive identity of the universities. In the present study, this rhetorical move encompasses four micro steps which are derived from the primary analytical model of Osman (2008): *(a) Describing the service, (b) Justifying the service, (c) Endorsing the value of the service* and *(d) Indicating value of the service.*

(a) Describing the service

This is the straightforward way in which most of the universities either list the faculties or the academic programmes offered by the faculties in detail, occurred in eight or 89% of the "About" webpages. Previous promotional genre studies disclose that the core business of nowadays universities is providing the academic programmes (Osman, 2008). Nevertheless, the description on academic programmes offered by the universities in the "About" webpages reveals informative in nature due to the absence of promotional elements. Apart from teaching, the C9 League universities also sit at the top in the Chinese higher education system with reference to research (Yang & Xie, 2015). Therefore, research is also one predominant "service" to the students. In the "About" webpages, especially in the introductions, the universities either provide the list of faculties, academic programmes, research institutes/programmes, more specifically, which are clearly described at different degrees and levels (see Extract 7). Some universities also take advantage of using visual resources to list the faculties either in graphic elements or tables (see Figure 6). Not much socio-cultural effect and attitudinal markers have been observed in this rhetorical move. The universities prefer to use numbers to highlight their academic quality. Furthermore, the in-detail explanation of academic disciplines will be shown in particular webpages (e.g. *Schools*) rather than the "About" webpages.

7. There are 28 schools and independent departments with 70 bachelor degree programmes, 35 doctoral degree programmes of Level I academic disciplines…There are 11 Level I national key academic disciplines… Fudan hosts around 300 research institutes including 5 national key labs…7 "Project 985" Arts and Social Sciences Innovation Bases. (FDU)

(b) Justifying the service

This is realised via the use of both verbal and visual strategies to provide information about the facilities and services available in the universities for both students and staffs. It functions to influence the potential students into believing that the university being described has specifically valued quality for them. The main strategy for accomplishing this purpose is to describe various facilities and service available on campus, both academic (e.g. museum, library, laboratory) and non-academic (e.g. clubs, activities), to support the academic programmes. In the following example, the president of THU introduces university's museum, conferences, published reading lists, international forums, to justify that the university is well-rounded both in facilities and academic infrastructure. It is noteworthy that appraisal qualifiers are not often used to flourish the facilities, thus this rhetorical move displays less promotional features when compared with typical promotional genres. The majority of the universities (n=6/ 67%) prefer to include this type of content in the introductions. However, some universities may have a specific sub-page to elaborately justify the programmes/service, for instance, "*Library*" and "*Museum*" in the "About" of SJTU.

8. On September 10, 2016, the Art Museum was officially inaugurated…a recommended Tsinghua reading list has also been released… hosting 5th World Peace Forum… (THU)

(c) Endorsing the value of the service

The use of endorsement has become a common practice in the field of branding. In the business world, endorsement could be effective in increasing sales, and subsequent changes in the performance or reputation of an endorser can further benefit the improvement of the institution (Elberse & Verleun, 2012). In the "About" webpages, endorsements of the quality of academic programmes and achievements of the universities are realised by the recognitions of authoritative persons or institutions. There are two examples shown for each:

9. Chinese President Hu Jintao sent a letter of congratulations, expressing his hopes that… (FDU)
10. On May 11, the Nature Publishing Group released Nature Publishing Index 2010 China, remarking "a dramatic rise in the quality of research being published by China". (USTC)

In Extract 9, the testimonial congratulation from the *President Hu Jintao* is shown to reinforce the achievements of FDU. At the moment, *President Hu Jintao* served as one of the highest leaders in China and he undoubtedly had tremendous authority to confirm the excellence of the university. In addition to the testimonial statements from public figures or relevant authorities, USTC shows the evaluation and ranking released by the *Nature Publishing Group* which serves as one of the highest authorities in evaluating an individual or institution's research ability (*Publons*, 2019). Therefore, the testimonial statement of "*a dramatic rise in the quality of research being published by China*" in Extract 10 endorses the university's research output. Political-leader endorsers and authoritative endorsing institutions can strengthen the endorsing source and universities' brand image as a possible "best". Consequently, the rhetorical function of this move seeks to project the positive image of the universities as forerunners in the academic field.

(d) Indicating value of the service

The entry requirements to enroll into the different academic programmes, and the fees charged as well as the duration of these programmes indicate the value of the universities and what they provide (Osman, 2008). Nevertheless, stating the value of the university is not a common feature of the "About" webpages since only one university (SJTU) (11%) notifies the fees charged via a hyperlink "*Registration & Tuition Fees*" within the sub-page "*International Student Service*". Osman (2008) reported different phenomena that the feature of corporatisation in Malaysian public universities is reflected in the production of corporate-like brochures which show the most competitive prices in services. Hence it suggests that the corporatisation level of the universities' "About" webpages is lower than traditional promotional materials.

Giving related information link

Hypertextual web discourse involves different ways of providing access to the web content. Either the links provide access to the very general topic categories at the upper levels of the website (as generic links or navigation menus) or the links provide access to more specific information at a lower level on the web (specific links), which is identified as a move of *Giving related information link.* Seven universities provide related information links in their "About" webpages, which are directed to various information (e.g. campus, students, news). Specific links are frequently inserted further down the webpages primarily containing real information and they reveal a changeable nature that the text connected via specific links may change by time which accentuates the dynamic attribute of web-mediated texts as opposed to printed texts (Askehave & Nielsen, 2005).

The clickable specific links consists of noun clause and noun (see Figure 7) which present the topic and give the viewers an idea of what type of information to navigate behind the links. They are used to make the web context more interesting and informative, especially for those navigators whose way into the webpages is not guided by a particular route, but are more prone to looking for specific links with enticing leads. All the specific links in the dataset are marked as intertextual feature in that they are connected and bring readers to a deeper level of specific information within the same website (Storrer, 1999). These intertextual links are presented in a vertical sequence order, nonetheless, no conventional compositional pattern of specific links is observed in the universities' "About" webpages.

Figure 7. Related Information Links of FDU

Supporting visuals (SV)

Visuals may be used to assist information presentation on the webpages (Cheong, 2013), for instance, university leader's portrait is placed beside his/her introduction to help the readers further identify the leader. The visual images lacking communicative meta-functions (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006) and fulfilling this kind of communicative function are identified as *Supporting visuals* in the "About" web genres. The example given in Figure 8 is extracted from the navigation menu of NJU, in which the content of this sub-page shows the welcoming message from the current president. The personal image of the president is presented beside the text to partially attract readers' attention and to avoid the boringness that is caused by pure-text webpage reading. On the other hand, it is more likely to make the message integrated with the speaker (i.e. university president).

