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Intentional Foreign Language Advocacy: Skills Set, Mindset, and Core Value

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Abstract—Although a nation of immigrants and although more than 60M speak a language other than English in the home, the United States suffers from a foreign language deficit, in which demand for foreign language skills exceeds supply, and where opportunity to learn another language is actually decreasing. Compared to Europe for example, a significantly smaller percentage of US students study another language, and language study typically begins later. In order to build the foreign language skills needed in the workplace, in the globalized world, and in our society, all students should have the opportunity to learn another language, and in order to increase opportunity, advocacy is needed to promote language learning and to support and defend endangered programs. Effective advocacy needs to be not only strategic, but intentional, a mindset and skills set stemming from a core value of making the world a better place through our everyday actions.

Index Terms—foreign language learning, foreign language advocacy, bilingualism, multilingualism, foreign language deficit, world languages, modern languages, second language learning

I. INTRODUCTION

Advocacy, generally thought of as action in support of an idea, institution, or individual, can also be envisioned as defense, and in terms of language learning and use in the United States, both are needed. With fewer than 20% of American K-12 students study another language (American Councils, 2017), only 7.5% of college and university students are enrolled in a course in a language other than English (MLA, 2019), and the US lags behind other parts of the world in language learning (Devlin, 2018). In an increasingly globalized world, and an increasingly multilingual society, this lack of language skills and cultural understanding impacts not only our personal lives in terms of social, academic, and cognitive benefits, and our careers in terms of potential earnings and opportunities lost, but also negatively impacts our economy in terms of global competitiveness and our national security in terms of language skills needed in government (CED, 2006; NRC, 2007; Stein-Smith, 2013). This situation is further compounded by a national shortage of qualified language teachers (ACTFL, 2017b). Advocacy is needed, if we are to increase interest in language learning and build our language capacity in the US.

Advocacy has long been discussed and written about by foreign language educators (Kettlekamp, 1940), but it is the 1979 report of the President's Commission on Foreign Languages and International Studies, *Strength through Wisdom: A Critique of U.S. Capability* (US, 1979), often referred to as the Perkins report, followed in the subsequent year by Senator Paul Simon's *The Tongue-Tied American* (Simon, 1980), that launched the modern conversation on foreign languages in the US.

As language educators, we possess content knowledge and pedagogical skills, but we often have not received any systematic instruction in advocacy, and may not have thought of advocacy as more than part of, or an extension of, what we do in the classroom (Lead with Languages: A Call to Action, n.d.).

While this is at least partially true, as language teachers advocate unconsciously for languages in every interaction with students, parents, and school administrators, there is specific skills set, or toolbox, that every current and potential language advocate needs, and there is need for an advocacy mindset, which is grounded in and framed by advocacy as a core value. Intentional advocacy, both data-driven and values-driven, takes this intrinsic advocacy to the next level. The core value of bringing the benefits of language learning to the largest possible number of students creates and sustains an advocacy mindset, with a wide variety of skills the actual tools to achieve that goal.

Intentional advocacy is a significant addition to our lives as foreign language educators in that it comes from within, and is not part of our professional lives that needs external evaluation or validation. It is also a pathway built by our every decision every day, and an adopted value rather than a value transmitted to us by our education (Rai, 2020), reminding me of the famous quotation from Jean-Paul Sartre, “*Faire, et en faisant se faire et n' être rien que ce qu'on fait*” (Le Monde, n.d.).

Becoming a language advocate has more to do with how you see yourself and your role as a language educator – there are those who could reasonably view themselves as teachers and/or scholars, and never envision themselves as advocates and activists. However, the data on declining enrollments and program closures (Johnson, 2019; AMACAD, 2017), along with teacher shortages, demonstrate the necessity for action among all based on a core value of altruism, working for the greater good, and leaving the world a better place which drives advocacy to ensure that all students have the opportunity to enjoy the benefits of language skills and cultural knowledge.

The fact that the role of advocacy stems from our values – essentially from how we envision ourselves as educators and what kind of educator we want to be – indicates that the next step is to develop an action plan as to how we will become a teacher/advocate. For that reason, we have to define what advocacy means to us and what are its component skills in order to develop a road map to advocacy.

In developing an advocacy plan, or road map, it is important to think about change, and how to bring it about, in the abstract, rather than as a personal issue, yet for any movement for change to be successful, it has to become important, and personal to many people. Advocates need to become and remain informed on both foreign language education issues and data, as well as on advocacy strategies and tactics, including but not limited to, change management, social marketing, the psychology of influence and persuasion, disruptive innovation, blue ocean strategy, lobbying, negotiation and confrontation, and on the nature and effectiveness of social movements and protest (FLAVA, 2020; Kentucky Governor, 2018).

A challenge is that foreign language educators are busy teaching students, and may not be able to afford the time to become knowledgeable in so many areas, or they may simply not be interested in them. Sometimes they may even feel that advocacy is not their responsibility. However, while a core group of activist advocates can certainly support the advocacy movement, it takes many voices to bring about change, and any successful social movement involves many people taking direct action to bring about desired social change (Satell & Popovic, 2017). So, too, effective foreign language advocacy requires many voices and the engagement of a large number of language stakeholders.

It all comes back to individual engagement and commitment, and to “making it personal,” and many individuals need to come to their own similar conclusions about the need for advocacy. It is also a long-term commitment. Just as the decline in foreign language enrollments occurred over decades, with the decline in college majors being a major cause of the current national shortage of qualified teachers, creating a public conversation leading to substantive change is likely to take time.

Learning from successful campaigns, and developing partnerships are additional steps which are likely to increase the likelihood of success. An example of a successful campaign would be the *Revolution bilingue*, a campaign for immersion programs in NYC public schools, that has resulted in programs in about a dozen languages in NYC public schools, largely through parent and community advocacy (Jaumont, 2017). Bilingual and immersion education have much to offer to foreign language educators in terms of opportunity to learn from successful campaigns and to the potential for partnerships. Examples from higher education can be found in the MLA enrollment survey, the final report (MLA, 2019). Any advocacy success story, past or present, local or international, ranging from French language advocacy in Canada to the development of immersion programs across the US, can inspire (Lead with Languages: Success Stories, n.d.).

Foreign language advocacy, a core value and mindset, is also a data-driven skills set. It is also important to reflect on and be convinced of the necessity of advocacy

II. THE ADVOCACY TURN AND THE RATIONALE FOR FOREIGN LANGUAGE ADVOCACY

Educators and other foreign language stakeholders have long been aware of the benefits for foreign language learning and cultural knowledge. However, an advocacy turn among foreign language educators and stakeholders in recent years has been the result of both an increasingly connected world and a more multilingual United States, where more than 60M speak a language other than English in the home (Ryan, 2013), while at the same time foreign language enrollments decline, and programs are lost (Johnson, 2019; AMACAD, 2017).

While foreign language educators can certainly learn and take inspiration from their own successes and history, language learning is a spectrum that includes not only foreign language educators, but also includes bilingual, ESL, and immersion educators, whose areas have enjoyed considerable success in recent years, due in part to engagement and advocacy on the part of educators, researchers, and communities.

It may seem self-evident that advocacy is part of foreign language learning, just as it is of many aspects of our lives and our society. However, advocacy receives relatively little attention within the disciplines and is the subject of relatively few scholarly articles. It is not generally considered part of preparation for a career in foreign language education within schools of education. In addition, foreign language advocacy is typically not included in the preparation of college and university faculty.

However, dedicated foreign language educators, stakeholders, and enthusiasts have long advocated for foreign language learning and use in the United States (Sammartino & Amateau, 1933; Kettelkamp, 1940), and many state and regional professional associations have an advocacy committee, group, or initiative. Advocacy.

Yet advocacy remains generally not part of the formal education and training of the foreign language teachers, but rather something that is learned informally through professional associations and engagement.

As advocacy has become at the same time more complex, yet more accessible, due to the proliferation of online and social media, an organized and systematic attempt to introduce educators to the rationale, strategies, and tactics of advocacy from diverse disciplinary perspectives is needed.

Although not necessarily entirely a discipline in the sense that foreign language skills and pedagogy would be for the language teacher, or a content area might be for college and university faculty, advocacy could certainly be considered part of the skills set of the 21st century foreign language educator.

This type of advocacy is not the same as, but is rather complementary to, advocacy for a particular methodology, department, or even for the humanities in general, for example, but can be used either for foreign language learning and use generally, or for one specific language, and is data-driven.

While advocacy shares many of the same elements at all levels, higher education presents some specific aspects. At the college and university level, the report, *Foreign Languages and Higher Education: New Structures for a Changed World* (MLA, 2007), offered specific recommendations as to interdisciplinary collaborations and elimination of the two-tiered faculty structure. Yet research has shown that although college and university foreign language faculty are generally aware of the report, it has not been universally adopted (Redden, 2017; Lomicka & Lord, 2018). Double majors and joint programs have resulted in increased enrollment (MLA, 2015). However, many foreign language programs offer majors and graduate degrees only in literature, and current advertising for tenure-track foreign language faculty generally still seeks literature specialists as new faculty members.

III. THE FRAMEWORK OF ADVOCACY

The years that followed the publication of *Strength through Wisdom*, and *The Tongue-Tied American* witnessed the publication of reports, along with government hearings on foreign languages -- including most notably (in chronological order) *Securing America's Future: Global Education for a Global Age*, (NAFSA, 2002); *Education for Global Leadership: The Importance of International Studies and Foreign Language Education for U.S National and Economic Security*, (CED, 2006); *International Education and Foreign Languages: Keys to Securing America's Future* (National Research Council, 2007); *Foreign Languages and Higher Education: New Structures for a Changed World* (MLA, 2007); *What Business Wants: Language Needs in the 21st Century* (Language Flagship, 2009); *Foreign Language Capabilities: Departments of Homeland Security, Defense, and State Could Better Assess Their Foreign Language Needs and Capabilities and Address Shortfalls* (GAO, 2010); and *A National Security Crisis: Foreign Language Capabilities in the Federal Government* (Senate Hearing, 2012).

At present, foreign language advocacy initiatives in the US exist at the state, regional, and national levels. Lead with Languages, launched in 2017 and spearheaded by ACTFL (American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages), is the national campaign for language learning in the US. Its launch coincided with the publication of two major reports on languages and language learning in the US, *Not Lost in Translation: The Growing Importance of Foreign Language Skills in the U.S. Job Market* (New American Economy, 2017) and *America's Languages: Investing in Language Education in the 21st Century* (AMACAD, 2017), which demonstrated the value proposition of foreign language skills in the workplace and the need to build foreign language skills in our society respectively. A subsequent report, *Making Languages Our Business: Addressing Foreign Language Demand among U.S. Employers*, was published by ACTFL and its Lead with Languages campaign in 2019. Alongside these, reports have been published on enrollment at the K-12 and postsecondary level, by the American Councils and the MLA respectively.

Overarching themes include the fact, while language skills and cultural knowledge are increasingly needed in the globalized world, in our multilingual society, and in the workplace, US students lag behind those in Europe (Devlin, 2018) and in other parts of the world, largely because of a lack of opportunity to begin continued study of another language at an early age. At the same time, programs are being lost at the elementary, middle school (AMACAD, 2017), and college and university level (Johnson, 2019, MLA, 2019).

IV. "A SENSE OF URGENCY" AND THE ELEMENTS OF INTENTIONAL FOREIGN LANGUAGE ADVOCACY

With the increasing need for foreign language skills and cultural knowledge coinciding with a decline in opportunity for foreign language learning and in enrollment, it is clear that "a sense of urgency," the first step in bringing about change (Kotter, 2008), clearly exists.

While educators in all settings have training, expertise, and experience in their subject material, they have not generally received any systematic education in advocacy. Just as language and its teaching, learning, and use, are inherently interdisciplinary, involved in virtually all aspects of our lives, foreign language advocacy is interdisciplinary. However, it is also a specific skills set, complementary to the professional education of foreign language educators and to the literary, linguistic, or cultural specialization of a college or university foreign language faculty member.

Advocacy groups exist at all levels, either on an *ad hoc* or permanent basis, but skills and training vary widely. Depending on the issues at hand, some advocacy activities are specifically involved in defending a threatened program, or in staving off a legislative action that would negatively impact foreign languages, while other are more long-term, involving information, education, and relationship-building. For these reasons, it is important to consider what skills, or tools, the foreign language advocate would need in either case, or more generally.

The first and most important asset for a foreign language advocate is a passionate interest in the language and culture of the language he or she is advocating for, or in the role of multilingualism in our personal lives, our society, and our world. That passionate interest, and conviction that language learning and use makes our lives better and our world a better place, provide the motivation for a proactive approach that is largely beyond the classroom and beyond the workday. This sense of mission, along with the commitment of time and effort beyond what is required, is needed not

only to accomplish the goals of advocacy, but also to clearly demonstrate that foreign language advocacy is for the greater good, and goes beyond mere self-promotion and job protection.

Although specific methods are likely to vary depending on the size of an advocacy group, its funding, the personal interests of the members, etc., all language advocates should have some familiarity with the relevant theories and best practices in use in both the corporate and non-profit sectors.

An understanding of change management, of the psychology of influence and persuasion, of social marketing, negotiation, and of blue ocean thinking are just a few of the relevant theories driving change. In addition, a general understanding of the principles of marketing and public relations, along with a basic understanding of print and online media, are helpful. While one does not need to be an expert in all areas, understanding the thinking behind current practice, and the relative benefits of different types of means of communication can only be helpful. In addition, as many decisions concerning language learning are political decisions, an understanding and awareness of the legislative process, and of lobbying and grassroots campaigns can be useful.

One important thing to remember is that an 11th hour effort to save a program that is in danger or has been targeted for cuts or even for elimination is an uphill effort, as an idea already on the table is difficult to dislodge even temporarily. Far better to advocate proactively when possible to prevent the discussion from reaching that point through education and information. The following is just a brief overview of only a few of the many potential tools of advocacy.

As the goal of foreign language advocacy is to bring about change, or a paradigm shift (Jaumont & Stein-Smith, 2019), in the way we envision, learn, and use languages in the US, change management needs to be understood, its 8-step processing beginning with the creation of a sense of urgency. The following steps include developing a coalition, developing a strategic vision and initiatives, recruiting volunteers, enabling action, achieving short-term wins, sustaining momentum, and institutionalizing change (*8-Step*, n.d.).

While change management theory can be applied to many environments, foreign language learning is intended for the greater good and, for that reason, the concept of social marketing, influencing behaviors for good (Lee & Kotler), needs to be studied. Rather than using the strategies and tactics of marketing to manipulate people, social marketing uses marketing methods to make the world a better place. Intentional foreign language advocacy is yet another example of the same intrinsic motivation generally associated with successful foreign language learning outcomes

Important elements in bringing about change – in this case, a change in the way Americans typically think about languages, language learning, and use of other languages – are influence and persuasion. According to Cialdini (2006), there are six principles of persuasion: reciprocity; scarcity; authority; consistency; liking; and consensus. Influence, an understanding of how to change behavior, is essential to language advocates, who must also be “influencers,” who influence behavior change by having a clear goal, maintaining focus on that goal, and knowing how they will measure success. In addition, they leverage six sources to achieve their goal: personal motivation; personal ability; social motivation; social ability; structural motivation; and structural ability (Grenny, Patterson, Maxfield, McMillan, & Switzler, 2013).

Social marketing, or influencing behaviors for good, using the strategies and tactics of marketing, the Four Ps of product, price, promotion, and place, commonly referred to as the marketing mix, to bring about the needed paradigm shift in attitudes toward languages and language learning, is yet another approach to advocacy (Lee & Kotler, 2015).

As foreign languages may be in competition with other disciplines in terms of requirements and funding, which is counterproductive, as all disciplines have their place, it is important to embrace blue ocean thinking, in which market boundaries and structure of the sector can be reconstructed by the actions and beliefs of the participants (Kim & Mauborgne, 2010), and envision foreign language learning differently, bringing a new aspect to the conversation, in order to create a program that is not in direct competition with other competing areas. Disruptive innovation (Christensen) would create a new market for foreign language learning, and new communication networks and partnerships among those who advocate for them and support them. For example, if more students had access to immersion and an early start to foreign language learning, it is likely that there would soon be more students with more advanced proficiency at all levels, including the postsecondary level.

Negotiation is likely to be necessary at times, and successful negotiation strategies and techniques from Harvard based on *Getting to Yes* (Fisher, Ury, & Patton, 2011), include separating the people from the problem, focusing on interests, learning to manage emotions, expressing appreciation, putting a positive spin on the message, and escaping the cycle of action and reaction (Harvard, n.d.).

At times, lobbying, protest, and social action may be needed, and an understanding of successful social movements is important, especially in that advocacy is often directed toward an individual or organization, but people themselves need to want to take social action. Elements that characterize successful social movements include defining the change, shifting the spectrum of allies and opponents, identifying the pillars of power, seeking to attract and not to overpower, and building a plan to survive victory (Satell & Popovic, 2017).

V. DEVELOPING INTENTIONAL ADVOCACY SKILLS: A FRAMEWORK AND OPPORTUNITY FOR PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Developing intentional advocacy skills can be considered as a form of professional development and can include formal learning as academic coursework or a certificate, as well as more informal learning at conference sessions,

workshops, and consultant visits (MLA-ADFL, web). In addition, aspiring foreign language advocates can develop advocacy skills through coaching, working with a mentor, supervisor, or peer. The most important initial action step is to create a sustainable learning program.

Once a goal of advocacy education and training for advocacy has been established, a road map to developing a program for learning about advocacy would include developing a framework of skills to be learned, including both universal skills and those that may be slightly different depending on the grade levels (including college and university), languages, methodologies, etc. In addition, opportunity for learning – including time and potentially, funding – needs to be created, scheduling and budgetary constraints notwithstanding.

A framework for providing specific information on advocacy to educators at any level who would like to get started as intentional foreign language advocates – as opposed to the informal actions and conversations that take place every day both inside and outside the classroom – as well as providing more advanced skills to those who have been doing advocacy, but would like to expand the scope of their advocacy, would be beneficial.

The greatest necessity -- and top priority -- is to make languages and language learning part of the public conversation beyond faculty meetings and professional conferences, and for that, active engagement of language educators, language supporters and partners, and language enthusiasts is essential. Whether we are advocating for an immersion program, traditional programs in K-12, or language offerings on our campus, it is necessary to start an ongoing conversation with our community – students, faculty, staff, and administrators on campus, fellow educators across the disciplines, as well as parents and community leaders. Involvement in community organizations and use of available media play an important role, and events that highlight the culture and authentic use of the language are essential. Creators and creativity, whether by artists, musicians, writers, and performers, gives added vibrancy to the language and culture in the community, especially to students and prospective students.

Additional learning activities for advocates could include event planning, writing a press release and communicating with local media, creating and maintaining a website, blog, or social media presence, writing to public officials in support of language learning, attending or participating in a public meeting where languages are being discussed, learning the basics of theory and best practice in change management, psychology of influence or persuasion, marketing, PR, social marketing, negotiation, lobbying and grassroots political action, and blue ocean strategy. Engaging in exchange programs, either in person or virtually, and collaborating with colleagues in other disciplines, can also provide opportunity to grow as an intentional foreign language advocate.

The important thing to remember is that not every foreign language advocate needs to be actively engaged in all of the above-mentioned activities. Bringing about a resurgence of foreign languages in the US and embracing our multilingual cultural identity is a major task, requiring many hands and many voices, empowering each one of us to engage in the advocacy project in a way that suits our own individual abilities and interests.

However, despite the importance of advocacy and of training and education to develop and enhance the advocacy skills set, challenges exist. As many PD plans are district-, campus-, or institution-wide, it may be difficult to include an issue that some may see as subject-specific. Strategies to overcome this challenge include seeking out partners, perhaps in other areas experiencing enrollment or budgetary challenges, and encouraging professional engagement in state, regional, and national professional associations.

In addition, challenges to professional development generally also impact training and education in advocacy. Time away, travel, and funding not always available, especially to newer professionals, while of course, they could well be the ones who would benefit most from the training and have long-term opportunities to build and use their advocacy skills. It is important for departments, school districts, and higher education institutions to provide opportunities for professional engagement, and when this is problematic, educators need to highlight the importance of professional development through engagement both to their representatives in local education associations and through faculty governance.

Scholarships and other funding benefits are often available to attend conferences, and can help to alleviate any hardship. Webinars and other online learning and discussion opportunities can complement conference attendance a little or no cost to the school district or to the environment.

VI. GOALS, OBJECTIVES, AND METHODS OF INTENTIONAL FOREIGN LANGUAGE ADVOCACY

The primary goal of foreign language advocacy is to support, promote, and defend foreign language learning and use in the United States. In order to achieve this goal of language proficiency, it is necessary to increase access to continued, sequential foreign language learning, whether in an immersion or traditional program from the earliest grade levels, available to all, and to develop opportunities for authentic use and appreciation of additional languages in all sectors of our society. Interdisciplinarity, experiential learning, study abroad, and rewards and recognitions can create and sustain interest in language learning and language requirements at all levels support proficiency and achievement.

Objectives and methods include, but are not limited to, language requirements (MLA, 2012; ECS, 2019) – both for high school graduation and for college admission and graduation, the existence of a state-level supervisor for foreign languages in every state (fewer than 30 states at present) (NCSSFL, web), and increased use of technology in language learning to increase both access and achievement (MLA, 2014).

We also need to advocate for interdisciplinarity and joint degrees at the postsecondary level, and for professional language and business culture courses, and for language for specific purposes across the disciplines (MLA, 2007; MLA, 2015). At the college level, examples include many of the programs highlighted as success stories in the final version of the MLA enrollment survey (MLA, 2019). Other examples include the CIBERs (Centers for International Business Education and Research) and CLAC (Culture and Languages across the Curriculum) programs. French language examples include the Professional French initiative (*Français professionnel*, 2018), that has offered faculty training in French for a variety of specific purposes at several institutions across the country in the summer of 2019, and going forward, the Professional Master's in French at University of Wisconsin, as well as Master's programs at the University of Pennsylvania and New York University. Experiential and project-based learning, minors and second majors, and combined and joint degree programs, as well as high school to college collaborations.

Traditional study abroad and short-term study abroad can create and sustain interest in language learning, and area/international/global studies programs can include a foreign language component. Rewards and recognitions, including honor societies, certificates, and the Seal of Biliteracy, can strengthen interest and motivation, and maximizing opportunities for rewards and recognition, both large and small, can sustain interest in language learning. Relationship-building and the development of partnerships within your community, across the disciplines, and with language stakeholders in business and government can be another advocacy goal.

VII. CURRENT TRENDS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Effective intentional foreign language advocacy requires a multi-faceted approach. While it is important to increase access to language learning and to work to address the shortage of qualified teachers, it is equally important, if not more so, to keep languages and language learning in the public conversation at the local, state, and national level.

However, in order to develop a multilingual society, it is essential to plan and promote authentic use of languages in addition to English in the workplace, at community events, in the media, the arts, the popular culture, and in all aspects of society. In addition, the growth and popularity of immersion programs has been a catalyst for a re-thinking of the role of languages in our society, of our mission as foreign language educators, and of significance of foreign language advocates as change agents.

The good news is that many advocacy-related groups and initiatives exist, within and beyond foreign language education professional associations. Many advocacy initiatives that offer learning and networking opportunities, as well as information and support exist at the state, regional, and national level, including the AATF (American Association of Teachers of French) Commission on Advocacy, of which this author serves as Chair). Lead with Languages, the national advocacy campaign, and Language Advocacy Day, initiatives of ACTFL and JNCL-NCLIS respectively, have provided high-profile focus and momentum at the national level. Most recently, the creation of the America's Languages Congressional Caucus and signing of the World Language Advancement and Readiness Act in late 2019 are clear signs of the impact of the *America's Languages* report (AMACAD, 2017; AMACAD 2019; AMACAD, 2019b).

The most important message to convey every day, in every way, through our words and actions, is that language is a gift, not a burden, to our children and to our society.

VIII. CONCLUSIONS: INTENTIONAL ADVOCACY AS LEADERSHIP

As fewer students in the US have the opportunity to begin continued study of another language at an early age, foreign language advocacy is an essential part of the skills set of the language educator or stakeholder.

While advocacy is, of course, data-driven, and a powerful message based on the lack of language skills among Americans and its current and potential impact is central to the discussion, it is also values-driven, based on knowledge of the benefits of language skills and cultural knowledge for all our children and students, and on an altruistic core value of working for the greater good and of leaving the world a better place.

With the goal of expanding access and opportunity as recommended in the *America's Languages* report (AMACAD, 2017), advocacy strategies and methods can draw from theory and best practice in many areas, ranging from social marketing to the psychology of influence, persuasion, and social movements. The strategies and methods of effective advocates and advocacy initiatives also vary, depending on the interests and talents of individuals, ranging from social media, to research and writing, to active engagement in the national campaign for languages, Lead with Languages.

Leadership is often thought of as influence on and empowerment of others to bring about change. The adoption of intentional advocacy as a core value, a mindset, and a skills set empowers language educators to grow, not only professionally as educators, but also, through advocacy, as leaders.

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Opening Sequences of Vietnamese Police-driver Traffic Enforcement Interactions

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Abstract—This paper examines the opening sequence of police-driver encounters at traffic stops when the police officers state the reasons for the stop, or request documents. Data include 30 video-recorded encounters between Vietnamese police officers and drivers, and are analysed using the methodology of Conversation Analysis. The findings have shown that police officers wield their judicial authority and institutional power right at the outset of the interactions by leading the interaction in a narrowly focused policing agenda, and taking different conversational paths. We argue that these differences in interactional orders may decrease driver co-operation and compliance with police officer directions, and be highly likely to increase recidivism. The present study may give police officers some new ideas about how to behave towards drivers during traffic stops, thus improving police-driver interactions in the Vietnamese policing context as well as in other cultural contexts in some respects.

Index Terms—Vietnamese, police-driver interaction, conversation analysis, opening sequences, policing interaction

I. INTRODUCTION

This paper examines the opening sequence of police-driver encounters at traffic stops. Traffic stops are characterised by interactions between police officers and drivers which are typically initiated by the former (Engel, 2005). While travelling in their own vehicles, the latter are occasionally pulled over by the former for one reason or another. This ranges from obtaining a random breath test (the one to check an indication of the concentration of alcohol in a driver's breath) or checking the driver's documents. However, the most common reason is that the driver is deemed to commit a traffic offence such as drink driving, speeding, red light running, traffic sign disobedience, and seat belt use (Engel, 2005; Lundman & Kaufman, 2003; Skogan, 2005). As a traffic enforcer, the police officer is empowered to exert control, demand compliance, or impose sanctions, on drivers, if the latter are found to violate the law (Dixon, Schell, Giles, & Drogos, 2008). Overall, the police officer is authorized to make three decisions during the traffic stop encounters: (i) initiating a traffic stop, (ii) searching the driver, a vehicle, or passengers, and (iii) sanctioning the driver (Schafer, Carter, Katz-Bannister, & Wells, 2006).

Various Traffic Acts have been introduced to stipulate the characteristics of a police-driver encounter. For instance, according to the American Traffic Stop Statistics Act (1999), a traffic stop encounter should include the following: reason for the stop, driver's demographics, any types of search done plus its rationale, any items seized, and enforcement actions. Thompson and Jenkins (1993) developed a nine-step process of routine traffic stop encounters: (i) greeting, (ii) introducing the officer and their department, (iii) explaining the reasons for the stop, (iv) allowing drivers to offer justification, (v) requesting documents, (vi) clarifying details, (vii) deciding enforcement action, (viii) deciding to conduct a search, and (ix) explaining driver's options and closing encounter. Quite recently, Prabhakaran et al. (2018) unearthed six stages in police-driver interactions: (i) greeting, (ii) stating the reasons for the stop; (iii) requesting documents (e.g., driver license, registration, or insurance); (iv) seeking driver's demographic details (e.g., race, sex, and age); (v) issuing sanction (e.g., citation, fix-it ticket, or warning); and (vi) closing encounter.

Overall, the police-citizen encounters in our study also cover the above information and stages. However, the structural order in our corpus is not always the same as those above. More particularly, some of the police officers in this study skip the greeting stage, and some request to view documents (i.e., the third stage) prior to citing the reason for the stop (i.e., the second stage). In light of this, this study looks at the first three stages of the police-driver interactions in order to examine how the police officers strategically organise their interaction in the course of opening the encounters. Indeed, the openings are significant for the whole encounter (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973) as they address the key organisational issues for the interaction being begun (Schegloff, 1986), and thus determining the trajectory of the encounters as well as impacting the driver's adherence to the sanctions.

II. CONVERSATION ANALYSIS AND INSTITUTIONAL TALK

Police-driver interaction is characterised by talk about policing issues and is thus a form of institutional talk by nature. This form of talk is partly shaped by a power asymmetry between the interlocutors (Drew & Heritage, 1992; Van Dijk, 2002). Hence, in the specific type of institutional talk under scrutiny in this study, there is an imbalance in power between the police officer and the driver, plus this is augmented by the hierarchical society of Vietnam (Edwards & Phan, 2013; T. Q. N. Tran, 2013). In the current study, this talk is studied within the approach of Conversation Analysis (henceforth, 'CA'), which is an approach within the social sciences that "describe, analyse and understand talk as a basic and constitutive feature of human social life" (Sidnell, 2010, p. 1) by identifying the underlying rules orienting interactions in general (Edwards, 1995). Therefore, CA can highlight how interactants jointly construct their own reality through discursive strategies. Note also that, from a CA perspective, institutional asymmetries (or cultural factors) are enacted, managed, constructed, and negotiated through talk: they are not forces that exist outside of the interaction, but are brought to life in the interaction.

III. LITERATURE REVIEW

Research on police-driver encounters at traffic stops has fallen into two categories. The first has looked at how the demographic characteristics (e.g., race, gender, and age) of either the police officer or the driver can influence: (i) the police officer's decision to stop the driver (e.g., Alpert, MacDonald, & Dunham, 2005; Lundman & Kaufman, 2003; Schafer et al., 2006), (ii) the driver's satisfaction with the encounter (e.g., Skogan, 2005), or (iii) the manner in which the interaction itself unfolds (e.g., Dixon et al., 2008). The second category has been concerned with the driver's views of the police officer's communication behaviour during the traffic stop (e.g., Engel, 2005; Johnson, 2004; Sahin, 2014). Studies following the first trend have examined interactants' demographics (e.g., race, gender, and age) and have been conducted mostly in the United States of America (USA). In particular, Dixon et al. (2008) investigated the extent to which the interactant's race influenced their communication in routine traffic stops in Cincinnati, Ohio. Applying a quantitative coding method to 313 randomly-sampled audio and video recordings from police cars, and using content analysis, Dixon et al. found that (i) African-American civilians were more involved in the interaction than American civilians, (ii) the communication quality of African-American civilians on average was less positive than that of their American counterparts, and (iii) the officer's communication was more positive when they belonged to the same race as the civilian.

In addition, several studies examined how the civilian's demographics affected whether the police officer decided to impose a penalty or not. For example, Lundman and Kaufman (2003) used a nation-wide survey to examine how the civilian's race affected the officer's decision at the stop, the civilian's perceptions regarding the legitimacy of the police officer's reason for the stop, and the civilian's perceptions regarding the appropriateness of the officer's actions. The data were drawn from self-reports of 7,034 civilians who were stopped at least once, and submitted to a multivariate analysis. The findings indicated that male African-American civilians were especially likely to be stopped, and that, on the whole, African-American and Hispanic civilians did not find a legitimate reason for the officer's decision to stop them. Similarly, Alpert et al. (2005) investigated how situational variables (e.g., time, place, or descriptive information provided to an officer) and the interactant's race and demographics might affect the police officer's level of suspicion about the legality of the civilian's behaviour, and also their decision-making. Using quantitative and qualitative data from participant observation in Georgia, Alpert et al. found that police officers were more suspicious towards civilians belonging to minority groups than towards other civilians, but that their decision to stop a suspect was not affected by whether or not the suspect belonged to a minority group. In the same vein, Schafer et al. (2006) explored the decision-making patterns of police officers in traffic-stop encounters by analysing their self-reports. The findings revealed that the civilian's race mattered the most in determining whether or not the officer decided to stop them. In addition, situational considerations (e.g., the reasons for a traffic stop) and the civilian's gender and age also played an influential role. Overall, the demographics of both police officers and civilians were found to influence the officer's decision-making.

While the first trend in previous research looked at the perspective of both police officer and civilian, the second has focussed closely on the civilian's perspective. For instance, Sahin (2014) carried out a study to see whether civilians' views of officers would be affected when procedural justice principles were incorporated into how officers in the Turkish National Police handled traffic stops. In his study, 702 civilians did a survey, and the results were submitted to a multivariate analysis. Sahin found that (i) the way in which the officer interacted with the civilian influenced the latter's perceptions of the former related to the traffic-stop encounter, (ii) the civilian's perceptions of the police in procedurally just traffic encounters were more improved than their perceptions of the police in encounters in which there were only routine traffic enforcement procedures, (iii) higher levels of satisfaction with their treatment by police were reported by civilians who were in the experimental group than those in the control group, and (iv) the civilian's general views of the police were not greatly influenced by a single procedurally just encounter. In another study, Engel (2005) investigated whether or not civilians believed that they had been treated unjustly in traffic stops by police based on normative factors (i.e., perceptions of equity and fairness) and instrumental factors (i.e., the outcomes received). Using multinomial logistic regression, she analysed a national survey completed by 7,054 civilians in the USA, and found that citizens were concerned about the concept of fairness together with the actual decisions made by criminal-justice officials. Moreover, civilians' perceptions of distributive injustice (i.e., the unfairness of the outcome) and

procedural injustice (i.e., the unfairness of the procedures followed prior to the outcome) were also different by race. Another study by Johnson (2004) examined civilians' perceptions of the appropriateness of traffic-stop behaviour on the part of police. He recruited 245 college students in the USA for a survey. A multivariate regression analysis of the findings showed that the theory of procedural justice, and the use of verbal judo techniques (i.e., a set of interpersonal communication techniques taught to police officers in the USA) in police officer behavior, were consistently preferred by civilians during routine traffic stops. In brief, the research belonging to the second trend indicated that police behaviour during traffic-stop encounters improved if some interactional principles were incorporated into their communication. This increased civilians' satisfaction with the outcomes of these traffic stops.

From the literature review, it is notable that no study examined the openings of police-driver interactions, nor analysed the patterns of talk-in-interaction; rather, these studies only looked at police officers' communication behaviour and drivers' levels of satisfaction. Second, these studies only coded various features of the data, and analysed these properties quantitatively. Last but not least, research in the cultural context of Vietnam has so far garnered relatively little attention. Given that cultural differences have an impact on institutional talk (Drew & Heritage, 1992), it would be a mistake to assume that the findings obtained from Western studies will necessarily be representative of policing communication in general. The gap in literature creates a need for more research to be done in other cultural contexts, not least the Vietnamese one. Given the above shortcomings, this study looks at the openings of police-driver encounters at traffic stops in Vietnam. It aims to address the following research questions:

1. What are the sequential organisations of the openings of police-driver encounters at traffic stops in Vietnam?
2. How do Vietnamese police exercise their judicial authority during the opening moments of the police-driver encounters?

IV. METHODOLOGY

Data are 30 video-recorded encounters conducted on the street sides, each includes one to five police officers interacting with one driver (and sometimes with one passenger). These data were recorded by the participants themselves (referred to as third-party data; Laurier, 2013) and were then uploaded to YouTube (<http://www.youtube.com>). They are chosen for this study given their naturally-occurring interactions and non-research perspective. Although this study is concerned with the opening phases of the police-driver interactions, only the full recorded encounters are chosen as they enable an overview of the whole encounter as well as its trajectory. The recorded encounters took place throughout Vietnam, from the northern to the southern cities. Data are analysed using the methodology of CA, and following the techniques and symbols developed by Jefferson (2004).

V. FINDINGS

A. Sequential Organisations of Encounter Openings

According to Circular 01/2016/TT-BCA on the Law on Road Traffic issued by the Vietnamese Ministry of Public Security, the traffic police are authorised to pull vehicles over when they: (i) detect traffic offences themselves or through specialised devices; (ii) are conducting a general check ordered by the head of the traffic police department, or by the chiefs of provincial bureaus of police; (iii) are performing the tasks of patrolling and inspecting road traffic planned by the head of traffic police divisions at the district level and above; (iv) are following the documents issued by the heads or deputy heads of investigation authorities, or those of competent authorities, in order to ensure security, order, and safety; and (v) are informed of traffic offences. The above circumstances all take place in our corpus, but the first (i.e., the traffic police or specialised devices detect traffic offences) is the most common one. More specifically, our traffic police participants pull the vehicles over in order to mostly deal with the driver's traffic violations, examine legitimate documents related to the vehicles as per law, and check alcohol in the driver's breath.

Even though the reasons for a traffic stop tend to fall into three categories above, the traffic police skilfully employ various interactional and sequential strategies in the course of opening the encounters. For instance, after his greeting, officer Hoa (P)¹ in (1) explicitly cites the reason for his pulling over Bac's (D) motorbike, that is Bac's speeding (line 3). Specifically, the speed limit for that area is 50 kilometres per hour but Bac exceeds 9 kilometres (not shown here). His speeding is recorded by a specialised camera which is located some kilometres away.

Ex. 1 (57)

- 1 P: *chào anh ủa:*
greet OB² PRT
'Good afternoon!'
- 2 (0.6)
- 3 P: *thông báo lỗi vi phạm của anh anh chạy quá tốc độ ủa*
announce offence of OB³ OB ride excessive speeding PRT

¹ In the extracts, drivers are represented as D and police officers as P.

² The following abbreviations are used in the interlinear glosses: COP - copula; HON - honorific; INT - interrogative; OB - older brother; PRT - particle; YB - younger sibling.

‘Just to let you know that you’re stopped for speeding’

4 (0.8)

5 D: *a:nh cho em kiểm+tra:: (0.4) #tốc#+độ (.) em chạy CỐ::(.) ở+trong*
OB please YS check speed YS ride just in

6 *có năm+mươi ra tới ngo ãi này em chạy sáu+mươi:i,=*
just fifty ride to out here YS ride sixty

‘Can I please check your camera? I rode just- just fifty in town and sixty out of town’

7 P: *=#chờ# t í:*
wait minute

‘Just a minute’

((171 lines deleted – Officer shows the video recording to driver and asks to see the driver’s paper))

178 D: *người+ta chạy chám chin+chục #một#chăm anh hông bắt*
people drive eighty ninety one hundred OB not stop

179 *#th # thâi à:*
then just PRT

‘Why don’t you stop those driving at 80, 90, or 100?’

Officer Hoa prefaces the reason-citation sequence with a pre-announcement TCU, *th ông báo lỗi #vi# phạ:m của anh* (‘just to let you know that’, line 3). In this TCU, Hoa uses the words *lỗi #vi# phạ:m* (‘offence’ in gloss) explicitly to make relevant his subsequent announcement for the stop. Notably, Hoa ends his turn with the particle *nh á* in high pitch to indicate an emphasis on the accuracy of his information meanwhile obtaining Bac’s affiliation. In so doing, he aims to pre-empt any objection from Bac. Contrary to Hoa’s expectation, Bac neither admits nor denies his accusation overtly but inserts a post-first expansion sequence (Schegloff, 2007) to seek evidence for his speeding (lines 5-6). This expanded turn acts as a pre-rejection towards Hoa’s claim (Schegloff, 2007), and the second-pair part for Hoa’s announcement at line 3 is delayed until line 178. In other words, it is not until the video recording is shown plus other police officers offer an explanation about his speeding that Bac reluctantly admits his offence (not shown here). However, he tries to dodge the sanction by telling his experience (Pomerantz, 1984b) of witnessing those who far exceeded the speed limit without being stopped. Specifically, by formulating his question in lines 178-179, *người ta chạy chám chin chục #một#chăm anh hông bắt #thi# thô:i à:* (‘Why don’t you stop those driving at 80, 90, or 100?’), Bac acknowledges the police’s right decision to stop him, meanwhile treating his offence as much less legitimate than that of numerous drivers. That is, the police should not stop him given this minor violation, and thus should let him go without any sanction. Overall, this question formulation, together with his request to see the recording in lines 5-6 plus a delay in line 4, foreshows his dispreferred response to Hoa’s announcement.

In Extract (1), the sequential organisation of the encounter opening seems to consist of two initial stages: greeting and stating the reasons for the stop. Actually, due to driver Bac’s active resistance by a request for the camera evidence, the opening sequence does not close until near the conclusion of the encounter. Therefore, other stages are also involved, such as document request and detail clarification (not shown here). In other words, the driver response can largely frame the opening sequence.

While officer Hoa in Extract (1) states the reason for stopping the vehicle, officer Thanh (P) in Extract (2) requests to see the document instead. Notably, driver Vy’s (D) response treats Thanh’s request as the main reason for the visit, which means that the two stages of reason statement and document request are subsumed in one.

Ex. 2 (49)

1 P: *chào anh nha:,(0.3) giấy+tờ #mau lấy kiểm#+↓tra*
greet OB PRT paper quickly show check

‘Good afternoon! Show me your papers quickly!’

2 (0.6)

3 D: *\$hừ:\$*
mm

‘Mm’

4 (2.5)

5 D: *#đạ:# đâi a:nh*
HON here OB

‘Here they are’

6 (2.0)

7 D: *đây là bằng+lái °của em° (.) đây là bảo+hiể:m*
this COP license of YS this COP insurance

‘Here is driver license, here is insurance’

Thanh initiates the interaction with a greeting, then asking Vy to show his documents. However, Thanh’s interactional and linguistic organisation of this TCU, *giấy tờ #mau lấy kiểm# ↓tra* (‘show me your papers quickly’),

³ The hierarchical organisation of Vietnamese society is reflected in the large number of kinship terms used for addressing and referring to others (H. T. L. Nguyen, 2018).

turns itself as somewhat imperious. Specifically, he formulates it as a directive act (Searle, 1979) without embedding any polite markers like ‘please’. Also, the adverb marker *mau* (‘quickly’) is employed to express his expectation of a prompt action. By asking Vy to show the papers without delay, Thanh puts himself in a state of impatience, or presumably he does not aim to spend much time on this case. Alternatively, from the video recording, there may be so many cases on that day that Thanh does not have ample time for his encounter with Vy. These linguistic resources communicate Thanh’s legitimacy of authorities over Vy particularly, and over the whole encounter generally. This reflects the fact that, as a form of institutional talk, police-driver interaction is also asymmetric by its nature in which the police typically lead the encounter (Drew & Heritage, 1992; Fisher & Todd, 1986; Van Dijk, 2002; West, 1984). More seriously, some police tend to be impolite and disrespectful to many drivers, especially those from lower social class (Sahin, 2014).

Interactionally, Thanh’s dominating voice partly shapes Vy’s response. Given that he is not treated with respect (Johnson, 2004; Skogan, 2005), Vy most likely registers his passive resistance with Thanh’s request (Stivers, 2006). In particular, Vy delays his response for 0.6 seconds (line 2) then replies with a response token, *\$hư:\$* (‘Mm’; Gardner, 2001), which acts as a receipt of Thanh’s request, in a laughing manner. In Vietnamese interaction, the most popular and appropriate response in this case should be a *đạ* (‘yes’) as drivers are culturally considered as passive recipients in the interaction with police officers (H. T. L. Nguyễn, 2018). Vy’s response token thus manifests the impact of Thanh’s voice on his interaction, although he also affiliates with his request at last (lines 5 and 7). Notably, Vy’s presenting the papers makes relevant Thanh’s request, and treats the main reason for the stop as absent. This embodies Vy’s understanding of Thanh’s document request as the main reason for the stop. In short, Extract (2) has indicated the sequential impact of turn design in the course of opening the encounter.

Extract (3) presents a different opening sequence in which there is an absence of greetings from police officer Tung (P) – the interaction initiator. Instead, he opens the encounter with the reason for the stop, then requests to see driver Phong’s (D) documents.

Ex. 3 (32)

- 1 P: *anh lại vi+phạm tốc+độ dô:i,(0.2) mời anh #xuống# xe*
YB again violate speed PRT please OB get+off car
- 2 *xuất+ch nh giấy+tờ:(.) °t ấ° #kiểm#+cha:*
show paper I check
‘You’ve violated the speed limit again. Please get off your car and show me your papers’
- 3 D: *°chào anh°*
greet OB
‘Hi!’
- 4 (0.7)
- 5 P: *mời anh xuống xe ↑đi:*
please OB get+off car PRT
‘Please get off your car’
- 6 (4.5)
- 7 P: *anh xuất+ch nh giấy+tờ #chúng#+t ấ kiểm+cha °n ầ°*
OB show paper we check PRT
‘Please show us your paper’
- 8 (1.6)
- 9 D: *tốc+độ ầ? (0.4) đư:::a h nh+ảnh lại đây co:i,*
speeding INT show record to here look
‘Speeding? Show me your record!’
(36 lines deleted – Driver insists on seeing video recording)
- 45 P: *<tu::i NHẢ::M xe anh,> xin+lỗi a:nh(.) anh đi+chuyển đi,*
I mistake car OB sorry OB OB move PRT
‘I’m sorry. I’ve mistaken your car for another car. Off you go, please’

Police officer Tung’s opening turn consists of two TCUs: a reason and a document request, between which is a micropause as a transition-relevance place (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974) for Phong’s turn. In his first TCU, *anh lại vi phạm tốc độ dô:i* (‘You’ve violated the speed limit again’), Tung’s use of a pair of temporal adverb, *lại...dô:i* (‘again’), communicates that this is not the first time Phong has violated the speeding, and that Phong’s previous speeding was also stopped by Tung himself. However, Phong does not show any uptake at this juncture. Tung thus treats Phong’s silence as an opportunity to initiate his command, that is, a request to see the document, *mời anh #xuống# xe xuất ch nh giấy tờ: (.) °t ấ° #kiểm# cha:* (‘Please get off your car and show me your papers’). Through this second TCU, Tung displays an assumption that his reason for stop is legitimate and thus expecting Phong’s affiliation. However, Tung’s first-pair-part request does not trigger any relevant second-pair-part action except a greeting from Phong, which is treated by Tung as a failure (Stivers, 2012). Tung orients to Phong’s no-answer response in line 3 as a problem in hearing. Therefore, he repeats his request in two separate turns (lines 5 and 7) in order to seek Phong’s affiliation. Once again, Phong does not take an affiliative action, that is showing papers to Tung, but produces a partial

questioning repeat to initiate repair (line 9) and thus identify Tung's *vi phạm tốc độ* ('speeding'; line 1) as the trouble source (Robinson, 2013). This is further reinforced by his abrupt request to see the video recording for evidence, *đưa:::a h ình ảnh lại đây coi*, ('Show me your record!'; line 9). In other words, Phong's repeat orients to Tung's previous assumption of Phong's hearing problem as incorrect, and his response on line 3 lays the ground for his disaffiliation with Tung's reason. The encounter concludes with an apology from Tung due to his mistake (line 45), which communicates that Phong's disaffiliation is reasonable.

While the above extracts feature some basic stages of the openings, Extract (4) has a different sequence. Neither greeting nor document request is present, and the reason is cited by police officer Hong (P) as an order, or a recommendation, for driver Thang (D) to act on, that is turning on signals when he turns right⁴. Right after Thang acknowledges his uptake of that order, Hong lets him go immediately without issuing any sanction to Thang at all (line 12).

Ex. 4 (55)

- 1 P: *xi+nha::n*,
signal
'Signal!'
- 2 (3.3)
- 3 P: *lúc chạy bắt xi+nhan *lên* giùm a:nh*,
when ride turn signal on for OB
'Please turn the signal on when riding your motorbike!'
- 4 (0.4)
- 5 D: *#sao# a:nh?*
what OB
'What's wrong?'
- 6 (1.0)
- 7 P: *mún (.) ge:o (.) phá:i (.) #câu# bắt xin+nhan lên cho a:nh;*
want turn right uncle turn signal on for OB
'You must turn the signal on if you want to turn right!'
- 8 (0.3)
- 9 D: *ạ::*
OK
'OK'
- 10 P: *nghe câu nó chứ:a?*
hear sentence that INT
'Got it?'
- 11 D: *ô+kê: ô+^okê^o*
OK OK
'OK OK'
- 12 P: *↓rô:i(.) đi lẹ đi:*,
OK go quickly PRT
'OK. Go quickly'
- 13 (0.2)
- 14 D: *ô:i (.) #cảm+mo# ↑nha:*
OK thank PRT
'OK. Thank you'
- 15 P: *à::*,
mmm
'Mmm'

The video recording shows that while Thang is on his motorbike taking a right turn, Hong suddenly says *xi nha::n*, ('signal'; line 1) meanwhile signalling Thang to stop. This abrupt order makes it hard for Thang to grasp what is going on, which is reflected in his no response after a silence of 3.3 seconds, and his other-initiated repair (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977) to indicate his trouble in understanding it (line 5). Hong's modified repeat on line 7 makes relevant Thang's trouble. On receipt of Thang's confirmation of his understanding, Hong allows him to go.

Overall, the opening sequence of Vietnamese police-driver interactions features three stages of greeting, reason for stop, and document request. However, some encounters do not have such order, some do not contain greeting or document request, and some even do not have reason as it is subsumed in other stage. In spite of the absence of some stages, both interactants, especially drivers, can manipulate these different sequences skilfully toward a variety of socio political ends. This suggests that the ordering and functions of each stage closely connect with one another and are jointly understood by both drivers and police officers. Such ordering reflects the fact that policing opening is a socially

⁴ In Vietnam, drivers drive on the right hand side of the street, and it is compulsory to use turn signals when the driver changes a lane, turns left, turns right, makes a U-turn, overtakes other vehicles, starts driving after stopping, or pulls over (Traffic Act 2008).

organised activity. Notably, driver responses to officer reasons can largely contribute to shaping the trajectory of the encounter. For instance, Bac's and Phong's requests for the camera evidence in Extract (1) and (3) respectively work to obtain a clear vindication for their cases, thus pre-empting any sanction from the officers.

B. Police Open the Encounter - The Voice of Judicial Authority

The opening moment of an encounter is a chance for police officers to, not only establish and accomplish their interpersonal relationship with, but also exert their authority over, drivers (Modaff, 1995). Given their legitimate power, police officers are authorised to pull drivers over, then initiate the encounters at traffic stops. This statutory authority is embodied through officers' interactional practices. Particularly, they may deploy various interactional resources such as questioning behaviour, topic initiation, interruptions, or the use of address terms, in the course of opening the encounters. In the following, we will touch upon how officers raise their voice of judicial authority in citing the reasons for traffic stops.

In our corpus, police officers adopt different linguistic and interactional practices in order to exercise their institutional control over drivers and the whole encounters. However, most officers state the reasons in a polite manner, and indicate different politeness levels. To exemplify, police officer Nghia (P) in Extract (5) starts the encounter with an honorific term, *cho* ('please'; line 1), which is used in Vietnamese to ask for permission. Institutionally, there is no need for him to do so as a police officer since he is authorised to take the driver's breath test. Legally, driver Vuong (D) does nothing but have to comply with Nghia's request whatsoever. Nghia's polite manner is also grounded in his way of addressing: he self-refers as *em* ('younger sibling' in gloss) and addresses Vuong as *anh* ('older sibling' in gloss). In other words, Nghia's use of the term *cho* ('please'; line 1) communicates his respect for Vuong, who is senior in age, and this reflects the emphasis upon appropriateness in Vietnamese communication (Appel, 2013; T. Đ. Huỳnh, 1989; T. P. Lê 2011; T. Q. N. Trần, 2013). Even though Nghia tries to mitigate his request politely and respectfully, the request itself displays some form of power given the action it calls for. Specifically, the term *kiểm tra* ('test'; line 1) is, in fact, an executive order that Vuong has to obey rather than a request. However, Nghia's polite manner partly enables him to obtain Vuong's obedience without difficulty.

Ex. 5 (48)

- 1 P: *cho em kiểm+tra còn thử ↑a:nh*
 please YS test alcohol just OB
 'Can I please test just your breath?'
 2 (0.8)
 3 D: *chào ↑anh*
 greet OB
 'Good evening!'
 4 D: [*â::*]
 uh
 'Uh'
 5 P: [*dạ cho::*] (0.3) *cho em kiểm+tra còn cấ thử i,*
 HON please please YS test alcohol PRT just
 'Can I please- please test just your breath?'
 6 (0.3)
 7 P: *dạ: [mời anh °a°]*
 HON please OB HON
 'Please'
 8 D: [*↓rô::i*] (.) *ô+↑k ê*
 alright OK
 'All right. OK'

In Extract (6), police officer Trinh (P) employs a polite term, *mời* ('please'; line 6), to preface his order for driver Tuan (D). In spite of this, the order itself conveys some form of power that Tuan must follow strictly. This is foregrounded by an absence of his return to Tuan's greeting on line 1, which violates the rule of adjacency pairs (Schegloff, 2007). Moreover, an immediate delay of Trinh's turn on line 2 foreshows a dispreferred course of action (Pomerantz, 1984a). The cumulative effect of his action is to display his dissatisfaction with Tuan's traffic transgression meanwhile wielding his legislative power.

Ex. 6 (30)

- 1 D: *vâng hhh (.) chào đồng+↑chí:*
 well greet comrade
 'Well. Good afternoon!'
 2 (1.5)
 3 P: *bây+giờ là hiện+giờ là hỏi+nãy là (.) <CÓ: (0.2) t.ñ+hiệu (.)*
 now COP now COP just COP have signal
 4 *dừng xe anh trên (.) v.ñg+xoay (0.2) sơn tị:nh>*
 stop car OB at roundabout son tinh

'Now- now- we've just signalled you to stop at Son Tinh roundabout'

- 5 (0.4)
 6 P: *bây+giờ mời anh ơ::: (0.2) >cứ đứng đây đi.<=<*
 now please OB uh keep stand here PRT
'Now please stand here!'

Unlike those in Extracts (5) and (6), officer Hoang (P) in Extract (7) does not utilise any specific mitigated device in his request (line 3). In addition, he starts the encounter with a request for driver Hai's (D) documents without mentioning his transgression (line 3). Given that in the orderly structure of a police-driver encounter, a document request should be logically based on a certain reason, Hoang's reverse order carries two implications. On the one hand, Hoang may suppose that Hai should grasp his transgression once his vehicle is pulled over. On the other, he may think that Hai's transgression (i.e., turning without a signal on) is not a serious one. These two suppositions may account for an absence of the reason explanation at the outset of the encounter. Regarding the request itself (line 3), Hoang projects it in a polite manner by using an address term, *anh* ('your'), instead of a zero-sign-address imperative (H. T. L. Nguyễn, 2018). Also, although it is formal and common to address others as *đồng chí*: ('comrade') and self-refer as *tôi* ('I') in Vietnamese policing interaction, Hoang uses *anh* ('your') instead. In so doing, he tends to count Hai as his relative or family member (T. N. Trần, 2006), thus creating a relaxed atmosphere for the encounter. Even so, the word *kiểm tra::* ('check' in the gloss) embodies his institutional authority in performing the action and that Hai must obey.

Ex. 7 (1)

- 1 D: *CHào a:nh*
 greet OB
'Good morning!'
 2 (0.3)
 ((Police salutes driver))
 3 P: *#rôi# lấy #giấy#+tờ kiểm+tra:: đi ↑anh*
 OK show paper check please OB
'OK. Please show me your paper!'
 4 (0.5)
 5 D: *giờ tôi hỏi: cho tôi HỒ::I #lê# tôi lỗi gì đây?*
 now I ask please I ask COP I violate what PRT
'Now can I please ask what my offence is?'
 6 (0.5)
 7 P: *quẹo #không# xin+nhan đỏ ÿ*
 turn not signal PRT
'Turning without a signal on'

The police officers can also employ other linguistic markers in order to either decrease or increase the powerful level of their request. For instance, police officer Hong in Extract (4) uses the markers *giùm* ('for' in the gloss; line 3) and *cho* ('for' in the gloss; line 7), which seemingly treats driver Thang's adherence as a favour for Hong himself. However, the whole requests with a phrase-final rising intonation *lúc chạy bắt xin nhan *lên* giùm a:nh*, ('Please turn the signal on when riding your motorbike!'; line 3) or *mún (.) gẹ:o (.) phá:i (.) #câu# bắt xin nhan lên cho a:nh ÿ* ('You must turn the signal on if you want to turn right!'; line 7), display an authoritative tone of voice. In like manner, the marker *mau* ('quickly'; line 1) plus a zero-sign-address imperative in *giấy tờ #mau lấy kiểm# ÿtra* ('Show me your papers quickly'; Extract (2)), seems to urge driver Vy to show his papers in a prompt manner, thus partly displaying officer Thanh's impatience and authority. Overall, via their deployment of linguistic and interactional strategies, police officers on the one hand display their politeness and respect but on the other exercise their legitimate authority as a law enforcement representative.

VI. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This paper has examined the opening moments of police-driver interactions at traffic stops. It has showed various interactional trajectories that police officers took in the course of initiating the encounters, thus setting the legitimate scene for his pulling over driver vehicles. The analysis has also indicated that police officers strategically deployed linguistic and interactional resources to wield their judicial authority and institutional power right at the outset of the interactions.

As a representative for law enforcement agencies, a police officer is legally authorised to pull over any vehicles suspiciously committing a traffic violation. In these police-initiated encounters, police officers tend to lead the interaction in a narrowly focused policing agenda, and take different conversational paths in the opening moments of the encounter. For instance, some greet drivers, state reasons, then request documents, while others skip greetings and document request. More importantly, some do not explain the reason for the stop, or give it after orders or paper request have been taken. Given that the absence of reason at the outset of the encounter can result in aggravation in drivers (Giles et al., 2007) and impact their attitude and perceptions of the policing legitimacy (Prabhakaran et al., 2018), the differences in interactional orders in our data may decrease driver co-operation and compliance with police officer

directions, and be highly likely to increase recidivism (Bates, 2014).

Police-driver interaction is a form of institutional talk where there is evidently a power asymmetry between two interactants (Drew & Heritage, 1992; Giles et al., 2007). As an exchange of talk in which at least one interlocutor “represents a formal organisation of some kind” (Drew & Heritage, 1992, p. 3), police-driver encounter often involves one or more experts (i.e., police officers) having expertise in a policing field, and one or more laypeople (i.e., drivers) with little knowledge of the field. The direction of the interaction often lies in the hands of the police group rather than the drivers (Fisher & Todd, 1986). This kind of asymmetry is organised and institutionalised (Van Dijk, 2002), and reflected in the unequal contribution of interlocutors to the interaction, especially in the very moments of the policing encounters. Given this, the police officers in our data exerted their power authority right at the opening sequences through their orders and requests. While some tended to use imperative mode (i.e., *show me your papers quickly!*) that communicates their seniority and authority, most of the police officers employed request mitigating devices such as syntactic downgraders (e.g., *can I please...?*) or lexical downgraders (e.g., *please*). In so doing, they not only expressed their requests in a polite manner but also aimed to obtain drivers’ adherence. Whichever linguistic resources they used, their requests partly put imposition on the drivers in order to ensure their compliance with them as well as with traffic laws.

It is generally held that the driver’s perception of the police performance (e.g., disrespectful manner, aggressive behaviour, or unfair policing) considerably influences their trust in the police processes, and their inclination to engage in collaborative behaviours accordingly (Bates et al., 2015; Jonathan-Zamir, Mastrofski, & Moyal, 2015; Johnson, 2004; Sahin, 2014; Skogan, 2005; Tyler, 2004). To obtain a compliant behaviour from drivers, some police officers in our study tried to mitigate their requests by using politeness markers. Even so, some of their drivers seemed doubtful about the police reasons, and thus seeking persuasive evidence for their traffic violations, like Bac, Phong, or Hai in Extract (1), (3), and (7) respectively. The fact that these drivers asked for clarification has two implications. On the one hand, they want the police officers to provide accurate information and be willing to explain what was going on. On the other, this action communicates their lack of trust in the policing processes as well as in the police officers themselves.

Given their responsibility for the traffic law enforcement, the police officers should, not only bring drivers under control, but also alter their traffic behaviour for road safety (Bates, 2014). To this end, they should demonstrate empathy, politeness, helpfulness, fairness, and courteousness, in a professional manner (Johnson, 2004; Skogan, 2005). In so doing, they increase the likelihood that drivers will show their adherence, respect, and cooperation during the encounter (Bates, 2014; Jonathan-Zamir et al., 2015).

By highlighting the police authority at the very moment of opening sequences of police-driver interaction, this study contributes to extending the work of previous researchers on policing interaction during traffic-stop encounters. In addition, it adds to empirical knowledge of police-driver interactions in developing countries like Vietnam specifically and, therefore, throughout the world more generally. Practically, the empirical findings of the present study may give police officers some new ideas about how to behave towards drivers during traffic stops, thus improving police-driver interactions in the Vietnamese policing context as well as in other cultural contexts in some respects. Nevertheless, given that policing interactions are institutionally and culturally shaped, further studies should focus on a comparison of police performance between Vietnamese encounters and Western encounters for a better understanding of police authority worldwide.

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Persuasive Effect of Figures of Speech in the English of Advertisements in the Ghanaian Press

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Abstract—Little is known about persuasive effects of figures of speech in the English of advertisements in Ghanaian press. In the current study, we focused on this persuasive effect of figures of speech in the English employed in advertisements in newspapers in Ghana. Since advertising is a genre of mass media communication which unearths the exceptional qualities of products and services in a persuasive fashion, it is also a form of marketing communication through which business organizations inform the general public about new or improved commercial endeavors. Therefore, language plays an indispensable role in the transmission of the message. The language of advertising influences the reasoning, thinking, feeling and the general attitude of the audience. The study reported about in this article was underpinned by the Conventional Figurative Language Theory, utilizing the qualitative content analysis approach as the analytical framework. The findings revealed that copywriters of the Ghanaian newspapers employed English figures of speech (tropes and rhetorical figures) in advertisements for persuasive effect.

Index Terms—advertising, advertisement, copywriter, English language, figures of speech, print media, persuasion, communication

I. INTRODUCTION

Advertising had been in existence for many years and it has evolved over time. As advertising developed over the years, it became sophisticated and assumed broader dimensions. In the past, advertising simply provided information on industries, manufacturers, products and services. However, today, persuasion has become an integral part of it. To achieve persuasion, advertising influences the thinking, feeling and behavior of the target audience. Advertising in modern time has gained prominence and has become essential due to competition in the world of business over goods and services (Skorupa & Duboviciene, 2015). Through advertising, industries, companies, firms and corporate organizations are able to inform the consuming public about the availability of goods and services.

Presently, in the realm of business, advertising is employed as a form of marketing strategy which targets potential customers. Advertising makes it possible for manufacturers to sell their products to consumers. Since contemporary advertising is a form of mass communication, information about goods and services reaches as many people as possible and this goes a long way to promote businesses (Moriarty, Mitchell & Wells, 2009). In business circles, advertising enables companies and manufacturers to introduce new or improved goods and services to the target audience. Modern time advertising also serves as a reminder to existing customers about the memorable experience they had with a particular product. Advertising influences the purchasing decisions of the populace; for instance, one advertisement informs the audience that a particular product is the best among other similar ones (Clow & Baack, 2012).

In contemporary time, advertisements abound in mass media. Creativity permeates the entire process of production of an advertisement. For an advertisement to be attractive and effective, the language, visual imagery, printing, auditory system, setting and dramatic effect are combined in a creative fashion. In its current form, every component of an advertisement, including the language, catches the attention of the audience. Language constitutes our most significant means of communication (Vestergard & Schroder, 1985) and according to Kannan and Tyagi (2013) it has a strong influence on the way human beings behave and respond to what is advertised. In this sense, copywriters employ attractive and memorable language for persuasive effect in advertisements. Myers (1997) is of the view that the manner in which copywriters use language for a particular effect is similar to the way language is employed in the world of poetry. Put differently, copywriters use language differently from the usual literal way (Dyer, 1982). In fact, the language of advertising is in its own class; Leech (1969) and Goddard (2002) describe it as a piece of literary genre.

From a general perspective, the language of advertising in modern time is simple and straightforward in the sense that copywriters, sometimes, use the literal and simple forms of language to communicate with their audience (Dyer, *ibid*). For instance, the English used in advertisements now, contains simple sentences some of which are imperative, declarative or interrogative in their communicative functions. If the English is direct and plain, it is comprehensible and therefore attracts the attention of the audience. This makes advertising message literal, clear, attractive and memorable. The informality of the English of advertising can be attributed to the fact that copywriters sometimes break the rules

that govern the language by constructing short sentences some of which are incomplete. Yet they are made to function as fully-fledged grammatical structures (Dyer, *ibid*). Other informal features of the English of advertising are the creation of new words and the misspelling of words. Seen from this perspective, the language of advertising in modern times is figurative in nature. At this level, copywriters tend to present the English of advertising in a way that departs from the usual standard use (Dyer, *ibid*). The rationale is to make the English language attractive to the audience. In this regard, copywriters may compare two unlike entities with the view of projecting the image of an advertised product. Copywriters may also exaggerate the qualities of a product or associate human attributes to an inanimate object. Many other figurative expressions are employed by copywriters with the view of making the English language attractive to the consuming public. Copywriters use English words to supplement the visual messages (Goddard, *ibid*). Words uplift the image of brands and advertisers. Copywriters choose words carefully; in fact, they economize words as it is done in poetry and the words contribute certain effect to the advertisement in its entirety. The English words used in an advertisement may paint a mental picture in the minds of the audience and this may make the message memorable (Torto, 2017). The English words in an advertisement may also appeal to the senses of the audience and this may make a potential consumer imagine an experience with an advertised product or service. In the current study, we investigated the use of figures of speech in the English employed in advertisements by copywriters in the Ghanaian newspapers and focused on both tropes and rhetorical figures.

Research problem

For the purpose of this article, we sought to address the problem of how persuasive effects of the figures of speech in the English of advertisements in the Ghanaian newspapers in terms of the Conventional Figurative Language Theory (CFLT hereafter). Given the international reach of the English language, conceptualizing the problem of persuasive effects of the figures of speech in the English of advertisements in the Ghanaian newspapers beyond Ghana and Africa at large is inevitable.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theory that underpinned the current study was the Conventional Figurative Language Theory (CFLT). This theory was designed and developed by Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen (2005) to complement the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor (CTM) which was propounded by Reddy (1979) and developed by Lakoff, Johnson and their colleagues (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 1999; Lakoff 1993; Lakoff & Turner, 1989). In the framework of CTM, the linguistic resources which were proposed proved to be appropriate for the analysis of different metaphorical expressions. However, Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen (2005) discovered that it was not absolutely adequate to describe idioms, metaphors and other figurative units using just the tools of CTM. Their reason for this was that CTM was not developed with the intention to analyze more complex features of the semantics of figurative units. According to Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen (*ibid*), CTM was aimed at investigating general stream of thoughts that govern different categories of conceptualizations. Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen (*ibid*) therefore developed a new theory, namely, the Conventional Figurative Language Theory, to fill the gap in CTM. The Conventional Figurative Language Theory (CFLT) can be perceived as a major theoretical breakthrough in understanding the cognitive foundations of metaphors, idioms and other figurative units. CFLT applies to figurative language in two ways: imagery and semantics. According to Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen (2006), the thematic trend of CFLT is that there is a specific conceptual framework forming the basis of the meaning of a figure of speech. This conceptual structure, which the authors referred to as the image element, is based on mental imagery and is a constituent element of the content of a particular figurative unit. Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen (*ibid*) defined the image component as a specific conceptual structure operating between lexical units and the denotative meaning of figures of speech. The image component, according to Granger and Meunier (2008), is a theoretical construct providing an improved account of the interaction between form and meaning in figurative units. The CFLT stresses the image component as a specific conceptual structure and a relevant element of the meaning of figurative units.

For the achievement of the complete description of the function of idioms and other figurative units, it is important to take cognizance of other concepts as well which in many circumstances govern the transition from literal to figurative. The CFLT unearths the relevant features of conventional figurative units such as idioms, proverbs, metaphors and other figures of speech. Our choice of CFLT in the present study also rendered support to the analysis of figurative units in advertisements we drew on. The figurative expressions in the English of advertising contain one or more figures of speech which alter the standard meaning (Murfin & Ray 1998). In the English of advertising, a figure of speech is a literary device that entails unusual use of the language to associate one thing with another or compare unlike entities. The use of figures of speech in the English of advertisements is a departure from the usual syntactic pattern of words or from the literal meaning of lexical items to create mental pictures (Abrams & Harpham, 2005). Many figures of speech occur in the English of advertising and they are generally divided into rhetorical figures and tropes. The use of rhetorical figures in the English of advertisements is a departure from the usual order of words. With rhetorical figures copywriters use words in a special way to create an effect without bringing about a significant change in the meaning of words. Antithesis, apostrophe, anaphora, parallelism, pun, rhetorical questions are some examples of rhetorical figures. On the other hand, the use of tropes in the English of advertisements is a departure from the usual literal meaning of words. Tropes bring about a change in the meaning of words; copywriters use words or phrases in such a way that they

mean other things. Personification, metonymy, metaphor, synecdoche, simile are some examples of tropes. Figurative expressions in the English of advertising are creative syntactic structures which catch readers' attention and persuade them to take purchasing decisions on advertised products. Therefore, for the purpose of our study, we found the CFLT to be sufficient for our investigations into the realm of figurative expressions as it provided us with well-developed linguistic resources.

III. A BRIEF REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In order to understand the problem of persuasive effect of figures of speech in the English of advertisements in the Ghanaian press, we situate the problem in studies conducted in the English speaking world before we place the issue in the Ghanaian context. Our broadening the theoretical foundation to the international English perspective is borne out by the British postcolonial models which have guided the Ghanaian printed press since its independence from Great Britain in 1957. We therefore first trace the research model back to the United Kingdom (UK)

In the UK, the work of Leech (1966) played a pioneering role into the use of English in advertisements. In that study, the grammatical analysis revealed the use of words, phrases, clauses and sentences in the advertisements. From Leech (1966), minor grammatical units such as phrases and non-finite clauses were used as if they were independent or fully-fledged grammatical structures. The purpose of this approach was to attract consumers' attention. From the semantic perspective, Leech (1966) postulated that the meaning of some advertising texts could be arrived at as a result of a collective interpretation of the lexical items employed in the advertisement. According to Leech, the English used in the advertisements that he studied were both idiomatic and figurative. Indeed, figures of speech were used in the advertising texts to either compare different phenomena or suggest a similarity and this created striking and memorable images. Human characteristics were bestowed on non-human entities in order to create mental pictures of advertised products. From the phonological perspective, Leech (1966) reported the use of sound effect devices in the English of advertising in Great Britain. This made the advertisements intriguing and attractive. Leech (1966) revealed that the rules governing the English language were violated in the advertising texts he analyzed in the media in the United Kingdom. According to Leech (1966) rules were broken at the orthographic level where words were spelt differently for the purpose of drawing attention to themselves. Harris (1989) points out that in the language of advertisements, linguistic rules are violated and this has a great impact on consumers. Leah (2001) researched into rule-breaking in a range of advertisements in French and English. Leah (2001) posits that linguistic violation is a tool advertisers use to make the product more attractive and to make the advertisement more effective. Leech (1966) revealed the different components of the English of advertising in the media of Great Britain from the syntactic, morphological, grammatical, semantic, phonological and figurative perspectives. What is yet to be known is the persuasive effect of these components of English on consumers.

Koteyko (2015) also did a study on the English employed in advertisements in the print media in the United Kingdom. The study covered a cross-section of the newspapers and magazines in Britain and an enormous database of advertisements was generated for analysis; the corpus comprised three hundred and sixty-four (364) advertising texts. Koteyko (2015) employed a mixed method research design. She made use of numerical data and also interpreted and described the corpus of the advertising texts in her analysis. Koteyko (2015) adopted the multi-dimensional (MD) analytical framework of Biber (1988) in her linguistic analysis of the corpus. The MD model enabled her to represent the advertisement texts statistically based on the grouping of the grammatical units. It is worth noting that the MD framework had been applied to some linguistic investigations (Grieve, Biber, Friginal & Nekrasova, 2011; Biber 2006; Cao & Xiao 2013) but not to advertising. Koteyko (2015) bridged the gap in the application of the MD method to her analysis of the English of advertising in the British press. Koteyko (2015) employed the purposive sampling technique in the data collection process. In this regard, varied product advertisements were selected for the study; other data classifications were done based on the social status of the target audience of the advertising texts. The MD enabled the researcher to collect the data statistically and this was followed by a qualitative analysis as well. Then, the research corpus was categorized and labeled. This took the form of tagging and parsing as it was done in the British version of the International Corpus of English (Nelson, Wallis & Aarts, 2002). Koteyko (2015) discovered variations in the English employed in the advertisement corpus. Another research finding was that different grammatical units occurred in the varied advertising texts and they exhibited different communicative functions. Koteyko (2015) also revealed that the English of advertisements in the British press reflected the sociolinguistics of the consuming public. Thus, the English employed in the research corpus considered the variations in gender of the audience. While the English of the female advertisement was detailed and descriptive, the male advertisement was brief and more straight-forward. From Koteyko (2015). While Koteyko (2015) investigated the use of English to reflect gender distinctions in persuasion in the media in the UK, the current study focused solely on use of figures of speech in the Ghanaian press. The current study fills the gap in the literature by investigating the use of figures of speech which forms part of the English of advertising in the print media in Ghana.

Noriega and Blair (2008) did a psycholinguistic study of advertising to bilinguals in the United States (US). They set out to investigate whether the language that a copywriter advertized in, influenced the thinking process of the bilingual consumers in the US. It was hypothesized that an advertisement in the first language of bilinguals in the US might trigger thoughts about friendship, family relations, native country or domicile and this might lead to positive behavioral

patterns. According to Linton (2004), the bilingual situation in the US is such that the immigrants speak their native languages at home and its environs while English is spoken at other settings outside the home domain. By this linguistic pattern, the bilinguals in the US preserve their native languages. For Noriega and Blair (2008), in advertising, if different languages are employed they will elicit distinct attitudes and thoughts about the advertised products and services. Previous research on language choice in advertising and its effect on bilinguals revealed that if an advertisement was in the native language of bilinguals it was more effective. The fact is that bilinguals give the advertisements they can identify with much attention; they feel recognized, acknowledged and respected (Deshpande, Hoyer & Donthu 1986; Deshpande & Stayman 1994; Whittler, 1991). The choice of the native language of bilinguals by advertisers makes it easier for the bilinguals to comprehend the message of the advertisement. Prior studies revealed that if the message of the advertisement was in the bilinguals' second language, the bilingual might not be able to understand all the words of the advertisement (Luna & Peracchio, 1999, 2001). From another perspective, other studies revealed that some words in the native language of bilinguals appealed more to their feelings than words in the second language. This might be due to socio-cultural differences, in that, the culture of bilinguals might uphold certain concepts highly and this is realized linguistically (Luna & Peracchio, 2002, 2005). Thus, Noriega and Blair (2008) filled the research gap by investigating the extent to which language choice in advertising influenced the thinking of bilinguals in the US.

The findings of Noriega and Blair's (2008) research revealed that language influences the way we think about an advertisement and our decision to purchase an advertised product. This confirms the declaration of previous studies that language influences human thinking and cognition (Larsen, Schrauf, Fromholt & Rubin 2002; Marian & Neisser, 2000; Fivush, 1998). From Noriega and Blair (2008), advertisements that were in respondents' native language had more influence on thoughts related to friendship, family relations, country of origin and domicile than advertisements in the second language. Another finding of Noriega and Blair (2008) was that language had a relationship with context. From the study, the contextualization of the advertisement corpus, triggered positive thoughts about the advertisement, brand and purchasing intentions. The research results also revealed that the choice of language in an advertisement was essential as it influenced certain positive thinking processes which yielded positive attitudes. From Noriega and Blair's (2008) study it can be deduced that in the US advertisements in the bilinguals' first language trigger positive thoughts and attitudes and this enhances the effectiveness of the advertisement.

Noriega and Blair (2008) and the current study were both based on print media advertising. However, while the current study was based on only English, Noriega and Blair (2008) involved English and the first languages of respondents. Noriega and Blair's (2008) research was also sociolinguistic to some extent as it covered the use of language in its social context.

In the Ghanaian context, Duah (2007) did a linguistic study of advertisements in newspapers and radio broadcasts. The study discovered the use of colloquial expressions, hedging, cultural elements in the languages that were employed in the advertisements. In the study, the diction of the advertisements contributed to their persuasive effectiveness since the selected words were comprehensible to the readers. Although Duah (2007) and the current study were both based on linguistic analysis of advertisements, a number of differences existed: while Duah (2007) was bilingual (English and Akan: a Ghanaian language), the present study was monolingual (only English). Whereas the current study was on the print media (newspapers), Duah (2007) was on both print and electronic media (newspapers and FM radios). The current study investigated the use of figures of speech in the English of advertisements by copywriters for persuasion in the Ghanaian press.

Anim-Ayeko (2012) also analyzed metaphors in the English of political advertisements that were published in some Ghanaian newspapers. Her study was limited to the metaphorical expressions which were linguistic, pictorial and gestural. The current study also investigated the use of metaphors and other figures of speech in the English of advertisements in the print media in Ghana. The use of figures of speech in the English of the advertisements departed from their literal meaning to create an image in the reader's mind. The figures of speech were characterized by unusual use of language and they were divided into rhetorical figures and tropes (Torto, 2010). Anim-Ayeko (2012) focused on metaphors in political advertisements in the print media in Ghana. Nonetheless, other figures of speech that needed to be known were rhetorical figures and other tropes. These were the research gaps in Anim-Ayeko (2012) that the current study filled.

IV. METHODOLOGY

Our study was based on the qualitative research design as it allowed us to describe, explain and interpret collected data (Williams, 2007; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000). The qualitative research design is generally based on social constructivism (Berger & Luekmann, 1967; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The social constructivist school of thought assumes that people try to comprehend the world in which they exist and they do this conceptualization from personal perspectives. The goal of a qualitative study that is based on a social constructivist perspective is to depend on the views of the research participants on the situation under investigation. According to Creswell (2009), qualitative researchers make interpretations of what they observe, hear and understand; therefore, given the interpretive nature of the current study, the qualitative research design was deemed relevant. Based on this, the aspect of qualitative research that concerned the present study was the assumption made by Crotty (1998) that qualitative research is largely subjective.

Since qualitative researchers collect data themselves through observation, interview and examination of documents, our research employed the content analysis approach to qualitative research. Initially, researchers used the content analysis approach in either a quantitative or qualitative research (Berelson, 1952). Later, content analysis was employed basically as a quantitative research methodology, with text data coded and described statistically. In recent times, the potential of content analysis as an analytical approach to qualitative research for studies in the medical field has gained currency and this has led to a rise in its use in many qualitative studies (Nandy & Sarvela, 1997). We employed the qualitative content analysis approach as a method for the analysis of text data. The reasons were that content analysis enabled us to conduct a comprehensive analysis of the subject matter of specific textual material for the identification of research trends, patterns and themes (Leedy & Ormrod, 2001). Content analysis also provided us with access to information and understanding of the phenomena under investigation (Downe-Wambolt, 1992). We thus derive meaning from the interpretation of the data collected.

Based on the research methods above, the following research question guided us in addressing the research problem: *how do persuasive effects of the figures of speech in the English of advertisements manifest in the Ghanaian newspapers?*

V. ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

The analytical framework of our study was the qualitative content analysis (QCA) approach to the analysis of text data. Content analysis offers researchers the opportunity to analyze textual data in a way that suits their research interest (Cavanagh, 1997). The QCA analytical approach focuses on the linguistic features as well as the semantics of the text (Lindkvist, 1981; McTavish & Pirro, 1990; Tesch, 1990). With QCA, textual data might be lexical items in print or electronic form and they might have been derived from interviews, survey questions, narratives, focus-group discussions or print media (Kondracki & Wellman, 2002). In the application of the QCA technique, the researcher does not just determine the lexical density of the texts but he or she conducts a thorough linguistic analysis of the texts data (Webber, 1990). Although there are a number of analytical approaches in content analysis ranging from interpretation to textual analysis and qualitative researchers choose the suitable type (Webber, 1990; Rosengren, 1981), we found the QCA to be most suitable to our work for its superiority in both enabling us to interpret textual data through a coding process as well as the opportunity it afforded us in deriving themes and trends in the study (Hsieh & Shanon, 2005).