In China, university presidents are appointed directly by the *Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China* (MOE) or the provincial education departments. The president is the head of the university and what they say in the official context can thus be seen as an epitome of the ethos and philosophy of the university (Han, 2014). Therefore, portraits of universities' presidents strengthen their message as an authoritative discourse which signifies the institutional reality. Supporting visuals are frequently observed in the sub-pages of *Administration*, *Message from the President* and *Past Leadership*. These photographs are perceived as demand images which are connected with close shots in personal distance. As displayed in Figure 8, NJU's president in formal suit attempts to establish a kind of imaginary relation with the viewers (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). A horizontal angle of frontality allows the viewers to be directly confronted with, and thus maximally involved with the university web context (Zhang & O'Halloran, 2012). His direct gaze and courteous smile fill in what he demands from viewers: their identification with and enrolment into the university if they accept his friendliness and warm welcoming.

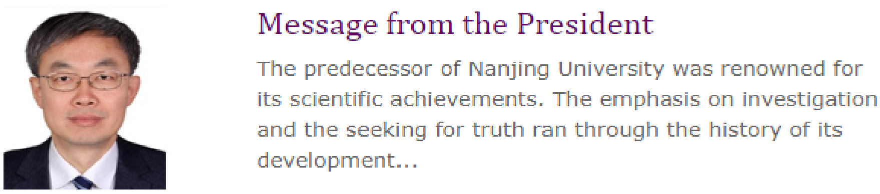

Figure 8. Supporting Visual of NJU

Detailing administrative information

In the "About" webpages of Chinese universities, the sub-page of *Administration* has low optionality since 78% (n=7) of universities have it. In this sub-page, universities' administrative information is provided. All the universities describe the names of administrative positions (secretary, president, etc.), organisations (departments, office, divisions, center, etc.), persons-in-charge, and university leaders. Some universities also describe the responsibility and contact information of the corresponding leaders, positions and organisations in order to help readers understand the administrative system of the university. Then the readers are supposed to gain possibly maximum benefits from a university's system and they are able to exploit all of its capacities and service. To increase information comprehension, readers can make contact in order to collect more accurate information. It can be classified as an intertextual mixing of bureaucratic, informative and promotional discourse, which suggests a confluence between bureaucratic powers and high-power social culture. The frequent administrative information as discursive contents is interpreted as a fact that the Chinese universities desire to uphold hierarchical social value (Ahmed, Mouratidis, & Preston, 2009; Xiong, 2012).

Soliciting responses

Showing contact information is identified as soliciting responses because it is inferred that the universities expect visitors to respond by contacting them to ask for further inquiries. The universities compete to attract potential customers i.e. students, thus the majority of university promotional genres end with a call to action (Osman, 2005, 2008; Wells, Burnett, & Moriarty, 2003). There are some subtle tactics used by university promotional genres, however, they are established in specific webpages such as *"How to apply"*, "*Further inquiries*", "*Application*" or "*Admission*" rather than the "About" webpages in universities' websites. The inclusion of this move can be providing universities' postal address, phone number, fax, E-mail address, contact links, software icons (e.g. WeChat), etc. This move is highly consistent with corporate websites which are created with a purpose of "representing a company, selling the company's name, attracting more visitors, generating more business leads, promoting company's products and services, and ultimately, helping to gain more return on investment" (Lepcha, 2006, p. 1).

Having complete contact information is crucial for an institution because sometimes it is difficult to tell if the institution described on a website is really trustworthy or not, therefore, it helps to relieve visitor's worry and maintain the trustworthiness of the web content (van Duyne, Landay, & Hong, 2003). As shown in Extract 11, a physical address enables the visitors to know where and how to find the university. Similarly, E-mail address, phone and fax numbers are also important rhetorical elements in case the readers need immediate assistance and these contacting methods are more time-saving and convenient (van Duyne, Landay, & Hong, 2003). Nonetheless, demonstrating the postal address of the university is also used to realise the move of *Locating the institution*, which will be discussed next.

11. 220 Handan Rd., Yangpu District, Shanghai (200433|Operator: +86 21 65642222 (FDU)

Giving information about the webpage

This move is realised via stating the copyright and legitimate information of the webpages. In this move, it states the official provider of the information contained in the websites, thus to ensure the reliability of the contents and information. The frequent placement of this move is at the bottom of every page. As shown in the following example 12, the copyright statement is preferably established with the format: (Copyright) © + time of update + University name + (All Rights Reserved). In addition, some universities (n=2) also display the registration of local public security bureau, as shown in the following Extract 13, which plays a pivotal role as part of intensifying the legitimate trustworthiness of the web-owner and content presented.

12. Copyright © 2016 FUDAN University. All Rights Reserved
13. 京公网安备 110402430047 号 (PKU)
    (Translation: Record of Beijing Public Internet Security)

Discussion

The "About" genre is hypertextual with a relatively high level of multimodality. In this regard, this discourse reveals a high degree of interactivity explicitly displayed through a combination of different modes of communication, most prominently the linguistic and visual resources. Multimodal resources are hypertextually linked across the "About" genre to persuade students to be confident about the universities through the creation of prestigious identity and reader-friendly hyper-reading context. The hypertextual web genres enable a non-linear transmission of information. This non-hierarchical system influences and constrains text production and reception on the web content. Thus, hypertext is characterised as a non-sequential rhetorical system. The information offered by the hypertext is not based on how it is produced and structured by designers but on how it is accessed by readers who choose their reading process and thereby create their "own" text in the hypertext system (Askehave & Nielsen, 2005). This demonstrates not only the reading mode and navigating mode of the hypertextual web are flexible, but also the intra-generic move variations are greatly unfolded.

Admittedly, university discourse is gradually being "colonised" by corporate discourse and possessing attributes that are self-promotional in recent decades (Kheovichai, 2014), the marketisation as well as globalisation indeed drive the Chinese university discourse in the direction to being promotional (Han, 2014; Teo & Ren, 2019). Nonetheless, this study validates that although the Chinese universities attempt to utilise certain promotional elements by resorting to marketing strategies and brand communication (Mampaey, Huisman, & Seeber, 2015), state-controlling force is still, at least in the "About" genre, more potent than market-orientated economic influence, as the Chinese universities, especially those at elite level are keen on positioning themselves with reference to bureaucratic and administrative hierarchies via particular rhetorical moves (e.g., *Detailing administrative information, Supporting visuals*). This resonates with the theorising concluded in the previous study in that marketisation in Chinese higher education needs to be understood on the basis of a bureaucracy–market alliance. In the Chinese social context, the university's traditional value of autonomy and freedom has been overwhelmed by the predominant bureaucratic–conversational interaction (Xiong, 2012).

Though the discursive constructions of universities' "About" genre, especially the introductory text, adopts some branding strategies to publicise prestige academic value and brand the universities where the students live in, nevertheless, the conceptualisation of students as customers has not been remarkably empowered to students as other profit-driven discourses (Barnett, 2011). This is owing to the fact that the Chinese universities especially those from elite level are keen on nurturing and educating students, revitalising the country and developing the tertiary education (Ngok, 2008). The Chinese universities are nowadays gradually embracing the global market-driven values while upholding a national instrumentalist ideology. The elite Chinese universities (C9 League) are concurrently massively dependent on governmental economic support and political validation (Teo & Ren, 2019). However, in the cases of western countries such as in the UK where market revolution has swept into higher education, universities are obliged to engage in self-promotion and marketing more intensively. It is argued that the rhetoric contained within many British universities' discourses (e.g. mission statements) emerge from neoliberalism and do not sit comfortably in the traditional values of university academics (Morrish & Sauntson, 2013). The interplay between socio-political and socio-economic imperatives at both global and local levels have driven elite Chinese universities to carefully establish a unique, dynamic and complex discursive practice in the process of marketisation and internationalisation.