VI. RESULTS

The findings from the analysis of the advertising texts indicated that the figures of speech employed by copywriters in the Ghanaian press for persuasive effect were underpinned by the Conventional Figurative Language Theory. In the current study, we discovered that the use of figures of speech in the English of the advertising texts made it possible for copywriters to present the English language in an unusual and attractive way. Figurative expressions in the English of the advertising texts gave the language a meaning different from the literal interpretation. This had persuasive effect on the audience as the figurative English was striking and it created a mental picture about the advertised products. The following section is an analysis of the textual data and a discussion of the findings.

Text 1

The New Nissan Almera

Sees the unforeseen

With clever engineering and technology, the new Nissan Almera makes reversing a breeze with rear parking sensors that ensure even the tightest parking spots become a precision exercise.

Modern styling

Spacious interior

Economical

(Daily Graphic, Tuesday, October 17, 2017, P. 8)

The text above opens with the personification figure of speech in which the copywriter confers a human attribute on the car which is the subject of the advertising text. By the use of the personification trope, the copywriter presents the car as a human being with supernatural powers: *The New Nissan Almera sees the unforeseen*. The car has been portrayed as a kind of prophet or fortune-teller to herald the news of *the rear parking sensors* of the *New Nissan Almera*. The text commences on a note of attraction to the new feature of the car. In the above text, the clause *the new Nissan Almera makes reversing a breeze with rear parking sensors* departs from the usual standard meaning; it is metaphorical. The copywriter makes a direct comparison of two dissimilar things *reversing* and *a breeze* to suggest an identity between them. The copywriter presents one thing as another and this creates a striking image in the reader's mind. The metaphor yields another meaning which is the safety that is assured when the *Nissan Almera* is driven in a reverse direction. The metaphor in the English of the text is enticing. The reader may want to experience the reversing technology of the advertised car.

The copywriter makes use of another metaphorical expression in the English of the text. In the following relative clause *that ensure even the tightest parking spots become a precision exercise* the copywriter compares two unlike entities *the tightest parking spots* and *precision exercise* to suggest a similarity between them. This is also a comparison

that presents one thing as another. By the use of this metaphor a mental image is created about the safety and security of the reversing mechanism of the *New Nissan Almera*. This implies that with the *rear parking sensors* of the car, the potential buyer will not hit the back of the car against a stationary object. The copywriter identifies a likeness between two dissimilar things to achieve a rhetorical effect.

Apart from the personification and metaphor in the English of the advertising text above, the copywriter also makes use of the synecdoche figure of speech. With the use of synecdoche, the copywriter presents part of the car the *rear parking sensor* to represent the whole of the *New Nissan Almera*. Part of the car has been used as a representation of the entire car. In other words, the copywriter has turned the *rear parking sensor* into something else. There has been quite a radical use of the English of the text as the use of synecdoche makes the English of the text figurative. The use of synecdoche paints a picture in the mind of the reader. In another sense, every part of the car like the *rear parking sensor* guarantees the safety of the owner.

Text 2

Quality in a sachet

Cool, fresh and clean

Introducing Voltic Cool Pac, lovely voltic quality at an affordable price. With cool pac's treated water...

Enjoy the high quality standards that Voltic (Gh) Limited is famous for.

Why compromise on Quality?

(The Mirror, Friday, January 6-12, 2017, P.26)

The first line of the text *Quality in a sachet* illustrates the copywriter's use of the metonymy trope. In this phrase, the name of one thing *quality* is used to represent another thing, *water*. Similarly, the name *sachet* is applied to the final product *Voltic Cool Pac* with which it has become closely related. In this situation the copywriter turns one concept into a representation of another. There is an association between the name used and the thing that it stands for. The quality of water is essential in mineral water production and a distinction is made between water that is good and pure and untreated water. The word *sachet* is also associated with *Voltic Cool Pac* which is the final product in a sachet form. The metonymy literary device has been placed at the initial part of the text and this grabs the attention of the reader and prepares them for the other attributes of the sachet mineral water.

The second line of the text contains series of adjectives: *cool, fresh and clean* which draw the reader's attention to outstanding qualities of the *Voltic Cool Pac*. After attracting the attention of the audience by the use of the metonymy device and modifiers, the copywriter then introduces the advertised product and emphasizes the quality of the sachet mineral water: *Enjoy the high quality standards that Voltic (Gh) Limited is famous for*. The copywriter ends the textual message with a rhetorical question whose answer is obvious and it compels the reader to provide the answer: *Why compromise on Quality?* The use of the metonymy figure of speech makes the English of the textual message figurative. The English is attractive since it is different from the usual literal meaning.

Text 3

Hisense King Kong

The strongest phone ever

The Hisense King Kong has full HD-IPS display, an attractive sleek phone that comfortably fits in one hand.

The Hisense King Kong can be safely immersed in water up to 1.5 meters deep for 30 minutes.

Dust protection against ingress of particles sealed rubber edges and a shock-resistant glass screen provide for perfect smash protection

Hisense, everyday prices for everyday people

(Daily Graphic, Monday, May 22, 2017, P. 95)

The text is introduced by the name of the advertised product *Hisense King Kong* mobile phone. The name of the cell phone is striking because *King Kong* is an allusion to a famous movie. This is an implicit reference to a literary production. The use of the allusion rhetorical device appeals to the reader to share their knowledge. This strategy associates the reader with the advertising message. The use of *King Kong* by the copywriter also illustrates the alliteration device. The repetition of the same consonant sound /k/ in succession attracts the potential customer's attention to the advertised phone.

Having grabbed the attention of the reader to the *Hisense King Kong* phone, the copywriter then strongly states its quality in the second line: *The strongest phone ever*. This exaggeration is to project the image of the phone over and above other brands of mobile phone on the market. The copywriter makes an extreme claim for the phone in order to attract the attention of readers. The third sentential structure of the text also illustrates a deliberate overstatement of a unique feature of the phone: *The Hisense King Kong has full HD-IPS display*. In expressing the water-proof quality of the phone, the copywriter presented more than the truth about the safety of the phone: *The Hisense King Kong can be safely immersed in water up to 1.5 meters deep for 30 minutes*. At the final segment of the text, the copywriter also deliberately exaggerates the other features of the phone for attraction and emphasis. The line *dust protection against ingress of particles* is hyperbolic because it is overstated and this creates a striking image. In the line *a shock-resistant glass screen provide for perfect smash protection*, the quality of the glass covering the surface of the phone has been over expressed. The use of the hyperbole literary device departs from the literal meaning to create a mental picture of the attributes of the advertised phone. For instance, the reader can imagine a phone whose main screen is fortified so

that it will never get cracked or smashed. The use of the hyperbole figure of speech has made the English of the advertising text figurative.

Text 4

Diamond Cement

Trusted quality cement

Higher grade

Super fine cement

Most affordable priced cement

Diamond Cement; The Builder's choice!!

(Daily Guide, Friday, February 10, 2017, P. 1)

In the text above, the copywriter repeats the word *cement*, the advertised product, throughout the text. Repetition is a rhetorical figure and its use makes the English of the text striking. The use of the repetition device is a departure from the usual order of words in English. It thus engages the reader and creates an image in their mind. The repetition of *cement* is for emphasis. By the use of this rhetorical device the image of the advertised product is uplifted in the text and this draws the attention of the audience. Repetition also highlights the advertising message and plants the name *cement* in their mind for consideration.

Text 5

uPVC windows with net

Our uPVC

Doesn't fade

It doesn't rust

It doesn't recoil

It has soundproof

It's durable & stronger

It doesn't produce heat (Daily Graphic, Thursday, March 23, 2017, P. 9)

The text contains similarly constructed grammatical structures; they are parallel constructions with identical syntactic patterns. The parallel structures in the text can be seen below:

Our uPVC doesn't fade

It doesn't rust

It doesn't recoil

These similar syntactic structures comprise a subject element and a verb phrase. The use of the parallelism rhetorical device makes the English of the text figurative. The parallelism in the text shows a departure from the usual arrangement of grammatical structures in English; however, the copywriter has employed it to make the English of the text attractive to the readers. The repetition of the parallel structures is also for emphasis of the qualities and attributes of the advertised product, the *uPVC windows*. The other syntactic structures in the text also contribute to portraying the qualities of the advertised windows: *It has soundproof, It is durable & stronger, It doesn't produce heat*.

Text 6

Bridgestone: Your journey, our passion

The Turanza

Minimizes road noise

Maximizes driving comfort

Broad range from 13 to 18

Excellent roadholding and handling

(Daily Graphic, Friday, March 10, 2017, P. 11)

The text begins with a slogan of the advertising company: *Bridgestone: Your journey, our passion*. The words of the slogan create a personal effect; they establish a friendly relationship between the copywriter and the customers. In order to draw the reader's attention to the advertised product (*The Turanza Bridgestone Tyre*) the copywriter employs the antithesis rhetorical device: *Minimizes road noise, Maximizes driving comfort*. This rhetorical figure makes the English of the text attractive. The antithesis demonstrates a departure from the usual order of words in English and this creates a rhetorical effect. In the antithesis, there are ideas that are directly opposed: *minimize* is in contrast with *maximize* and *road noise* is also in contrast with *driving comfort*. The antithetical device has similar syntactic structures which creates a rhetorical balance. The use of antithesis in the English of the above text draws the attention of the audience to the advertised product as the English is presented in an unusual way. The last line of the text demonstrates the copywriter's use of the hyperbolic trope: *Excellent road holding and handling*. In this coordinated structure, the copywriter overstates the attributes of the Bridgestone tyre to add emphasis to the textual message.

Text 7

The Suzuki Grand Vitara

Ride the rough with comfort

Expand your boundaries

Go anywhere in style

On the move-mind at rest
Revolution in cross-country
 (Daily Graphic, Monday, July 24, 2017, P. 94)

The first line of the text is the name of the advertised car: *The Suzuki Grand Vitara*. The second line is an imperative sentence which exhibits the use of paradox by the copywriter. However, the phrase *the rough* illustrates the use of the metonymy figure of speech. In this metonymic phrase, the literal term for one thing *rough* is applied to another *road* with which it has become closely associated due to the continuous relationship that exist between the two terms. In another sense, the noun phrase *the rough* is in contrast with the prepositional phrase *with comfort*. The juxtaposition of the two phrases makes the line paradoxical in that the two phrases contradict each other and this makes the meaning of the line absurd. However, if one examines or interprets the contradiction, one realizes that the statement makes sense. Using the second line of the text as illustration, it can be realized that a rough road connotes discomfort, displeasure and uneasiness, but, because of the nature of the advertised car, the *Suzuki Grand Vitara*, even though the road may be rough, the car has good shock absorbers, it is stable and weighty, so the ride will be comfortable, pleasurable, easy and enjoyable. The use of figures of speech in the second line of the text makes the English figurative and attractive. The figures of speech draw the reader's attention to the car. They make the reader think and they create mental images.

Having attracted the attention of the reader through the use of the figurative English in line two of the text, the copywriter goes on to address the reader directly in an assertive way. The third line of the text is an imperative sentence whose implied subject is the reader: *Expand your boundaries*. The copywriter is urging the reader to own the advertised car since it has more features to be experienced. The fourth line of the text is also an imperative statement: *Go anywhere in style*. It is speaking to the reader in an aggressive manner. The statement is assuring the reader that the *Suzuki Grand Vitara* can be driven on any road. The fifth line of the text is also assuring the reader that it is safe to drive the car; there will be no mechanical faults: *On the move-mind at rest*. The last line of the text presents a new attribute of the advertised car. The impression created is that the car is reliable and it is capable of taking the prospective owner to any part of the country, irrespective of the distance and nature of the road: *Revolution in cross-country*. In the text above, the copywriter employs paradox for a rhetorical effect. In its use, the copywriter juxtaposes two contradictory phrases which make the English absurd. However, the analysis reconciles the contrast and the English then makes sense. The use of paradox engages the reader and creates images of the advertised car in the reader's mind.

VII. ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS

The analysis of the advertising text data revealed that copywriters in the print media in Ghana employed figures of speech in the English of advertisements for persuasive effect. The use of figures of speech in the texts was characterized by unusual use of English in which one thing was associated with another or dissimilar entities were compared. The figures of speech employed in the advertisements illustrated a departure from the literal meaning or the usual arrangement of words to create a picture in the mind of the audience.

The texts exhibited the copywriters' use of the two major categories of figure of speech, namely, tropes and rhetorical figures. The tropes that were employed in the advertising texts were: metaphor, personification, metonymy, synecdoche and hyperbole. The rhetorical figures that were used in the advertisements were: Rhetorical question, antithesis, parallelism, repetition, paradox, allusion and alliteration. The use of tropes in the texts departed from the literal meaning of words to the figurative. With tropes, the copywriters used words in such a way that their standard meanings changed; for instance, one thing was turned to mean something else or one entity was used as a representation of another. The use of tropes in the texts also involved a comparison of unlike entities to suggest a similarity and an unexpected connection established between two dissimilar things. With tropes, the copywriters presented the English of the advertising texts in an unusual way and this attracted the attention of the audience to the advertised products. On the other hand, the use of the rhetorical figures in the advertising texts was a departure from the usual order of words in English to create a certain rhetorical effect. With rhetorical figures the copywriters employed words in an unusual way to create an attractive effect without significantly changing their meanings. Unlike the use of tropes in the textual data that brought about a radical change in the meaning of words, the rhetorical figures employed departed from the usual standard syntactic pattern of words to create a striking and attractive image in the mind of the audience. The use of figures of speech made the English of the advertising texts figurative. Figures of speech attracted the attention of the audience to the advertised products. They engaged the audience and made them think about the advertising textual message.

VIII. CONCLUSION

Advertising is a channel through which information about the availability of goods and services is transmitted to the consuming public. Advertising is employed to stimulate interest or desire, create need and to attract attention to manufactured products. Although a number of elements constitute an advertisement, language plays a pivotal role in the transmission of the message. The current study revealed that copywriters employed figures of speech (tropes and rhetorical figures) in the English of advertisements in the newspapers in Ghana. The use of figures of speech in the English of the advertising texts made it possible for the copywriters to present the English language in an unusual and

attractive way. Figurative expressions in the English of the advertising texts gave the language a meaning different from the literal interpretation and this had persuasive effect on the audience.


APPENDIX

08

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#STOP GALAMSEY

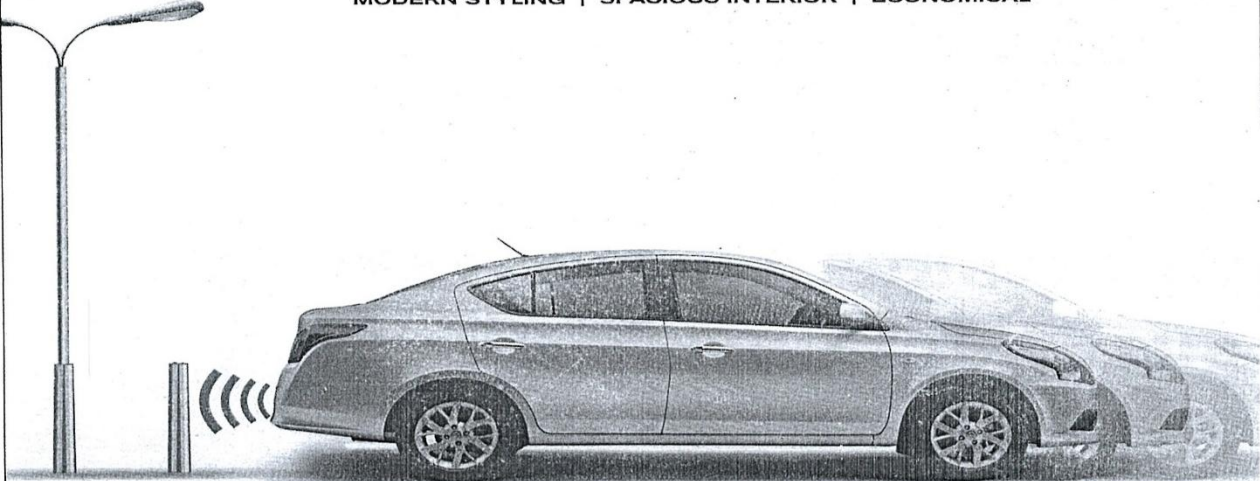
Daily Graphic, Tuesday, October 17, 2017.





**THE NEW NISSAN ALMERA.
SEES THE UNFORESEEN.**

With clever engineering and technology, the new Nissan Almera makes reversing a breeze with rear parking sensors that ensure even the tightest parking spots become a precision exercise.

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Quality in a sachet

COOL, FRESH AND CLEAN



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COOL

Treated drinking water

Introducing Voltic Cool Pac, lovely Voltic quality at an affordable price.
With Cool Pac's treated water...Enjoy the high quality standards that
Voltic (Gh) Limited is famous for.

Why compromise on quality?





Vodafone Asantehene Golf tees off Wednesday

A COLOURFUL ceremony is expected to herald the tee-off of the Vodafone 60th Asantehene Open Golf Championship at the Royal Golf Club, Kumasi this Wednesday May 24 2017. His eminence, the Asantehene, Otumfuo Osei Tutu II will grace the event with his presence in the opening and closing

ceremonies. The four-day 72-hole event, sponsored by telecommunication giants, Vodafone, is expected to attract top amateur and professional golfers across the country and the sub-region. The Asantehene, in whose honour the competition is being played, will be joined by officials of Vodafone and the management of the club to perform the flag hoisting

ceremony to usher in the competition. Later, Otumfuo, Chairman of the Management Committee, Kwasi Attah-Antwi, and CEO of Vodafone, Yolanda Cuba, will perform the ceremonial tee-off.

At a press briefing, Prof. Bernard Baiden (Operations) outlined that the tournament would start after the opening ceremony with an invitational Pro-Am event that brings 72

selected amateurs and professionals together over 18 holes. The Professional and Scratch players (Men) will start the championship on Thursday May 25 2017 and play for the next four days. On Friday, the Support (men and women) players will take their turn and this will be crowned with a cocktail at the Royal Golf Club that evening.

Ahead of the tournament, Senior Executive Team of Vodafone Ghana, led by the CEO, paid a courtesy call on the Asantehene at the Manhyia Palace in Kumasi to officially inform the King about the company's headline sponsorship of the upcoming 60th Asantehene Open Golf Championship.

Vodafone also presented a cheque for GHc 200,000 to the Royal Golf Club, represented by Mr Kwasi Attah-Antwi and Prof. Bernard Baiden in the presence of the Asantehene. Mr Attah-Antwi expressed the appreciation of the club to Vodafone for coming on board as the lead sponsor of the prestigious golfing event which features on the calendar of every avid golfer. He promised that the club would do all it could to ensure the successful hosting of the tournament.



• CEO of Vodafone, Yolanda Cuba (third from left), and her entourage pay a courtesy call on Otumfuo Osei Tutu II ahead of the Asantehene Golf Championships

Home Sanford Women's FA Cup Round of 32

The Round of 32 fixtures of the season two of the Sanford Women's FA Cup will be honoured this weekend with 16 National Women's League (NWL) and 16 regional clubs will vie for places in the next round.

THE STRONGEST PHONE EVER AT A DISCOUNTED PRICE

- The Hisense King Kong has Full HD IPS display, an attractive sleek phone that comfortably fits in one hand.
- The Hisense King Kong can be safely immersed in water up to 1.5 meters deep for 30 minutes.
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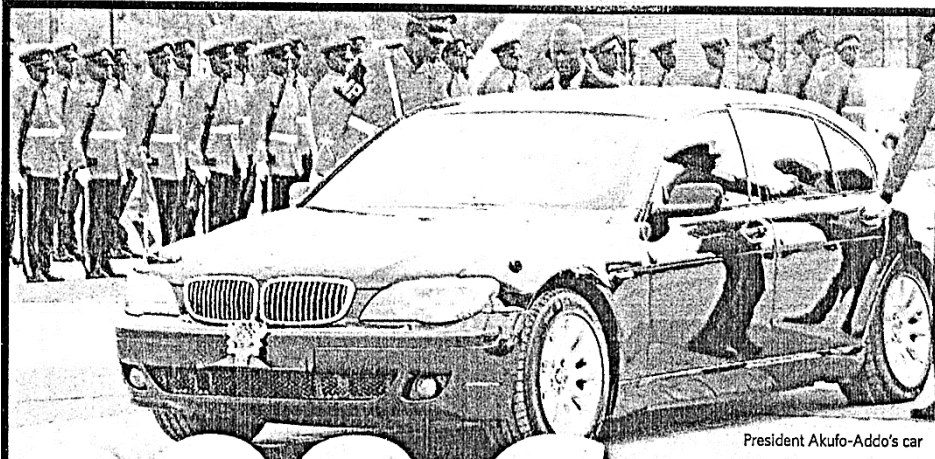
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Daily Guide

PUBLIC RELATIONS AND PROTECT UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

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President Akufo-Addo's car

208 Cars Missing At Flagstaff House

See stories on pages 3, 6

2 Killed In Bimbilla

Kofi Adams Fights Back



Kofi Adams

Nana Names Akwa CDS



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Brussels marks first anniversary of suicide bombings



BRUSSELS (BELGIUM), MARCH 22

BELGIUM is marking the first anniversary of the suicide bomb attacks on the Brussels Airport and underground system which killed 32 people.

More than 300 people were wounded in the attacks, which were claimed by the Islamic State (IS) group.

King Philippe, who was joined by Queen Mathilde and Prime Minister Charles Michel, led a minute's silence at Zaventem Airport.

BBC reports said commemorations also took place at the Maelbeek underground station.

Sixteen people died at each attack location.

A memorial to the March 22, 2016 attacks was due to be officially unveiled in the Belgian capital's European quarter.

The commemoration at the airport began with an emotional song from Eddy Van Calster, whose wife Fabienne Vansteenkiste, an airport worker, died in the attacks.

German Lars Waetzmann was about to leave for New York with his wife Jennifer when the attacks happened. He was badly hurt but she died.

"The unthinkable happened," he said at the commemoration. "What if we had left 10 minutes later? What if we had driven a bit slower? In a split second, my world

changed. But on that very moment I also started seeing the best in mankind."

The suicide bombings were Belgium's worst terror attacks. A year on, Belgium is still on a high state of alert, with soldiers patrolling the streets.

As well as the 32 victims of the bombings, three suicide

bombers died on March 22, 2016. Several other men, some identified on CCTV as having been accomplices of the attackers, were subsequently arrested.

The gang had been linked to the November 2015 Paris attackers.



Queen Mathilde joined King Philippe (second right) at Zaventem Airport

BETTER SIGHT

Some conditions are better/more successfully managed when detected during childhood. Give your children a better sight tomorrow by having their eyes checked

BLINDNESS

Glaucoma is the leading cause of IRREVERSIBLE BLINDNESS. It has NO CURE. So screen your eyes NOW for a successful management.

CATARACT

Poor vision from cataract can be treated. See an eye specialist today for your vision restoration

Breast cancer is preventable. Seek early screening and treatment.

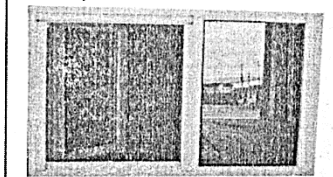
SICKLE CELL

Sickle cell patients have risks of losing their vision from bleeding and other complications inside the eyeball. Periodic screenings are very important. Do not wait until it's too late.

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Stainless Steel Balustrade
Our uPVC doesn't fade, it doesn't rust, it doesn't recoil, it has soundproof, is durable & stronger, it doesn't produce heat



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Titled four-bedroom house for sale at East Legon Hills near British International School.

The house is five minutes drive from Ashaley Botwe School Junction. Contact: 0240394585 / 0555022400

Germany to quash 50,000 gay convictions

BERLIN (GERMANY), MARCH 22

GERMANY'S cabinet has backed a bill to clear men handed sentences for homosexuality after World War Two under a Nazi-era law.

The notorious Paragraph 175 of the penal code was eventually relaxed in 1969, but not before 50,000 men were convicted.

Many were sent to jail and some took their own lives because of the stigma, a BBC report has

said. Justice Minister Heiko Maas said it was a flagrant injustice and those still alive would be given compensation.

The German government's decision comes months after the UK said it was pardoning 65,000 gay and bisexual men who were convicted under the Sexual Offences Act that criminalised private homosexual acts in England and Wales until 1967 and later in Scotland and Northern Ireland.

Daily Graphic, Friday, March 10, 2017.



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11

Grand Finale of Festival of India in Ghana - Maitri

To Commemorate 60 Years of Establishment of Diplomatic Relations Between India and Ghana

HIGH COMMISSION OF INDIA

&

MINISTRY OF CULTURE, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

PRESENT



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INDIAN CLASSICAL DANCE



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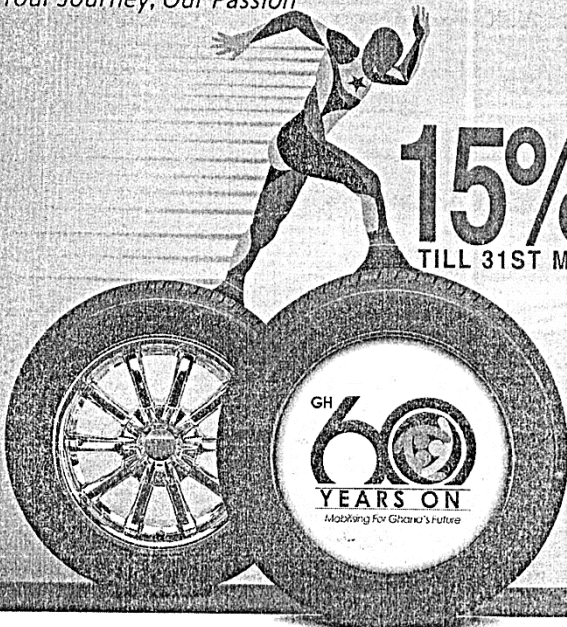
12 March 2017 Eastern Premier Hotel, Koforidua, 5:00 PM
13 March 2017 Centre for National Culture, Kumasi 7:00 PM



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TILL 31ST MARCH

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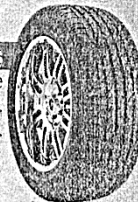
Turanza

Minimise road noise.
Maximises driving comfort.
Broad range from 13" to 18"
Excellent roadholding and handling.



Dueler H/P Sports

Driving precision for high-performance
4x4s and SUVs.
Excellent performance on wet surfaces.



Dueler D697

Enhanced off-road stability.
Smooth ride and low road noise.
Excellent traction and steering control.



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Asare thrills fans

• At GNPC Ghana's Fastest Human

By Victor Addo

SAMUEL Asare of Prempeh College won the 100m race with a time of 10.78s in the 2017 GNPC Ghana's Fastest Human held at the University of Ghana Athletics Stadium last Saturday.

Charles Bilson of Cape Coast clocked 10.79 s. to take the second position in the keenly contested race with Charles Korsah of Winneba clocking 10.83s. to take the third position.

In the Girls U-18 race, Mary Boakyef of Kumasi Anglican SHS emerged winner with a time of 12.29s, while Comfort Tettey Ablorh of Krobo Girls SHS took the second position with a time of 12.42s.

She was followed closely by Forgive Fiase of ST Bosco Technical who clocked 13.14s.

In the U-18 seniors event, contestants from University of Cape Coast proved too tough when two students from the university took the first and second positions. While Emmanuel Yeboah won with a time of 10.18s, Shadrack Opoku Agyeman, also of UCC clocked 10.50s to take the second position with Desmond Aryee of University of Ghana clocking 10.53 s, to win the third position.

In the girls category, Sandra Konadu, a

product of the University of Ghana, easily won the race by clocking 12.12s, while Marian Pomaa of UCC finished second with a time of 12.30s. Elizabeth Tuffour of Kumasi Wey Gey Hey clocked 14.38s to take the third position.

The Boys U - 15 category which attracted much attention saw Oscar Ntim of Tafo Pankrano JHS producing a stunning 10.84 seconds to emerge winner with Sylvester Doe of Tapps B JHS taking the second position with a time of 10.97s, while Michael Denkyi of New Edubiase JHS clocked 11.20s to win the third position.

In the Girls division, Gifty Oku of Unipra South JHS ran an impressive 12.75 seconds to grab the first position with Esther Ocloo of Ghana SHS clocking 12: 76 to win the second position while Shamsiyat Issaka of Damfa M/A JHS won the third position with a time of 13.05s

Other winners in the Boys U 10 division were Dennis Aggrey of University Basic School (12.78s) Emmanuel Gyimah from the Ashanti Region (13.10s) and Nathaniel Boadu also from the Ashanti Region (13:12s)

In the Girls U 10, Charity Dadzie-Kotie Deduako in Ashanti Region won with a time of 13.58 s, followed by Asamoah Winifred of Kubekrom (13.38s) and Rhoda Boye of Katamanso Primary (14.39s).



• Mr Isaac Tetteh, (right) presenting cash of GHe5,500 to a Kotoko management member as part of the donation

TT Brothers donate to Kotoko

By Emmanuel Quaye

THE management of Division One side Uncle T. United FC last Thursday supported Kumasi Asante Kotoko with an amount of GHe5,500 and 50 cartons of Uncle T Malt drink, following the team's recent accident at Nkawkwaw which claimed the life of Kotoko's assistant equipment officer while a number of players and officials sustained various degrees of injury.

Of the donation, 30 cartons of the drinks went to the team, five cartons for players and officials of the club on admission and the remaining 15 cartons donated to support the funeral of the team's equipment officer, Thomas Asare.

Out of the amount donated, GHe3,000 was to be used for the upkeep of the players, GHe1000 each for injured coach

Steve Polack and team bus driver Nana Berchie, who are still on admission, with the remaining GHe500 for one of the players also on admission.

Presenting the items, Mr Isaac Tetteh, founder of Uncle T United, said the donation was to commiserate with the team in times of their grief.

Mr Tetteh was accompanied by some management staff of his team as they visited Coach Polack at the Komfo Anokye Teaching Hospital (KATH) and prayed for his speedy recovery.

Other organisations that had made similar donations to the club were the Regional Coordinating Council under the Regional Minister, Mr Simon Osei-Mensah, and the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly (KMA) CEO, Mr Osei Assibey Antwi, who doled out GHe5,000 while GHALCA and MTN all made pledges to support the team.



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- Go anywhere in Style
- On the move-Mind at Rest
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Takoradi
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Way of Life!

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Effectiveness of Content–based Instruction in Teaching Reading

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Abstract—This research paper examines the “Effectiveness of Content-Based Instruction in Teaching Reading.” The objective of the study is to find out the effectiveness of content-based instruction in teaching reading. This study was conducted in Shree Jalpa Devi Secondary School Kamalbazar, Achham (Nepal). The students of grade 9 were taken as the sample of the study. First, I administered a pre-test using the test items in the beginning and on the basis of the result of pre- test, experimental teaching was started. Three progressive tests were administered in the interval of seven class periods each. I taught for 25 days using content-based instruction method. The action research was conducted to find out the strengths and weaknesses of content-based instruction on teaching reading. After the completion of teaching, a post-test was administered. The results of both the tests were compared to determine the effectiveness of content-based instruction on teaching reading. Content-based instruction was found to be effective in teaching reading.

Index Terms—content, progressive test, pre and post tests, teaching method, effective reading, theme-based approach

I. INTRODUCTION

A. General Background

Language teaching involves teaching of both the first and second or foreign language. The purpose of teaching language is to enable the students to communicate in the target language. In the world of language teaching and learning many schools of thought have come out and gone, so also language teaching methods were changed. Brown (1994, p.140) defines teaching method as 'the application of theoretical findings and positions.' They may be thought of as 'theory and practice.' There has been a variety of such applications, some in total philosophical oppositions to other

B. English Language Teaching

There are more than five thousand languages in use in the present world, yet the English language has gained topmost position in the sense that it is the most widely used international language. It is used as a link language because it is used to communicate with the people who speak other languages apart from English as their native languages. English is the most prominent language in almost all areas, for example, business, education, mass media, international diplomacy, science and technology, economics, politics, medicine, world marketing, law and so on. It is rich in its vocabulary, in its use, structure and literature. According to Crystal (2003), "A quarter of the world's population speaks English." (as cited in Harmer, 2002, p.1). So, the sound knowledge of the English is the most popular demand of the current world. But, there is no consistency of using approaches, methods and techniques.

Among different methods, the 'Grammar Translation Method' is the most traditional method, which is also called classic method, which was in fact first known in the US as the Prussian method. Richards and Rodgers (2009, p.6) say, "This method was used for the purpose of helping students and appreciates foreign language literature." Among four language skills, this method gives emphasis on reading and writing. Vocabulary in the target language is learned through direct translation from the native language. Though this method is widely used in many parts of our country, there is no natural use of language. Grammar is taught deductively. No language functions are emphasized. It lacks to create communicative competence in students. Due to these shortcomings, the new way of teaching language started. Teachers began to teach foreign language in a way that was similar to first language acquisition. So, the 'Direct Method' was launched to address all shortcomings. This method focuses on oral communication. No translation is allowed. According to Diller (1978), "The direct method receives its name from the fact that meaning is to be conveyed directly in the target language through the use of demonstration and visual aids, with no recourse to the student's native language" (as cited in Larsen-Freeman, 2009, p.23). Direct method advocates an integration of four language skills. Grammar is taught inductively and it develops a sense of discovery in students. The use of lot of audio visual aids make classroom interesting and lively, which is useful for the beginners.

The Oral Situational Language Teaching was developed by British applied linguists from the 1930s to 1960s. The advocates of this method was Harold Palmer and A. S. Hornby, attempted to develop a more scientific foundation for an oral approach than in direct method. Palmer (1917) mentions, "The result was a systematic study of principles

and procedures that could be applied to the selection and organization of content of a language course" (as cited in Richards and Rodgers, 2009, p.36). The main feature of this approach is language teaching begins with the spoken language. New languages are introduced and practiced situationally. Items are graded from simple to complex. Under current communicative approaches, Richards and Rodgers (2009) have mentioned the following:

- a. Communicative language teaching
- b. The natural approach
- c. Co-operative language learning
- d. Content- based instruction
- e. Task-based language teaching.

Here my concern and the area of interest is Content –Based Instruction

C. *Content-based Instruction*

Content- Based Instruction (CBI) or Content Based Language Teaching (CBLT) is a communicative approach to second language teaching in which teaching program is organized, around content rather than a linguistic syllabus. Saint Augustine was an early proponent of CBI which emerged in 1980s. It draws on the principles of communicative language teaching. Classroom should focus on real communication about the subject matter from outside the domain of language. The subject matter was not grammar, function or some other language -based unit of organization but content. Krankhe (1987) mentions, "It is the teaching of content or information in the language being learned with little or no direct or explicit effort to teach the language itself separately from the content being taught" (as cited in Richards and Rodgers, 2009, p.204). CBI is a different from traditional foreign language teaching method.

D. *What Is Content?*

To understand about content -based instruction one should be clear about content. It also offers demonstration, imitation, miming, those recommending the use of objects, pictures and audio visual presentation and proposals supporting translation, explanation and definition as aids to understand meaning in language teaching

Wesche (1993) says that in content- based language teaching, the claim is that students both content knowledge and increased language proficiency. (ibid)

E. *Objectives of Content-based Instruction*

Language learning is proportional to the learning of content in CBI; therefore its objectives are stated as the objectives of the content course. According to Brinton et al. (1989), the objectives of CBI are as follows:

1. To activate and develop existing language skills.
2. To acquire learning skills and strategies that could be applied in future language development opportunities.
3. To develop academic skills applicable to university study in all subject areas.
4. To broaden students understanding of English speaking people. (as cited in Richards and Rodgers, 2009, p.211)

F. *Principles of Content-based Instruction*

CBI is against the traditional approaches to language teaching. In it, language forms the primary focus of the syllabus and of classroom teaching. The main principle of CBI is people learn a second language most successfully when they learn it with interest.

According to Larsen-Freeman (2009, p.41), the principles of CBI are as follows:

1. The subject matter content is used for language teaching purpose.
2. Teacher should build on students' previous experience.
3. When learners perceive the relevance of their language use they are motivated to learn. They know that it is a means to an end rather than an end in itself.
4. The teacher 'scaffolds' the linguistic content, i.e. helps learners say what it is they want to say by building together with the students complete utterance.
5. Language is learned effectively when it is used as a medium to convey informational content of interest to the students.
6. Vocabulary is easier to acquire when there are contextual clues to help convey meaning.
7. When they work with authentic subject matter, students need language support. For instance, the teacher may provide a number of examples, build in some redundancy, use comprehension checks, etc,
8. Learners work with meaningful, cognitively demanding language and content within the context of authentic material and tasks.
9. Communicative competence involves more than using language conversationally. It also includes the ability to read discuss and write about content from other fields. (as cited in <http://rate.org.ro/blog1.php>).

G. Teaching Learning Activities of CBI

They focus on teaching content and language together. The Language skills development, vocabulary building, communicative interaction etc are used in it. It also deals on study skills and synthesis of materials and grammar.

H. Approaches to CBI in Secondary Level

According to (Brinton et al. 1989), the different approaches of CBI are used in secondary level are:

1. Theme-based approach
2. Adjunct approach

(as cited in <http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/flr/content-based/general-models/d-brinton.htm>)

Theme-based Approach

According to Brinton (et al. 1989): Theme-based Approach focuses on learning strategies, concepts, tasks and skills that are needed in subject areas in the mainstream curriculum, grouped around topics and themes such as consumer, education map skills, foods and nutrition. Success for this model rests on co-operative learning in heterogeneous small group settings ((as cited in <http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/flr/content-based/general-models/d-brinton.htm>)

Adjunct Approach

This approach is similar to the theme based component. In it, the language teachers should be familiar with the content material. There should be coordination between language teacher and content teacher. Two classes are adjusted together to make it effective.

Language learning Skills

Language learning skill means able to communicate in that language in which s\he is exposed to. The choice of language depends upon the channel of communication. A language is basically used in the real life situation in order to receive information. Language exists in two forms, the spoken and written. Speaking and writing themselves are the encoding process whereby we communicate our ideas, thoughts and feelings through one or the other form of the language: and listening and reading are the parallel decoding process by which we understand either a spoken or written message. To grasp information, we have to listen to someone or something or read a written text. Therefore, these different activities are called language skills.

In language learning receptive skills precede productive skills. The above picture displays listening and reading skills. To get master of language skills first the learners should listen to that language then slowly he starts to speak then he starts to read in that language at last he can write in that language in which he is exposed to. These are not only integrated in language teaching and learning, this comes true in real life situation using language for various purposes.

I. Reading Skills

Teaching of reading is an important aspect of teaching\learning a foreign language. Reading is one of the receptive language skills. It generally means understanding or making sense of a given text. It involves extracting the required information from the text as effectively as possible. Reading opens the gates of knowledge. To open the gates of knowledge the reader should actively participate and do the activities to get the meaning out. So, reading is not a passive skill. Reading means comprehension. Without comprehension there is no significance of reading

Though many people say that the terms 'reading and 'a reading comprehension' are same, reading means the reader reads without understanding also. But reading comprehension is one of the most complex forms of cognition which means complete understanding of a text, which is very useful for higher level students and previous knowledge of the subject help a lot in reading comprehension. Fry (1965, p.24) writes the following words about comprehension:

It is very difficult to define comprehension. Reduced to its simplest elements we might say that comprehension is a part of the communication process of getting the thoughts that were in the author's mind into the reader's mind. This is a difficult process because it involves the transmission of an idea through several imperfect media. For example, the author must have a clear idea in his mind, then, reduce this idea to written language; this will be printed; and finally the reader looks at the printed word and forms an idea (as cited in: <http://www.articlesbase.com/languages-articles/importance-of-reading-comprehension-in-second-language-learning-1325911.html#ixzz17o10NCEt>).

According to Lado (1961, p.132), "To read is to grasp language patterns, from their written representation. In a second language, reading is usually taught to students who are already literate in the source language" (as cited in www.nurariifs.blogspot.com). Reading offers language input, as listening does (Cross, 1992). So, reading is a receptive language skill. Similarly, Bhattarai (2006) says, reading as a mechanical skill, starting from the recognition of shapes and blocks to the movement of eyes or achieving so many words and lines per hour with accuracy, comprehension.

While reading foreign language text, the reader has to try to understand the message and information contained in the text without the help of native speakers of the language. There are a number of reasons for reading. The learners

read for information, pleasure, for specific purposes too. The students read English text for career, higher study, exposure /acquisition, good model writing, language study and good reading texts etc.

Lado (1961, p.223) says, reading in a foreign language consists of grasping meaning in that language through its written representation.