Conclusion

By deconstructing the rhetorical structure and probing into the discursive constructions of the "About" webpages of nine elite Chinese universities (the C9 League), this study has shed light on this emerging web genre with respect to revealing a characterisation of rhetorical practice. This study has identified and discussed thirteen rhetorical move types in the generic structure of this web genre and how they are manifested through the interplay between hypertextuality and multimodality. It indicates that the "About" webpage is identified as a mixed genre which is constructed by the elements from other genres such as promotional brochures and corporate homepages, nevertheless, it is characteristic in terms of rhetorical structure, linguistic and multimodal features. The "About" webpage is applied as a multiple-purpose genre which is predominantly informative, while it also discloses a blend of promotional and social communicative purposes through the strategic employment of interdiscursive elements in different rhetorical moves. This study potentially contributes to the theoretical and methodological development of studies in terms of information and communication, with a purpose to enhance the knowledge of the web-mediated genre related to the current global society — higher education institutions. Users also benefit from this study as it increases their awareness of the generic characteristics of university web genres. The rhetorical model of analysis proposed above offers practical and pedagogical insights into how linguistic and semiotic resources can be used when constructing hypertextual texts, especially the "About" webpages. This study was conducted with a focus on elite Chinese universities' "About" webpages only. Future investigations are recommended to include hypertextual and multimodal analysis at different sectors other than education and on more web-mediated genres.

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THE IMPACT OF INCORPORATING STYLISTIC MODELS OF INVERSION IN TEACHING GRAMMAR ON STUDENTS' COMPREHENSION OF LITERARY TEXT

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ABSTRACT

Pedagogical stylistics increases EFL learners' awareness about the way the language functions in different texts. It also enhances innovative learning and teaching. This study aims at knowing the impact of incorporating stylistic models of inversion in teaching grammar on students' comprehension of literary texts. It also aims to explore the learners' perceptions about incorporating them in grammar courses. The models were adopted by (Galperin, 1977). A total of 85 EFL learners at King Khalid University participated in this study; 41 are students of Grammar III and are divided into two groups (15, 26); 44 are students of Grammar IV and are divided into two groups (20, 24). The second phase of the research is a unified long text exam that contains stylistic models of inversion in literary texts and is given to all students. Generally, the post-test results show that the participants identify stylistic models of inversion that help them understand the meaning of texts. Moreover, the quantitative approach shows the learners' preference for incorporating models in grammar courses because they are important in comprehending literary texts. The study recommends considering stylistic implications in teaching grammar in general and stylistic models of inversion in particular.

Keywords: Pedagogical stylistics; models of inversion; teaching grammar; literary texts; stylistic principles

Introduction

Stylistics commonly can be described as the study of the oral or written style of language usage in different linguistic or situational contexts. It is related to discourse analysis. From the beginning of the development of stylistics as a field of applied linguistics, the major concerns of stylistic investigations were with literary texts. So, it was sometimes called literary linguistics, or literary stylistics (Crystal, 1997). Nowadays, the perspective about stylistics has becomes wider. It studies the linguistic features of different types of texts beyond literature; such as advertisements, manuals recipes, media discourse such as films, news reports, political speeches, proclaiming that all texts are important and deserved to be analysed and they have been within the interest of stylisticians.

Because of such an important growth in stylistics, some European countries adopt pedagogical stylistics as an essential component of educational system. It also increases the learners' perception of different features of the language and the ways in which they function in various types of text with miscellaneous effects (Carter & Nash, 1990; Kang, 2018; Nørgaard, Montoro, & Busse, 2010; Widdowson, 1975). In the UK, the teachers and academicians share common idea about the importance of stylistics in first language (L1) English teaching. As a result, stylisticians organised many joint workshops with teachers to create solid beliefs about the interrelated relation between stylistics and grammar (Borg & Burns, 2008; Nespor, 1987; Watson, 2015). They explained the different stylistic principles to the teachers and ask them to apply these in teaching. Teachers then asked their students to use the stylistic features they have learned to analyse the language of literary texts by examining an author's choices of different linguistic features and considering the kinds of effects the texts have on them. The students show outstanding performance in literary text analysis (Cushing, 2018). Therefore, when teaching literature or language acquisition for English as Foreign Language (EFL) learners, stylistic implications should be considered because they improve students' academic performance, specifically, in writing creativity and in texts understanding (Fogal, 2015; Giovanelli & Clayton, 2016; Simpson, 1999). This creativity in teaching boosts the learner- centered styles (Ghanizadeh & Jahedizadeh, 2016). Consequently, this study focuses on one particular issue of stylistic implications; that is stylistic inversion which has the following main specific purposes:

1. To study the impact of incorporating stylistic models of inversion in teaching grammar on students' comprehension of literary texts.
2. To explore the learners' perception of incorporating stylistic models of inversion in grammar courses.

Hypothesis

The study hypothesises that there is a statistically more significant effect of learning stylistic models of inversion in texts than in sentences on student's comprehension of literary text. Bakhtin (2004) in his research taught students parataxis sentences, which he then tested them to examine their creativity in writing. He concludes that teaching parataxis without considering stylistic elucidation lacks students' creativity significance and it does not help them to improve productive skills creativity. Therefore, stylistic elucidation is very significant to comprehend text. Huang (2019) in his study, discusses the applications of stylistics in college English teaching reading. He concludes that implying the theory of stylistic analysis into college

English reading class can improve students' understanding of articles from words to texts and develop their comprehensibility.

Theoretical framework

Stylistics and teaching grammar

The English language has a large number of grammatical rules which EFL learners should learn because they improve their basic literacy skills and equip them with techniques of mastering Standard English language skills. However, there are different linguistic registers or genres that require breaking the grammatical rules and deviating from the linguistic norms. They are called foregrounding possibilities which are as large as grammatical rules (Short, 1996). These linguistic meta-concepts, from my point of view, are mandatory for EFL learners because they show them how to understand and analyse different literary texts which are full of foregrounding features. Van and Peter (2020) manifest the importance of making connection between concepts from traditional grammar and underlying meta-concepts from linguistic theory in order to boost in-depth understanding of grammar. Therefore, incorporating stylistic features in grammar courses increases the students' awareness of grammatical structures through actualising this knowledge in their writing in one hand and being able to analyse the writings of others on the other hand (Giovanelli, 2010). It also bridges the gap between the grammar rules in textbooks and authentic speech (Cancellaro, 2015). Myhill, Jones, Lines, and Watson (2012), made use of rhetorical grammar and principles from stylistics, and they concluded that using contextualised grammar in teaching could have positive results on students' interpretation of a text, on their writing ability, and meta-linguistics. Therefore, stylistics is a hands-on method that makes learners able to interpret and explore the conceptual meaning of texts (Jeffries & McIntyre, 2010; Simpson, 2014). Cushing (2018) studied the reader-response theory as a method of thinking about teaching grammar and poetry in the English classroom, and he reached concluded that the reader-response theory approach, to a great extent, offers an essential contextualised approach for discovering how language and grammar work. Whiteley and Canning (2017) argue that stylistics and reader-response theory in this concern are integral parts because the reader himself decides the relationship between textual form and interpretative effects of a text.

The Department for English (DfE, 2013) recommends that incorporating stylistics in teaching English grammar exposes students to able to know how the different linguistic features such as figures of speech, vocabulary choice, grammar, and text structure increases the understanding of meaning. They also study the effectiveness of grammatical features of the text they read. Consequently, students draw on these linguistic features or stylistic principles they have learned and use them in their productive skills (writing and speaking) to achieve a particular effect. Similarly, they recognise the different possible responses to a text and make a unique personal response as a result of evaluating and analysing it. In a nutshell, Cushing (2018) suggests that learners should learn grammar in authentic texts and they should be given a chance to interpret a text.

Besides those scholars who encourage incorporating stylistic principles in English school curriculum (L1), there are other scholars (Sotirova, 2016) who discussed the pedagogical stylistics' aims and processes in a university context, and others (Burke, Csabi, Week, & Zerkowitz, 2012; Fogal, 2015) who discussed it in the Second Language (L2) context. On this basis, pedagogical stylistics becomes an interest to many scholars worldwide because it aims to sensitise students to language use within the actual texts (Clark & Zyngier, 2003; Hall, 2014). Therefore, incorporating stylistic models of inversion in grammar courses is important because it is a real practice of pedagogical stylistics.

English word order

All languages worldwide have S, O, V as labels for word order categorisations. Each language adopts one of the six ordering patterns of SOV as its basic word order. A study done by Tomil (1986) proposed that the pattern SOV is a basic word order of 45% of the world's languages and SVO is the pattern word order of 42% of the world's languages and only 9% of languages have VSO pattern (Dryer, 2005; Song, 2012). The English language is one of the languages that adopt SVO pattern. It has fixed word orders that make the subject comes at the beginning of a transitive sentence followed by a verb then by an object (SVO). That system shows the relationship between the parts of a sentence and makes most of the English sentences come under this model and conform to this order. Jesperson (1943) said "… the English language has developed a tolerably fixed word order which in the great majority of cases shows, without fail, what is the subject of the sentence" (p. 99). Adjectives modify nouns, pronouns. They come directly before the noun they modify. Adverbs modify verbs, adjectives, other adverbs, or entire sentences. They occur initially, medially, or finally in a sentence. However, there are inversions that are commonly used, and are parts of English grammatical structure. They are called grammatical inversions. They only change the structural meaning of a sentence. In interrogative statements, verbs, helping/linking verbs, and auxiliaries always come before the subjects, for instance;

Was that book heavy? (link.v +S+ adj)
Where did he go? (hel. v +S+V)
Can you help me? (mod.v +S+V+O).

Also in exclamations, *adjectives* come before the *linking verbs* and the *subject*, for example;

What a beautiful picture it is! (Adj+S+ link.verb).

These are grammatical inversions in which the structural meaning of a sentence is changed. Therefore, grammar courses, in general, contain all these rules, and the EFL learners worldwide are familiar with them.

Stylistic inversion

Apart from the above-mentioned common grammatical inversions, there is another type of inversion which is called stylistic inversion/locative inversion. It commonly exists in literary texts. Crystal (2011) defines it as "a term used in grammatical analysis to refer to the process of or result of syntactic change in which a specific sequence of constituents is seen as the reverse of another" (p. 64). The main aim of stylistic inversion is to attach stress or to add emotional colouring to the surface meaning of the utterance. Stylistic inversion does not change the structural meaning of a sentence as the grammatical inversion does (Bailyn, 2004; Culicover & Levine, 2001). The change in the juxtaposition of sentence words (stylistic inversion) adds some super-structural function to the sentence; like adding emotional colouring (stress) to the surface meaning of a sentence. Therefore, intonation is always linked with stylistic inversion. Generally, the inverted constituents of a sentence get full volume of stress than they would be in ordinary (uninverted) utterance. Galperin (1977) mentions different models of stylistic inversion. Out of them the researcher selects the following common and repeated ones, which would be the concern of this study.

1) O+S+V
"Talent Mr. Micawber has; capital Mr. Micawber has not." (Dickens)
(O S V
2) Pr (V) + S
"Tomorrow will come the decision."
V S
3) S+O+V
"John the ball caught" (Shakespeare)
S O V

4) ADV, ADJ+S+V
"Sometime too hot the eye of heaven shines" (Shakespeare)
Adv S V
5) O+V+S
"Sir," said I, "or Madam, truly your forgiveness I implore" (Edgar Allen)
O S V

The literary writers, as part of literary necessity, make their writing more aesthetic by deliberately deviating from the common language rules (as literary necessity) in order to make the piece of literature perceptually prominent (Short, 1984). The Arab linguist Abu Al-Sarraj (316 H) defines the literary necessity or deviation as a deliberate deletion, addition, inversion, substitution in a literary works especially in poetry in order to enhance meaning or maintain metre and rhyming scheme in the lines (Anees, 2016). Literary license or creative license gives literary writers room for manipulation and use different linguistic variants such as deviating from the common linguistic rules or ignoring some parts of grammar for the sake of artistic purposes. So literary writers use stylistic devices such as focusing on a particular point or changing the readers attention from a particular point to another to achieve stylistic effect and create aestheticism.

Literature and literariness are terms related to language of literary works but they are different in one major aspect that makes them controversial. In 1921 Roman Jakcobson differentiated between these two terms by saying that the subject of literary science is literariness, that is, that which makes a given work a literary work. Literariness is the way that distinguishes literary texts from non-literary texts. Therefore, literariness shifts the focus of the reader to the language itself, often with an estranging or de-familiarising effect, but literature is using language in a peculiar way (Baldick, 1996).

Methodology

The researcher incorporated the stylistic models of inversion items in grammar courses (III and IV). Learners of one section from Grammar III and the learners of one section of Grammar IV had been taught the inversion models in only sentences. The learners of the other two sections had been taught the inversion models in literary texts. Then the researcher examined all learners by giving them literary text test that contained inversion models. The purpose of this text was to examine, generally, the performances of participants in identifying the inversion models and to know which method was effective in teaching models, whether it is the sentence-based or the text-based. An online questionnaire was also used to know the learners' perception about incorporating stylistic models of inversion in grammar courses.