J. Types of Reading

Reading is one of the important academic skills of language. Reading can be classified into different types on the basis of the purpose of reading and the levels of the readers. In other words, types of reading are concerned with who are the readers (experts, learners) and why they are reading (for specific information, the general information, pleasure and satisfaction etc.). The types of reading are discussed below:

i). Reading Aloud: Reading aloud is carried out to enable the learners to read with correct pronunciation, articulation, intonation and rhythm. The main aim of reading aloud is to develop a desire for silent reading to the students.

ii). Silent Reading: Silent reading is only for understanding the content. According to Richards et al. (1999), "Silent reading is the process of perceiving the written text in order to understand its content." It is appropriate for all who want to understand both implicit and explicit information contained in the text.

iii). Rapid Reading: Rapid reading is also known as faster reading which consists of the techniques to teach people to read more quickly. Rapid reading is not aloud because oral reading intervenes the speed of reading. So, it is always silent. For silent reading readers should not care about spelling and word but, eye should jump chunk to chunk, sentence to sentence.

iv). Extensive Reading: Extensive reading is mainly done for pleasure, satisfaction and general understanding of theme rather than the detail and deep comprehension. Extensive reading is also known as independent reading. Rivers (1996) says extensive reading is "to train the students to read directly and fluently in the foreign language for their own enjoyment, without the aid of teacher". (as cited in *Journal of NELTA*, 2016).

v). Intensive Reading: In this type of reading the reader should go through both implicit and explicit information and not only that they should also master the structure and vocabulary given in the text. Intensive reading is generally at a slower speed and requires a higher degree of understanding.

vi). Skimming: Skimming is a type of speed-reading in which the readers make a survey of texts to grasp central idea or general theme of the text. According to Grellet (1981, p.19), "When skimming, readers go through the reading material quickly in order to get an idea of the tone or the intention of the writer."

vii). Scanning: In scanning, readers mainly try to locate specific information like name, date. They wonder over the text until they find specific piece of information without understanding the rest of the text or passage.

K. Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the present study were:

- a) To expose the effectiveness of content -based instruction in teaching reading at grade nine.
- b) To find out some pedagogical uses.

L. Significance of the Study

Despite the fact that language is primarily spoken, learning to read in mother tongue or in English is essential. It is because students will be able to understand the worlds' culture. The content-based instruction is a modern communicative approach which integrates learning of language through content and the students will be highly motivated to learn a second language because it better reflects learners' need of learning a second language

This study aims to find out the effectiveness of the content- based instruction in teaching reading which provides information in the field of English language teaching. The teacher, textbook writers and syllabus designers can modify their approach in the light of information provided by this study.

II. METHODOLOGY

The following methodology was adopted to fulfill the objectives of the study.

A. Sources of Data

Sources of data are the prospective things, places, persons, where solution to the problem lies. Here, the researcher used both primary and secondary sources of data. The primary sources were used to collect required data and the secondary sources were used to facilitate the research.

Primary Sources of Data

The primary sources of data were collected from all the students of grade nine studying in a government-aided school of Achham district. I myself was involved in teaching. Thirty- three students studying in Shree Jalpa Devi Secondary School, Kamalbazar, were selected for the purpose of carrying out the research.

Secondary Sources of Data

Regarding the secondary sources of data, detailed information is presented in the references. However, the secondary sources of data were collected from the related proposals, theses, articles, journals. The different websites were surfed and studied relevant research papers, books such as Lado (1961), Grellet (1981), Harmer (2002), Khaniya (2005), Larsen- Freeman (2008), Richards and Rodgers (2009),

B. Sampling Procedures

One of the government- aided secondary school of Achham district, Shree Jalpa Devi Secondary School, Kamalbazar, was selected using purposive non -random sampling procedure. All the students of grade nine were selected as the sample of the research.

C. Tools for Data Collection

Test items were the main tools for data collection from the primary sources. Regarding marking scheme, pre- and post- tests were designed with ten items consisting 70 marks; each of the progressive tests was assigned 20 marks.

III. ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

This section deals with the analysis and interpretation of the data collected from the primary sources. The primary sources of data were obtained through pre- test, three progressive tests and a post- test

A. Analysis and Interpretation of the Test Score

The holistic comparison of the scores of pre- test and post-test is analyzed as follows:

Holistic Comparison of Pre -Test and Post -Test

The comparison consists of a table where the results of pre- test and post-test for 10 items are presented. Objective test- item based comparison consists of multiple choice, true false, gap filling, similar meaning, matching, ordering jumbled sentences and cloze test. Subjective test–item based comparison consists of open–ended short answer questions.

TABLE NO. 1
HOLISTIC COMPARISON OF PRE -TEST AND POST- TEST

S.N.	F.M.	Scores obtained in pre-test	Scores obtained in post-test	Differences between two test scores	Differences in average scores
1	2310	240	461	221	22.1

The given table illustrates the comparison between scores of pre- test and post-test. The total 33 students were involved in pre -test and post- test. Difference between the average scores is 22.1. The scores obtained in post -test is two times greater than pre-test, which proves that is the strength part of CBI in teaching reading.

Analysis of Pre- test Scores

The pre-test items consisted of cloze test, matching items, question answer, jumble sentences, synonyms, fill in the blanks, multiple choices and write your experiences. The further consisted of one seen and one unseen reading texts based on the level of the students of grade 9. The scores of the students on pre-test were obtained as follows:

TABLE NO. 2
INDIVIDUAL SCORES ON PRE-TEST

S. N.	F.M.	Scores	Percentage of scores	No. of Students	Percentage of students
1	70	37	52.9 %	4	12.1%
2	70	34	48.6%	3	9.1%
3	70	30	42.9%	5	15.2%
4	70	28	40.0%	6	18.2%
5	70	27	38.6%	4	12.1%
6	70	25	35.7%	2	6.1%
7	70	21	30.0%	1	3.0%
8	70	17	24.3%	5	15.2%
9	70	12	17.1%	1	3%
10	70	9	12.86%	2	6.1%

Average score =24

The above table shows that 4 (i.e. 12.1%) students have obtained 37 marks out of 70 full marks. It is the highest score on the pre-test. The lowest score is 9, which is obtained by 2 (i.e. 6.1%) students. The average score is 24. Around 75% students obtained above average scores and 25% of students are below the average scores. It clearly shows that the class consists of mixed ability groups. Some of them are very weak some of them are medium on reading proficiency.

Analysis of Post -Test

Post -test was administered after teaching 25 class days using CBI method on reading text from the textbook of grade nine. The Individual scores on post-test are given below:

TABLE NO. 3
INDIVIDUAL SCORES ON POST- TEST

S. N.	F. M.	Scores	Percentage of Scores	No. of Students	Percentage of student
1	70	57	81.43%	3	9.09%
2	70	55	78.57%	4	12.12%
3	70	53	75.71%	3	9.09%
4	70	52	74.29%	5	15.15%
5	70	49	70.00%	3	9.09%
6	70	48	68.57%	3	9.09%
7	70	46	65.71%	5	15.15%
8	70	40	57.14%	2	6.06%
9	70	31	44.29%	3	9.09%
10	70	30	42.86%	2	6.06%

Average score = 46.1

The given table reveals the fact that 81.43% of full marks is the highest score obtained by 3 (i.e. 9.09 %) students. About 43 % was the lowest score obtained by 2 (i.e. 6.06 %) students. Table shows 46.1 (65.8%) is the average score while it was only 24 in pre- test. Twenty- seven (85%) students are above the average score. The average scores and number of students obtaining average score is increased in comparison of pre- test.

In comparison to the marks in pre-test, post- test score reveals the development of the reading proficiency in students. In pre- test, the scores were distributed around 30 – 52 %. Although it was around average score, it was not satisfactory. In post -test more than 85% of students obtained more than average score and only about 15 % of students acquired less than average. The average score is increased by 22.1% than that of pre-test.

The increment in the average score is the result of the content-based instruction method used while teaching. Therefore, it can be claimed that CBI method is an effective method to develop students reading proficiency.

First Progressive Test Scores

After the interval of the teaching of the first seven classes, I administered the first progressive test. The aim was to find out how the classes are in progress and what further improvements in teaching strategy were necessary.

TABLE NO. 4
INDIVIDUAL SCORES ON FIRST PROGRESSIVE TEST

S .N.	F.M.	Scores	Percentage	No. of students	Percentage
1	20	17	85%	4	12.12%
2	20	15	75%	2	6.06%
3	20	14	70%	5	15.15%
4	20	13	65%	4	12.12%
5	20	11	55%	6	18.18%
6	20	10	50%	5	15.15%
7	20	9	45%	4	12.12%
8	20	8	40%	2	6.06%
9	20	7	35%	1	3.03%

Average score =11.56

As the above table clearly reveals that 4 (i.e. 12.12%) students have scored 85% which is the highest score in this test and 1 (i.e. 3.03%) of the students has scored 35% which is the lowest mark. The average mark obtained by the students is 11.56. More than 64% students have obtained above the average score and about 36% students have obtained below the average score. Comparing the results of the pre-test with first progressive test result students have shown satisfactory progress in reading which is the effect of CBI method.

In pre- test the highest score obtained by 12% of the students was only 52%, where in the first progressive test, 12% of the students scored 85% which is satisfactory increments. Difference of the highest scores between pre-test and first progressive test is 33%. Students obtaining the lowest score are 35% which is greater than pre-test value (23%).

Second Progressive Test

After taking the first progressive test on 10th Magh, two texts were provided to the students for reading purpose. After teaching for fourteen days, a second progressive test was administered on 18th Magh, The results of second progressive test are as follows:

TABLE NO. 5
INDIVIDUAL SCORES ON SECOND PROGRESSIVE TEST

S. N.	F.M.	Scores	Percentage	No. of Students	Percentage
1	20	18	90%	3	9.09%
2	20	17	85%	4	12.12%
3	20	15	75%	2	6.06%
4	20	13	65%	5	15.15%
5	20	12	60%	6	18.18%
6	20	11	55%	3	9.09%
7	20	9	45%	4	12.12%
8	20	8	40%	5	15.15%
9	20	6	30%	1	3.03%

Average score = 12.33

The given table illustrates that 3 (i.e. 9.09%) students have scored 18 marks out of 20, which is 90 % of full marks. It is the highest score and 1 (i.e. 3.03%) student has scored 6 marks which is the lowest score in this test. In the first progressive test, the highest score was 17 but in this test the highest score is 18. In the first progressive test the average score was 11.56 but in this test the average score is 12.33 and the lowest marks also has increased in the second progressive test than the first progressive test by 5 %. This shows the remarkable progress of students on reading. It has added more expectation on my hope to continue the use of CBI on language teaching.

Third Progressive Test Scores

After teaching 21 class days the third progressive test was administered. The given table reveals the score of the students on the third progressive test.

TABLE NO. 6
INDIVIDUAL SCORES ON THIRD PROGRESSIVE TEST

S.N.	F.M.	Scores	Percentage of Score	No. of students	Percentage of Students
1	20	19	95%	4	12.12%
2	20	18	90%	5	15.15%
3	20	16	80%	3	9.09%
4	20	14	70%	4	12.12%
5	20	13	65%	2	6.06%
6	20	12	60%	5	15.15%
7	20	11	55%	7	21.21%
8	20	9	45%	1	3.03%
9	20	8	40%	2	6.06%

Average Score= 13.33

As the above table shows that 4 (i.e. 12.12%) students have obtained the highest scores of 95% in full marks 20. The lowest score is 8 (40%) same as in a second progressive test. The average score is 13.33 which is 66.65% of full marks which is 1% greater than the second progressive test, about 2% greater than the first progressive test and 32% greater than the pre -test score. In comparison to the pre-test, average score has been increased in the third progressive test. The analysis of five tests scores has shown that CBI plays significant role in teaching reading proficiency.

B. Item-wise Analysis and Interpretation of the Test Results

The pre-test and post-test consisted of the same ten items such as multiple choice, true false, gap filling, similar meaning, matching, ordering jumbled sentences, cloze test. Subjective test–item based comparison consists of open-ended short answer questions.

First Progressive Test

First progressive test contained five categories and eighteen items. They were multiple choice, fill in the blanks; matching items rearrange the sentences and question answer. The following table shows the item-wise correct and incorrect responses.

TABLE NO.7
ITEM-WISE RESPONSES TO FIRST PROGRESSIVE TEST

S.N.	Items	No. of the items	Correct Responses	Percentage of correct responses	incorrect responses	Percentage of incorrect responses	Total Responses
1	Multiple choice	4	100	75.75%	32	24.25%	132
2	Matching items	4	97	73.48%	35	26.52%	132
3	Fill in the blanks	4	90	68.18%	42	31.82%	132
4	Rearrange the sentences	4	83	62.87%	49	37.13%	132
5	Question answer	2	34	51.52%	32	48.48%	66

The above table displays that the item multiple choice has the highest number of correct responses i.e.75.75%. Question answer has the lowest number of correct responses i.e. 51.52%. Comparing the item- wise correct responses in progressive test with that in pre-test, there was the number of correct responses in multiple choice 51.52%, in matching 45.45%, in rearrange the sentences in correct order 42.42%, in fill in the blanks 28.48%, in question answer 22.73% but in first progressive test they are 75.75%, 73.48%, 62.87%, 51.52.% respectively.

Comparing two tests reveals that progress made by the students in each items is satisfactory because of the use of CBI method.

Second Progressive Test

Second progressive test contained five categories, i.e. single meaning, multiple choice, true false, write the name of animals and question answer with 17 items consisted twenty full marks. The following table shows the item-wise correct and incorrect responses.

TABLE NO. 8
ITEM- WISE RESPONSES TO SECOND PROGRESSIVE TEST

S.N.	Items	No. of the items	Correct Responses	Percentage of correct responses	incorrect responses	Percentage of incorrect responses	Total Responses
1	Multiple choice	5	116	70.30%	49	29.70%	165
2	True false	5	120	72.72%	45	27.28%	165
3	Single meaning	4	93	70.45%	39	29.55%	132
4	Write the name of two animals	1	14	42.42%	19	57.58%	33
5	Question answer	2	39	59.09%	27	40.91%	66

The above table shows that true false items has the highest number of correct responses i.e. 72.72%. Write the names of two animals has the lowest number of correct responses i.e. 42.42%. It shows that most of the students have given the number of correct responses more than 50%.This results asserts that the classroom teaching through CBI has been more effective.

Third Progressive Test

Third progressive test consisted of five categories with 20 full marks. The following table presents the item- wise correct and incorrect responses to third progressive test.

TABLE NO. 9
ITEM- WISE RESPONSES TO THIRD PROGRESSIVE TEST

S.N.	Items	No. of the items	Correct Responses	Percentage of correct responses	incorrect responses	Percentage of incorrect responses	Total Responses
1	Multiple choice	4	125	94.69%	7	5.31%	132
2	Matching items	4	119	90.15%	13	9.85%	132
3	Cloze test	4	84	63.63%	48	36.37%	132
4	Rearrange the sentences	4	91	68.88%	41	31.12%	132
5	Question answer	2	42	63.64%	12	36.36%	66

As the table shows, multiple choice has the highest number of correct responses i.e. 94.69%. Cloze test has the lowest number of correct responses i.e. 63.63%.

Observation of the above distribution of responses on each of the specified test items shows that most of the students have given most of the responses correctly. The number of correct responses in each item reveals that the use of CBI in teaching reading is beneficial.

IV. FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Findings

The findings of this study have been identified on the basis of the results of the pre-test, progressive test and post-test. It is based on the results of the group rather than the responses of the individual students. From this analysis and interpretation of the data, the researcher comes to the following conclusion:

1. From the holistic comparison of pre-test and post-test, the following items are derived:

a). The comparison of score obtained by the students in pre-test and post-test reveals that teaching reading through CBI is an effective method in developing students' reading skill. The scores of the students were distributed around the average score of 24 in pre-test whereas, in post-test their score were distributed around the average score of 46.1. The average score in post-test is increased by 22.1. So, it can be said that it is effective to teach reading through CBI.

2. On the basis of individual scores of progressive tests and item-wise analysis of tests, the findings are as follows:

a). Regarding the scores on progressive test, the progress is seen in every progressive test; students obtained average score of 11.53, 12.33 and 13.33 in first second and third progressive tests respectively.

b). The student's performance in specified items in pre-test, progressive tests and post-test was impressive. In most of the items their number of correct responses was greater in post-test than that of pre-test. In pre-test their correct responses were in multiple choice 51.52%, in matching 45.45%, in true false 36.36%, in making sentences 30.3%, in rearrange the sentences in correct order 42.42%, in fill in the blanks 28.48%, in question answer 22.73%, in write your experiences 42.42% and in synonyms 47.88%.

However, in post-test there correct responses were 60%, 44.24%, 60.60%, 42.92%, 21.21%, 50.90%, 39.39%, 20.30%, 48.48% and 89.28% respectively Their progress in all specified items proves the effective contribution of the method.

c). The student's performance in objective test items is better than in subjective test items. In both test the highest correct responses are in objective test i.e. the correct responses of multiple choice is 52.51% in pre-test and the correct responses of synonyms is 89.89% in post test but the correct responses of question answer is about 23% in pre-test and 21% in post-test. It proves that CBI is more effective in objective test- items

d). Among ten questions, CBI was found to be effective in eight questions the correct responses are also increased in post-test than in pre-test.

e). After the analysis of the correct and incorrect responses in different items in progressive tests, it is found that the multiple choice and true false items were easier for them than the other items.

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Errors in English Writing of ESL/EFL Students: A Systematic Review

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Abstract—Errors in the English writing of students have been studied in different levels of education and in different genres of writing in different countries. The study of writing errors is considered essential for improving the writing of students. This systematic review studies the research papers which have been conducted in the surrounding countries of Afghanistan to find out the most common errors in the writing of EFL/ESL learners in this region, and to find the gap in the existing literature in this region. The studies were identified through a search in three databases: The Science Direct, the Academy Publications, and the Scopus journals database. The included studies are conducted in EFL/ESL, focused on errors in the writing, and published in one of the three abovementioned journals. The three databases produced 562 articles, from which nine articles were included in the study based on inclusion/exclusion criteria. After an in-depth study of the articles, it was revealed that the EFL/ESL speakers of English in these countries commit errors in writing, and most of these errors are in the grammatical and mechanics category. The most common errors reported in the studies were in articles, prepositions, punctuation, spelling, and word choice. In these countries, a few genres of writing, such as essays and journals, have been studied.

Indexed Terms—EFL writing, ESL writing, error analysis, writing errors, causes of errors

I. INTRODUCTION

English as an international language is widely spoken around the world. It is considered the language of communication, business, trade, diplomacy, and the medium of instruction in higher educations. James (2013) stated that science and technology are two other domains that are dominated by the English language. The English language possesses the first place in the world for second language speakers (Christiansen, 2015). It is spoken as a foreign language in many countries such as Afghanistan, Iran, China, and as a second language in Pakistan, India, and most countries of south-east Asia.

Due to the international use of the English language, it becomes a requirement for employment and education in the countries where it is spoken as a second or foreign language. Most people, including students, teachers, scientists, and the users of social media, feel the need to have the ability to express their feelings and thoughts in the English language. Among the four skills of the English language, writing is of paramount importance because it is widely used in higher educations and occupational fields (Walsh, 2010). This skill of English language is vital for writing assignments, reviews, researches, and many other academic activities, all of which require advanced writing skills, but learning to write without errors in a foreign language seems to be a challenging task (Hyland, 2003). In fact, it is a difficult task even for the adult native speakers of a language (Raimes, 1991). It needs the knowledge of the language system, vocabulary, the skills to put the right words together and create a coherent and cohesive piece of writing, and thinking strategies to let the learner put their ideas effectively on a paper in another language (Erkan & Saban, 2011). Therefore, there is a crucial need for learners to improve their English language writing skills to enable them to achieve achieving the opportunities for employment and education.

In the process of language learning and acquisition, errors may occur (Brown, 2000) as errors are inseparable from the process of learning (Ling & Stapa, 2011). It shows that when errors occur, learning is taking place (Corder, 1982). However, the most important thing is that the errors should be analysed carefully because some essential understandings about second language learning are embedded in learners' errors (Brown, 2000).

Learner's errors in writing have been the centre of debates from a long time ago, among linguists, researchers, English language teachers, curriculum developers, and syllabus designers. Corder (1982) explained that the learners' errors are essential for three purposes. First, it gives the teachers an insight into the progress that students make toward their goals. Second, it helps the researchers to understand the procedures and strategies that the learners use for learning the language. The third advantage is for the learners to help them evaluate their progress in learning the language.

This systematic review is intended to provide essential information about the errors in English writing and the remedial measures for the errors in English language writing of the students in the neighbouring countries of

Afghanistan, such as Pakistan, China, Iran, and other central Asian countries. In some of these countries, English is used as a foreign language, and in some of them, it is used as a second language. In the context where English is used as a foreign language, a lack of exposure to the English language affects English language skills, as stated by Ling and Stapa (2011). Hence, it makes the language learning process challenging for the learners, particularly for those who live in a multilingual context. Among the four skills of English language, the productive skills seem to be affected the most, since there is no direct communication through spoken or written language in the society while the learners have the opportunities to develop their receptive skills through watching news, documentaries, reading books, English newspapers, and magazines. Therefore, English language learners in foreign language context are prone to making different types of errors in their productive skills, mainly writing skills.

Ample studies have been conducted in different countries on different aspects of errors in English language writing, for instance, Ling and Stapa (2011) conducted a study on the writing skill of non-English major Chinese undergraduate students in Malaysia. Demailly Tulldahl (2005) conducted a study on the written production of adolescent learners of English in Sweden. Murad and Khalil (2015) researched the writing of first-year Arab students majoring in the English language. However, in Afghanistan and the countries surrounding Afghanistan, the issue of error analysis has not been given enough attention due to two reasons. First, in most of these countries, English is learned as a foreign language in secondary and tertiary educations. It is taught merely as a subject in schools and universities, but not used in the context. Second, the English language has only recently gained importance in the region due to its extensive use in technology, politics, and economics. Only in Pakistan, which was a part of British India before 1947 (Channa, 2017), English is learned as the second language. In the surrounding countries of Afghanistan, only a few studies on errors analysis in English writing are available in online databases; this is because in most of the countries surrounding Afghanistan, Russian is widely used rather than the English language or the national languages of these countries such as Persian is used. The researcher would like to study the researches on error analysis in English language writing in this region to find out the common errors committed by EFL/ESL learners and the gap in the existing literature.

To achieve the aim of this study, the researcher examines the studies on learners' errors in English language writing in a foreign language or second language settings in the countries surrounding Afghanistan such as Pakistan, Iran, and China. The researcher has searched the Scopus journals database, the Academy Publications database, and the Science Direct journals database to find out researches on error analysis in this region. These three databases have been selected because all three of them are widely known in the region. The Scopus and Science Direct have the biggest database of articles, and the Academy Publications has journals for language studies that are open access. Besides, based on the knowledge of the researcher, most of the articles produced in this region are published in these three journals. The study is aimed to fulfil the following objectives:

1. To find out the most common errors in English language writing committed by learners in the region.
2. To find out the gap in the existing literature in the region.



Figure 1. The map of Afghanistan and the surrounding countries.

II. METHODOLOGY

For this review, the articles in three online databases were searched: The Science Direct journals database, the Academy Publications journals database, and the Scopus journals database. The Science Direct database was selected because they have the biggest database of articles, and also the researcher had open access to the articles in this database. It produced 562 related research papers from the earliest date to 19 September 2019, from which the only one was included based on the inclusion criteria. The Academy Publications database was chosen because most of the articles

related to language teaching and research and language studies from the region are published in the journals of this database. Also, the Academy Publications has open access articles, which made it easy for the researcher to get the articles. The Academy Publications database produced ten related articles, from which five articles were included based on the inclusion criteria. The Scopus database was also selected due to its availability of open access. The search in this database produced 38 related articles whereby the initial six were selected, but after careful study of the articles, only three were included in the study based on the inclusion criteria.

Overall, the three databases produced a total number of 562 articles from which only nine articles met the inclusion/exclusion criteria and were included in the study. For all the three databases, the search terms used were 'Errors Analysis in English language writing, Errors in EFL writing, errors in ESL writing, and errors in English language writing.' The researcher did not include specific terms such as lexical errors, grammatical errors, or syntactical errors; since the purpose of the researcher was to investigate the studies which have been conducted generally on errors in English language writing. At the screening stage, the titles of the papers were searched for the terms Errors and EFL/ESL writing. Later, both the titles and the abstracts of the studies were investigated to find out the studies related to the errors in EFL/ESL writing in the countries surrounding Afghanistan. A total number of 9 articles on errors in English language writing were selected after a long process of filtration.

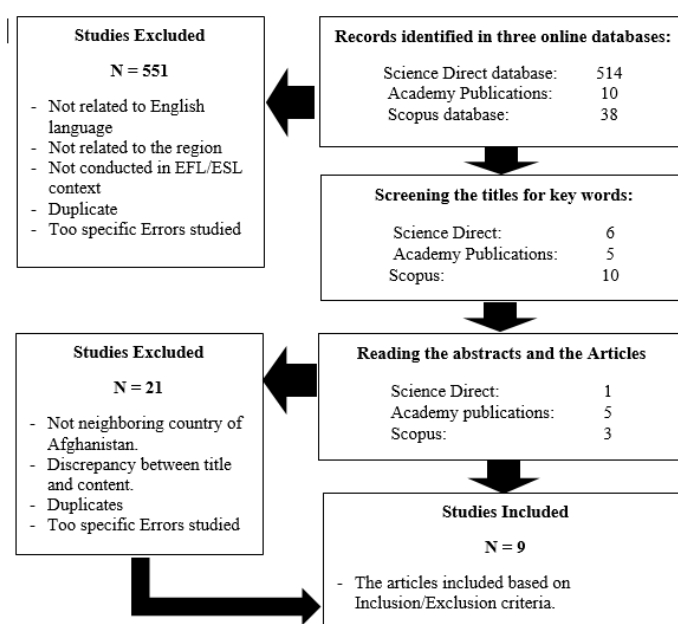


Figure 2. Flow chart showing the process articles selection.

A. The Inclusion Criteria for the Study

This study comprises the papers which meet the following criteria.

1. The studies are conducted only in the countries surrounding Afghanistan.
2. The studies conducted in EFL/ESL contexts.
3. The studies focused on errors in English language writing.
4. The articles are taken from Science Direct Journals database, Academy Publications database, and Scopus journals database.

B. The Exclusion Criteria for the Studies

The study excluded the papers which did not meet the following criteria.

1. The articles not conducted in the neighbouring countries of Afghanistan.
2. The articles were not conducted in EFL/ESL context.
3. The articles which have focused on errors other than the writing skills of the English language.

III. RESULTS

The search in three online databases produced a total number of 562 articles. From this vast number, nine articles were included in this review based on the inclusion/exclusion criteria. From the nine articles, four of them were conducted in Iran, in which three are quantitative studies, and one is a mixed-method study. One paper was conducted in two countries; Iran and India. The method of this article was mixed-method. Three of the included articles are conducted in China, in which two are qualitative, and one is a mixed-method study. Only one study is from Pakistan, which has applied the mixed-method design. All of the selected articles were published between 2013 and 2019.

TABLE I
THE TABLE BELOW SHOWS THE OVERVIEW OF THE NINE SELECTED ARTICLES.

No.	Author/Year	Location	Research Design
1	Momenzade, Khojasteh, and Kafipour (2018)	Iran	Quantitative
2	Salehi and Bahrami (2018)	Iran	Quantitative
3	Nezami and Najafi (2012)	Iran	Quantitative
4	Khansir (2013)	Iran/India	Mixed method
5	Marzoughi and Ghanbari (2015)	Iran	Mixed method
6	Zafar (2016)	Pakistan	Mixed method
7	Cheng (2015)	China	Qualitative
8	Liu (2015)	China	Mixed-Method
9	Yang (2019)	China	Qualitative

Many researchers have studied the errors in the writing of students, but a few numbers of studies are available in Afghanistan and the countries surrounding Afghanistan. In Iran, Nezami and Najafi (2012) studied the essays of 103 Iranian undergraduate students majoring in the English language. The students of two universities of Iran participated in the study, Tehran University, and the Islamic Azad University. This study had two parts. The first part was a reading comprehension task, and the second part required the students to write an essay in 60 minutes on a given topic. After the analysis of the essays, 4019 errors were detected in the essays. The ten most frequent errors in students' writing were listed as punctuation errors, lexical errors, spelling, article, verb formation, the use of singular & plural forms, prepositions, verb tense, clause structure, and S/V agreement. Also, Khansir (2013) conducted a study on EFL and EFL undergraduate students, but the difference is that Khansir's (2013) study compares the errors between Iranian EFL learners and Indian ESL learners. Two hundred ESL and EFL students from the Mysore state of India and Bushehr city of Iran participated in the study. The results of the study indicated that the Indian ESL learners committed 3274 errors in their writing, while the Iranian EFL learners committed 3045 errors in their writing. The errors were divided into five categories: paragraph, conjunction, article, punctuation, and spelling. The results showed that most of the errors were committed in the realm of punctuation (1387), in which 718 were committed by Indian students, and 669 errors were committed by Iranian students. The least errors were committed in the realm of spelling with a total number of 1050, in which 578 spelling errors were committed by Iranian students, and 472 were committed by Indian students. Also, the results indicated that Indian students had committed more errors than the Iranian students, but according to the researcher, since the difference is not significant, so it is negligible. The study also showed that the students did not have enough knowledge of the rules of English language writing. Moreover, the researcher stated that there are systematic errors in the writing of the students which could be the result of English teaching and the strategies of learning. Several other causes, such as interference of the mother tongue, the complexity of the English language, and lack of students' knowledge of English language writing have been identified as other causes of weak writing.

Two years later, Marzoughi and Ghanbari (2015) studied the essays of 80 undergraduate students of Medical Science University of Bushehr, Iran. The students were asked to participate in an essay writing test. The test had three parts, errors in recognizing different parts of an essay, errors in recognition of the main idea of the essay, and grammatical errors. The grammatical part of the test included articles, tense, preposition, and spelling. The total number of grammatical errors produced in the test was 199. Articles (62) were highly frequent, and prepositions (42) were the least frequent errors committed in writing. Momenzade, Khojasteh, and Kafipour (2018) studied the expository essays of 49 medical students studying the EFL writing course at Sheraz University of Medical Science. Students' writings were collected at the start of the course, and after a few weeks of training, another set of compositions was collected from the students. The study focused on four types of errors omission, addition, misformation, and misordering. The results of the study showed that in both pre-test and post-test all the four types of errors occurred: omission, misformation, addition, and misordering. The omission errors have been the most consistent error both in pre-test and post-test. Although the number had been dramatically decreased in the post-test comparing to the pre-test, it was still one of the most consistent errors in the writing. The results of the study showed that despite attending the grammar and writing skills course, students' writing did not show a significant improvement in misformation, addition, and misordering errors. However, the total number of errors had decreased in the post-test, but this reduction was significant ($0.000 < .05$) only in omission errors; in other types of errors such as misformation ($0.588 > .05$), addition ($0.135 > .05$), and misordering ($0.695 > .05$) the reduction was not significant. In the same year, Salehi and Bahrami (2018) conducted a study on the writing of Persian authors. The study investigated 40 articles written by Iranian masters and Ph.D. students. The results of the study indicated that the students committed most errors in the usage of words (36.2%) followed by other types of errors such as articles (26.8%), prepositions (16.6%), conjunctions (11.6%), words order (3.5%), active & passive voice (2.4%), tense (2.2%), and S/V agreement (0.7%).

The issue of error analysis has been studied in Pakistan too. English is spoken as a second language in Pakistan. Zafar (2016) examined the errors of 37 students of BBA in Mohammad Ali Jinnah University. This study was focused on verb tense errors in students' writing, but other types of errors were also recorded by the researchers. The students participated in a four months English language course, and a pre-test was administered at the beginning of the course. During the first two months of the course, students' errors were collected from their written assignments, and for the following two months of the course, the students were coached by giving them grammar exercises on the errors recorded earlier. Finally, the students were given a final assignment to check whether the writings have improved after

two months of coaching. The results of the pre-test and post-test showed that the past tense and present tense carried the most frequent errors in the writing of Pakistani ESL students. The results also indicated that inter-lingual errors were the majority, whereby it occurred 232 times. The first language interference or intra-lingual errors were 154 in number, which comes in second place. The errors from the transfer of the structure were 41, and the overextension of analogy errors were 13, but the number of these errors decreased after a two-month coaching session. The results of the post-test showed that inter-lingual errors decreased to 169, intra-lingual errors decreased to 94, structure transfer errors decreased to 22, and the overextension analogy errors decreased to five. The results also showed that writing activities could improve the writing of the students.

China is the country where the English language is used as a foreign language. In China, Cheng (2015) analysed inter-language errors in the writings of higher vocational and technological college students. In his study, Cheng (2015) explained the causes of interlanguage based errors, and also he pointed out some implications for the educationists. Liu (2015) also conducted a study on non-English major students in China. He analysed 68 students' compositions to find out the spelling errors in their writings. He divided the errors into three categories; local syntactic errors (32), global syntactic errors (6), and semantic errors (17). These error types were later divided into sub-types. Local syntactic errors included grammatically misspelled errors (13), errors in word class (8), and errors in lexical collocation (11). Also, Liu (2015) pointed out the causes of the errors in students' composition. The interference of the students' L1 and the lack of second language knowledge have been mentioned as the major causes of students' errors.

Moreover, Yang (2019) reviewed the negative language transfer regarding the errors in English writing of Chinese college students. His review study indicated that negative transfer exists from Chinese to the English language in terms of phonological, lexical, syntactical, semantic, and discourse levels. In the study, it was pointed out that most errors in the writing of Chinese students are the result of L1 thinking. These errors, such as inappropriate use of English articles, words, sentence structures, and Chinese discourse level, word choice, derivation, and collocation errors, made it difficult for Chinese students to convey their ideas in formal English. The study suggested that the Chinese English teachers should provide more input such as writing and reading to the students, encourage the learners to think in native ways, build up a good knowledge of vocabulary and grammar, raise awareness of language transfer in students, make contrastive analysis of English and Chinese language, increase comprehensible input and cultural input, and correct inter-lingual errors.

TABLE II
THE MAJOR CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STUDIES REVIEWED

No.	Authors/Year	Students' Level of Education	Writing Genre	Field of Study	Article type
1	Momenzade, Khojasteh, & Kafipour (2018)	Undergraduates	Expository Essay	Medical	Research
2	Salehi and Bahrami (2018)	Master/Ph.D.	Journal papers	Different majors	Research
3	Nezami and Najafi (2012)	Undergraduate/BA	Essay	English major	Research
4	Khansir (2013)	Undergraduate	None	English major	Research
5	Marzoughi and Ghanbari (2015)	Undergraduate	Essay	Medical	Research
6	Zafar (2016)	Undergraduate	Essay	Business	Research
7	Cheng (2015)	None	None	None	Review Paper
8	Liu (2015)	University level	Essay	Non-English major	Research
9	Yang (2019)	None	None	None	Review Paper

IV. DISCUSSION

The study of nine articles from three different journal databases, Science Direct database, Academy Publications, and Scopus database, revealed that there are a few studies on the issue of error analysis in the countries surrounding Afghanistan. Also, this review showed that the issue of error analysis had not been studied from different aspects in terms of the level of the students and writing genres. Since the English language is used as a foreign language in Afghanistan and the surrounding countries, most of the error analysis studies in this region are conducted at the university level. The researcher could not find any research conducted at the school level. Besides, most of the papers reviewed showed that only a few genres of writing had been studied for error analysis in this region. Findings showed that five articles had studied errors in essays, and one article has studied the errors in journals. Two studies were article reviews, and one paper had conducted the study through a proficiency test. It shows that there are still other genres of writing, and the writing of students at a different level of education needs to be studied.

The analysis of the studies showed that the EFL writing errors are almost the same in all EFL contexts, for example, in most of these studies errors in the use of article, preposition, conjunction, S/V agreement, lexical errors such as word choice, mechanics or writing errors such as spelling and punctuation were noticed. Based on the results from the nine articles conducted in the EFL context, the English writing of the students included both inter-lingual and intra-lingual errors. It was also revealed that the most common errors in the writing of the students in these countries are articles, prepositions, word choice, spelling, and punctuation errors. In the articles, the causes of errors have also been pointed out. The influence of first language, overgeneralization of the rules, the lack of article and preposition system in some of the languages, lack of students' vocabulary knowledge, lack of students' second language knowledge, complexity of English language, and students' lack of English writing practice have been mentioned as the major causes of errors in

both ESL and EFL context. The studies have also suggested some remedial measures for improving the writing of students. Providing reading and writing input, encouraging the students to think like a native speaker, building up students' knowledge of vocabulary and grammar, raising student's awareness of language transfer, increasing comprehensible and cultural input, and correcting inter-lingual errors are suggested to improve the writing of the students better.

TABLE III
THE TOP FIVE ERRORS IN THE WRITING OF THE STUDENTS IN THE NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES OF AFGHANISTAN.

No.	Errors Committed by EFL/ESL Learners	Research Article
1	Omission, Misformation, Addition Misordering	Momenzade, Khojasteh, and Kafipour (2018)
2	Word Usage, Article, Preposition, Conjunction, Word Order	Salehi and Bahrami (2018)
3	Punctuation, Lexical Errors, Spelling, Article, Verb Formation	Nezami and Najafi (2012)
4	Conjunction, Article, Punctuation Spelling	Khansir (2013)
5	Article, Tense, Spelling, Preposition	Marzoughi and Ghanbari (2015)
6	Past Tense, Present Tense	Zafar (2016)
7	REVIEW PAPER	Cheng (2015)
8	S/V Agreement, Singular/Plural Form, Word Form, Word Choice	Liu (2015)
9	Articles, sentence structures, word choice, derivation, and collocation errors	Yang (2019)

V. CONCLUSION

The English language is not widely used in the surrounding countries of Afghanistan, especially in the Central Asian countries such as Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and some other countries which had been a part of the Soviet Union previously. In most of the countries surrounding Afghanistan, Russian and Persian languages are the dominant languages, and English is spoken as a foreign language. Therefore, the English language is not given enough attention, and not many studies have been conducted on the English language. The review of nine articles indicated that both EFL and ESL speakers of the English language commit errors in their writing. It also indicated that some types of errors are common in English writing in most of these countries, which are surrounding Afghanistan, such as errors in the article, prepositions, conjunctions, spelling, punctuation, and S/V agreement. The review also revealed that except for a few genres of writing such as expository writing, journal papers, and assignments, other types of writing had not been studied in the region. In addition, error analysis studies have not been conducted on students other than university students in this region. To conclude, the EFL and ESL learners in this region commit both inter-lingual and intra-lingual errors in their writing.

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Improving Students' Writing Skills through Collaborative Learning: A Case Study of Senior High School Veteran 1 of Sukoharjo

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Abstract—The research aims at improving students' writing skills using collaborative learning at 10th-grade students of the Senior High School 1 of Veteran Sukoharjo. This research was a classroom action research. The technique used in this research consisted of planning, implementing, observing and reflecting. The research was applied in two cycles. Every cycle consisted of three meetings. In the technique of collecting data, the researcher used qualitative and quantitative techniques. The qualitative data were collected from documentation, observation and interview with teachers and some students. The quantitative data were collected from the score of the students' pre-test and post-test, validity and reliability. The result of the research showed that collaborative learning could improve students' writing skills. By using collaborative learning, the students showed active and have self-confidence in the teaching-learning process. This method brought positive result. The progress of the students' writing skills also can be seen from the result of the tests score. In the multiple-choice pre-test, the mean score of the pre-test was 59,7 and improved to be 68,1 in post-test 1 of cycle 1. In cycle 2, the mean score of post-tests 2 was 79,7. In the essay pre-test, the mean score of the pre-test was 61,3 and improved to be 69,1 in post-test 1 of cycle 1. In cycle 2, the mean score of post-tests 2 was 78,4. It could be concluded that there was a significant improvement in the students writing skills after using collaborative learning.

Index Terms—collaborative learning, pre-and post-test students, writing skill

I. INTRODUCTION

There are four basic language skills in English teaching which include listening, reading, speaking, and writing. Listening and reading are receptive competences, and speaking and writing are successful competences. DeFord (1981, p.657) suggests that there is a strong and engaging relationship between reading and writing. It can be inferred that writing is a successful skill in English learning, that it is a process of creating meaning by producing and expressing feelings and thoughts, that it is a transfer of ideas to be written in the form in which the writer has to act on certain aspects, such as spelling, grammar, punctuation, choice of appropriate words, phrase linking and text creation, comprehension, composition, vocabulary.

From a pedagogical perspective, students' challenges in learning English considering that there are several educators in Indonesia who use conventional methods or use Indonesian as the language of instruction so that students have little experience listening to English, therefore students lack the resources to speak English (Harmer, 2003, p.17-18). Indeed, many English teachers in Indonesia are still using the Grammar Translation System, which had been commonly used before the 19th century (Elmayantie, 2015). This method is applicable to teachers with a minimum level of English proficiency. This naturally creates a tendency that English is very difficult lessons, difficulties occur in the process of teaching and learning activities at the elementary school level, high school to university level (Setiyadi, 2006, p.23).

To overcome this difficulty, an English teacher should be able to intelligently choose a good teaching method. There are several methods that are applicable to users in the process of teaching English in the classroom. The method used should allow students to use English naturally in addition to creating an active atmosphere and cooperation between students. Collaborative Learning is one of the methods that need to be applied. This method divides students into small groups so that they can discuss and work together to solve problems in English. However, there are scales that are less profitable, especially in case the number of students is large, thus the teacher faces difficulties in managing student learning (Arafah, 2018).

Based on many schools where the students still encounter difficulties in learning English one of them is the State Senior High School 1 of Tawang Sari. Students taught English at this high school and are expected to be able to read texts well in English. This may happen since English remains unfamiliar to them so that they will have relatively few knowledges of English grammar, specifically in terms of vocabulary mastery, lack of confidence, fear of being incorrect, an atmosphere that does not encourage the use of English, etc.

This study focuses on improving the ability to read comprehension of the students' English descriptive text in first-class high school of Veteran 1, Sukoharjo using the method of collaborative learning as a teaching strategy. In establishing research at least nine times in class to assess to what degree the approach would enhance students' capacity

to read and inspire to work together to address English issues. The English descriptive text is chosen to fit their curriculum.

Review of Related Literature

There are two types of text, they are literary and factual texts. Each type has a specific purpose and a shared language system. In this study, the researchers will discuss one type of text, specifically narrative text has a social function which mainly aimed at entertaining and handling real or related experiences (Hartono, 2005). Setiasih (2015) additionally indicates that narrative text is a sort of text that tells stories to entertain and deal with real or specific situations in different ways; the narrative texts deal with problem events that lead to a crisis or to some form of a turning point, and that in turn, they find a resolution. The narrative texts' general frameworks include direction, assessment, complexity, resolution, and reorientation (Hartono, 2005).

Collaborative teaching and learning are a learning approach, involving student groups working towards solving a problem, performing a task or producing a product (Hartono, 2005). Golub (1988) additionally stated that collaborative learning has its principal characteristic: a framework that enables students to communicate under which they are supposed to speak collectively. The collaborative is a situation in which two or more people learn or try to learn something together (Macgregor, 1990). There are two and more learning activities that can be interpreted as continues to follow a class, such as problem solving, or different forms of interaction that are face-to-face or computer-mediated (Dillenbourg, 1999; Lin, 2015). Collaborative learning is not just a synonym for the collective number of students and there are five basic elements (Johnson & Johnson, 1990) as follows: a). Experimentally, constructive interdependency has been shown, which is a community of participants who have to trust each other to achieve the goal and if team members do not do their part, they all fail. Members should understand that they are linked to others in a way that everyone works together to share information. B). We do this by illustrating their understanding and collecting and sharing information, where each member of a group supports and encourages each other to learn. Group members must be done interactively providing one another with feedback, challenging one another's conclusions and reasoning and perhaps most importantly, teaching and encouraging one another. C). Individual accountability and personal responsibility (Sedhu, et al., 2015). All students in a group are held accountable for doing their share of the work and for mastery of all of the material to be learned. D). Social skills Students are encouraged and helped to develop and practice trust-building leadership, decision-making, communication and conflict management skills.

II. METHODS

In this study, the research used Classroom Action Research (CAR) to improve students' writing skills at first-grade students in Science Program (MIPA) of Senior High School 1 Veteran Sukoharjo 2018/2019 Academic Year. This research was conducted from April to June 2018/2019 academic year. The schedule of the research was based on the academic calendar and it was held in the second semester of the academic year of 2018/2019. Based on Burns (2010), action research is taking an area you feel could be done better, subjecting it to questioning and then developing new ideas and alternatives. To do so, the following steps are, therefore, needed (Kemmis & Mc. Taggart, 2010).

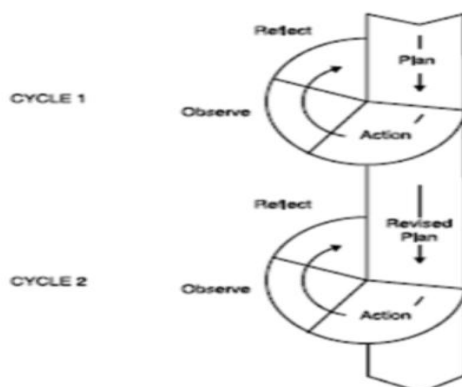


Figure 1: Cyclical Action Research based on Kemmis and McTaggart's model (2010)

Four phases of that work have been taken. It could be drawn as follows: 1. In this phase, the researcher preparing a lesson plan on the topic of a lesson, material aid, time schedule and observation instrument. 2. The second step, acting, was realization or acting. The researcher did a suitable activity with the lesson plan in this phase. 3. The third step was observing. In the observing step, all data were collected in order to analyze. 4. Reflecting, the fourth step was reflecting. In this step, the researcher tried to reflect the result of the previous step. The conclusion was containing the evaluation of the teaching-learning process in the class.

The use of techniques covers the following details: 1. Qualitative Data: a). Observation, the researcher observes all of the students' activities during the teaching-learning process. The observation includes students' attendance, attention, response, being active and achievement; b). Interview, technically done by the engaging conversation between interviewer and respondents with the purposes of getting certain information from the respondent. The respondents in

this research were the teacher and the students; c.) Questionnaires, it is a technique of collecting data by giving some questions or written statements to respondents to be answered; d.) Documentation, which is the result of the interview, observation checklist, lesson plan, student's worksheet, field note, and photograph during the teaching-learning process.

2. Quantitative Data. Test, the test was a systematic procedure that can use to know the skills of measuring knowledge someone that had reached. In this method, the instruments used by the researcher are pre-test and post-test. b. Validity following Cohen and Morrison's model (2007), validity is an important key to effective research. Moreover, they suggested that validity is thus a requirement for either quantitative and qualitative research or naturalistic research.

III. RESULTS

This research was conducted in Senior High School 1 Veteran of Sukoharjo. The researcher worked collaboratively with the English teacher of 10th grade major in Science which the classroom consists of 36 students. This research was conducted in 2 cycles, where each cycle consists of 3 meetings. The researcher identified the problem related to the procedure before the implementation of Action Research. During the process of the research, the researcher and collaborator noticed that the research showed a positive improvement in writing skills and classroom situations. The research was implemented to improve students' writing skills of narrative text using collaborative learning. The procedure of the research can be seen as follows:

A. Pre-Action

In this research, the researcher conducted pre-action before applying collaborative learning in teaching writing. In this step, the data were collected about the teaching method that English teachers used in the teaching-learning process, classroom situation, students' achievement. That information was collected by conducting an observation checklist, interview guide, also pre-test for the students.

1) Observation

Based on the observation about the teaching and learning process, the researcher identified that Students of the 10th grade major in Science at still have some problems in writing skill, they were passive in the learning process and they were confused about how to translate their ideas into the target language (English language). In addition, the teacher taught the students using a conventional method where there was not good feedback between the teacher and the students.

2) Interview

There was two kinds of interviews conducted by the researcher in this research. The first, interview conducted with the English teacher, the researcher identified that the students have a weakness in writing skill, where the students did not have many vocabularies that be a problem in translating their ideas and the teacher used a conventional method where the students were bored and did not focus in the teaching-learning process. Then, the second interview conducted with the students, the researcher identified that the students have a minimum interest to learn about English, some of them thought that English was difficult and they were confused to write down their ideas in the English language.

B. Pre-Test

Before the researcher started teaching narrative by using collaborative learning, the researcher gave a pre-test to know how far the understanding of students' writing skills in narrative text. In conducting a pre-test, the researcher prepared the score list. Then, the researcher formulated the procedure classroom activities as follows. (a) Opening, the researcher came to the class and introduced her self to the students; (b) Informing to the students, the researcher gave information that the class will be doing pre-test about writing skill in narrative text; (c) doing pre-test, the researcher gave pre-test to the students for about 20 multiple-choice questions. From the observation, the researcher identified that the students were crowded and did not focus on the teaching-learning process. In addition, they were still confused about the writing process. In doing pre-test, the researcher found the students still confused for answering the test by copying their friends' answer; (d) the result of pre-test can be seen on table 4.1 on the appendix 18 that showed there were 10 students who passed the test and 26 students who failed the test. In the table, the average of students' scores was 69,3.

Based on the result of the pre-test, the researcher identified that the student's writing skill in the narrative text still at a low degree. The table above shows only 10 students with a score of 75 and 26 students with an average of 75 and a score of 75 in the Senior High School Veteran 1 of Sukoharjo.

C. Research Implementation

The research was implemented to improve students' writing skills in the narrative text by using collaborative learning on Students' 10th grade major in Science at the Senior High School Veteran of Sukoharjo. It was held in two cycles where each cycle consists of three meetings and each meeting was 60 minutes. In this cycle, the researcher provided narrative text material explained the definition, purpose, generic structure and language features of narrative text then made the students be some groups and its named collaborative learning. The second cycle consists of three meetings. The detail information about the implementation was described in the implementation of cycle 1 and 2 as follows:

Cycle 1

a) Identifying the Problem

Based on the observation, the researcher found that the students have their difficulties in writing skill, they were confused about how to translate their ideas into the English language. In addition, the English teacher did not make an enjoy method and it made the students did not focus and interested in the English teaching-learning process. So, the researcher made a plan and selected a technique to solve the problem. The researcher decided to provide to teach writing skills in narrative text and made a wish that teaching writing skills using collaborative learning can improve the students' writing skills in narrative text. for supporting this research, the researcher prepared the material, lesson plan, the question to make a test for the students, a list of students, and so on.

b) Implementation of the action

First Meeting

The researcher came with an English teacher and introduced herself and gave information that three weeks later, they will learn about English with the researcher. The students in the class X MIPA were so noisy but when they were in the teaching-learning process, they were so calm, most of the students were afraid to ask the teacher.

In this meeting, the researcher explained the definition, social function, generic structure and language features of narrative text. The researcher also gave an example of narrative text and discuss it together with the students. After taking an explanation, the researcher made the students be 9 groups, where each group consists of at least 4 students. The researcher gave an uncomplete text of "Batara Guru" and each group discussed and completed it collaboratively to be a good text. They were active for asking the researcher, it helped them to be more understanding about the meaning of the text. They looked enjoy working their work together with the other members in their group.

The result of students' scores in the first evaluation of cycle 1 can be seen in table 4.2 in appendix 15. In that table, the researcher decided that the average score was 76,13, for about 24 students passed the test or could take a minimum score as the passing grade in English Lesson and 12 students still failed in that test.

Second Meeting

At the beginning of this meeting, the researcher gave a review of the last meeting and gave a motivation to reach a better score and also gave an example of the narrative text. In this meeting, the researcher asked each group to choose one story title that showed by the researcher and they have to create a story by discussing and working together with their groups. They created a story, made a relation between one sentence to the other one. They chose an appropriate word to make a good text.

Third Meeting

In this meeting the researcher discusses the story written by the students in the previous meeting, the researcher gave some corrections on their work and they repaired to be better. Each group showed the generic structure of their text in front of the class, they explained it well by using English Language and it helped them to understand clearly the generic structure of the narrative text.

The students' score of second evaluation in cycle 1 can be seen in table 4.3 in appendix 16, which showed there were 8 students who still failed to do their best in their work. It means that there was an improvement for about the total students who failed the test from the evaluation 1 about 12 students and be just 8 students. The closing meeting in cycle 1 was conducted, in this meeting, the researcher took a post-test 1. For about the students' score of post-test 1, it can be seen in table 4.4 in appendix 21 and for about the average score.

Based on the result of the post-test 1 above, the researcher identified that there was an improvement in students' writing skills in the narrative text by using collaborative learning. Where in the pre-test, the mean score was 69,3 and after conducting collaborative learning the mean score was 73,1. In the post-test 1, there were 19 students who get score up to 75 as the passing grade and there were 17 students still failed to reach the passing grade. It improves than in the pre-test where there were just 10 students who passed the test and got a score of up to 75.

Observing the Action in Cycle 1

First Meeting

In the first meeting, there was an adaptation moment between the researcher and the students. The researcher still tries to know the characteristic of each student, where there were some hyperactive students, calm students, and students who like to take a joke. The researcher also still try to embrace the class, making students focus was not easy. In addition, there were some students who said that English was difficult and they were afraid of it. In addition, there were just little students who brave to ask the question given by the researcher. They were confused about translating their ideas into the English Language.

Second Meeting

For the second meeting, some students received the researcher using a smile, some of them enjoyed with the researcher. They took a communication with the researcher well. Some of them also took a focus and interest in the teaching-learning process. In this meeting, the researcher reviewed the material in the previous meeting and gave motivation to the students to keep in the study because they will get a final test in that month. The researcher gave an opportunity for everyone to ask if there were something ambiguity and question to know the students' comprehension of the narrative text.

Third Meeting

In this meeting, the students are more active, they asked when they took some difficulties and they answered directly when the researcher gave a question. In their groups, they shared, gave and asked for information with each other well, they looked enjoy if they have to do their work collaboratively with their friends. Some students argued that they were enjoying for working together and felt fun for discussing something because they can receive and transfer information to each other. In addition, they thought that when they did work together, they can minimize the time in doing work given by the researcher.

In the closing meeting, some of the students seemed disappointed because they got a test again, in the beginning, some of them refused it, some of them said that before the class they got a test and now they got a test too. To make them have enthusiasm, the researcher reviewed the materials before giving post-test 1 for about 20 multiple-choice questions. In doing the test, some of the students still take an answer from the other friends and the researcher gave a warning about it.

TABLE 4.5:
THE STUDENTS' SCORE OF PRE-TEST AND POST-TEST 1

Score	The Lowest Score	The Highest Score	The Average Score
Pre-Test	60	85	69,3
Post-Test 1	65	85	73,1

In giving the students pre-test and post-test 1, the researcher distributed 20 multiple choice questions, where there were 5 questions about the organization and purpose of narrative text, 5 questions about the logical development of the idea, 5 questions of grammar and 5 questions of punctuation and process of writing. The researcher identified the total right answer of the students in every aspect of writing assessment. It can be seen clearly in the graphic below:

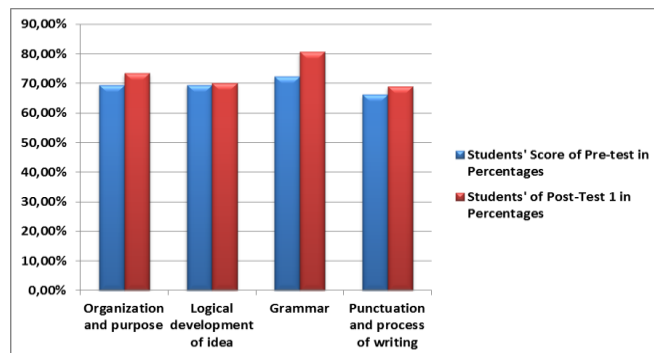


Figure 2: Graphic of Students' Score Comparison between Pre- Test and Post-Test 1

From the graphic, the researcher identified that there were some improvements between the students' score of pre-test and post-test 1. In the pre-test, the students' score for about organization and purpose of narrative text in percentages was 69,4% and it improved by 73,3% in post-test 1. For about logical development of the idea, the students' score in the pre-test was 69,45 and improved by 70%, then the students' score of grammar in the pre-test was 72,2% by 80,5% in post-test 1. The last, for about the students' score of punctuation and the process of writing also took an improvement from 66,1% in pre-test to 68,85% in post-test 1.

From the description above, the researcher identified that the students improved their understanding and skill for all aspects of writing assessment well by using collaborative learning.

Reflecting and Evaluating the Result in Cycle 1

Based on the result of pre-test and post-test 1, the researcher and the English teacher identified that collaborative learning was suitable for improving students' writing skills in narrative text and it can be seen in the mean of the pre-test is 69,3 and improves to be 73,1 in post-test 1. On the other hand, the students still confused about how is the verb past form of some vocab, they still take a cheat when they were in a test.

Revising the Plan

In cycle 1, the researcher still take some problem in the class, they were the students still confused about how is the Verb Past form of some vocab, they still take difficulties in translating their ideas into English language and organizing it to be a good paragraph. Based on the explanation above, the researcher revised her plan and conducted it in cycle 2 as follows: a. Giving suggestions to the students to bring their dictionary in supporting English teaching and learning process because it can help them to find the Verb Past of some vocabs; b. reviewing the material at the beginning of meeting for remembering the students about the material in the previous meeting; c. giving more examples of narrative text; d. giving interesting methods in explaining the material; e. giving opportunity for every group to ask about their difficulties.

Before continuing the research for cycle 2, the researcher prepared the lesson plan, material, list of students' names, exercises and worksheets for post-test 2 in the last meeting for knowing the improving students' writing skills in narrative using collaborative learning that conducted by the researcher.

Cycle 2

a) *Implementing the action*

First Meeting

We gave students a game at the beginning of the meeting to make them ready to start the learning process well. Then we also asked students to create a group like the one we had at the previous meeting, we gave some story titles and asked them to construct the story using their own words and complete it with the generic structure and the main idea for each paragraph and to do it together with their groups as the first assessment in cycle 2 and to see how the students develop their writing skills. For about the students' score of evaluation 1 in cycle 2 can be seen in table 4.6 on appendix 22, students' average score was 77,8 and it improved than in the evaluation 2 on cycle 1 for about 77,5.

Second Meeting

In this meeting, we gave students a summary of the narrative text and addressed their work during the previous meeting and gave each group an opportunity to improve it for better. The students can take detailed information from it, and they can ask directly if they ask for the researcher without feeling nervous, and they can also find their problem and solve it. Most of the problem the researcher found was using some vocabulary in Verb Past form, some of the students did not know well the verb Past form of some of the vocabulary they used and they still use Verb Form in writing the story.

Third Meeting

We discussed the content at the third meeting to reinforce the students' comprehension of narrative texts. Then we asked the students to make their group and give an assessment to complete a text with the right words to be a good text. In this test, the students are more ready and understand the test, it can be seen in its average score for about 83,1 that it means progress on cycle 2 from in evaluation 1. Table 4.7 in Appendix 18 clearly shows this.

The closing meeting in cycle 2 took place on Wednesday, May 25, 2016, and began at 07:00 until 08:30. The students got 2 post-test at this conference. For the post-test 2 results of the students, as can be seen in Table 4.8 in Appendix 24 which shows that all the students passed the test and had 79,86 as the average score.

Observing the action in cycle 2

First Meeting

In this meeting, the students took a test in writing a story of "Jaka Tarub" or "Ande-Ande Lumut". In doing the test, students mostly did not know the story of "Ande-ande Lumut" and it made the researcher told the story clearly before. They were taking a look at it and some of them were asking when they were still uncertain about the plot. They questioned each other in the test and shared information within their classes, and they thought together to be a strong paragraph in the organization of their sentences.

Second Meeting

In this meeting, we and the students began the class by reviewing the material together in the previous meeting, the researcher asked and the students replied, and the researcher also asked the students' opinion on the researcher's use of collaborative learning. Some of them said they loved the technique and felt as if they had a spirit to question if they had a problem doing their work.

Third Meeting

For the third meeting in cycle 2, students were courageous to ask the researcher when the researcher was directing them about their job. We also asked the students about meaning, generic structure, language characteristics explicitly for each group to know their understanding of narrative and some of them were brave to respond in English. The circumstance was so amusing as their answer was true, some laughed and smiled.

The students seemed ready for a post-test 2 at the closing meeting, the seemed to take a little difficult to answer the questions and collect their works before the time. Moreover, the result was more than enough. Many of the students stated they decided to study because the learning is fundamentally helpful to them, based on their classes. This enables them to discuss and question each other and it is focused on their thoughts before closing the meeting with the researcher. Some of them also expressed their gratefulness and admission of guilt for their error when we said the day was the last day for their research.

We reported an improvement on students' post-test 1 to post-test 2 results from their score in post-test 2. The lowest score in post-test 1 was 65 and the lowest score in post-test 2 was 75, the highest score in post-test 1 was 85 and 90 in post-test 2; In post-test 1 the average score was 73, 1 and increases to 79,3 in post-test 2.

The result of Post-Test 1 and Post-Test 2 can be seen as follows:

TABLE 4.9
THE STUDENTS' SCORE BETWEEN POST-TEST 1 AND POST-TEST 2

Score	The Lowest Score	The Highest Score	The Average Score
Post-Test 1	65	85	73,1
Post-Test 2	75	90	79,3

After having known the students' average score on post-test 2, the researcher compared the students' scores for every aspect of writing assessment to know the improvement of students' writing skills from post-test 1 after conducting collaborative learning. It can be seen clearly in the graphic below:

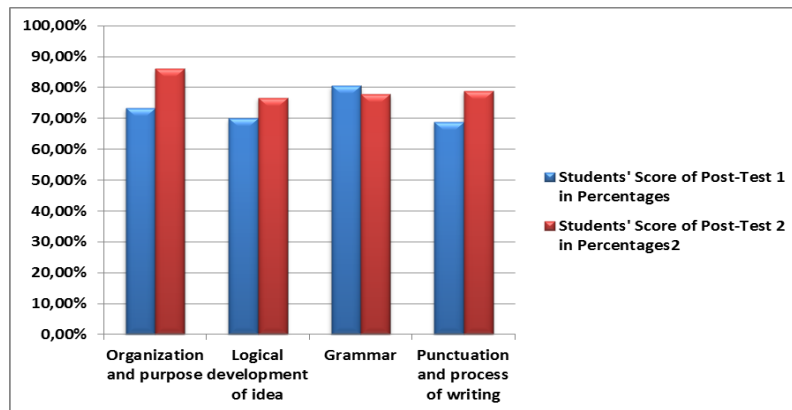


Figure 3: Graphic of Students' Score Comparison between Post-Test 1 and Post-Test 2

From the graph above, we defined the progress of the students for about narrative in four aspects of writing assessment, the organizational score of the students and the intent in post-test 1 was 73.3 percent, 86.1 percent, in post-test 2; about the logical production of the concept in post-test 1 was 70 percent, 76.65 in post-test 2; then the grammar score in post-test 1 f This indicates that the writing skills of the students improved during this study.

Reflecting and evaluating the result in cycle 2

We identified that collaborative learning was an interesting technique after conducting cycle 2, and made the students enjoy and be active in the teaching process. The students showed an improvement in writing skills for narrative text. The result of teaching narrative text writing skills using collaborative learning is improving. The researcher did not review the next strategy based on the result and stopped the loop.

IV. DISCUSSION

There are some researchers and education practitioners who have conducted similar studies on collaborative learning, for example, Nayan, et al. (2010) who stated that when students are given the opportunity to work together, they can do better which simultaneously proves that collaborative learning is advantageous, and has a positive effect on students' learning development. Additionally, Sedhu et al. (2015) examine students' perceptions of the use of group discussion as a collaborative learning tool among ESL learners when learning writing skills in universities. Their study on collaborative learning has shown that group discussions enhance students' learning experiences and knowledge. As far as the researcher concerned, the purpose of collaborative learning is to build and develop students' knowledge so that students are clever in actualizing their thinking and improving their mental abilities to actively work together in groups in an effort to form a student-centered learning environment. The virtue of the Collaborative Learning Model is to foster: 1). Students learn to consult, 2). Students learn to respect the opinions of others, 3) enables them to develop critical and rational thinking, 4) foster a sense of cooperation, 5) it establishes a fair competition.

After conducting the action study for two periods, cycles, we demonstrated an increase in the writing skills of students by using collective learning from pre-test to post-test 1 and 2. On the other hand, the state of the class was different when we performed collective learning in the classroom, where the students made noise and did not pay attention to being involved and enjoying the teaching process. The change on students in the pre-test, post-test 1 and post-test 2 can be seen as follows:

TABLE 2:
THE STUDENTS' SCORE OF PRE-TEST, POST-TEST 1 AND 2

Score	The Lowest Score	The Highest Score	The Average Score
Post-Test 1	65	85	73,1
Post-Test 2	75	90	79,3

For the clear information of the students' improvement in narrative text, the researcher showed it in a graphic below:

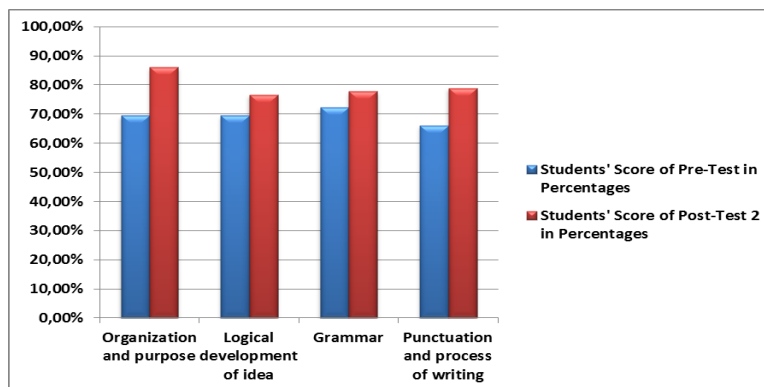


Figure 4: Graphic of Students' Score Comparison between Pre-Test and Post-Test 2

Many students improved on aspects of writing evaluation after they took a post-test 2, they were an improvement in the structure and intent of pre-testing in 69.4%, 86.1% in post-test 2, then 76.6% in the rational development of pre-test concept in 69.4%, 77.7% in pre-test grammar in 72.2% and 77.7% in post-test 2 in the last. This concludes that the writing skills of the students in narrative text strengthened with the use of collective learning. This showed clearly how the students score increased in the pre-test, then post-test 1 and post-test 2.

Based on the observation, pre-test and during the research, we identified some phenomena as follows: the writing skills of the students in the narrative text through the use of collaborative learning that they are improving. It can be seen in the improvement of the average pre-test score of approximately 69,3 in post-test 1 and 79,3 in post-test 2. From the pre-test, the researcher identified that there were 10 students who passed the test and 26 students failed the test. Then there were 19 students who passed the test in post-test 1, and 17 students who failed the test. In the post-test 2, there were all students who passed the test, which means that there was an improvement for about the total students who passed the test and obtained a score of 75 as a passing grade or a minimum score in the English lesson for high school graduation.

V. CONCLUSION

Based on the explanation of the research finding and discussion on chapter four, the researcher concluded some points, they are: In this research, the researcher analyzed that by using collaborative learning the students' writing skill of narrative text improved. The students' writing skills improve from 69,3 on the pre-test then to be 73,1 in post-test 1 and 79,3 in post-test 2. In addition, there was an improvement in the students' lowest score and highest score, from the lowest score 60 in the pre-test to be 65 in post-test 1 and improves to 75 in post-test 2. In support, the highest score from 85 in pre-test and post-test 1 improves to be 90 in post-test 2.

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Application of Sociocultural Identity Theory to Education in EFL Textbooks Development

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Abstract—The present study aims to use Sociocultural Identity theory to education with reference to teaching and learning English as a second language in the EFL textbooks development. The findings of this study revealed that there is a need to use the cultural sensitive and context-appropriate materials in the EFL textbooks. It is urgent to teaching materials correspond with the learners' attitudes, religious opinions and preferences. Because, textbook is not only a commercially accessible reference book which is utilized in a language teaching program, it additionally serves as a significant way to convey political and ideological orientation. Moreover, textbooks decide not only content teaching and learning environments, but also what dominant or valid culture is passed on. Then one goal of textbooks is to serve as a means of facilitating the integration of content about ethnically, racially and culturally diverse individuals. To this end, textbook writers should avoid cultural inequalities and prejudices that learners can absorb in their learning, and have a balanced representation of social / cultural components such as ethnicity, gender, and race.

Index Terms—sociocultural identity theory, EFL textbook, education, teaching and learning ESL

I. INTRODUCTION

According to Roohani and Molana (2013), English as an international language has been widely used worldwide not only by native speakers but also non-native English speakers for transactional and interactional. Furthermore, because of progress in many aspects of science and technology, living in today's world needs all the necessities of living in a global village; therefore, as the very word 'universal' implies, English no longer belongs to a particular people. (Brutt-Griffler, 2002; House, 2003; Nault, 2006, as cited in Roohani and Molana, 2013). In this period of globalization, English has become the language of technology and diplomacy, as well as a platform for information access. (Lee, 2009, as cited in Roohani and Molana, 2013). The world's complexities also call for more attention to be paid to English as well as factors other than language itself, which can improve English language teaching (ELT) courses and help English as a foreign language (EFL) learners achieve their goals. One of the factors worth considering is culture, which represents the way a language speaker thinks and lives (Roohani & Molana, 2013).

One of the well-known features of modern approaches to foreign language learning is the belief that successful acquisition of foreign languages (FLA) is followed by acquisition of foreign culture (FCA) (e.g. Hamers & Blanc, 1989, as cited in Poorebrahim, 2012). It seems obvious that the learning of communication skills by a learner will entail more than controlling the target language's grammatical structures, and mastering its phonology. The learner often needs to acquire new cultural knowledge and a collection of culture-specific linguistic behavioral constraints. While cultural context in foreign language instruction is important (Poorebrahim, 2012).

Language and culture are inextricably connected and culture shapes an integral part of English language teaching (ELT) (Risager, 2007, as cited in Mofidi, 2019). In addition, based on Mofidi (2019), in the English as a foreign language EFL contexts, textbooks provide a rich source of input for language learners and shape the heart of ELT programs (see Sheldon, 1988, as cited in Mofidi, 2019). Moreover, language textbooks should not be considered as a neutral repertoire of lexico grammatical patterns per se. Alternatively, as these scholars note, textbooks on language teaching include a variety of genres that encourage particular ideological and cultural choices within the classroom context (Shardakova & Pavlenko, 2004, as cited in Mofidi, 2019). Consequently, the more a textbook includes the sociocultural dimension, the better it would foster cultural communicative competence in language learners (Shardakova & Pavlenko, 2004, as cited in Mofidi, 2019). This trend encouraged some scholars to reconsider the role of issues related to culture that are represented in EFL textbooks. Language textbooks actually offer an authentic manifestation of both native and non-native cultures (Feng & Byram, 2002, as cited in Mofidi, 2019).

II. SOCIOCULTURAL THEORIES

Sociocultural theories characterize learning and development as being embedded in social events and as learners interacting in the collaborative environment with other people, objects and events (Vygotsky, 1978, as cited in Wang et

al., 2011). Furthermore, sociocultural theories describe human cognition as developed by engaging in social activities, as an individual interacts with other people, objects, and events. It is therefore impossible to separate human cognitive development from the social, cultural and historical contexts from which such development arises (Johnson, 2009, as cited in Wang et al., 2011). Lastly, this social and cultural commitment is mediated by cultural instruments such as language, objects, signs and symbols which make unique human forms of higher-level thinking (Wang et al., 2011).

III. IDENTITY

By engaging in social practice, people learn the social context's norms, roles and culture and help them to establish their identity by intervening in daily activities in social situations with intrinsic self-meanings. (Lave & Wenger 1991; Wenger, 1998, as cited in Park, 2015). Identity is also rebuilt and established as the social context in which a person involved changes. So identity isn't static (Foucault, 1979; Hall, 1990 as cited in Park, 2015). But Park (2015) Maintain that under the influence of social contexts which involve individuals on a daily basis continually evolving and changing. Because identity is constantly changing and evolving according to the impact of everyday social contexts, recognizing and expressing identity characteristics needs consideration of how identity is built in socio-cultural circumstances. (Park, 2015).

According to Park (2015), the sociocultural viewpoint helps us to understand the creation of identities in social practices. In particular, it provides an opportunity to explore an effective theoretical framework for explaining how people learn identity from the concept of human behavior in activities. In a situation where many approaches to adult learning studies focus primarily on the characteristics of individuals, cognitive change and growth or formalized educational settings, the socio-cultural viewpoint gives new insight and theoretical context for learning identity as a socio-cultural phenomenon arising from complex and continuous interactions between individuals and societies in everyday contexts (Park,2015). Finally, Rashidi and Zolfaghari (2018) claimed that the existential view refers to identity as a human self that interacts continuously with language's evolving meanings. Because of these accounts, identity is composed of three stages. The first level, associated with socio-cultural discourse analysts like Fairclough and Halliday, is called "ideological identity." The second level is 'generic identity' endorsing the grammatical language development accounts of Chomsky and Descartes, and the third level is Heidegger and Derrida's 'existential identity' (Evans, 2015, p. 16 , as cited in Rashidi & Zolfaghari ,2018).

IV. TEXTBOOKS

Gunantar (2017) indicated that textbooks are essential components of learning for students and teachers alike. Textbooks are considered the fundamental foundations of courses in the teaching and learning cycle. Textbooks may not contain all the necessary aspects in the process of teaching and learning but their existence as teaching sources is still paramount. They acted as effective instruments for teaching and learning, and as a reflection of a person or nation's values and ideas (Hinkel, 2005, as cited in Gunantar, 2017). Systematic and detailed textbooks may help support the dimension of culture. Textbooks should be crafted with a detailed explanation because of the goal of promoting cultural value in EFL education. The value of textbooks is varied, but the cycle of teaching and learning in second language countries is generally facilitated (Gunantar, 2017). Cortazzi and Jin (1999, in McKay, 2002) said that the textbooks "can be an instructor, a map, a guide, a mentor, an authority, a de-skinner and an ideology" as part of teaching and learning. Consequently, they can serve as major sources of cultural knowledge, as well as linguistic and thematic materials depicting the ideology of the ESL countries. Textbooks in every part of the world possess various cultural orientations; whether it is based on cultural source, target culture, or international target (Gunantar, 2017).

V. REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

A. *Sociocultural Theories*

In the 1920s and 1930s Vygotsky and his colleagues in Russia initially systematized and applied socio-cultural theories (John-Steiner & Mahn, 1996, as cited in Wang et al., 2011). According to Wang et al., (2011) Lev Vygotsky was a Russian psychologist and educator who died in 1934 in his late thirties of tuberculosis "without the world's comprehension or acceptance of the sociocultural theory which he had developed almost by himself" (Whiteside, 2007: 48 as cited in Wang et al.,2011). Other theoreticians such as Lave (1988; 1991), Lemke (1990), Rogoff (1990; 2003) and Wertsch (1991) have further developed sociocultural theories based on (Wang et al., 2011).

B. *Culture*

In the 1990s, the link between language and culture in Applied Linguistics arose as an issue as developments in identity politics and second language (L2) acquisition work burgeoned (Kramsch & Hua, 2016, as cited in Mofidi, 2019). Due to improvements in multilingualism and human communication, such a link became more complicated (Kramsch & Hua, 2016, as cited in Mofidi, 2019). According to Merriam-Webster's (2004) dictionary, the word culture originated in the 15th century. It originates from the Latin word 'cultura' or 'cultus' which means the land cultivation. As quoted in the Oxford Word History Dictionary (2002), the meaning of culture in the 16th century was extended to "cultivation of the mind, faculties or manners" (p. 287). In addition, Kramsch (1995), defines culture as "the attitude

and beliefs, ways of thinking, behaving, and remembering shared by members of that community.” (p. 84). In sum, As Mofidi (2019) stated several researchers have so far tried to define the idea of culture, but there is still little agreement in the literature on its precise meaning and interpretation. Culture has been such an abstract definition that researchers show their "apprehension" of using this language either by putting it in quotation marks or by using "lexical avoidance behavior" that places words like "discourse," "praxis", or "habitus" (Heath ,1997, p. 113, as cited in Atkinson & Sohn, 2013, p. 1).

C. Identity

Erikson (1968, as cited in Park, 2015) focused on the idea that personality is profoundly influenced by historical circumstances. The central issues in finding a self-concept are a sense of continuity and sameness over time, including "Who am I?" And "Why am I in the present-day society?" (Holland & Lachicotte, 2007, as cited in Park, 2015). In social life, he focused on the mechanisms for achieving identity and connection between individuals and their social environment. In his notion a person is constructed in a social context as a social and historical object and, in this regard, the identity of individuals is not a given "item" or a "product." He emphasized the process of becoming and offers a more complete account of how individual functions develop from sociocultural processes, considering the transforming aspect of sociocultural processes and how these shape individual choices. (Penuel & Wertsch, 1995, as cited in Park, 2015). Moreover, Mead's notion of identity (1934, as cited in Park, 2015) is grounded in social coordination of activity through symbolic communication and negotiated through daily social interaction (1934). The social origins of mental functioning; all human mental functioning is socio-cultural, historical and institutional. Identity is formed in socio-cultural practices as a psychological function of higher order (Vygotsky, 1978, as cited in Park, 2015). In addition, based on Rashidi and Zolfaghari (2018), identity is one of the basic concepts which affect learning (Ivanic, 2006; Lave & Wenger,1991). It reflects an individual's relationship with the world (Hyland, 2010). Each individual possesses multiple identities based on their roles in society (Afful & Mwinlaaru, 2010; Desrochers, Andreassi, & Thompson, 2002). One's multifaceted self-comprises a series of counter-identities as well (Burke, 1980; Cheng, 2015; Hall, 1997; Ivanic, 1998; Ivanic & Camps, 2001; Kramsch, 1998). Therefore, Ivanic (1998) preferred to use the word "identity" rather than "identity" for one's self-reliance and the overlapping positions in social contexts (Ivanic, 1998).Moreover, Rashidi and Zolfaghari (2018) claimed that the universal perspective relates to identity as a human self which interacts constantly with the transforming meanings of language. Because of these accounts, identity is composed of three levels. The first point, identified with socio-cultural discourse analysts such as Fairclough and Halliday, is called "ideological identity." The second level is "generic identity" endorsing the grammatical language development accounts of Chomsky and Descartes, and the third level is credited to Heidegger and Derrida ' existential identity (Evans, 2015, p. 16).

Crozet and Liddicoat (2000, as cited in Mofidi, 2019) furthermore, this approach to culture is loosely linked to language, since culture is seen as a separate entity, divorced from the context of language as a result of engaging with another culture, and learners attempt to build an intercultural identity by decentralizing their current linguistic and cultural identity (Liddicoat, 2011, as cited in Mofidi, 2019). In this sense, language and culture are interconnected and constant exposure to language and culture contributes to optimal learning outcomes (Liddicoat, 2011, as cited in Mofidi, 2019).

D. Textbooks

Wright (1999,as cited in Abd Rashid and Ibrahim, 2018) who examined the factors influencing the attitudes of secondary education in Britain towards French, found that language learners find textbooks to have a significant influence on their attitudes towards the target culture and that there is a significant positive association between this effect and the attitudes of many pupils. In addition, Yamada (1997, as cited in Abd Rashid and Ibrahim, 2018) argued that a textbook is not just a commercially available reference book used in a language teaching program, it also acts as an important means of providing political and ideological guidance. She also remarked that “textbooks can be understood and examined as curricular materials, which project images of society and culture. They reflect historical, social, cultural and socio-cultural, economic and political contexts” (p. 20). Dellinger (1995, as cited in Abd Rashid and Ibrahim, 2018) also believed that language was a kind of social practice that was used for representation and meaning. Texts, like textbooks, are written by people who are socially situated.