Practical study

Stylistic inversion as one of the figures of speech at the syntactic level are found in literary texts. Unless students are aware of these devices, their understanding of literary text is potentially skeptically. Most of the students think that literary works that contain stylistic inversion are merely reflections of the writers' moods and they are baseless in language rules. However, such perception has vanished after EFL learners become familiar with it and knew the systematic way of using stylistic models in literature. This study was conducted on the students of Grammar III and IV, Faculty of Languages and Translation at King Khalid University. Two sections were in grammar III with 15 and 26 students and two others are in grammar IV with 20 and 24 students respectively. The researcher allocated two lectures for every section explaining the definition of stylistic inversion and its different models as they appear in literary texts. The students in one section of Grammar III were taught the models of inversion in just sentences and the students in the other section were taught inversion's models in texts. A similar technique was done with the students of grammar IV. The students of the first section were taught stylistic inversion's models in mere sentences and the students in the other section were taught the stylistic models of inversion in contexts.

The study aimed to find out the effective methodology that should be followed to teach stylistic models of inversion in grammar courses, whether it is sentence-based methodology or the text- based. On one hand, the students of one section from Grammar III and the students of one section from Grammar IV were taught inversion models in only sentences. On the other hand, the students of one section form grammar III and the students of one section from grammar VI were taught inversion models in texts in order to compare the participants' performance in both sections (those who are taught inversion models in sentences and those who were taught them in context) to decide which teaching modality is effective. The way to judge so was a unified test given to all sections. The test contained eight long literary texts with stylistic models of inversion inside. The test rubric asked students to carefully read the texts, underline the inversion models, and re-write them in the proper grammatical word order (uninverted utterances) (see the test copy). The students in general showed progress in comprehending literary texts that contain inversion models. They underlined the different inversion models, and reverted them to the normal word orders that ease understanding the meaning the author wants to convey. SPSS program was used to analyse the results which run as follows:

1. Grammar III (compare between the performance of the students in group 1 who are taught stylistic models of inversion in only sentences and the students in group 2 who are taught stylistic models of inversion in texts).
2. Grammar IV (compare between the performance of the students in group 1 who are taught stylistic models of inversion in only sentences and the students in group 2 who are taught these stylistic models of inversion in texts).
3. Grammar III, IV (compare between the performances of participants according to the level).

The post-test results show the following:

RQ1: The impact of incorporating stylistic models of inversion in teaching grammar on students' comprehension of literary texts.

Grammar III

Table 1
Group statistics for Grammar III

Teaching		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Overall	Sentence	15	1.4000	.37261	.09621
	Text	26	1.5048	.46027	.09027
P. Value	.458				

Table 1 shows the result for both groups in Grammar III. Generally students in both sections performed well in analysing and understanding the literary texts that contain stylistic models of inversion. The text-based group had slightly higher scores (M=1.50) in comparison to its sentence-based counterpart (M=1.40). There were no statistically significant differences between the groups attributed to the explicit instruction of grammar III (p value = .458). In a nutshell, both methodologies (text or sentence) are effective in teaching stylistic models of inversion.

Grammar IV

Table 2
Group Statistics for Grammar IV

Teaching		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Overall	Sentence	20	1.4438	.44329	.09912
	Text	24	1.6146	.40365	.08239
P. Value	.193				

Table 2 shows the result for both groups in Grammar VI. Similar to Grammar III, students in both sections perform well in analysing and understanding the literary texts that contain different stylistics models of inversion. The text based group scored slightly better (M=1.61) in comparison to its sentence based counterpart (M=1.44). There were no statistically significant differences between the groups attributed to the explicit instruction of grammar IV (p value = .193). It is concluded that, both methodologies are effective in teaching inversion models.

According to Level

Table 3
Group statistics according to level

Level		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Overall	Grammar 3	41	1.4939	.44278	.06915
	Grammar 4	44	1.5369	.42589	.06421
P .value	.649				

Table 3 compares the performance of levels III and VI. The students in both levels generally did well in analysing literary texts that contain stylistic models of inversion. There were no statistically significant differences between students in the two levels of study (p value, .649). The very small difference in performance between Level III (M=1.53) and Level VI (M=1.49) has no statistical significance. That means stylistic models of inversion can be taught in either levels.

RQ2: The learners' perception towards incorporating stylistic models inversion in grammar courses after they learned them.

Table 4
Descriptive Statistics

Statement	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
1. I think inversion models are not important to be included in grammar.	47	2.00	5.00	4.2766	.79951

2.	Literary texts are difficult to understand because they are different from Standard English we learn.	47	1.00	5.00	4.2766	1.05711
3.	It is important to know the features of language and the ways in which they function in various types of text.	47	2.00	5.00	4.2128	.88308
4.	I think models of inversion are important.	47	1.00	5.00	4.1277	.99164
5.	I prefer incorporating models of inversion in teaching grammar.	47	2.00	5.00	3.9787	.82064
6.	Inversion models help me comprehend literary texts.	47	2.00	5.00	3.9574	.99907
7.	After understanding inversion, I find myself able to write some literary texts.	47	1.00	5.00	3.7447	1.22418
8.	Inversion lets me connect between grammatical rules and literary texts.	47	1.00	5.00	3.7234	1.31384
9.	Inversion helps me understand how writers use language features.	47	1.00	5.00	3.6596	1.22077
10.	Inversion enhances learners' autonomous analysis of literary texts.	47	1.00	5.00	3.6383	1.24106
11.	I can understand literary texts easily without knowing figures of speech.	47	1.00	5.00	2.9787	1.34309
12.	I prefer learning inversions' models in texts than in sentences.	47	1.00	5.00	2.8511	1.12247

The 12-item questionnaire was sent online to the participants. Only 47 responded. It was designed to reveal the learners' perception about incorporating stylistics models of inversion in teaching grammar. Table 4 shows that the students in general preferred incorporating stylistic models of inversion in grammar courses because stylistic models equip them with systematic modality on how to understand and analyse literary texts that contain stylistic models of inversion. They also felt that stylistic models of inversion motivate their mental faculty to autonomous creativity in writing and in interpreting text they read. More importantly, students came up with the idea that literary writers intentionally and systematically use the models of inversion in literature for aesthetic purposes. Finally, learners show no differences between using sentences or texts in learning inversion. Both modalities are the same since the structures of inversion models are clear to them.

Discussion

The study involved students who took four sections of grammar courses. The result shows that there is a positive impact of incorporating stylistic models of inversion in teaching grammar on students' comprehension of literary texts. The majority of the participants answered the test items correctly. They identify the sentences that contain stylistic models of inversion and revert them to normal grammatical order. This conclusion aligns with Giovanelli and Clayton (2016) who stress on the importance of considering different stylistic principles in teaching language. It is these stylistic devices that make literary texts foregrounding. They also improve students' academic performance specifically in creative writing and in interpreting texts. This study is consistent with what Nørgaard et al. (2010) and Widdowson (1975) say about pedagogical stylistics. They affirm that pedagogical stylistics increases the learners' perception of different features of language and the ways in which they function in various types of text with miscellaneous effects. It is also in line with the Department of English (DfE, 2013) which suggests that it is mandatory to include stylistic implications in teaching grammar because it makes students able to elicit how the different linguistic devices such as figures of speech, vocabulary choice, grammar, and text structure, assist in understanding meaning. Myhill et al. (2012) in their study made use of rhetorical grammar and principles from stylistics and they concluded that using contextualised grammar in teaching could have positive results on students' writing ability and metalinguistic.