VI. DISCUSSION

The present study focuses on the application of Sociocultural Identity theory to education with reference to teaching and learning English as a second language in the EFL textbooks development. The findings of this study revealed that there is a need use cultural sensitive and context-appropriate materials in the EFL textbooks. The present study is consistent with (Homayounzadeh & Sahragard , 2015 ; Rashidi & Zolfaghari , 2018; Far ás & Cabezas ,2015). Homayounzadeh and Sahragard (2015) maintain that the key guiding factor in deciding on the particular culture to be portrayed in language textbooks is undoubtedly the fundamental purpose of language instruction courses, which are probably the very aim of learners to follow in acquiring the language. This objective is generally determined by global changes which require an international language knowledge. If English was used solely as a medium for contact with target language native speakers, their cultural values constituted the substance of textbook language. The more inclusive

a book was in describing its scope of socio-cultural identities and the more objectively it represented its beliefs, the more suitable it was to develop the communication skills of the learners (Shardakova & Pavlenko, 2004, as cited in Homayounzadeh & Sahragard, 2015). It was believed that such cultural representation could give the learners a frame of reference for understanding the information in the target language and empathizing with the target people in their communications with them. (Widdowson, 1990; Alptekin, 1993; as cited in Homayounzadeh & Sahragard, 2015). Shardakova and Pavlenko (2004, as cited in Homayounzadeh & Sahragard, 2015) examined two Russian textbooks, designed for American students to determine the extent to which identity representations in the books were embrasive of the diversities among the actual audience of the book. Biases and mischaracterizations in the texts have been taken as missed opportunities for cross-cultural reflection and an ability for opposition of the target culture by the students and an obstacle to their more investment in the target language. Hence the authors suggested that foreign language textbook writers integrate challenging unequal language learner experiences that are likely to negotiate in the sense of the target language. A host of other research examining identity depictions in language textbooks suggested that writers portray identities important to the social and political life of the learners and prevent stereotyping and biased representations (Canagarajah, 1993; Kinginger, 2004; Talburt & Stewart, 1999, as cited in Homayounzadeh & Sahragard, 2015). Moreover, according to Javadi and Tahmasbi (2020), the course-book and its materials should not conflict with moral, cultural and political values in our society. Textbook content should be written in such a way as to prepare learners for more communicative objectives. Language is a social practice that works outside of the linguistic surface to create identity in socio-cultural contexts (Bignold, 2015; Edwards, 2009; Harwood, 2005; Hyland, 2010; Ivanic, 1998; Norton, 2000). Writing is not quite impersonal, as a by-product of language use (Hyland, 2002b; Ivanic, 1998). Writers don't just pass on information. They share their thoughts, their values and their ideas and then find answers to their questions (Hyland, 2002b, Petersen, 2003). In this sense, texts project the identities of writers who are formed throughout their life's socio-cultural contexts and exposed through their social activities, experiences and choice of language components, topics and content (Evans, 2015; Fairclough, 1993; Hyland, 2002a; Hyland, 2002b, Hyland, 2005; Ivanic, 1998; Ivanic & Camps, 2001; Norton, 2000; van Dijk, Ting-Toomey, Smitherman, & Troutman, 1997). Many scholars have debated identity in academic texts so far. For example, in thesis acknowledgments, doctoral prize applications, and bio statements, Hyland (2011, as quoted in Rashidi and Zolfaghari, 2018) focused on identity building. He found that the writers developed their identities by finding targets, influencing the opinions of the audience, and studying and practicing the ideals and features of rhetoric and academia. And in Bulgaria, Germany, the Netherlands, and Spain, Taylor, Busse, Gagova, Marsden, and Roosken (2013, as cited in Rashidi and Zolfaghari, 2018) investigated the relationship between perception of identity and teaching and learning achievement across English as a foreign language and subjects of mathematics. They found significant connections between the perceptions of identity of the learners and the instructors and their rates of performance. We underlined the need to recognize the voices of teachers and learners in academic contexts. Oliynyk (2013, as quoted in Rashidi and Zolfaghari, 2018) studied contemporary reading textbooks and fictions to discover ideologies in another analysis and then concentrated on teaching practices to close current ideological gaps. Some of the political topics discussed in that study were class, crime, divorce and social rejection. Even though many research have concentrated on identity in academic texts, there has been little research into TEFL textbooks, apart from the now traditional reference to how culture is portrayed in EFL materials (Alptekin 1993, as cited in Far ás & Cabezas, 2015). In Spain, textbooks were examined for their inclusion and treatment of intercultural and foreign topics (Mendez Garc á, 2005 as cited in Far ás & Cabezas, 2015). Its ideological and cultural implications for Chinese EFL learners (Shi, 2000); its suitability for the Iranian EFL context (Shi, 2000); for their appropriateness for the Iranian EFL context (Roshan 2014 as cited in Far ás & Cabezas, 2015). Roshan (2014, as cited in Far ás & Cabezas, 2015) Concludes that the two textbooks evaluated illustrate cultural and political assumptions by concentrating on the United States and the United Kingdom where their local cities, lifestyles and subjects represent a biased way of life. In sum, the findings of this study revealed textbooks decide not only content teaching and learning environments, but also what dominant or valid culture is passed on. Then one goal of textbooks is to serve as a means of facilitating the integration of content about ethnically, racially and culturally diverse individuals. To this end, textbook writers should avoid cultural inequalities and prejudices that learners can absorb in their learning, and have a balanced representation of social / cultural components such as ethnicity, gender, and race.

VI. CONCLUSION

As Tajeddin and Teimournezhad (2014) point out, some of the latest ELT textbooks have shortcomings in encouraging intercultural comprehension. As Kobia (2009, as cited in Roohani and Molana, 2013) maintains that if such textbooks are biased and not effective in developing cultural understanding among EFL learners, they can in turn lead to a biased worldview in which learners can discriminate and prefer such nationalities, races, gender or groups over others, rather than appreciate diversity and comprehend cross-cultural differences (Roohani & Molana, 2013). Hence, based on Gómez Rodríguez (2015), the teaching of English as a foreign language (EFL) occupies a significant role in communicative textbooks since many teachers rely on them as the foundations for helping learners develop communication skills: The capacity to use words, express messages and discuss meanings in real-life social contexts with other speakers (Bachman, 1999; Savignon, 1997, 2001). To meet this mission, textbooks include lists of communicative features, grammar types, and language skills to be learned. Tudor (2001, as cited in Gómez

Rodríguez (2015) demonstrates that the socio-cultural aspects of communication and cultural meaning greatly interfere with the use of language, and therefore culture can not be overlooked in program designs and teachings. In that sense, the design of communicative textbooks can not disregard culture. The need to learn a foreign language now goes far beyond studying grammatical forms hidden in communicative functions. In consequence, the EFL field can not ignore the need for learners to build intercultural knowledge in order to fit into a globalized world where people from different cultural backgrounds create international relations and become intercultural speakers (Banks, 2004; Byram, 1997). Students should foster what Kumaravadivelu (2008, as cited in Gómez Rodríguez, 2015), has named global cultural knowledge, in which students are learning to effectively communicate towards new cultures which are very differently from themselves. Then, if the English language is taught in many educational settings through communicative textbooks, they are expected to provide the means to address the foreign culture. To this end, textbooks should encourage the enhancement of ICC, which is characterized as the ability to understand and communicate with individuals with multiple social identities. (Byram, Gribkova, & Starkey, 2002, as cited in Gómez Rodríguez, 2015). In summary, this article provides an overview of application of sociocultural theory Identity to Education in EFL textbooks development. The recent study showed that there is a need to use materials that are cultural sensitive and context-appropriate in the EFL textbooks. To achieve this purpose, to this end, textbook writers should avoid cultural differences and biases that learners can absorb in their learning, and have a balanced representation of social / cultural components such as ethnicity, gender, and race. Hence, University professors who find the textbooks' secret voices can be great assets for their students to free them and increase their agency and strength. Materials developers can also be directed on what should be passed to the students and what conforms to the demands of global and local learning contexts. Finally, the findings of this study will redound to the advantage of material developers and users of textbooks considering the sociocultural Identity theory to Education through EFL textbooks development in L2 learning.

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The Effects of Using the Mad Minute Strategy in Teaching English among Female Students in Some Saudi High Schools

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Abstract—This study aims to investigate the effectiveness of using "The Mad Minute" as an intervention strategy to improve students' level of English. Moreover it seeks to discover learners and teacher's perceptions of the efficacy of The Mad Minute intervention in terms of its efficacy in developing students' performance in English. The sample consisted of 100 female students from two public high schools and their 4 teachers who were asked to complete two questionnaires relating to how useful and effective the learners and teachers found The Mad Minute intervention for enhancing the students' learning skills. The findings showed that the students in both schools reported that the intervention enhanced their subjective ability to learn new English language skills. Further, the study sheds light on the learning processes involved in the "The Mad Minute" intervention and how it benefits students to improve their level of achievement in English. Moreover, the analysis of test scores reveals significant learner development at the level of ($\alpha = 0.05$) between the pre-test and the post-test in the total score in the favour of the post-test scores indicating the effectiveness of using The Mad Minute strategy. Recommendations have been given at the end of the article.

Index Terms—mad minute strategy, effective teaching, teaching strategies, academic achievement development

I. INTRODUCTION

As a response to recent developments in scientific, economic, and social aspects of life as well as the Internet-based communication revolution resulting from knowledge development and globalization, it is necessary to prepare today's English language students to overcome the challenges posed by these modernized teaching and learning methods. Furthermore, we cannot prepare English language students for the present and future demands that our technologically-based world places upon their English language skills by merely relying on traditional, teacher-centered pedagogical approaches. Because our current era has engendered a new sense of openness between individuals and communities via the medium of online communication, this requires a new set of approaches to language learning that embrace data and information and invest in solving our shared problems and developing student's critical thinking and their capacity for innovation and creativity. However, we cannot hope to achieve this aim without guiding students to develop their capacity to process information rapidly and respond with relevant answers in relation to solutions for overcoming everyday problems (Adaoud, 2004).

Moreover, the careful selection of effective methods to support this aim is not only key to improving student's English language level but also helpful in the future practice of education. So, teachers have to focus on providing students with suitable training on different styles including time management tips that allow students to recognize the importance of time and then help them better manage their time. Recently, researchers have examined the effects of time management on students' success in all areas of their personal, familial, career, social and cultural life.

Although there are a lot of strategies directed at developing students' achievement in learning English, "The Mad Minute" strategy is one of the newest ways of brainstorming that has not previously been tested in the field of English language teaching. According to Holmes (2014), the concept of "The Mad Minute" was introduced by the British Army, as a bolt-rifle speed shooting exercise before World War I. Soldiers had to fire 15 rounds at a target 300 yards distant using the Lee–Enfield service rifle. Most of them could do rather better than that, and some could fire almost 30 rounds a minute with little loss of accuracy (Holmes, 2014).

More recently, the concept of "The Mad Minute" has been used in teaching, primarily as a strategic activity in Mathematics. Pham (2018) explains this strategy:

Mad Minute is a fast-paced math fact practice strategy that our class does every day. My students get one minute to finish as many problems as they can, working towards getting the highest number of consecutive problems correct. As my students work on Mad Minute more and more, they improve their accuracy and speed (Pham, n.d.).

In addition, The Mad Minute strategy has begun to be applied in teaching many other subjects including English. This method of teaching involves an interaction between the teacher and the learner or among the learners themselves. Teachers choose a certain activity or exercise in class and ask their students to complete it individually or in groups in only one minute. Sometimes teachers give their students more than one minute, depending on how difficult the given

exercise is (i.e. two or five minutes but not more than ten minutes in order to make it more effective). This helps them work under pressure and helps them consider the importance of time. English teachers can apply this strategy to teaching grammar, vocabulary, reading, writing, listening, and speaking skills. When teachers use The Mad Minute strategy, they focus on improving their student's language abilities rather than their overall score, and so teachers use it as a means to promote learners' English ability.

The Study Problem

This study responds to international trends in developing new teaching methods as a means of promoting learners' ability to help them cope with international changes and the growing communication and interaction brought by the globalized use of English. A variety of student-centred teaching methods can encourage effective social interaction, self-learning, develop creative problem-solving skills, as well as balance student's personalities. Such activities relate to the changing role of teachers that has evolved to allow them to become facilitators and trainers rather than instructors. This requires them to explore new teaching methods such as The Mad Minute strategy and other strategies that can develop learning skills among students.

As a result, this study seeks to explore the effectiveness of using The Mad Minute strategy in teaching English in terms of improving students' achievement in English. Subsequently, the aim of this project is to determine whether high school students prefer being taught using The Mad Minute method. More specifically, this paper focuses on students and teachers' attitudes toward using this strategy in teaching and learning English. Subsequently, the current study seeks to answer the following questions:

1. What are the advantages, if any, of using The Mad Minute strategy in teaching English?
2. What are the drawbacks, if any, of using this method in teaching English?
3. What are the teachers' attitudes towards using this method in the classroom?
4. What are the students' attitudes towards using this method in the classroom?
5. Does this method improve the students' level in English?

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

A search of the relevant literature did not find any studies that relate to the Mad Minute strategy specifically in the context of teaching in ESL contexts. Furthermore, no significant data were found regarding teachers' perceptions of this strategy's effects on students. However, in order to overcome these limitations, the researcher compiled data from the literature that related to the nature and quality of the Mad Minute approach by identifying the following four areas: (a) teaching English as a foreign language, (b) the importance of using effective teaching strategies, (c) setting short time limits on teaching, (d) and the attitudes of teachers and students. Therefore, the following literature review was developed around these four topics:

Teaching English as A Foreign Language

Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL) refers to teaching English to students with different first languages. TEFL is taught either within the public-school system or privately, at a language school or with a tutor. TEFL can also take place in an English-speaking country for students who have travelled there either temporarily for study or work, or permanently. TEFL teachers may be native or non-native speakers of English. Other acronyms for TEFL are (TESL) Teaching English as a Second Language, (TESOL) Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages, and (ESL) English as a second language; a term typically used in English-speaking countries, and often refers to learning more than teaching (Broughton, Brumfit, Pincas & Wilde, 2002).

One of the consistent themes that has developed in ESL over the past twenty years is the importance of integrating second-language instruction meaningfully within the entire curriculum as a means of both increasing the efficacy of the language instruction, and improving second-language learners' chances and opportunities for academic success and positive educational outcomes.

Importance of Using Effective Teaching Strategies

Here, it is necessary to clarify exactly what is meant by teaching strategies. Armstrong (2013) defines teaching strategies as methods used to help students learn the desired course contents and develop achievable goals in the future. Teaching strategies identify the different available learning methods to enable students to develop effective learning strategies specific to the student's requirements. Assessment of student's learning capabilities provides a key pillar in the development of a successful teaching strategy. The work of O'Malley and Chamot (1990) and others emphasized the importance of style awareness and strategy development in ensuring mastery in English language teaching. Thus, many textbooks and articles offer guidelines for constructing strategy-building activities (Armstrong, 2013).

Setting Short Time Limits on Teaching

Although a few studies have been conducted to investigate the impact of using short time limits in teaching English, a considerable amount of literature has been published in the field of teaching mathematics. These studies clarified that setting short time limits in teaching has revealed both positive and/or negative effects. For example, a study conducted by Boaler (2014) concluded that imposing time limits in math tests may serve to demotivate students resulting in 'math anxiety' and causing students to fear studying math in the long term. Further, he posits that imposing timed tests may cause a reduction in student's deep learning by interfering with their cognitive abilities (Boaler, 2014).

In contrast to Boaler, Terada (2017) points out that teachers are required to impose timed tests on their students due to the quality of accepted exam procedures. She posits that children take as many as 20 standardized tests each year, and timed testing follows students through college entrance exams and into their careers. She also cites a number of areas that require timed tests such as certifications for teachers, electricians, and medical laboratory technicians. However, she also provides significant, useful tips for tackling timed tests and math anxiety and how they can help make the stress more manageable for students. She suggests experienced teachers have to offer a variety of strategies:

Many educators use simple games to liven up practice sessions recasting timed testing as an engaging race against the clock. If that seems like a fairly obvious approach, an important nuance emerged during the discussion: Most teachers who gamified their timed tests chose not to grade them, or graded them only for accuracy and not completion. For younger children especially, this simple approach gives them the space to build skills and confidence before they confront actual timed tests. Teachers also have to focus on moving an individual child forward and de-emphasize ranking the performance among peers or against a fixed time limit. (Terada, 2017, n.p.)

Similarly, in the following excerpt, other findings support the use of timed periods in teaching and learning processes:

More than anything else, short time limits encourage discussion and the development of fluency. Too often, students will hesitate to participate because they are over-thinking what needs to be done. But by setting a scary short time limit, students will have to kick their brains into gear quickly and throw out whatever comes to mind (Appointment plus, 2015, n.p.).

Also, while setting short time limits for students can increase their sense of fun and add diversity to class activities, teachers should not overuse this approach because they may not be appropriate to different lesson content or student's individual learning styles. However, while using short time limits can be useful in developing students' productive skills such as speaking in terms of requiring them to give their views or agree or disagree with others, as well as describing narratives, short time limits also encourage students to rapidly understand a new text or identify new vocabulary. In addition, the sense of achievement students gains from rising to the challenge presented by working to short time limits is also effective at promoting confidence and motivation and can be used with students at all levels. For example, short time limits can be used to help students practice their spoken skills (e.g. forming questions and giving answers and personal views, expressing agreement and disagreement, engaging in speculation, and relating a narrative. Setting short time limits attracts student's attention and engages them in the learning process; two key areas that are essential for effective learning because the brain is hard-wired to solve challenges in a limited timeframe and successfully solving such challenges increases self-confidence. Provided that short time limits are used carefully, students are likely to thrive on the challenge and exceed their own expectations of how much they can achieve in a short timeframe. Finally, using such time limits tends to promote lively discussion among students with everyone interacting cohesively to solve the challenge at hand (Tankard, 2018).

Students' and Teachers' Perspective

Perception is defined as "the process by which people select, organize, interpret, retrieve and respond to the information from the world around them" (Schermerhorn, Hunt, & Osborn, 2003, p.2). Alhojailan (2015) stated that it is important to explore students' perceptions because perceptions are created based on students' knowledge and backgrounds. Therefore, perception is of primary importance and has a great influence on shaping what comes after (Alhojailan, 2015).

A. *Students' perspective.* While much has been said about the impact of selecting an effective strategy to improve students' performance, we still have a lot to learn about how perceptions of new teaching methods are changing over time. It is important to note that students remain at the centre of the learning process. Their perceptions are important indicators of the effectiveness of a particular strategy, as many studies rely on students' perceptions as an indicator of the effectiveness of a selective teaching strategy.

Felder and Silverman (1988) explored the perceptions of the students in their study and found that individuals differ from one another in the way they prefer to receive and process information. They also found a relationship between individuals' preferences receiving information and their methods of communicating information. The results showed that most participants preferred to receive information visually and engaged in drawing very little during the design exercise.

B. *Teachers' perspective.* Karabenick and Noda surveyed 729 teachers and examined the differences between teachers who have positive attitudes and those with less than positive attitudes toward ELLs:

Teachers more accepting of ELLs in their classes were more likely to believe that an ELL's first language proficiency promotes school performance and does not impede learning a second language; bilingualism and bilingual education are beneficial; ELLs should be tested in their first language; lack of fluency in the second language does not imply lack of comprehension; and ELLs do not consume additional teacher time or district resources. Results also showed that teachers with more favourable attitudes toward ELLs tended to take mastery versus a performance (or competitive) approach to instruction, and had a higher self-efficacy for teaching ELLs. (Karabenick & Noda, 2004, p. 56)

The authors also stated that the findings of their study suggest a need for professional development. Clearly, attitudes have changed to some degree and they are continuing to change.

From the above, we can see that no previous study has explicitly investigated the effectiveness of using The Mad Minute strategy in teaching English in high schools. Moreover, no one has yet tackled the perceptions of secondary school students and English language teachers toward using this strategy in teaching English in high schools. Therefore, this study intends to fill this knowledge gap.

III. METHOD

The present study concerns those who are interested in the educational process, especially in the field of ESL teaching strategies. The study sheds light on the methods applied in The Mad Minute strategy and how we can benefit from it to narrow the gap resulting from traditional practices in English teaching by trying to achieve objective results that reflect the pedagogical and educational realities regarding the level of students' achievement in English.

Design of study

This quantitative study consists of two parts: first, it uses a descriptive survey approach that deals with a vital subject. Second, it adopts a pre-post-test experimental design with four experimental groups. All learners were given a pre-test before six weeks of using The Mad Minute strategy in class. The learners then took the same test one week after using it. Therefore, the original hypothesis is: "Students who are taught by using The Mad Minute strategy will have achieved higher scores in the post-test rather than in the pre-test". Subsequently, the null hypothesis that will be tested in the study is: "There is no statistically significant difference at the level of significance ($\alpha = 0.05$) between the mean scores of the pre-test and post-test".

Subjects and Setting

The researcher chose a particular population for the current study consisting of third-grade students from two public high schools in addition to their English teachers. The first school provided 76 students and 2 teachers while the second school provided 24 students and 2 teachers; a total of 100 female students distributed over six classes and 4 teachers. Pseudonyms were used to refer to each one of the teachers. The study took place in the first semester of the academic year 2018-2019.

Research Instruments

The data were analysed both in qualitative and quantitative methods to answer the five research questions that are mentioned in the study problem section.

Since this study has an anonymous student-and-teacher survey study, the researcher generated two questionnaires. The first one is designed for the students, based on the skills being taught using The Mad Minute strategy. It measures students' emotional aspect, social interaction, learning achievement, improvement in their higher thinking skills, and their interaction during class. Students were asked about their opinions towards using this strategy in their English classes. The second questionnaire was provided to the teachers who have used The Mad Minute strategy. It includes the same elements that are included in the student questionnaire but it has one extra open-ended question to elicit the teachers' perceptions of this method. Based on their experiences, the teachers were asked about the positive and negative effects of using The Mad Minute strategy in teaching English language in high schools.

The questionnaire consisted of 25 items. These items were designed by the researcher in light of how efficacious The Mad Minute strategy is as a means of enhancing the English language learning process. The instrument comprises five Likert-type items asking the respondents to specify their level of agreement or disagreement on a symmetric agree-disagree scale for a series of statements. The subjects were asked to rate each one from one to five: strongly agree (5) being the highest, and strongly disagree (1) being the lowest. Thus, the researcher tried to design valid and reliable questionnaires measuring learners' attitudes towards different aspects of language learning by using this particular strategy.

As mentioned before, the students took a pre-test before the study was applied, then they took the same test (pre-test) after the study ended. The assessment of this test is primarily described as a proficiency test with a time limit that measures how much new English the learners have learned. It can be described as a simple version of *The Standardized Test for English Proficiency (STEP)* in which it is designed to measure objectively the student's proficiency in English. This test made up of 30 questions, so the final score is out of 30. The following are the various parts of the test and their perspective percentages and their stipulated time limits: Reading Comprehension 30% (15 min), Sentence Structure 30% (10 min), Listening Comprehension 20% (7 min), and Composition Analysis 20% (8 min). The total time required to administer the test was approximately 40 minutes.

Data Collection Procedure

All the learners were given a pre-test before using The Mad Minute strategy in English classes as well as a post-test one week after they ended. First, the two questionnaires were translated into the respondents' L1 (Arabic), so they can know exactly what they are answering, and the teachers can express their ideas in the open-ended question freely. Then, a first draft was piloted on the students of the second school (24 students and their two teachers) to gain insights in terms of the choice of vocabulary items and grammar used in the questionnaire and a second time to run Cronbach's Alpha to establish the required internal consistency.

Next, one week later, the same subjects were given the same questionnaire and asked to respond to the items again. The questionnaire filled out in this session was compared with the previously filled out questionnaire and any differences were noted. The learners were asked to answer why there was a change in the answers provided. Learners found some items rather difficult to answer due to their content. Most of the students' reasons for the changes were used to make revisions to the questionnaires.

Next, the aim of this research was explained to both teachers and students and the researcher provided the questionnaires to all the students and their four teachers in both schools. Each teacher was asked to read and explain carefully each item included in the questionnaire to the students and to let them take their time responding to the questionnaire. Finally, the questionnaires were collected and analysed. The data gathered in this study were processed using Cronbach's Alpha to assure the internal consistency of the questionnaire. The results of Cronbach's Alpha indicated that the questionnaire had a reliability index of 0.80, which is considered satisfactory.

IV. FINDINGS

The purpose of this study is to examine the effectiveness of using The Mad Minute strategy in teaching English by summarizing and evaluating the results of pre-post-tests after using this strategy. Moreover, this study aimed to explore students' and teachers' perceptions of using this strategy in teaching and learning English. This section presents the findings from the students' and teachers' questionnaires and the results of the paired samples *t*-test that was used in the study.

Findings from the Research Questions

To answer the first two research questions above, the teachers were provided with an open-ended question to elicit their perceptions of this method. They were asked, as teachers who have experience of using this method, what they consider the positive and negative effects of using The Mad Minute strategy in teaching English language in high schools. Their answers were:

The advantages of using The Mad Minute strategy. The excerpts reveal that the teachers viewed The Mad Minute as a useful strategy as it provides four major advantages:

(i) the positive impact it has on encouraging students to express ideas, reach solutions and make contributions to discussions:

This particular strategy enables the teacher to have students elicit, practice and interact in a short period of time, which makes it a common strategy among high school English teachers. Whether it is an actual one-minute period or longer, it puts the students under a positive pressure that leads them to express ideas, find solutions, or contribute to a discussion spontaneously. (Leena)

(ii) the strategy's motivational impact:

It motivates students to cooperate with their classmates and increases competition between them. (Elham)

(iii) the feedback the strategy provides teachers on student understanding:

The Mad Minute strategy motivates students to participate in simple and different tasks. It also provides the teacher with immediate feedback and enables the teacher to find out if students have recognized the main point. Sometimes it is used to summarize the lesson. (Ghadah)

(iv) its usefulness in teaching grammar, vocabulary, speaking and listening skills:

I think that The Mad Minute strategy is a useful technique in teaching grammar, vocabulary, speaking and listening skills. (Amal)

The disadvantages of using this strategy. There were four main drawbacks of using The Mad Minute strategy as illustrated by the following survey excerpts taken from the teacher's surveys.

(i) causing anxiety to students who were more focused on the time limit than the task in hand:

Some students may consider this strategy as a nerve-wracking situation, worrying about time rather than working a task. (Leena)

(ii) it was not useful for teaching listening:

For me, using The Mad Minute strategy was not useful at all in teaching listening skill. Even though my students did not like it in the listening although they loved it in the vocabulary. (Ghadah)

(iii) it does not work with students who have learning difficulties:

Using this strategy is ineffective when you have students with learning disabilities. (Amal)

(iv) it can cause negative relationships among the students in a group context:

Sometimes, it causes negative reactions among the students, especially when they are doing group work. (Elham)

Students and teachers' perceptions of the Mad Minute strategy

To probe the attitudes of learners and their teachers towards the efficacy of The Mad Minute strategy in teaching and learning English, the subjects' attitude questionnaires were administered. The attitudes questionnaires were in the form of a five-point Likert scale ranging from strongly agree (5) to strongly disagree (1) and consisted of 25 items. All learners (100 students) and their four teachers were asked to respond to all the twenty-five items in the questionnaires. Table (1) illustrates the results gained from the students' questionnaire while Table (2) provides the results gained from their teachers' questionnaire.

TABLE 1:
RESULT OF THE STUDENTS' QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONDS TOWARDS THE EFFICACY OF THE MAD MINUTE STRATEGY IN TEACHING AND LEARNING ENGLISH.

No.	Statements	Strongly Agree%	Agree %	Neutral %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree%
1	I enjoy using The Mad Minute strategy in the class	29%	42%	20%	5%	4%
2	It makes me feel more confident about myself	30%	37%	22%	9%	2%
3	It makes me feel more energetic when the class begins	51%	25%	19%	5%	0%
4	It makes me interested in what I am learning	25%	48%	20%	4%	3%
5	I feel more relaxed to do The Mad Minute activities with a group than working alone	58%	28%	9%	3%	2%
6	I enjoy working with classmates during The Mad Minute activities	44%	34%	19%	1%	2%
7	It motivates me to cooperate with my classmates	46%	41%	11%	1%	1%
8	It encourages me to accept my classmates' different ideas	27%	40%	22%	8%	3%
9	It gives me an opportunity to build positive relationships with my classmates	25%	44%	24%	5%	2%
10	It gives me an opportunity to take responsibility for my performance in a group work	32%	38%	21%	6%	3%
11	It helps me learning how to deal with my classmates during the class	29%	40%	25%	3%	3%
12	It increases and arranges my participation during the class	40%	41%	15%	3%	1%
13	It makes me more focused during the class	37%	33%	20%	6%	4%
14	It increases the competition with my classmates	55%	28%	15%	2%	0%
15	It helps me to express my ideas freely	30%	36%	20%	6%	4%
16	It makes me prepare for the class	50%	37%	8%	3%	2%
17	Using The Mad Minute is a useful technique in learning Grammar	30%	39%	19%	9%	3%
18	Using The Mad Minute is a useful technique in learning vocabulary	37%	35%	20%	3%	5%
19	Using The Mad Minute is a useful technique in learning listening skill	27%	31%	9%	20%	13%
20	Using The Mad Minute is a useful technique in learning speaking skill	32%	43%	15%	8%	2%
21	Using The Mad Minute is a useful technique in learning reading skill	24%	37%	19%	9%	11%
22	Using The Mad Minute is a useful technique in learning writing skill	31%	29%	35%	7%	3%
23	I can improve my knowledge when I am doing The Mad Minute activities	38%	26%	29%	7%	0%
24	I am interested in finding different ideas during The Mad Minute activities	40%	41%	16%	3%	0%
25	It makes me think about how much time is important	61%	29%	10%	0%	0%

As Table 1 shows, statements 1-5 measure the effects of The Mad Minute on the students' emotional response: 71% of the students reported that The Mad Minute is an enjoyable and effective strategy. Furthermore, statements 5-11 measure the effects of The Mad Minute on the students' social interaction. The number of students who preferred working with a group during The Mad Minute activities (86%) was higher than the ones who preferred working alone (5%). Also, 76% of the students mentioned that using the method makes them more energetic when the class begins while only 5% of them disagree with this statement. Statements 10-16 measure the effects of The Mad Minute on students' interaction during class. The results illustrate that the major advantages of using The Mad Minute strategy were: first, it increases the competition between the learners (55% strongly agree and 28% agree). Second, all the teachers (100%) reported that the intervention increases and arranges students' participation during the class. Third, 87% of the students mentioned that it makes them prepare for the classes. Moreover, statements (16-22) measure the effects of The Mad Minute on the students' learning achievement. Almost a third (30.3%) of the students were more inclined to use The Mad Minute strategy to improve their learning skills ability in general. However, a significant percentage of the students (33%) were not satisfied with using this strategy for learning listening skills. Finally, statements 4,8,15, & 23-25 measure the effects of The Mad Minute on the students' higher thinking skills; 90% of the learners stated that using The Mad Minute strategy made them consider the importance of time. However, 29% of the students were not sure or not if they could improve their knowledge when they are partaking in The Mad Minute activities.

Next, Table 2 shows the responses of the teachers; statements (1-5) measure the effects of The Mad Minute on the students' emotional response: 100% of the teachers reported that The Mad Minute is an enjoyable and effective strategy, 50 % agreed that it raises student's confidence in class (although 50% were neutral on this), and 100% of teachers believed that the strategy raised student's energy levels and made them more interested in what they were teaching.

However, while 75% of teachers thought that the strategy made students more relaxed in a group than working alone, 25 % disagreed. Next, for items 5-11 that measure teacher's perceptions of student's interactions when using the strategy, all the teachers (100%) reported that their students enjoyed working with other students, all (100%) teachers reported that students felt motivated and the strategy built cooperation, encouraged students to accept others ideas. Next, while 75% of teachers agreed that the strategy provided an opportunity for students to build positive relationships with classmates, 25% were neutral, and while 75% reported that the strategy gave students an opportunity to take responsibility in performance in group work, 25% disagreed. Next, 75% of teachers said the strategy helped students learn how to deal with their classmates, 25% were neutral. Statements 10-16 measure the effects of The Mad Minute on students' interaction during class and 100% of teachers agreed that it enhances student's participation in class, makes them more focused, increases competition between them. However, only 50% of teachers reported that they felt the strategy helped students to express their ideas more freely and 50% were neutral on this measure although 100% believed it made students prepare for the class. Items 16-22 the effects of The Mad Minute on the students' learning achievement and all (100%) of teachers agreed with these items. Finally, items 4,8,15, & 23-25 measure the effects of The Mad Minute on the students' higher thinking skills. Here, 100% of teachers agreed that the strategy made students interested in what they were teaching and 100% also agreed that it helped students accept others different ideas. However, only 50% of teachers agreed that it helped students express their ideas freely while 50% were neutral on this item. Finally, all teachers (100%) agreed that the strategy helped students improve their knowledge, promoted different ideas, and should be used more as a teaching strategy in English classes.

TABLE 2:
RESULT OF THE TEACHERS' QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONDS TOWARDS THE EFFICACY OF THE MAD MINUTE STRATEGY IN TEACHING AND LEARNING ENGLISH.

No.	Statements	Strongly Agree%	Agree %	Neutral %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree%
1	I totally agree that using The Mad Minute strategy is useful and fun in the class	(25%) 1	(75%) 3			
2	It makes students feel more confident about themselves	(25%) 1	(25%) 1	(50%) 2		
3	It makes students feel more energetic when the class begins	(50%) 2	(50%) 2			
4	It makes students interested in what I am teaching	(25%) 1	(75%) 3			
5	I think students feel more relaxed to do The Mad Minute activities with a group than working alone		(75%) 3		(25%) 1	
6	Students enjoy working with classmates during The Mad Minute activities	(50%) 1	(50%) 1			
7	It motivates students to cooperate with their classmates	(50%) 2	(50%) 2			
8	It encourages students to accept their classmates' different ideas	(25%) 1	(75%) 3			
9	It gives students an opportunity to build positive relationships with their classmates	(25%) 1	(50%) 1	(25%) 1		
10	It gives students an opportunity to take responsibility of their performance in a group work	(50%) 2	(25%) 1			
11	It helps students learning how to deal with their classmates during the class	(25%) 1	(50%) 2	(25%) 1		
12	It increases and arranges students' participation during the class		100% 4			
13	It makes students more focused during the class	(50%) 2	(50%) 2			
14	It increases the competition between the students	(25%) 1	(75%) 3			
15	It helps students to express their ideas freely		(50%) 2	(50%) 2		
16	It makes students prepare for the class	(50%) 2	(50%) 2			
17	Using The Mad Minute is a useful technique for teaching grammar	(25%) 1	(75%) 3			
18	Using The Mad Minute is a useful technique for teaching vocabulary	(50%) 2	(50%) 2			
19	Using The Mad Minute is a useful technique for teaching listening skills	(25%) 1	(25%) 1		(25%) 1	(25%) 1
20	Using The Mad Minute is a useful technique for teaching speaking skills	(50%) 2	(50%) 2			
21	Using The Mad Minute is a useful technique for teaching reading skills	(25%) 1	(75%) 3			
22	Using The Mad Minute is a useful technique for teaching writing skills	(50%) 2	(50%) 2			
23	Students can improve their knowledge when we use The Mad Minute-based activities	(50%) 2	(50%) 2			
24	Students are interested in finding different ideas during The Mad Minute activities	(50%) 2	(50%) 2			
25	The Mad Minute should be used more as a mean in promoting learners' English ability	(75%) 3	(25%) 1			

Finally, the effects of this strategy on students (analysis of test scores).

The paired t-test was conducted to assess the improvement in the students' level in English if any. Pre-test and post-test mean scores were carried to evaluate the students' achievement following the training classes on this strategy. A statistically significant improvement was observed in the post-test scores for all students with a $P < 0.05$ [Table 3]. Thus, the null hypothesis is rejected and the original hypothesis is accepted.

TABLE 3
 PAIRED SAMPLES *T*-TEST RESULTS
Paired Samples Test

		Paired Differences			95% Confidence Interval of the Difference		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
		Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	Lower	Upper			
Pair 1	Pretest - Posttest	-6.810-	2.436	.244	-7.293-	-6.327-	-27.958-	99	.000

Paired Samples Correlations

		N	Correlation	Sig.	Bootstrap for Correlation ^a		BCa 95% Confidence Interval	
					Bias	Std. Error	Lower	Upper
Pair 1	Pretest & Posttest	100	.922	.000	.000	.013	.891	.945

a. Unless otherwise noted, bootstrap results are based on 10000 bootstrap samples

Paired Samples Statistics

		Statistic	Bias	Std. Error	Bootstrap ^a		
					Lower	Upper	
Pair 1	Pretest	Mean	17.86	.00	.57	16.71	18.98
		N	100				
		Std. Deviation	5.777	-.039-	.377	5.055	6.393
		Std. Error Mean	.578				
Posttest	Posttest	Mean	24.67	.00	.43	23.80	25.49
		N	100				
		Std. Deviation	4.351	-.033-	.349	3.710	4.923
		Std. Error Mean	.435				

a. Unless otherwise noted, bootstrap results are based on 10000 bootstrap samples

Figure 1 shows a box plot of the distribution of scores on the paired *t*-test, which contained 30 items worth 1 point each. Students got one point for correctly answering each question, for a total of 30 possible points on the test. The box plot shows that there were outliers in the data and the distributions were not normal—both were negatively skewed. The sizes of the boxes were not similar, and numeric reports of the SDs in Table 3 showed that the scores at testing times do not have homogeneous variance, with the variance being higher on the pre-test ($M = 17.86$, $SD = 5.77$, $N = 100$) and post-test ($M = 24.67$, $SD = 4.35$, N). The assumption that the data were normally distributed was considered satisfied, as the skew and kurtosis levels were estimated at .040 and -.52, respectively, which is less than the maximum allowable values for a *t*-test (i.e., skew < |2.0| and kurtosis < |9.0|; Posten, 1984). It is also noted that the correlation between the two tests was estimated at $r = .92$, $p < .001$, suggesting that the dependent samples *t*-test is appropriate in this case. The null hypothesis of equal resilience means was rejected, $t(99) = -27.95$, $p < .001$. A parametric paired samples *t*-test found that a 95% CI for the difference between the pre-test and post-test showed a statistical and important difference [-7.29, -6.327]. Because this CI is very narrow, this means that the difference between the two tests is statistically significant. Also, because the interval is narrow, we can say precisely how much of an effect The Mad Minute strategy had. The data show that its use made a large difference to the student's knowledge of English. A Cohen's *d* effect size for this comparison was $d = 2.7$ (using the average of the two SDs as a standardizer), which meant that the difference between the pre-test and post-test was almost equal to the SD of the difference between the groups 2.4. According to Plonsky and Oswald's guidelines (2014), this is a very large effect size and shows that The Mad Minute strategy was extremely effective.

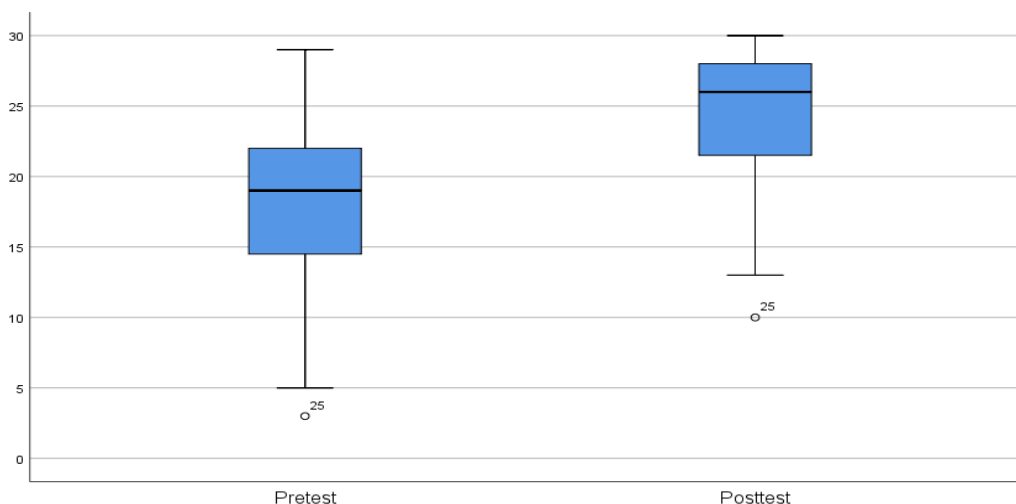


Figure 1 A box plot of pre-test and post-test scores

The BCa bootstrapped 95% CI for the pre-test vs. post-test comparison is [-7.31, - 6.33], showing that there was at least a nearly 7 points improvement from pre-test to post-test, and possibly an increase as large as 6 points. The 95% CI shows that the mean gain from pre-test to post-test can be assumed, with 95% confidence, to lie within this interval, and so it is a real and a very large gain. Further, the precision in the interval shows that we can very confident of exactly where the real mean gain lies.