The study has a positive impact on learners. The post-test results, as seen above, show satisfying performance of learners in understanding and analysing stylistic models of inversion in texts. Moreover, it adds a new cognitive dimension represented in their readiness to write simple literary texts that contain inversion. These results align with Cushing (2018) who stresses on the importance of enhancing autonomous texts analysis. Learners in the questionnaire reported that after they have been taught the stylistic models of inversion, they were able to infer inversion form any literary texts and were capable to analyse and understand them. The strategy they have learned, during tutorials, helps them to discover inversion models and to revert them to normal words to ease understanding**.** They also stress on the importance of incorporating stylistic models of inversion in grammar courses.

Conclusion

The study investigates the impact of incorporating stylistic models of inversion in teaching grammar on comprehending literary texts. Stylistic inversion is a syntactic device that occurs a lot in literary texts. The findings of the study stresses on the importance of incorporating stylistic models of inversion in grammar courses because it helps learners to understand literary texts and revert the inverted sentences into normal word order (uninverted). As shown from the test, the text-based group and sentence-based group in Grammar III scored high performance with (M= 1.50) and with (M=1.40) respectively. Similarly, in Grammar IV, the text-based group scored (M=1.61) and sentence-based group scored (M=1.44). This results shows that incorporating stylistic models of inversion in grammar courses facilitates comprehending literary texts. As part of pedagogical stylistics, the foreign language teachers may benefit from other stylistic devices at the syntactic level to include them in teaching grammar to have a perfect link between stylistic implications and teaching grammar. The significance of considering all stylistic devices at syntactic level in learning grammar facilitates understanding and analysing literary texts in general. The study has two limitations; firstly, female students were are not included in this study due to university policy regarding co-education. Female teachers only teach female students and vice versa. Secondly the grammar courses teachers' opinions about incorporating inversion models in grammar courses were not included in this study due to research boundaries. The study suggests further studies on implying different stylistic principles at syntactic level in teaching grammar because of their importance in boosting literary and non-literary text comprehension.

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THE SEXIST OCCUPATIONAL REPRESENTATION IN ENGLISH TEXTBOOKS OF IRANIAN HIGH SCHOOLS

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ABSTRACT

The present study aims to investigate the occupational roles assigned to women and men in three volumes of English textbooks of Iranian high schools (Birjandi, Soheili, Nowruzi, & Mahmoodi, 2006) using Hartman and Judd's (1978) framework. The results of the inferential and descriptive analyses demonstrated that these textbooks were 99% sexist in regards to occupational roles as men were depicted in high-status jobs, but women were represented in low-status jobs. In addition, men were manifested in a greater range of occupations than women.

Keywords: Gender; occupational roles; sexism; stereotypical occupations

Introduction

The present study aims to investigate the occupational roles assigned to women and men in three volumes of English textbooks of Iranian high schools (Birjandi, Soheili, Nowruzi, & Mahmoodi, 2006) using Hartman and Judd's (1978) framework. The results of the inferential and descriptive analyses demonstrated that these textbooks were 99% sexist in regards to occupational roles as men were depicted in high-status jobs, but women were represented in low-status jobs. In addition, men were manifested in a greater range of occupations than women.
In another study, Kobia (2009) investigated the manifestation of gender images in English textbooks of primary school in Kenya and found that women were under-represented in editorship, photography, authorship and typesetting, and that men appeared more than women in photographs, illustrations, titles and names. Bahman and Rahimi (2010) studied three volumes of English textbooks of Iranian high schools (Birjandi et al., 2006) in terms of male-generics, firstness, names, nouns, pronouns and adjectives attributed to women and men and found that these textbooks were sexist as they did not deal with males and females fairly and women

were under represented and had low visibility. Roohani and Zarei (2013) examined a pre-university English textbook in terms of female and male names, pronouns, nouns, pictures, and readings attributed to females and males and found that the Iranian pre-university English textbook was male-oriented and gender-biased.

Ghajarieh and Salimi (2016) blended Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) social network model and Sunderland's (2006) gendered discourses model and examined the representations of male and female social actors in school books. Ghajarieh and Salimi (2016) found that "as for Iran, the discourse of equal opportunities in education should be highlighted along with other subversive gendered discourses" (p. 267). Cocoradă (2018) analysed curriculum materials including textbooks and supplies, and two Romanian fairy tales and confirmed negative discrimination against women.

Socio-cultural Context in Iran

Gender ideologies are prevailing in Iran in which women are considered as second-class citizens (Mir-Hosseini, 2006). Discrimination against women originates from the political ideology that has been imposed on Iranian women since the establishment of the Islamic Republic and "Iran has become for many the epitome of a retrogressive patriarchal society" (Higgins & Shoar-Ghaffari, 1991, p. 213). The socio-political context existing in Iran leads to gender bias. Gender discrimination against women is also present in English textbooks used in Iran as "language is ideological in nature" (Ahour & Zaferani, 2016, p. 80).

Biased Occupational Roles

Women and men are represented in different roles in any society as Thorne and Henley (1975, p. 20) believe "every society uses sex, to one degree or another, in allocating tasks, activities, rights, and responsibilities" (p. 20). Similarly, men and women are manifested in various occupational roles in EFL materials. "Occupational visibility" is defined as "… nomenclature for men and women in relation to occupations, professions, offices and related positions (Pauwels, 1998, p. 230). Hartman and Judd (1978) believe that "the most pervasive sexism… is the shunting of women and men into stereotypical roles" (p. 385), as stereotypical roles assigned to women are usually household work like, baking, cooking washing polishing, mending, cleaning, sewing, and child care.

Furthermore, the occupational roles of women and men represented in ELT textbooks are not fair because men are mainly manifested in high-status roles like lawyer, surgeon, or scientist but women are often depicted in low-status occupational roles such as secretary, nurse or schoolteacher (Hellinger & Bubmann, 2002). Martyna states that the occupational roles such as doctor, lawyer and engineer refer to males, but, secretary and nurse and model refer to females (as cited in Thorne, Kramarae, & Henley, 1983). The representation of women in stereotypical roles in EFL textbooks has considerable impact on learners, and also strengthens the stereotypical beliefs as Otlowski (2003) declares "this depiction of women in such stereotypical roles only helps to reinforce the outdated notion that women stay at home and men go out to work" (p. 2).

Women are associated with stereotypical occupational roles as mothers whose job is to stay at home, bring up children or do household chores (Amini & Birjandi, 2012; Thorne & Henley, 1975). Similarly, Porreca (1984) found that "occupations for women are often restricted in the traditional service and entertainment jobs, such as waitress, nurse, secretary, and actress, occasionally including a token professional job such as teacher or doctor" (p. 719). Mills (1995) claims that "professors, scientists and engineers tend to be labelled as necessarily male, and nurses, librarians, secretaries and models as females" (p. 88).

Another area of occupational sexism is that men are depicted in a greater range of occupational roles (Hellinger, 1980). Hartman and Judd (1978) found that males were depicted in more various occupations than women, for instance, males were represented in the jobs of student, policeman, doctor, professor of Spanish, ambassador, store manager, landlord, flight controller, stock boy, media anchor man, real estate agent, school principal, ambulance driver, tow truck operator, pilot, army general, senator, priest, motel manager, but jobs such as nurse, bank employee, housewife, student, salesgirl and stewardess were assigned to females. In English language teaching textbooks taught in Germany, women were often depicted in having fewer occupational choices than men (Hellinger, 1980). In a study carried out by Farooq (1999), females were represented in more unstable and limited jobs such as part timer or stewardess and males were represented in the jobs considered as "responsible and respectable such as prime minister, employer, and editor" (p. 17). Harashima (2005) examined one college-level English textbook and found that three occupations were allocated to males, but no jobs were assigned to females. Also, in the study carried out by Hamid, Yuen, Othman, Yasin, and Baharuddin (2013), females were depicted in 13 professions while males were represented in 33 types of professions.

Another form of occupational sexism is that different job titles are used for both females and males although the work is the same (Sunderland, 2006). Positively connoted job titles are used for males and the job titles that have less positive connotations are used for females, for example, the title "office manager" is used for males, but, the title "typing supervisor" is used for females (Sunderland, 2006, p. 35).

Methodology

This study aimed to investigate English textbooks of Iranian high schools (Birjandi et al., 2006) in relation to occupational roles using Hartman and Judd (1978) as Hartman and Judd (1978) investigated a sample of ESL textbooks which had been published over a period of 12 years providing guidelines for examining sexism in textbooks. In order to find out whether women and men were represented equally in regards with occupations in in these textbooks, all parts of the textbooks as well as the illustrations were investigated. The occupational roles of the males and females or the jobs differentiating males and females were identified. Consider these examples: (1) She is a teacher; (2) The man who is repairing the car is a mechanic (Birjandi et al., 2006). In some cases, it had not been mentioned whether the person having a certain kind of occupation was a female or male in the texts. However, the drawings or illustrations gave a clue that it was a female or male. So, with the help of the drawings and illustrations it was decided whether it should be counted as a female or a male, for example, in the sentence, (3) What does a photographer do?, the illustration shows a man with a camera, so, this occupation has been considered as an occupation for males (Birjandi et al., 2006).

According to the occupational roles for both females and males in these textbooks, the frequency of each of the occupational roles was also identified. The study employed both qualitative and quantitative approaches in which frequency counts of occupational roles for females and males were counted. After the tabulation of the raw data, they were converted to statistical data. Chi-squares were utilised to statistically get the frequencies of the raw data. A questionnaire (Bahman, 2008) was also distributed among 25 Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL) graduate students of Alzahra University. A total of 25 TEFL students were chosen as they were all studying English Teaching for their Masters and were also English teachers who were teaching English at various language schools. There were 25 respondents who met the researcher’s criteria: i) proficient in English, and ii) English teachers. The students using these textbooks were not chosen as they were not proficient in English.

Initially, the researcher had prepared the questions asking about the occupational roles in the questionnaire in an open way, that is, the researcher had not given the occupations for the respondents. The respondents, themselves, were expected to write the occupations for females and males. The results showed that there were 68 occupational roles for males and 46 occupational roles for females. However, later on, as a result of a consultation with an SPSS expert, it was decided that the occupational roles should be chosen from English textbooks of Iranian high schools (Birjandi, et al., 2006) by the researcher herself. Thus, considering these three textbooks, 19 occupations were found and a new questionnaire was developed and administered to the aforementioned participants again. These students were asked to choose what occupations they believed were more natural for females, males or both females and males in EFL materials.

Results and Discussion

Table 1 shows the occupational roles of males and females in the three volumes collectively. The numbers in parentheses show the percentages, and the ones in square brackets represent the instances. N shows the number of different occupational roles. In Figure 1, the distribution of the frequency of the occupational roles of females and males is shown.

Table 1
Number of Instances of Males and Females Portrayed in Occupational Roles in Volumes 1, 2 & 3 Collectively

Sex	Male		Female	
	Instances	**Different roles**	**Instances**	**Different roles**
	71(77.2)	Athlete[3] Bus-driver[2] Clerk[2] Doctor[4] Driver[1] Farmer[7] Mechanic[5] Miner[1] Photographer[1] Pilot[1] Policeman[10] Sailor[1] Shopkeeper[2] Teacher[18] Thief[1] Waiter[12] N=16	21 (22.8)	Housewife[4] Nurse[1] Servant[11] Teacher[5] N=4

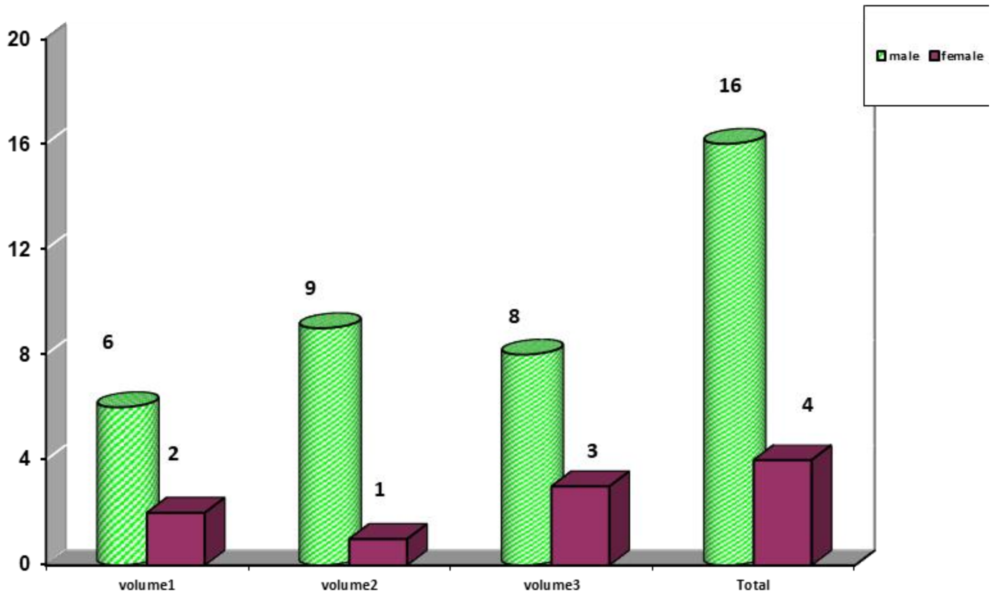

Figure 1. Distribution of the frequency of the occupational roles of males and females in volumes 1, 2 & 3 of English textbooks of Iranian high schools

It can be observed that the total frequency of the occupational roles of males is more than females in the volumes 1, 2, and 3 of the aforementioned textbooks. In other words, the total frequency of the occupational roles of males, i.e. 16 is more than females, i.e. four in the three volumes. Males were found to have 16 different occupations, but females had only four different roles. Therefore, more occupations were attributed to men than women. To confirm these results, Chi-squares test was used.