Bootstrap for Paired Samples Test

		Bootstrap ^a				BCa 95% Confidence Interval	
		Mean	Bias	Std. Error	Sig. (2-tailed)	Lower	Upper
Pair 1	Pretest - Posttest	-6.810	.002	.242	.000	-7.310	-6.330

a. Unless otherwise noted, bootstrap results are based on 10000 bootstrap samples

V. DISCUSSION

The current study set out to determine the effectiveness of The Mad Minute intervention as a strategy-building L2 English language technique among Saudi Arabian high-school students. Moreover, this study seeks to discover learners and teacher’s perceptions of the efficacy of this approach in terms of how much it developed students' performance in English. The sample consisted of 100 female students from two Saudi public high schools and four ESL teachers. All participants were asked to complete two questionnaires relating to how useful and effective they found the Mad Minute strategy to be. All the teachers acknowledged that it is a highly effective strategy for teaching English to high-school students. This section will discuss the results according to (1) the advantages of the Mad Minute strategy; (2) the disadvantages of the Mad Minute strategy; (3) compare and contrast the study’s findings with those mentioned in the literature review; (4) provide an explanation for the findings and (5) address the present study’s limitations.

A. The Advantages

The first teacher, Leena, pointed out that using this strategy helps teachers to motivate students, elicit key vocabulary, practice their English and interact with one another in a short period of time. She also thinks this is the reason which makes The Mad Minute a common strategy among high- school English teachers. She also explained that whether an actual one-minute period or longer was used, this serves to put the students under positive pressure, which enables them to express their ideas, find solutions, and/or contribute to a class or group discussion spontaneously. Indeed, this claim is supported by the students' responses to the questionnaire that revealed the same results (as illustrated in Table 1.

Next, similar to Leena, the second teacher, Ghadah, also believes that The Mad Minute strategy motivates students to participate in different tasks. In addition, Ghadah explained how it provides teachers with immediate feedback, enabling them to find out if students have recognized the main points (or not) and how it can be used to summarize the main points of a lesson.

Amal, the third teacher mentioned a different advantage; she thinks that The Mad Minute strategy is a useful technique in teaching grammar, vocabulary, speaking and (listening) skills. Amal's point of view here can be agreed with to some extent but one unexpected outcome was her opinion about the effectiveness of using The Mad Minute strategy in teaching listening skills. Specifically, approximately one-third of the students reported that they considered using this strategy as ineffective in learning listening skills as Table 1 (above) highlights. Moreover, 50% of the

teachers stated that using The Mad Minute does not help them in teaching listening skills as indicated in Table 2 in the finding section. This issue will be discussed in the next part, which deals with the disadvantages of the strategy.

Finally, the fourth teacher, Elham, explained a different positive impact of this strategy: how it motivates students to cooperate with their classmates and how it increases competition among them at the same time. Likewise, the results from the questionnaires of the study revealed that when using this strategy, there is a significant positive effect on the students' interpersonal relationships.

B. The Disadvantages

First, Leena explained that some students may consider this strategy to be anxiety-inducing because they may be worrying about the time limit rather than working on the task at hand. While this could be true, good teachers can help their students mitigate such stress by encouraging them to trust themselves and their abilities. Teachers also have to focus on improvement rather than overall scores to decrease students' anxiety. Thus, students eventually will be familiar with the stresses placed upon them by this strategy and become used to them.

Regarding the advantages mentioned by the third teacher, Amal, that The Mad Minute strategy helps in teaching listening skills, surprisingly, Ghadah declared that using this strategy was not at all effective for teaching listening skills. She also observed that her students were not satisfied when they use the strategy for listening activities although they enjoyed it in vocabulary-based activities. Therefore, it can be assumed that the effectiveness of this strategy depends on how the teacher applies it. For example, if teachers apply it correctly, students may be more likely to enjoy it and benefit from its positive impacts. Therefore, future research should concentrate on investigating the most effective ways of applying the strategy to maximize its effectiveness in teaching and learning listening skills.

The third teacher, Amal, made an important point: she said, "using this strategy is ineffective when you have students with learning disabilities" and this particular point was also raised by several parents and teachers. Therefore, it is critical to consider the effect of The Mad Minute on students with learning disabilities. According to Department of Special Education in Saudi Arabia in 2015, about 7% of students have a learning disability, and 20% or more may have unidentified and unaddressed learning and attention issues, leading to a dangerous blind spot for teachers. Far from being bad at English, these students obviously need more time to work on different English activities (Algarni, 2017). In addition, using pair work and groups to pool results and then giving the whole class feedback would encourage every student to be successful.

Finally, Elham pointed out that The Mad Minute strategy may cause negative reactions between students, especially when they are engaged in group work. However, when the respondents were asked about the effects of The Mad Minute on the students' social interaction (items 5-11 in the questionnaires), 69% of students consider this method as an opportunity to build positive relationships with their classmates and 75% of teachers agreed with this. Similarly, for all the other statements that measured the student's social qualities, all the respondents rated the strategy highly. Therefore, one may consider that here, Elham has only assumed that the strategy can cause negative reactions among students or it is a misunderstanding.

Furthermore, when the teachers were asked in the open-ended item how effective they thought this strategy is, they honed in more on the specific benefits of the strategy. Their responses were all positive. However, this has left the researcher with no definitive data to analyse except to note that none of the four teachers was totally negative about the strategy's effectiveness. Therefore, from this, we can interpret that the teachers' answers did not specifically address the effectiveness aspects of the strategy.

C. Comparison of the Results with Other Studies

Although Boaler (2014) claimed that using time limits for class activities (such as in the Mad Minute strategy studied in the present paper) can discourage young students leading to anxiety and a long-term fear of the subject, the present study showed that teachers believed that by allowing students to become used to the fast pace of the Mad Minute this will allow them to overcome any anxieties. However, as the teacher, Amal, pointed out, students with disabilities would find this particular learning approach difficult and anxiety-inducing precisely for reasons linked to their disability and not because of their poor English skills. Therefore, it is recommended that activities that could unfairly disadvantage disabled students should be avoided and that such student's physical limitations should be taken into account when setting up time-sensitive activities (Algarni, 2017).

Continuing on the theme of student anxiety, interestingly, because Boaler's (2014) sample consisted of primary-school children (unlike the sample used in the present study who are high-school students), this could explain the high levels of anxiety in the younger children. However, it is necessary here to point out that Tankard (2018) considers limited short-time techniques can be used for all levels from elementary to advanced although he argued that teachers should not use it continuously because it does not suit every lesson or learning style.

On the topic of game-based learning activities such as the Mad Minute, other researchers have also joined in the long-running debate about whether such activities induce anxiety activities for students rather than providing a real pedagogical benefit compared to non-game-based learning activities (e.g. Chuang, 2007; Zeng, 2005) and so it may be beneficial if ESL teachers are offered training to identify if game-based activities such as the Mad Minute are actually causing anxiety to students and if so, the extent to which this anxiety is detrimental to student's learning outcomes and or psychological wellbeing. Specifically, Wu's (2002) study showed that using game-based lesson activities (such as the

Mad Minute where students are pitted against each other under time pressure) can actually be counter-productive to learning outcomes. For example, failing to 'win' a particular game or round (i.e. losing or getting 2nd or 3rd place) can increase quantitative measures of anxiety, stress and depression in the students. For example, using classroom observations, interviews, and the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (FLCAS) to measure ESL student's anxiety when participating in competition-based games found that ESL students in Taipei asserted that such activities represented a major source of anxiety.

Contrary to Boaler (2014), Pham (2018) demonstrated that the students in his study preferred using The Mad Minute strategy in mathematics and he observed that the more his students used the strategy, the more they improved their accuracy and speed. Similarly, the students in the present study prefer using this method in their English classes. This 'gamification' of study in the ESL context has also been shown to be useful in naturally supporting student's acquisition of vocabulary as it would in normal student-to-student play (Angelova & Lekova, 1995; Atake, 2003; Deng, 2006). Besides this, one unanticipated finding was the positive effects this strategy had on developing students' English level as a whole and their sub-skills, which may be attributed to the advantages of this strategy that are accepted among students. Some of those advantages are encouraging students to prepare for class and being energetic; both of which increase students' class participation as well as a motivating environment that provides students with greater confidence in English. The Mad Minute strategy also helped students learn how to deal with their classmates during class and increases the level of competition among them.

In terms of Tankard's (2018) findings that highlighted several significant benefits of using short time limits in educative activities (e.g. providing strong motivation and enhancing confidence), the use of short time limits also engages students and adds an element of variety and fun to classroom activities. Further, this approach holds students' attention and makes them keen to see what the next step will be. Therefore, the findings of the present study are in line with Tankard's findings in relation to the benefits that The Mad Minute strategy provides for both teachers and students.

D. Explanation of Results

First, in terms of the Mad Minute's positive results according to teachers and students (i.e. increased motivation, willingness to learn, useful feedback for teacher's on how much students have learned/understood a particular learning outcome, teaching grammar/vocabulary skills) it appears that this activity provides a class-wide forum in which motivated and outgoing students can demonstrate their knowledge and understanding of the learning content and be rewarded in front of their peers for doing so. While this may be beneficial for these more outgoing and socially-confident students, other students who may be socially ill-at-ease or may not have grasped a learning outcome completely (or at all) may feel anxious and discouraged by the use of such a competition-based approach to learning (e.g. Chuang, 2007; Zeng, 2005). Indeed, as Wu's (2002) study showed, classroom games that involving time pressure tend to raise student's anxiety levels and they considered such activities as a major cause of stress. This finding contrasts with Krashen's Affective Filter hypothesis. This proposes that any anxiety or stress encountered in the learning environment will 'raise' an emotional barrier within students which will prevent them from performing to their best in the learning process (Krashen, 2003). Rather, Krashen asserts, an optimal learning environment can be created by making the classroom (or another learning environment) a safe, supportive, welcoming place where students are not judged for making mistakes or failing to perform. Therefore, although some students found the Mad Minute strategy useful and motivating, it must be borne in mind that other, less confident or less able students may have found it anxiety-inducing (although they may have been reluctant to say so because of the Hawthorne effect (Salkind, 2010) where those under study modify their response according to what they feel the researcher or observer wishes to see or hear. Thus, because the Mad Minute strategy was the object of this study, it is possible that some respondents who may have found the strategy stress-inducing or ineffective as a learning tool may have been reluctant to express this view for fear of going against their teacher's choice of class activity.

E. Limitations

In terms of limitations, the present study was limited in sample size, student age, student level, diversity of educational context, and research methods. First, because it only sampled four teachers and 100 students within the narrow field of two Saudi high schools, its *external validity* was low (Mitchell & Jolley, 2001). This means that because of the small number of students and teachers sampled and the narrow research context of the Saudi high-school system, it is difficult to generalise the paper's findings across other educational contexts. For example, using the Mad Minute strategy in mixed L1 ESL classes or with non-Arabic-speaking students. Therefore, it is recommended that future research takes in a wider sample population covering wider age groups, a variety of different educational contexts (i.e. western and Arabic), a variety of ESL levels (e.g. CEFR (Common European Framework of Reference for Languages) from A1 to C1 and also the inclusion of an empirical test to measure anxiety such as the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (FLCAS) as used in Wu's (2002) study. These measures would provide a more in-depth view of the advantages and disadvantages of using fast-paced, game-based learning activities such as the Mad Minute in ESL classes.

VI. CONCLUSION

The major objective of this study was to investigate the effect of using The Mad Minute strategy in teaching and learning English. It has noticeable positive effects on students' emotional aspects, social interaction, learning achievement, higher thinking skills, improvement, and interaction during class. Overall, it was observed that the majority of the students and their teachers felt that The Mad Minute is a useful strategy and this indicates that this modern method contributes to raising students' level of achievement in English language acquisition and learning among third-grade students by encouraging positive student interactions, accompanying activities, and the way in which educational learning situations are implemented in this strategy.

To sum up, the findings of this study show that using The Mad Minute strategy in teaching English in high schools has a significant number of benefits in general. Further, this study provides support to encourage tutors and teachers to use this particular strategy in teaching English. Finally, this study represents the first that explores the effectiveness of using The Mad Minute strategy in teaching English on the improvement of students' achievement in English. However, the present study is limited due to its small sample size (only 4 teachers) and the study's sample of only two high schools. In terms of future research in this area, it is recommended that the study is conducted in an expanded form with larger samples of teachers across various schools and subjects. More specifically, it is recommended that more studies are conducted to examine this strategy in-depth and explore more of its effectiveness on other population samples by using different study methods and age levels in different educational environments.

APPENDIX A. STUDENTS' QUESTIONNAIRE

Q1\ Thinking about The Mad Minute strategy, how much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? For each statement, please check the appropriate box.

No.	Statements	Strongly Agree%	Agree %	Neutral %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree%
1	I enjoy using The Mad Minute strategy in the class					
2	It makes me feel more confident about myself					
3	It makes me feel more energetic when the class begins					
4	It makes me interested in what I am learning					
5	I feel more relaxed to do The Mad Minute activities with a group than working alone					
6	I enjoy working with classmates during The Mad Minute activities					
7	It motivates me to cooperate with my classmates					
8	It encourages me to accept my classmates' different ideas					
9	It gives me an opportunity to build positive relationships with my classmates					
10	It gives me an opportunity to take responsibility for my performance in a group work					
11	It helps me learning how to deal with my classmates during the class					
12	It increases and arranges my participation during the class					
13	It makes me more focused during the class					
14	It increases the competition with my classmates					
15	It helps me to express my ideas freely					
16	It makes me prepare for the class					
17	Using The Mad Minute is a useful technique in learning Grammar					
18	Using The Mad Minute is a useful technique in learning vocabulary					
19	Using The Mad Minute is a useful technique in learning listening skill					
20	Using The Mad Minute is a useful technique in learning speaking skill					
21	Using The Mad Minute is a useful technique in learning reading skill					
22	Using The Mad Minute is a useful technique in learning writing skill					
23	I can improve my knowledge when I am doing The Mad Minute activities					
24	I am interested in finding different ideas during The Mad Minute activities					
25	It makes me think about how much time is important					

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The Legitimacy of Chinese Outward Investment in English News — A Cognitive Approach to Discursive Legitimation*

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Abstract—Chinese Investment Oversea often face legitimacy crisis, and media plays a central role in staging legitimacy struggle. This research attempts to apply Proximization theory and the construals of Cognitive Linguistics to account for the discursive legitimation process in business discourse. The comparative analysis of two reports on a case of Chinese investment in America has shown how different discursive strategies can construe distinct conceptualizations of the same event, influencing the judgment among readership on the legitimacy of the deal. The analysis of this study shows that drawing on the construals of Cognitive Linguistics, the application of Proximization theory can be extended to legitimacy discourse in wider social domains.

Index Terms—legitimacy, discursive legitimation, Proximization theory, construals

I. INTRODUCTION

Since 2003, the trend of Chinese outward investment is picking up. The media hype of *China buying up the world* and *China as a threat* often stirs unfavorable public reaction to the business activities of Chinese companies abroad. This study proposes that this public crisis involves legitimacy. The influence on legitimacy ‘*is built upon language and uses language as its principal instrumentality*’ (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 64). The focus of legitimacy study has shifted from ‘*the established senses of legitimacy to ongoing discursive struggles for legitimation*’ (Eero Vaara, Tienari, & Laurila, 2006, p. 793). The strategic use of language and its instrumental function in affecting legitimacy has been identified by researchers of Critical Discourse Studies as discursive legitimation, focusing on uncovering various discursive strategies in public discourse, especially political discourse, as an enactment of social power (Martín Rojo & van Dijk, 1997; Teun A van Dijk, 2005; van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999).

The central role of media in staging corporate legitimacy struggle has only recently drawn attention. A series of studies in Scandinavian region followed the tenets of Critical Discourse Studies (CDS), and focused on the social effect of media texts on framing public perspective on business organizations and their activities such as transnational M&As (see Kuronen, Tienari, & Vaara, 2005; E. Vaara & Tienari, 2002; Eero Vaara & Tienari, 2008; Eero Vaara et al., 2006). The power of media lies in its role as secondary text editing and commenting on primary texts, which can be corporate announcement, political speech, interview, etc. This research intends to apply the construal operations of Cognitive Linguistics (Croft & Cruse, 2004; Hart, 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2014; 1991; Ronald W. Langacker, 1987b, 2002, 2008) and the Proximization theory of socio-political legitimation proposed by Cap (2006, 2009, 2013, 2015) to account for how different representations in news reports can incur distinct understandings of the same deal and affect the legitimacy of Chinese Oversea Investment.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

A. Communicative Approach to Legitimacy

Legitimacy is one of the key themes in sociological studies in general (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Giddens, 1984; Parsons, 1960; Weber, 1964) and organizational studies in particular (Deephouse & Suchman, 2008; Dimmaggio & Powell, 1983; Dowling & Pfeffer, 1975; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Scott, 1995; Suchman, 1995). Legitimacy is ‘*a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions*’ (Suchman, 1995:574). Communication plays a critical role in the process of legitimation (Hofer & Green, 2016). Most audiences of organization rarely have chance to actually observe what an organization is doing or has done. ‘*It is primarily through texts that information about actions is widely distributed and comes to influence the actions of others*’ (Phillips, Lawrence, & Hardy, 2004, p. 635).

Institutional scholars have examined how rhetorical linguistic devices influence the legitimacy process in particular and institutionalization process at large (Brown, Ainsworth, & Grant, 2012; Phillips et al., 2004; R. Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005). On the one hand, legitimacy, as a subjective perception held by audience, is not directly based on

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action patterns of legitimation efforts, but on words and symbols that communicate these actions. On the other hand, the legitimacy judgment of an organization mostly relies on the words and symbols representing organizations and their actions. The communicative approach to legitimacy emphasizes the performative role of language in shaping legitimacy judgment and institutionalization (Roy Suddaby, 2010).

B. Discursive Legitimation

Legitimacy, as a crucial sociopolitical concept, is widely referred to along with power and ideology in Critical Discourse Studies. Legitimacy have been the research theme of many influential CDS scholars including van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999), Fairclough (2003), Chilton (2004), Cap (2006), van Leeuwen (2007), and Hart (2010). The focus is not on the static status of legitimacy but the discursive process of gaining or losing of legitimacy. The process of legitimation is essentially social and political (Martín Rojo & van Dijk, 1997). Martín-Rojo and Van Dijk (1997, p. 560-1) defined legitimation as the socio-political act of ‘*attributing acceptability to social actors, actions and social relations within the normative order*’, in contexts of ‘*controversial actions, accusations, doubts, critique or conflict over groups relations, domination and leadership*’. Language is assumed to be playing a central role in winning, sustaining, or challenging the legitimacy of power relations, institutional order, and other social practices. CDS enquiries into this process are generally named as discursive legitimation (Cap, 2006; Ieşcu-Fairclough, 2008; Martín Rojo & van Dijk, 1997; Teun A van Dijk, 1998, 2005; van Leeuwen, 2007, 2008; van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999). Discursive legitimation involves the strategic use of language by language producers and the performative role of language in influencing legitimacy. Critical Discourse Studies analyze discursive legitimation in a wide socio-political context. Under the common objective of exposing social problem and making a change, the subjects of discursive legitimation research in CDS centered mostly around political issues such as modern war (Cap, 2006; Dunmire, 2012; Graham, Keenan, & Dowd, 2004; Oddo, 2011; Reyes, 2011; Teun A van Dijk, 2005), international disputes such as Iran nuclear issue (KhosraviNik, 2015; Rasti & Sahragard, 2012), and other political concerns (Amer, 2009; Boukala & Salomi, 2014; Peled-Elhanan, 2010).

C. The Cognitive Approach to Discursive Legitimation

Previous studies on discursive legitimation mainly focus on the identification of legitimation strategies (see Martín Rojo & van Dijk, 1997; van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999). In analyzing the legitimation strategies of political speech, Reyes (2011) called for further studies into which legitimization strategies are culturally bound, and which are inherent to human psyche. Indeed, on the one hand, a decontextualized analysis of legitimation is impossible because legitimation is ‘*founded on the principle of right and wrong [...] justified according to culturally specific values and norms*’ (van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 101). On the other hand, the general strategies of legitimation such as group polarization and fear mongering correspond to the core mechanisms of how our minds work. There is a new development in the cognitive dimension of discursive legitimation proposed mainly by Cap and Hart.

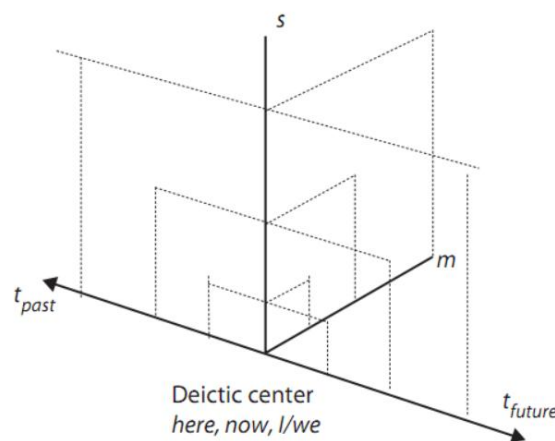


Figure 1. Dimensions of Deixis (Chilton, 2004:58)

In a discourse-pragmatic study of the American involvement in Iraq, Cap (2006, 2009, 2013, 2015) developed Proximization theory to account for how presidential speeches of America were strategically worded to construe particular conceptualization in the minds of the public to legitimate American military intervention in Iraq. Following Chilton’s Discourse Space Theory (2004), Cap’s model posits that in processing discourse, ‘*people “position” other entities in their “world” by placing them in relation to themselves*’ along three axes of spacial, temporal and axiological. Proximization strategy involves conceptualizing the spacial, temporal and axiological relation between Inside Deictic Center (IDC) and Outside Deictic Center (ODC) (see Figure 3-8). The proximization model works by presenting an entity or event as a ‘*threat*’ approaching IDC along spatial, temporal or axiological axis. Cap revealed the legitimating

power of proximization by ‘*alerting the addressee to the proximity or imminence of phenomena which can be a threat to the addressee and thus require immediate action*’ (2006, p. 4).

Proximization model incurs common cognitive processes in human psyche. Cap describes the cognitive effect of Proximization as ‘*forced construals*’ on the public (2014, p. 191). Proximization was proposed by Cap to ‘*mark an organized, strategic deployment of cognitive-pragmatic construals in discourse*’ (2014, p. 190). *Construal* is a central notion in cognitive linguistics, referring to the fact that in different linguistic representations, the same situation can be conceptualized in different ways. Construals offer a number of different options to the conceptualization of a given phenomenon (Ronald W Langacker, 1993). Language producers have the freedom of choice in linguistic devices realizing construal operations. These construal offers ‘*a range of alternative structural characterizations, among which a speaker chooses so as to convey a particular conceptualization of a scene*’ (Talmy, 2000, p. 214). Cognitive linguists have identified and classified a number of specific conceptual operations based on four general cognitive processes: attention, comparison, perspective and constitution (Croft & Cruse, 2004; Ronald W. Langacker, 2002; Talmy, 2000). Proximization is the construal of relations between entities within the discourse space (Chilton, 2004), particularly the symbolic shifts of the peripheral elements encroaching upon the territory of speaker-addressees territory (both physical and ideological).

Proximization theory is a new attempt to account for discursive strategies of legitimation in political discourse with quantitative linguistic evidence (Cap, 2010). Proximization serves to explain the ‘*strategic regularities underlying forced construal in political/public discourse*’, and provides ‘*a missing link between Critical Discourse Analysis and cognitive pragmatics*’ (Cap, 2014, p. 30). But the application of proximization theory is largely limited in the fear-mongering interventionist discourse in political scenario. According to Cap himself (2013:204), ‘*one of the most direct challenges to proximization theory resulting from further applications of the STA model is proposing a DS conception universal enough to handle different ranges of the deictic center and the deictic periphery, in particular discourses*’. To achieve its aim of developing into a communicative theory, ‘*proximization theory needs further input from Cognitive Linguistics*’ (Cap, 2013, p. 204), and prove its efficacy in accounting for a wider range of legitimacy discourses.

III. RESEARCH QUESTION AND ANALYTICAL PROCEDURE

This study selects a recent case of Chinese company *Shunaghui* 双汇 acquiring American firm *Smithfield Foods* in 2012, featuring one of the largest Chinese takeovers of American consumer brand. One article from *the Washington Post* and the other from *the Economist*, were published shortly after official announcement of the proposed deal. The following part will conduct a contrastive analysis to show how different discursive strategies can lead to distinct conceptualizations of the same event, which cognitively affecting the legitimacy judgment of the deal among newsreaders. The research question of this contrastive study is:

How can new reports affect the legitimacy of the deal between Shuanghui and Smithfield?

Adapted from the analytical procedure of Proximization theory Cap (2013), this research intends to analyze the two reports according to the following steps:

- 1) the construal of IDCs and ODCs
Identify and compare in the two reports the noun phrases construed as elements of the deictic center of the DS (IDCs) and outside the deictic center of the DS (ODCs).
- 2) Spatial Proximization
Identify and compare in the two reports verb phrases of motion and directionality construed as markers of movement of ODCs towards IDC or impact of ODCs upon IDC, and noun phrases denoting abstract concepts construed as anticipations of impact of ODCs upon IDCs, or effects of impact of ODCs upon IDCs.
- 3) Axiological proximization
Identify and compare in the two reports noun phrases construed as IDC positive values or value sets, or as ODC negative values or value sets, and discourse forms involving linear arrangement of lexico-grammatical phrases construing materialization in the IDC space of the ODC negative values.
- 4) Temporal Proximization
Identify and compare in the two reports discourse forms including noun phrases, tenses, modal auxiliaries, and other which involve a symbolic compression of the time axis as a result of two conceptual shifts: past-to-present and future-to-present.

IV. ANALYSIS

A. The Construal of IDCs and ODCs

van Leeuwen (2008) exemplifies legitimation as the answer to the spoken or unspoken ‘*Why*’ questions: ‘*Why should we do this?*’ or ‘*Why should we do this in this way?*’. Before answering the question of *Why*, the question need to be answered is: *who are we?* What counts as *we* is subjected to discursive construction. Previous literature on discursive legitimation has shown that the binary conception of in-group and out-group through strategic representation of social actors (social in/out group) is the conceptual basis of discursive legitimation, including *the positive self and negative*

other representation in service of social legitimation (T. A. van Dijk, 1988; 1991, 1998), the presumption of an in-group in discursive legitimation as a kind of public justification by Fairclough & Fairclough (2012), and the discursive construction of Inside Deictic Center (IDC) and threats encroaching on it in the proximization model of Cap (2006). Through referential and predicating strategies, social actors and their values are divided between IDC and ODC.

Extract 1) is the first paragraph of *the Washington Post* report on Shuanghui-Smithfield deal. In the extract, national identities including *country, China, Chinese, United States, and American* occurred eight times. Expressions such as *a Chinese firm, Chinese investment, and American consumer brand*, the actual actors of the business deal, Smithfield Foods and Shuanghui, have been identified as belonging to a national collective. These expressions of national names may seem commonsensical on the first look. But in a business report on an deal between two companies, such frequent reference to national identities has been named by Reisigl and Wodak (2001) as nationalization strategy. Such strategy distinguishes IDCs from ODCs in terms of national affiliation. Extract 2) shows that throughout the *Washington Post* report, national entities were reported as related to the business deal. The expressions in extract 2) including *quick rise, largest, and record flow* alert the addressee the proximity or imminence of Chinese investment and activities.

1) *Smithfield Foods, whose signature hams helped make it the world's largest pork producer, is being bought by a Chinese firm in a deal that marks China's largest takeover of an American consumer brand. The \$4.7 billion purchase by Shuanghui International touches several sensitive fronts at once — the quick rise of Chinese investment in the United States, China's troubled record on the environment and the acquisition of Smithfield's animal gene technology by a country considered to be America's chief global competitor.*

(the Washington Post)

2) *...the quick rise of Chinese investment in the United States...*

... 'In the largest single Chinese purchase in the United States...

...a record flow of investment by often cash-rich Chinese companies into the United States... (the Washington Post)

National metonymy is a key feature of nationalization strategy. National metonymies are found to occur frequently in the news report on M&As (Riad & Vaara, 2011). National metonymies appear frequently in the *Washington Report* such as *Chinese ownership, Chinese purchase, and America exporting* referring to Chinese companies and American companies. In extract 1), the expression *China's largest takeover of an American consumer brand and the acquisition of Smithfield's animal gene technology by a country considered to be America's chief global competitor, China and country* are used as metonymies to refer to Chinese company *Shuanghui*. Metonymy comes from Greek for a change of name, and is taken in Cognitive Linguistics as a conceptual shift in reference realizing selective attention. The COUNTRY FOR ORGANIZATION metonymies appear commonsensical but effectively attach salience to national entities in the conceptualization of a commercial event.

Based on the semantic associations, metonymies can be divided into extrinsic and intrinsic, relating to a conceptual shift inward and outward (Hart, 2011a). The extrinsic metonymies, or whole-for-part metonymies have the function of creating 'difference-levelling sameness and homogeneity, which are the basis on which people are treated uniformly and undifferentiated' (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p. 56). The social actor of company is referred to as the general category of nationhood. Figure 2 shows how the focus of attention was shifted from the company *Shuanghui* and *Smithfield* to the country *China* or *the Chinese* as a whole. This pattern appears repeatedly in the following report of *the Washington post*.

In contrast to the nationalization strategy of *the Washington Post* report, extract 3) shows that *the Economist* report mainly focuses on the business identity of the Shuanghui and Smithfield in descriptions including *Smithfield Foods, the world's largest pork producer, Shuanghui International, a giant Chinese meat company, and Shuanghui's chairman, Wan Long...China's "number one butcher"*. *The Economist* report comments on the deal as beneficial for both investors and consumers regardless of which country they belong to, both of whom are typically legitimate stakeholders in commercial events.

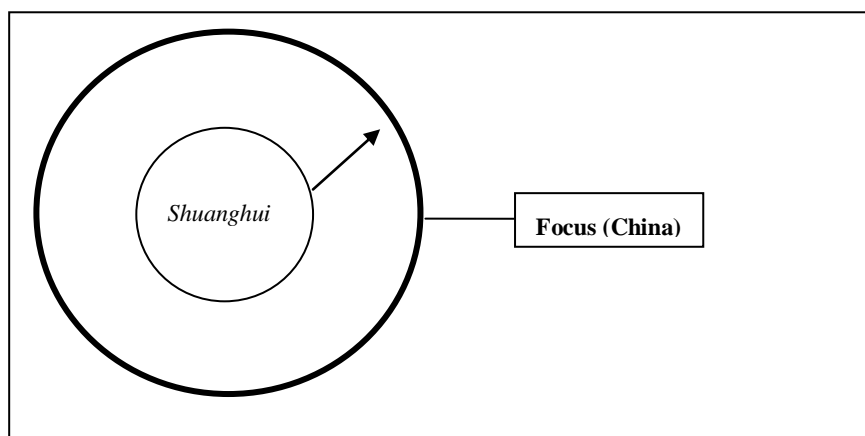


Figure 2. Image schema for extrinsic metonym

As shown in extracts 3), 4) and 5), *the Economist* uses the term *American politicians* metonymically to refer to American government. *American politicians* were used as a MEMBER OF AN ORGANIZATION FOR THE ORGANIZATION metonymy. It is an intrinsic metonymy since it activates a conceptual shift inward, or part-for-whole metonymy. Figure 3 shows that the shift of attention from governmental institution to people running it made explicit who are responsible for the decision.

- 3) *IS PIG farming a strategic industry? This question is likely to give a whole new meaning to “pork-barrel politics”, as American politicians decide whether to approve the sale for \$4.7 billion (\$7.1 billion including debt) announced on May 29th of Smithfield Foods, the world’s largest pork producer, to Shuanghui International, a giant Chinese meat company. The two firms had reportedly been in talks since 2009, but had been unable to agree a price until now. Shuanghui’s chairman, Wan Long, who built his firm from scratch, is known as China’s “number one butcher” because the company slaughters more than 15m pigs a year.* (The Economist)
- 4) *This may encourage American politicians to try to stir things up by raising the possibility that the combined firm will import dodgy meat from China.* (The Economist)
- 5) *So, will America’s politicians do likewise with the acquisition of Smithfield? Or will they end up scuppering the deal,...* (The Economist)

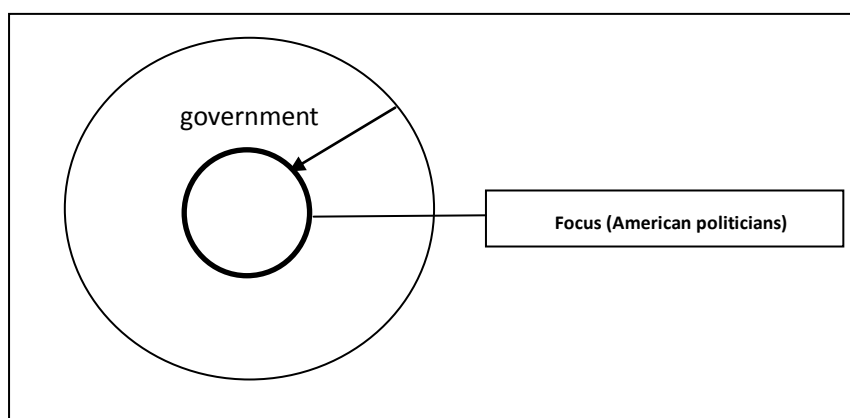


Figure 3. Image schema for intrinsic metonymy

The construal of IDC and ODC concerns with which social actors are selected in conceptual representation of an event and to what degree of salience they are presented. Hart (2011b) connects referential strategy to the construal operation of profiling/backgrounding based on the fundamental cognitive process of *attention*. Human attention is always selective. It is a fundamental feature of cognition that in perceiving any scene one entity stands out relative to another, namely profile/base distinctions grounded in the system of attention (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). Explicit referential expressions such as *China* profile particular aspects of identity. The comparative analysis demonstrates that different representations of social actors in the *Shuanghui-Smithfield* deal can incur distinct conceptualizations of IDCs and ODCs as shown in Table 1. *The Washington Post* uses repeated references to national identity and national metonymies to activate a binary conceptualization of business activity as national confrontation. *The Economist* report incurs a business conceptualization of IDCs supporting and benefiting from free business activity and ODC the American politicians or institutions intervening in the deal.

TABLE 1.
KEY LEXICO-GRAMMATICAL ITEMS OF IDCs AND ODCs

Category	<i>the Washington Post</i>	<i>the Economist</i>
1.Noun phrases construed as elements of the deictic center of the DS (IDCs)	America, Smithfield, employees, local farmers	Shareholders, consumers ,Smithfield, Shuanghui
2.Noun phrases construed as elements outside the deictic center of the DS (ODCs)	China, Chinese government, Shuanghui	American politicians, American government, the Committee on Foreign Investment

B. Spatial Proximization

Spatial proximization was defined by Cap as ‘a forced construal of the Discourse Space (DS) peripheral entities (ODCs) encroaching physically upon the DS central entities (IDCs) located in the deictic center of the Space’ (2013, p. 105). The linguistic realization of such strategy includes verb and noun phrases construed as markers of movement of ODCs towards IDCs, or the impact of ODCs upon IDCs. *The Washington Post* report repeatedly expressed concerns over the possible impact of the deal on America and its people. Extracts 6), 7), and 8) are examples of verb and noun phrases depicting potential loss on the American side including history, brand, technical know-how, and job. On the other hand, extracts 3), 4), 5) and 9) in *the Economist* report have shown a consistent verbal pattern of American politicians or institutions trying to stop the deal.

- 6) *The acquisition puts under Chinese ownership a prominent American brand and one of Virginia’s best-known companies.* (the Washington Post)
- 7) *In the largest single Chinese purchase in the United States, that history and know-how will be absorbed into a firm that has its own global ambitions.* (the Washington Post)
- 8) *Smithfield Mayor Carter Williams said people in town have expressed concerns about whether jobs might eventually disappear.* (the Washington Post)
- 9) *But will the Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States, which advises the president, find a way to stop the Chinese bringing home America’s bacon?* (The Economist)

TABLE 2.
KEY LEXICO-GRAMMATICAL ITEMS OF THE SPATIAL PROXIMIZATION

Category	<i>the Washington Post</i>	<i>the Economist</i>
1. Verb phrases of motion and directionality construed as markers of movement of ODCs towards IDC or impact of ODCs upon IDC	puts under Chinese ownership, history and know-how will be absorbed, jobs might eventually disappear	decides whether to approve the sale, import dodgy meat from China, scuppering the deal, find a way to stop the Chinese
2. Noun phrases denoting abstract concepts construed as anticipations of impact of ODCs upon IDCs, or effects of impact of ODCs upon IDCs.	Takeover of an American consumer brand	N/A

The construal operation of schematization or image schemas in Cognitive Linguistics can offer tools for further analysis of spatial proximization. Grounded in the Gestalt system, image schemas are holistic knowledge structures emerging from our repeated pattern of physical experience (Ruef & Scott, 1998). These image schemas come to form the meaningful basis of many lexical concepts as well as grammatical constructions. People select from available image schemas to construe entities and events as being of a particular type and internal structure. Various image schemas have been identified and catalogued in Cognitive Linguistics (Evans & Green, 2006). Relevant to spatial proximization strategy are FORCE, ACTION, and PATH schema. FORCE schemas incorporate various force-dynamic schemas which, as described by Talmy (2000), constitute concepts of CAUSATION and LETTING ACTION schemas include ACTION-CHAINS as described by Langacker (1991).

The *Washington Post* report construes the event as an ACTION schema. Such schema entails a transfer of energy between an agent and a patient, with AGENT defined as the source of the energy, and PATIENT defined as the target of the energy transfer. In Figure 4, the circles in the diagram represent the participants, the straight arrow is a vector representing the transfer of energy between participants, and the stepped arrow represents the effect. The merger or deal between *Shuanghui* and *Smithfield Foods* is given the role of AGENT, and actively transfers energy by bringing consequences to the PATIENT of America or its people.

In contrast, the *Economist* report construes the event as a FORCE schema. As shown in Figure 5, the deal is the AGONIST, which has an intrinsic tendency to continue or move, and the ANTAGONIST is American politicians or particular institutions, who exert the force of stopping the continuing of the deal. Different from ACTION schema, force event does not have a transfer of energy from an agent to a patient. The vector in Figure 4 is unopposed free flow of energy, while in Figure 5 the tendency of AGONIST (the deal) to happen depends on the force-interaction between AGONIST and ANTAGONIST (American politicians or particular institutions). The *Economist* report construes the deal with an intrinsic tendency to continue, though it might be stopped by the force of American politicians.

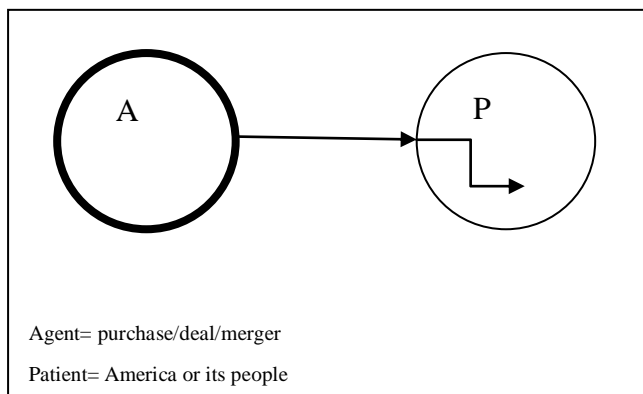


Figure 4 ACTION schema

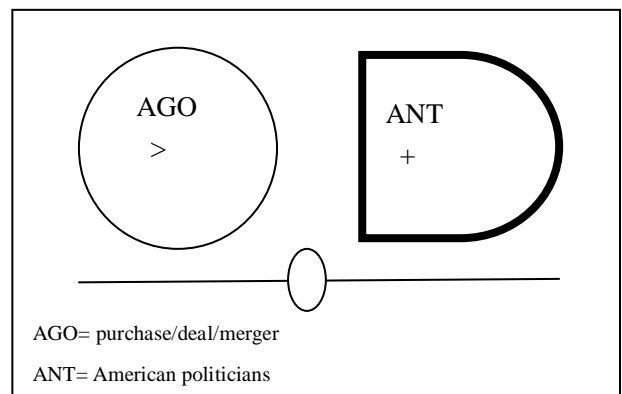


Figure 5 FORCE schema

The comparative analysis of the two reports shows that spatial proximization consists of common construal operations of schematization. By putting the takeover as an active AGENT, the *Washington Post* incurs ACTION schema drawing attention to the unfavorable consequences and local reactions caused by the takeover, which in effect challenged the legitimacy of the deal. In contrast, the *Economist* report challenged the legitimacy of political intervention in business by construing FORCE schema with American politicians as ATAGONIST actively resisting

AGONIST, the on-going business deal.