The distribution of the frequency of the occupational roles of males is more than females and df=1 and alpha=0.01 is statistically significant. Therefore, with 99% certainty, it can be stated that there is a statistically significant difference between the frequency of the occupational roles of males and females in volumes 1, 2 and 3 of these textbooks and the preference is given to males.
To confirm the results above, 25 graduate students of TEFL at Alzahra University were given a questionnaire to choose the occupational roles referring to males, females or both of them. The analysis of the data as shown in Table 2, revealed that more than 11 occupations were allocated to men, but, for women at the very most, two occupations were considered. As it can be observed in Table 2, these two occupations were "housewife" and "nurse". It was also found that the frequencies of six other occupations are almost the same for both genders.

Table 2
Occupational Roles in the Questionnaire

No.	Occupation	Female	Male	Female/Male
1	Athlete	0	17	8
2	Bus driver	1	22	2
3	Clerk	2	6	17
4	Doctor	1	4	20
5	Driver	0	25	0
6	Farmer	0	22	3
7	Housewife	25	0	0
8	Mechanic	0	25	0
9	Miner	0	25	0
10	Nurse	20	0	5
11	Photographer	0	8	17
12	Pilot	0	21	4
13	Policeman/Policewoman	0	20	5
14	Sailor	0	25	0
15	Servant	7	6	12
16	Shopkeeper	1	9	15
17	Teacher	10	0	15
18	Thief	0	23	2
19	Waiter/Waitress	1	16	8

There was also an investigation on whether there is a statistically significant difference between the frequencies of each of the occupational roles of females and males in English textbooks of Iranian high schools. For this, first, the results of descriptive statistics were presented, and then inferential statistics of Chi-square test were analysed. Table 1 shows the frequencies of each of the occupational roles in volumes 1, 2, and 3 collectively. In figure 2, the distributions of the frequencies of each of the occupational roles of females and males are depicted. As it can be observed, the frequencies and the percentages of each of the occupational roles of males in volumes 1, 2, and 3 collectively are more than females, that is, the total percentage of the frequencies of each of the occupational roles of males, i.e. 77.2% is more than those of females, i.e. 22.8%. ,

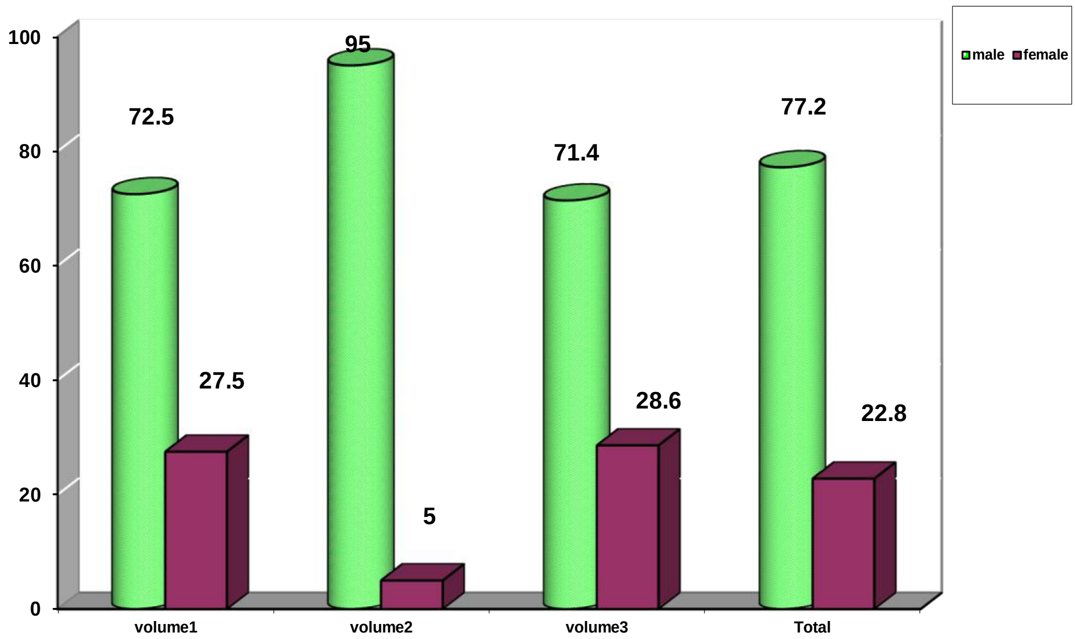

Figure 2. Distribution of the frequency of **each** of the occupational roles of females and males in the volumes 1, 2, and 3 collectively

To confirm the results, the outcome of Chi-square test shows that Chi-squares with df=1 and alpha=0.01 are statistically significant. Therefore, with 99% certainty, it can be stated that there are statistically significant differences between the frequencies of each of the occupational roles of females and males in the three volumes of the text books investigated. As it was mentioned earlier, in EFL materials, males and females are represented in different occupational roles. In other words, stereotypically women are represented in low-status occupations such as secretary and nurse (Mills, 1995) or schoolteacher (Hellinger & Bubmann, 2002) and men are shown in high-status occupations e.g., pilot, policeman (Hartman & Judd, 1978) or doctor (Martyna, as cited in Thorne, Kramarae, & Henley, 1983). In the three volumes of English textbooks of Iranian high schools it was also found that women were represented in stereotypical occupations such as "nurse", "housewife", and "teacher", and men were found in stereotypical occupations "doctor", "policeman" and "pilot".

Pedagogical Implications

The results of the present study have obvious importance for TEFL and especially for writing EFL materials, so the issues of gender and language should be given more attention in order to abolish sexist language present in the EFL textbooks. As a teacher and researcher, I have felt the gender gap between females and males in EFL materials and more specifically in Iranian EFL textbooks.

Sexist language can be eradicated in many different ways, some of which are as follows: 1) Both females and males should be given equal space in materials, 2) Both females and males should be assigned non-sexist occupations, 3) Gender-inclusive or gender-neutral terms can be introduced, e.g., police officer or firefighter, 4) Gender issues can be made salient for the language learners. We can do this by discussing sexism and other gender- related issues with the learners, and 5) Text books writers should be provided with non-sexist language guidelines.

Conclusion

This study investigated and analysed occupational roles and stereotypical occupations of females and males in English textbooks of Iranian high schools. For this purpose, three English textbooks which were used in grades 1, 2 and 3 in Iranian high schools were examined in detail. The results demonstrated that there were occupational biases in these series of textbooks in which women and men were not fairly depicted in regards to occupations. Men were manifested in more various occupational roles than females and also high- status jobs were assigned to men, but, females were depicted in limited and mundane stereotypical occupations such as teacher, nurse and secretary. The findings of this research may have implications on gender awareness to foster gender equality in EFL textbooks so that materials developers will try to produce gender-free materials in which females and males are manifested fairly and equally especially in the occupational roles. Sexism, including language and gender issues can be further studied and investigated in other EFL textbooks used in secondary schools of Iran, EFL textbooks commonly used in language institutes, and English textbooks used in the universities in Iran. In addition, dialogues of EFL textbooks in terms of amount of talk or lengths of speakers' utterances can be scrutinised in order to find out whether females and males have more or less equal parts in conversations or not.

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