C. Axiological Proximization

Axiological proximization is defined by Cap as ‘a forced construal of a growing ODC-IDC ideological conflict which, in time, may lead to a physical clash’ (2013, p. 119). Instead of construing spatial opposition, axiological proximization express an ideological opposition between IDCs and ODCs. Table 3 shows how the same event can be construed as distinct ideological oppositions. In the *Washington Post* report, the shift of attention from companies to their national affiliation allows writer to make generalizations and activate national stereotypes about China. The deal is reported to bring ideological opposition between China and America on issues of environment, food safety, market intervention, etc. The *Economist* report, on the other hand, uses noun phrases of “pork-barrel politics” and *tenuous justification* to activate ideological clash between business and politics.

The two distinct ideological oppositions are only hinted at by expressions such as *Chinese management standards* and “pork-barrel politics”. It is important to note that these expressions are only ‘the tip of a submerged iceberg of moral values’ (van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 97). According to Cognitive Linguistics, experience and knowledge are distilled and stored in chunks named as frames, which is ‘system of concepts related in such a way that to understand any one of them you have to understand the whole structure in which it fits’ (Fillmore, 1982, p. 111). Frames are activated by particular lexical items and in turn, provide the cognitive base against which the meaning of words are ‘profiled’ and understood (Ronald W. Langacker, 1987a). The ideological conflict is construed through the construal operation of framing, which is the conceptualization process of linguistic devices selectively activating frames stored in the long-term memory of language receivers. In this process, the same event can be categorized into different classes of prior experience. ‘In comparing the new experience to prior ones and categorizing it in one way or another, we attend to some characteristics and ignore others’ (Croft & Cruse, 2004, p. 55).

TABLE 3
KEY LEXICO-GRAMMATICAL ITEMS OF THE AXIOLOGICAL PROXIMIZATION

Category	<i>the Washington Post</i>	<i>the Economist</i>
1. noun phrases construed as IDC positive values or value sets, or as ODC negative values or value sets	China’s troubled record on the environment, a Chinese industry with a history of food-safety problems, Chinese pork products or management standards,	“pork-barrel politics”, America’s justification for blocking foreign ownership was fairly tenuous
2. discourse forms involving linear arrangement of lexico-grammatical phrases construing materialization in the IDC space of the ODC negative values	bringing Chinese pork products or management standards to the United States, China uses strict control of its market to force American companies...to surrender intellectual property	N/A

D. Temporal Proximization

Temporal proximization is defined by Cap as ‘a symbolic “compression” of the time axis, and a partial conflation of the three time frames, involving two simultaneous conceptual shifts’, which are ‘past-to-present shift,’ and ‘future-to-present shift’ (Cap, 2013, p. 85). The ‘past-to-present shift’ is the conceptual shift of bringing past events and actions closer to ‘now’ and construe such events and actions as still occurring (Hart, 2014, p. 175). The ‘future-to-present shift’ is the conceptual shift of bringing possible future events and actions closer to ‘now’ and construe such event or action as momentous and imminent thus requiring immediate counter-action (Hart, 2014, p. 175).

Markers of ‘future-to-present shift’ in extracts 10 and 11) are *at once*, *quick rise*, and *a record flow*. The adverbial expression *at once* construes the future impacts of ODC action (the investment from Chinese companies) as taking place imminently. The noun phrases *quick rise* and *a record flow* construe future Chinese investment as not only coming but at an increasing larger scale. The investment of Chinese companies is presented not as a benefit but as an imminent and growing threat.

- 10) *The \$4.7 billion purchase by Shuanghui International touches several sensitive fronts at once — the quick rise of Chinese investment in the United States, China’s troubled record on the environment and the acquisition of Smithfield’s animal gene technology by a country considered to be America’s chief global competitor.*

(the *Washington Post*)

- 11) *The deal comes amid a record flow of investment by often cash-rich Chinese companies into the United States. While Chinese firms have taken over some well-known U.S. brands, including the AMC theater chain and IBM’s personal computer business, the Smithfield acquisition is the first major foray into the food industry and the most significant in terms of a daily consumer item.*

(the *Washington Post*)

Extracts 12) and 13) from the *Economist* report are examples of ‘past-to-present shift’. In extract 12), similar deals made by Chinese companies in other countries construed as closer to memory by the expressions of *recently* and *following*. These expressions construe the investment of Chinese companies as natural and still occurring. Extract 13) referred to a past decision made Chinese government similar to the decision about to be made by American government. The construal operation of bringing past event closer to the current helps activate the value of fairness.

- 12) *Joining forces with a Western brand to overcome local food-safety concerns in China is becoming a trend. Danone, a French firm, **recently** announced a big investment in expanding its dairy operation in China, **following** similar initiatives by Arla Foods, a Danish firm, and Nestlé a Swiss food manufacturer.*
(The Economist)
- 13) *The main difference with this pork deal is that it is a Chinese firm putting up the money. Ironically, **in 2006** a large share of Shuanghui was bought by an investor group including Goldman Sachs, which later sold much of its stake at a juicy profit reckoned to be around five times the original investment. That deal **was approved** by the Chinese government.*
(The Economist)

The contrast between the examples of ‘future-to-present shift’ and ‘past-to-present shift’ above shows significant difference in the strategy of legitimation of the two reports. Due to the lack of precedents of Chinese investment with negative impact on America, *the Washington Post* construes future Chinese investment and its impact on America as imminent and momentous, while the *Economist* report chose to construe numerous normal practices of Chinese investment as happening close to the present time. The comparison of two reports shows that temporal proximization does not necessarily always construe threat or danger as momentous and imminent, it can also construe action or event as normal and continuing. As Hart analyzed, temporal proximization serves to further enhance the legitimating effects of spatial (as well as axiological) proximization as a form of intensification (Hart, 2014, p. 173).

V. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The comparative analysis of two reports on the deal between *Shuanghui* and *Smithfield* has shown how different discursive strategies can construe distinct conceptualizations of the same event, influencing the judgment among readership on the legitimacy of the deal. The analysis shows that legitimacy is the result of dynamic process rather than a static state, in which public discourse, especially media plays a central role. The Proximization theory developed by Cap can account for discursive legitimation by connecting linguistic patterns to the common cognitive mechanisms these patterns incur. Since Proximization is a ‘forced construal’ on the public, its application should not be limited to interventionist political discourse. This study is an attempt to extend its application in business discourse to account for the discursive process legitimation for business entities. Proximization theory is a macro strategy in particular socio-political context. In a series of longitudinal studies on American presidential speeches, Cap has supported his theory convincingly with quantitative lexico-grammatical evidence. Yet, the focus on the distilment of quantitative linguistic patterns may leave out nuances in discursive legitimation, such as metonymy exemplified in this research and other figurative uses of language. This research proposes that Proximization is a forced construal consists of more fundamental construal operations in Cognitive Linguistics, which can offer the flexibility Proximization theory needs to account for legitimacy discourses outside of political domain.

APPENDIX A. THE ECONOMIST REPORT

Pigs will fly

A Chinese buyer for America’s biggest pork producer

Jun 1st 2013 | NEW YORK | From the print edition

<https://www.economist.com/business/2013/06/01/pigs-will-fly>

IS PIG farming a strategic industry? This question is likely to give a whole new meaning to “pork-barrel politics”, as American politicians decide whether to approve the sale for \$4.7 billion (\$7.1 billion including debt) announced on May 29th of Smithfield Foods, the world’s largest pork producer, to Shuanghui International, a giant Chinese meat company. The two firms had reportedly been in talks since 2009, but had been unable to agree a price until now. Shuanghui’s chairman, Wan Long, who built his firm from scratch, is known as China’s “number one butcher” because the company slaughters more than 15m pigs a year.

Smithfield’s shareholders appear to be delighted to receive 31% more for their shares than they were worth before the deal. They include Continental Grain, an American company which owns a big steak, sorry, stake in Smithfield and which has been arguing for its break-up. But will the Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States, which advises the president, find a way to stop the Chinese bringing home America’s bacon?

The merger announcement stressed the global reach that the new firm will have. This may encourage American politicians to try to stir things up by raising the possibility that the combined firm will import dodgy meat from China. More likely, though, the pigs will fly in the other direction, from the mature meat market of America, which has seen consumption



This little piggy went to China

shrink for four consecutive years according to the Department of Agriculture, to the fast-growing one of China, which is already twice the size of America's.

Although this deal is clearly part of a broader strategy by corporate China to, er, beef up its global presence, the primary reason for acquiring Smithfield is domestic. The Chinese love pork and as their incomes soar they want it more than ever. A domestic herd of 476m pigs, around half of the global pig population, already seems insufficient; China has been a net importer of pork since 2008.

Moreover, wealth is bringing with it a more sophisticated consumerism, and growing concern about the safety of food produced locally. In March thousands of dead pigs were seen floating down the Huangpu river to Shanghai, raising fears of water contamination. Police in China have reportedly arrested more than 900 people in a three-month crackdown on illegal meat sales, including two people who had sold over 40 tonnes of diseased pork.

In 2011 Shuanghui itself was involved in a scandal over feeding livestock a chemical harmful to humans. For Chinese consumers, then, a combination of Shuanghui with Smithfield, bringing with it the prospect of shipping in much more pork from America, is a corporate marriage made in hog heaven.

That said, Smithfield has had some problems of its own. It is currently partway through weaning its pigs off ractopamine, a lean-muscle-promoting drug that has already been banned in China. In 2009 it faced allegations, later disproved, of swine flu at one of its pig farms in Mexico.

Joining forces with a Western brand to overcome local food-safety concerns in China is becoming a trend. Danone, a French firm, recently announced a big investment in expanding its dairy operation in China, following similar initiatives by Arla Foods, a Danish firm, and Nestlé a Swiss food manufacturer.

Bye, bye, Miss American pie?

The main difference with this pork deal is that it is a Chinese firm putting up the money. Ironically, in 2006 a large share of Shuanghui was bought by an investor group including Goldman Sachs, which later sold much of its stake at a juicy profit reckoned to be around five times the original investment. That deal was approved by the Chinese government.

So, will America's politicians do likewise with the acquisition of Smithfield? Or will they end up scuppering the deal, as happened with CNOOC's bid for Unocal, an oil company, in 2005, and the attempt to buy the operator of several American ports by Dubai Ports World in 2006? In both of these cases, America's justification for blocking foreign ownership was fairly tenuous. So the Chinese bid for Smithfield may yet be stopped because, say, keeping down the price of a barbecue is a matter of national security.

APPENDIX B. THE WASHINGTON POST REPORT

Smithfield Foods to be bought by Chinese firm Shuanghui International

By Howard Schneider and Brady Dennis, Published: May 29, 2013

https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/economy/smithfield-foods-to-be-taken-over-by-chinese-firm/2013/05/29/a520434a-c873-11e2-9245-773c0123c027_story.html

Smithfield Foods, whose signature hams helped make it the world's largest pork producer, is being bought by a Chinese firm in a deal that marks China's largest takeover of an American consumer brand.

The \$4.7 billion purchase by Shuanghui International touches several sensitive fronts at once — the quick rise of Chinese investment in the United States, China's troubled record on the environment and the acquisition of Smithfield's animal gene technology by a country considered to be America's chief global competitor.

What's more, the deal puts a major company from a Chinese industry with a history of food-safety problems in charge of a U.S. firm with past environmental problems of its own.

Separately, U.S. government and business officials often complain that China uses strict control of its market of 1.6 billion people to force American companies that want to do business there to surrender intellectual property.

The deal may become a test of U.S. attitudes toward China as it moves through likely reviews by the Justice Department and the Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States.

With no obvious national security concerns stemming from the production of ham, bacon and sausage, Smithfield chief executive C. Larry Pope said he expects approval. He emphasized that the deal wasn't about bringing Chinese pork products or management standards to the United States but about sending U.S. products and expertise the other way. The deal will leave intact Smithfield's management, workforce and 70-year presence in Virginia, he said. "I know how people react — that we are selling out to the Chinese. This is not selling out to the Chinese. This is Smithfield



LM Otero/AP - A Smithfield ham at a grocery store in Richardson, Texas. Chinese meat processor Shuanghui International Holdings Ltd. agreed Wednesday to buy Smithfield Foods for approximately \$4.7 billion in a deal that will take the world's biggest pork producer private.

being part of a global organization,” Pope said at a media briefing after the deal was announced. “There will be no impact on how we do business in America and around the world. . . . This is about America exporting.”

Concerns in Tidewater

The acquisition puts under Chinese ownership a prominent American brand and one of Virginia’s best-known companies. The tidewater town of Smithfield has been synonymous with ham production for decades. With roots in a local packing plant, the parent company grew into a conglomerate that includes popular brands such as Armour, sponsors the Richard Petty Motorsports NASCAR team, and has developed genetic strains that the company’s annual report promotes as “the leanest hogs commercially available.”

In the largest single Chinese purchase in the United States, that history and know-how will be absorbed into a firm that has its own global ambitions. Officials of Shuanghui, already the largest pork producer in a nation where pork consumption has exploded in tandem with national income, have said that they want to make their company one of the premier meat producers in the world.

The takeover comes as a surprise, said Ron Pack, president of Smithfield Station, a hotel on the town’s Pagan River waterfront that serves many Smithfield products, including sausages, bacon and pork chops. “I’m a little apprehensive, but I think everything will be fine,” Pack said.

Smithfield Mayor Carter Williams said people in town have expressed concerns about whether jobs might eventually disappear. “I don’t like to see it,” Williams said. “I don’t think a lot of people do. We’re a little hometown place here.”

A top Virginia official said the deal is expected to help the state’s economy. “We’re looking at this as a really good thing,” said Todd Haymore, Virginia’s secretary of agriculture and forestry. “China represents the grand prize, as far as pork exports are concerned.” Smithfield’s access to that market could lead to significant economic opportunities for smaller growers who supply the company with hogs and for the Port of Virginia, if exports increase.

He said it was “premature” to speculate about issues such as whether the new owners might squeeze small farmers to lower their prices, or whether a substantial jump in exports might raise prices for U.S. consumers.

Debate over food safety

Food-safety advocates criticized the deal.

In China, food safety has become a major issue as the government battles a steady string of reports about tainted milk, rodent meat disguised as lamb, the overuse of pesticides and the dumping of thousands of rotting pigs by farmers into a Shanghai river. Shuanghui closed a plant two years ago after reports that it fed pigs an illegal chemical to make the meat more lean.

Smithfield has had its own environmental and financial troubles, including a \$12 million fine levied in 1997 for several thousand clean-water law violations, a clash with North Carolina over manure-filled lagoons, and Humane Society complaints that led the company to agree to change some of its animal-handling practices.

“When you have a giant merger like this, the investors want profitability,” said Wenonah Hauter, executive director of the consumer advocacy group Food & Water Watch. “There will be more pressure to be profitable, and probably more shortcuts.”

The deal comes amid a record flow of investment by often cash-rich Chinese companies into the United States. While Chinese firms have taken over some well-known U.S. brands, including the AMC theater chain and IBM’s personal computer business, the Smithfield acquisition is the first major foray into the food industry and the most significant in terms of a daily consumer item.

Thilo Hanemann, a Rhodium Group analyst who tracks Chinese investment in the United States, said the deal represents an emerging strategy of Chinese companies to buy up market-leading expertise — whether the insight an AMC has into running a national theater chain or the skill Smithfield has in raising, slaughtering and processing pigs.

In many cases, he said, “Chinese companies are buying assets in the U.S. not to expand in the U.S., but to gain a competitive edge at home.”

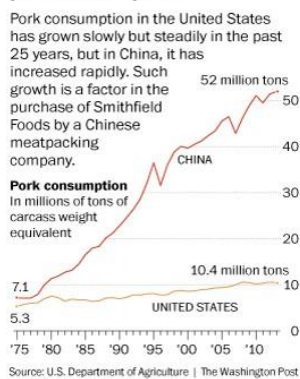
Export hopes

The \$34 per-share price that Shuanghui agreed to pay represents a roughly 30 percent premium over Smithfield’s stock value at the close of business on Tuesday. With U.S. pork consumption largely stagnant, Smithfield posted record sales of \$13 billion last year and a profit of \$361 million — growth driven by overseas sales.

Like many American companies, pork producers have had some success exporting to China, but also faced setbacks — such as an unexpected prohibition on the common animal food additive ractopamine. Pope said Smithfield is eliminating use of the additive. But the merger with Shuanghui is expected to help smooth other export barriers. No other combination [of companies] has such a great opportunity,” Zhijun Yang, managing director of Shuanghui, said during a conference call. “Chinese consumers like American pork. American farmers want access” to the Chinese market.

The anticipated review by the federal foreign investment panel will be unusual: the panel is typically associated with oversight of deals involving sensitive technology. Still, the Smithfield acquisition comes at a sensitive moment in

China's rapidly growing pork consumption



China-U.S. relations, and given the size and prominence of the deal, Pope said the company was voluntarily submitting it for review. Allegations of cyber spying, among other issues, have raised tensions between the two countries, and the United States has been closely analyzing deals involving Chinese firms.

“No one can deny the unsafe tactics used by some Chinese food companies,” said Sen. Charles Grassley (R-Iowa), who urged a close review by the committee on foreign investment. “To have a Chinese food company control a major U.S. meat supplier without shareholder accountability is a bit concerning”

Jia Lynn Yang and Amrita Jayakumar contributed to this report.

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Discourse Markers in the Academic Writing of Arab Students of English: A Corpus-based Approach*

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Abstract—This study aims to shed light on the discourse markers used in the academic writing of Arab students of English as a second language within the framework of corpus linguistics. By so doing, an attempt will be made to examine the use of the discourse marker expressing attitude, sequence, cause and result, addition, and comparing and contrasting. For comparison purposes, similar-sized authentic corpus will be used to examine the learners' use, overuse, and underuse of the target markers. Moreover, the study will provide a detailed account of the possible reasons contributing to the disparity between the two corpora in terms of the use of the target markers. Results show that learners use more discourse markers than native speakers. While this is a general tendency, it still remains feasible to attribute the disparity between the two corpora to learners L1 influence where some of the overused markers spring out naturally and smoothly as they have rhetorical functions in learners' native tongue.

Index Terms—discourse, markers, learners, corpus, misuse

I. INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Discourse Analysis is a multi-faceted field in which linguists can delve beyond what is read or heard. This field studies so many aspects and forms of communication. By and large, discourse analysis studies two facets, spoken and written forms. One aspect of discourse analysis is discourse markers (DM, henceforth) which are used in oral or written forms. DMs are inseparable from any communication. Many linguists have studied DMs in different terminologies, but still working under the umbrella of expression DMs. For example, *discourse connectives* was the term used by Blakemore (1987) instead of DMs. Redeker (1990), on contrast, refers to them as discourse operators. Generally speaking, DMs make an integral part of everyday speech and everyday writing practice; they are also important words and phrases that are used in any kind of communication, and generally cannot be avoided. Some examples of DMs are “*anyway, alright, well, so, okay, you know, I mean ... etc.*”. So, what does a DM mean? To have a clear idea, let's have a look at different definitions, which are discussed from dictionaries and viewpoints of a number of linguists. On the one hand, many dictionaries, in general, define DMs as words and phrases used in speaking and writing to 'signpost' discourse (BBC). DMs primarily include a set of words or phrases such as *right, as I say, to begin with, okay, right, anyway*. We use DMs to connect, organize and manage what we say or write or to express attitude “Cambridge Dictionary”. Linguists, on the other hand, have their own point of views in defining DMs. Fraser (1990) defines DMs as linguistic elements that are predominantly used in oral conversations to relate units of discourse to each other. Schiffrin also (1987, p. 31) defines DMs as “sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk that signal relationships between immediately adjacent units of talk, and which have thus a coherence building function on a local coherence level.” Swan (2005) defines discourse markers as words and expressions that we use to portray the structure of our discourse. They serve the purpose of connecting what we are saying, what we have said and what will be said.

Having a look at some definitions, it can be noticed that DMs play a crucial role in communication, but they are confined to spoken communication. Therefore, in this study, the focus will be on discourse markers used in academic writing of Arab students of English as a second language within the framework of corpus linguistics. The process of writing is not an easy task for students. It is a demanding process that needs exercised efforts on the part of the writer. Cohesion and coherence are the core of any communication - writing as an aspect of communication. To achieve such an arduous process – achieving cohesion and coherence, learners of writing, especially academic writing, may resort to the use of phrases or words that make their writing look better or well-connected in some way. This connection (well-formedness) can be fulfilled by the use of DMs. One thing to say here is that the importance of these DMs is using them in academic writing for a communicative reason. They are important in clarifying the communicative intentions of the interlocutors (Schiffrin, 1987), to say, the writer and the reader. Besides, following Schiffrin (1987), DMs show the sequence of events and the relation between the elements of communication.

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Wei (2013) points that “DMs are advantageous in which they allow speakers or writers to make their presence felt by pausing. DMs also provide guidance to the audience as to how the text is structured so that they can easily decode and infer what the writer has encoded and referred. Appropriately used DMs in writing helps provide arrangements particularly in introductions and conclusions to academic writing”.

The advantages of using DMs are of a great number and multitude. They help the readers understand where to stop and where to continue reading in any piece of writing. They can also help them predict and as a result they can speed up and fully digest the reading at their hands. A plethora of examples of these pieces of writing are available in corpora, which give hints on the use of the DMs in different texts, academic writing of Arab students in particular. DMs also help the students learn how to organise their writing in deciding the beginning and the ending of their work. Perhaps the discussion of the advantages of DMs should incorporate some observation on the functions that such markers might fulfil in discourse.

DMs perform some functions in language depending on their position in text and on the type of the text. Some DMs, for example, show attitude (attitude of the writer) such as e.g. *of course*, *surprisingly*. In addition, DMs show indirectness and vagueness of the writer's views (Hinkel, 1997), this means that academic writers may resort to DMs as a cover of his/ her imprecision in writing. One more function of DMs is addition, e.g. *moreover*, *in addition*, *additionally*, *further*, *further to this*, *also*, *besides*, *what is more etc...*, such DMs are used to add information and give extra knowledge. Comparing and contrasting are also deemed as a part of the functions that DMs perform when using expression like *however*, *on the other hand*, *in contrast*, *yet*. Sequence again can be represented by DMs such as using *oh well*, *but then*, etc (Koops, C. and Lohmann, A., 2013). Schiffrin (1987) defined the sequence function as “*sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk.*” (p. 31). Bracketing units of talk means giving sequence of the events depending on the event occurrence and progression in the process of writing.

To take the functions from another angle, let us take a look at some works and classifications of some linguists. DMs perform many functions according to discourse in general, and in academic writing in particular (Btoosh and Taweel, 2011). Muller (2005, p. 9) identifies the functions of DMs as follows.

- a. Establish discourse.
- b. Indicate a boundary in discourse (shift/partial shift in topic).
- c. Introduce a response or a reaction.
- d. Function as fillers or delaying tactics.
- e. Help the speaker in holding the floor.
- f. Influence interaction or sharing between speaker-hearer.
- g. Bracket the discourse either cataphorically or anaphorically.
- h. Mark either foregrounded or backgrounded information

Croucher (2004, p. 40), DMs fulfil formal and informal functions as follows. The formal functions of DMs are:

- a. To indicate a turn in conversation (you know, well)
- b. To identify a digression from the topic under discussion (oh, by the way)
- c. To share a speaker's attitude/sentiment (like)
- d. To frame general conversation

In addition to the formal functions, DMs perform several informal functions, including the following.

- a. To fill pauses in conversation
- b. To act as nervous glitches in speech
- c. To act as a part of our collective lexicon

Cohesion constitutes another significant role that DMs play in discourse. Iseni et al. (2013) assume that there is a strong connection between DMs and coherence and cohesion. Halliday and Hasan (1976) also assume that coherence is a means that makes the sentences semantically well-formed which means that DMs play a vital role in the structure of the text.

Halliday and Hassan (1976) identified four grammatical strategies (cohesive devices) applied to achieve relatedness in communication:

- **Conjunctions:** connect sentences meaningfully “*however, but, though, although... etc.*”. This means that such discourse markers contribute to the consistency of the written text.
- **Substitution:** used to reduce the use of some expressions or structures and reduce redundancy. Such as “*one as the second one, another one ... etc*” (Iseni et al, 2013).
- **Ellipses:** omitting some words from the text to reduce the use of redundant words or expressions.
- **Reference:** is a cohesive device that refers to an item in a sentence and this item may be mentioned early.

According to Iseni et al. (2013), reference in discourse can be made by means of pronouns.

Pronouns are the main resource people have for referring, reference can be subcategorized as exophoric which refers to something outside the text and endophoric which is also subcategorized as follow: anaphoric which points backwards, and cataphoric which refers to forwards in a text.

In spite of the significant role played by these categories, special attention is to be paid to the first strategy, namely, conjunctions, since they can be found in corpus in great numbers. Considering the use of conjunctions in academic writing, it is worth mentioning, here, that the use of conjunctions is meaningful to show the different functions of DMs.

In addition, the use of DMs helps give the text more consistency, but this does not always happen when it comes to learners. A close look at the learners corpus used here shows that DMs are sometimes used erroneously. This may happen for some reason such as the weakness points in grammar or the lack of competence which makes the cohesion of their writing, to some extent, a defect. As a result, the student may resort to the use of DMs to avoid discovering their errors and inability of connecting sentences grammatically to give meaningful sentences or the inability to use the appropriate lexical words which may change the whole meaning. The discussion of DMs in the academic writing of Arab students of English brings a new perspective on the notion of genre patterning.

The notion of genre is very decisive when it comes to the field of discourse analysis. Innumerable studies have engaged in the definition of genre. Since its impact on studies and results, it is very important to define and study the genre in which the DMs may occur. Hyland (2013) defines genre as typified acts of communication.

“Genre analysts set out to offer descriptions of "typified acts of communication" based on the form and purposes of texts. Basically, genres are kinds of broad rhetorical templates that writers draw on to respond to repeated situations; users see certain language choices as representing effective ways of getting things done in familiar contexts.”

These definitions show that genre as a rhetorical template that the writer must choose when the process of writing starts depending on the topic and the idea which is in question. The learner usually has many fields of writing out of which he/ she chooses and works on depending on the characteristics of the field - in other words, the writer can deeply delve throughout the different genres depending on the idea and the topic (subject) such as legalese, journalese, medicine culture, politics, religion, academia ... etc. The learner should also write essays, laboratory reports, case-studies, book reviews, reflective diaries, posters, research proposals. The importance of genre stems from figuring out the characteristics of the type of the text. Therefore, this study will shed light on academic writing as a genre that most, if not all, ESL Arab students must engage themselves in as a major topic that is studied in universities and departments of English basically. In conclusion, genre is a basic notion that the learner of any language must know before starting writing. As a result, the learner should know what DMs suit the type of writing he/ she is doing e.g. formal or informal DMs.

The notion of genre again can be the same as the notion of patterning. This belief comes from the idea that the words genre and pattern mean, in some way, “type/ template”. As noticed in the above definitions by Hyland (2013) and Miller (1984), both of the scholars agreed that genre is a type/ template. Accordingly, academic writing is the genre and the pattern that this study will shed light on. To be more specific, it focuses on the use of DMs in academic writing by ESL Arab students.

The novelty of the current study stems from the analysis of the samples taken from Arab students of natural academic writing work without any intervention from others; the number of occurrences (quantitative); and the objectivity (qualitative) of using DMs by Arab students in academic writing.

II. METHODOLOGY

A. Data Collection

The data in this study have been gained by an access to the Interlanguage Corpus of Arab students of English language. The Interlanguage Corpus consists of roughly 100.000 words of argumentative, evaluative and narrative essays written by university students majoring in English language and literature at five private and public Jordanian universities. Both timed and untimed methods of data collection were used during the course of corpus compilation.

The data representing the native speakers’ writings, on the other hand, have been accessed to from the Louvain Corpus of Native English Essays (LOCNESS). This corpus consists of approximately 300.000 words; the essays in LOCNESS were collected mainly from the writings of American and British native speakers in different universities. Yet, the samples used for the purpose of this study, are a bit equal in terms of the number of tokens (100.000 each). The sample of LOCNESS was given a priority because it was more representative than that in the Interlanguage. This can be said because of the similarity, at first place, and the diversity, in second place, in the topics between the native speakers and the learners’ corpora. It is highly imperative and important to echo that the two corpora are practically comparable in size despite of the differences in the overall number of essays analysed. The data have been prepared for the lexical and statistical analyses benefiting from the tools:

- Platform: Windows 13
- Concordancer and Wordlist: *WordSmith* suite of Tools

B. Data Analysis

The two corpora have been examined with regard to the following aspects.

- (i) The use of the target features in terms of frequency count and semantic functions.
- (ii) The possible reasons for the disparity between the two corpora in terms of the frequency count of the markers under investigation.

III. RESULTS

This section reports on the findings of the study. The findings were presented and analyzed in accordance with the overall frequency of the discourse categories and the individual markers.

A. Frequency of DMs Used

B. Overall Frequency

The figures given in Table (1) relate to the number of instances of occurrence of each category. These figures provide general tendencies and differences between learners and native speakers in terms of the use of the target categories.

TABLE 1.
FREQUENCY COUNT OF DISCOURSE CATEGORIES IN LEARNER AND REFERENCE CORPORA

Type	LC	RC
Additives: and, furthermore, moreover, in addition, additionally, similarly, that is, in other words, for example, also, too, on top of that	3894	3170
Adversatives but, yet, though, although, however, while, on the other hand, on the contrary, nevertheless, instead, nonetheless	628	880
Causatives So, because (of), as, since, hence, therefore, as a result, consequently, otherwise, in view of, that's why, thus	1334	1577
Sequencers and (then), after, later, as long as, until, after that, at the same time, meanwhile, first, second, firstly, secondly, first of all, to begin with, next, finally, to sum up	731	359
Attitude Markers obviously, preferably, (not) surprisingly, clearly, undoubtedly, miraculously, (un)fortunately, of course, predictably, regrettably	30	70
Total	6617	6056

Though the overall frequency of the discourse categories in the learner corpus is higher than that in the reference corpus, the gap between the two is still statistically insignificant. However, accounting for the actual gap between the two corpora requires looking onto the frequency counts of the individual markers. Tables (2), (3), (4), (5) and (6) present the frequency counts of the individual discourse markers in both corpora.

C. Frequency of Individual DMs

This section sheds light on the individual discourse markers as categorised above. Accordingly, four categories have been set for analysis below; these include additives, adversatives, causatives and sequencers.

1. Additives

TABLE 2.
FREQUENCY COUNT OF ADDITIVES IN LEARNER AND REFERENCE CORPORA

DM	LC	RC
and	3519	2723
furthermore	1	6
moreover	17	5
in addition	37	7
additionally	0	0
similarly	0	5
that is	45	49
in other words	1	3
for example	53	55
also	189	246
too	32	71
TOTAL	3894	3170

The huge gap between the two corpora in terms of the frequency count (3894 vs. 3170) which comes in favour of the learner corpus is a bit not surprising. The figures above show that the coordinating conjunction 'and' is responsible most for the disparity between the two corpora. The overuse of 'and' in the learner corpus is not surprising for two reasons. First, previous research findings show that learners (irrespective of their L1 use more 'ands' than native speakers. Second, native speakers of Arabic are likely to use more 'ands' due to their L1 influence. 'And' in Arabic is as a sentence opener in addition to its primary use as a coordinating conjunction. Also, Arabic uses 'and' where English uses comas to separate series of similar items.

2. Adversatives

TABLE 3.
FREQUENCY COUNT OF ADVERSATIVES IN LEARNER AND REFERENCE CORPORA

DM	LC	RC
but	464	399
yet	4	48
though	11	48
although	37	85
however	22	188
while	52	60
on the other hand	18	18
on the contrary	5	3
nevertheless	1	4
nonetheless	1	0
instead	13	27
TOTAL	628	880

3. Causatives

TABLE 4.
FREQUENCY COUNT OF CAUSATIVES IN LEARNER AND REFERENCE CORPORA

DM	LC	RC
so	369	208
because (of)	466	220
as	412	885
since	36	66
hence	1	8
therefore	19	97
as a result	17	16
consequently	3	5
otherwise	2	7
that's why	3	2
thus	6	63
TOTAL	1334	1577

The gap between the two corpora in terms of the adversatives and causatives count should not be surprising. Unlike additives, adversatives and causatives reflect and require a profound understanding of the text rhetoric. One possible explanation for using less adversatives and causatives by learners is their lack of awareness of academic writing conventions. A careful look at the frequency count above and the learners' actual use of conjunctives show that there are numerous complex contextual relations that are not visible for learners. Another possible explanation for the learners' limited use of conjunctives compared to native speakers can be attributed to learners' L1 itself. Arabic discourse does not implement adversative and causative conjunctions in the same way English does. Such contrast relations in the text are expressed more often via long phrases and sentences rather than one word conjunction.

4. Sequencers

TABLE 5.
FREQUENCY COUNT OF SEQUENCERS IN LEARNER AND REFERENCE CORPORA

DM	LC	RC
and (then)	14	16
after	135	87
later	10	18
as long as	0	7
until	36	31
after that	87	2
at the same time	8	9
meanwhile	1	1
first, firstly, first of all	158	109
second, secondly	94	27
third, thirdly	42	15
next	44	16
finally	102	21
TOTAL	731	359

The explanation of the above figures is simply a matter of L1 influence. The highly frequent use of numeration and listing in Arabic discourse is one possible reason. Like additives, sequencers show clearer relations in the context.

5. Attitude Markers

TABLE 6.
FREQUENCY COUNT OF ATTITUDE MARKERS IN LEARNER AND REFERENCE CORPORA

DM	LC	RC
obviously	1	13
preferably	0	0
(not) surprisingly	3	2
clearly	6	20
undoubtedly	0	5
fortunately	3	2
of course	17	28
regrettably	0	0
TOTAL	30	70

Discourse markers that express attitude simply show how the writers present themselves in the text. Like adversatives and contrastive devices, attitude conjunctions require a deep understanding of the discourse cohesion, rather than just grammatical structure. Xu (2001) found that Chinese undergraduates use more additives in their writings as their competence in English improves. However, they use less attitude markers though. Xu attributes this to their awareness of English writing rules and how they differ from their L1 norms. The more non-native speakers comprehend the complexity of L2 discourse rules, the less they tend to assert themselves in their written English texts. Native speakers of Arabic avoid asserting themselves as writers or showing their opinions and attitudes.

IV. CONCLUSION

This study has examined the use of discourse markers in the academic writing of Arab students of English and English-native speakers. To be more specific, five broad categories of discourse markers express attitude, sequence, cause and result, addition, and comparing and contrasting. The primary purposes of this study were two-fold. The first was to gain insights onto the frequency counts of the target discourse markers in both corpora. The second purpose was to examine the similarities and differences between the two similar-sized corpora in terms frequency count, uses and the possible factors for divergence. Findings have shown that learners use more discourse markers than native speakers. Also, the results indicate that the overuse and underuse of the target discourse markers are mainly attributed to general tendencies and L1 influence. Truly speaking, the artificiality of the ESL students' use of DMs is so obvious. Such overuse could have come merely to implement them which is totally the opposite when a native writer utilizes such DMs.

Note:

The researcher is officially authorized and licensed to use both corpora for academic purpose.

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A Dynamic Construal Approach to Lexical Transcategorical Shifts in Mandarin*

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Abstract—A dynamic construal approach is adopted to address the word class transcategorical shifts in Mandarin. It is pointed out that the dispute on the classification of Chinese word classes and the consequent controversial proposals of nominalization, verbalization, etc. is in essence a matter of categorization. Instead of the static views, it holds that the categorization of word classes is dynamic and a cluster of factors affects the on-line categorizing process. From the dynamic construal view, Indo-European languages and Mandarin share analogous transcategorical shift processes.

Index Terms—dynamic construal, categorization, transcategorical shift

I. INTRODUCTION

The issue of word classification is, in essence, a matter of categorization. Because of the lack of inflectional changes, which has been taken as a typological characteristic of Mandarin from that of the Indo-European languages, the classification of word classes and their correspondence with syntactic roles in Mandarin pose as a century-long dispute in the Chinese literature. Scholars have been contributing to the discussion of the issue and different proposals were made from different schools of thought. The resolution of the problem bases on and goes hand-in-hand with the findings about human categorization, which goes beyond the sphere of mere language and into the field of psychology and cognition at large.

We consider the classical model and the prototypical model as static models of categorization. Each of them has great influence on the classification of word classes in Mandarin but both of them are flawed in some aspects as we will sequentially examine. The classical model of categorization entails word classes with clear-cut boundaries and equal membership. This classification seems to be in severe conflict with language users' intuition. As a grammar founded mainly on the basis of Indo-European grammar system, which features neat correspondence between word classes and syntactic roles, the Chinese language's lack of inflectional change makes the issue even more complicated in that there's no tenable evidence for a large number of verbalization and nominalization in word class shifts.

Inspired by the psychological findings by Rosch (1973, 1978) and Rosch and Mervis (1975), the prototypical model of categorization, which features graded centrality, prototypes (the best example of a category), family resemblance and fuzzy boundaries, was introduced into the research of word classes. Liu (1996) found that the most typical nouns in Mandarin are disyllabic while verbs tend to be monosyllabic. It is implied that words within the same part of speech form a graded configuration. However, the validity of applying the prototypical model of categorization to the issue is questioned in several aspects, namely the determination of defining features for the membership of a category, the difficulties in the differentiation of analogous but contrasting categories and the lack of a clear and sharp boundary or borderline region would lead to the failure of the functioning of categories.

Taking the shortcomings of the static views of categorization into consideration, the dynamic construal model of categorization is proposed to be a more satisfactory approach to the research of word classes in Mandarin. It is argued that word usage is constantly in a dynamic condition and its categorial status is changing. The immediate context of usage determines their on-line parts of speech or the choice of entrenched parts of speech. Employing the nominalization and verbalization in Mandarin as an example, it is proved that people's cognitive capacity for alternating profile makes transcategorical shift possible.

II. STATIC MODELS OF CATEGORIZATION

A. The Classical Model of Categorization

To be a member of a category, the classical model of categorization requires a set of necessary and sufficient conditions, usually binary features. The features must be necessary and sufficient in that no entity that does not possess the whole set of features is a member of the category while the possession of all the features surely guarantees membership in the category. Consequently, all categories are endowed with clear boundaries. One entity can be considered as a member of the category or not is decided on a clear and definite basis. For example, BACHELOR could

* Abbreviations: V., verb; N., noun; ASP, aspect markers; Nr, nominalizer; CLAS, classifier; PRT, particle; S., Subject; O., object; Attr., attribute; Adj., adjective; Adv., adverb; ADV., adverbial; P., predicate; PART., particle; Tr., trajector; Lm., landmark.

be defined by the features [+MALE] [+ADULT] [-MARRIED]. All these three values count as the necessary and sufficient features for a person to be included in the category. The loss of any one of the features leads to the disqualification of a person to be considered as a member in the category. Within the category, all the entities enjoy equal membership. There is no differentiation between better bachelors or not-so-good bachelors.

In accordance with the classical model of categorization, which features binary values, clear boundary and equal membership, words are believed to belong to a part of speech with clear-cut boundaries and enjoy equal membership of the category as a natural consequence. For example, a noun is a word that refers to a thing (e.g. desk, pen), a person (e.g. Chuck Lorre, Susan Frank), an animal (e.g. dog, giraffe), a place (e.g. New York, Canada), a quality (e.g. warmth, hospitality), an idea (e.g. righteousness, justice), or an action (e.g. yell, jumping). The nouns could be further divided into common nouns and proper nouns, count nouns and mass nouns, singular nouns and plural nouns in a binary fashion and also collective nouns named in term of their contents, gerunds in terms of their way of formation and attributive nouns in terms of their function. Its function of acting as the subject or object of a sentence has been so firmly entrenched that any other usage would be considered as abnormal and, thusly, transcategorial shifts must have taken place in the process. In the case of nouns acting as verbs, the shifting process is called verbalization, while the vice versa is named as nominalization¹.

The classical categorization of word classes is in perfect match with the neat correspondence between word classes and their syntactic roles. Nouns take the role of subject and object, while verbs and adjectives act as predicates. Changes of the correspondence are accompanied by shifts of the part of speech of the words, which could be illustrated with massive examples in ancient Chinese.

- (1) a. 廉颇老矣，尚能饭否？
Lian Po lao yi, shang neng fan fou?
Lian Po old, still can meal not?
Lian Po is old now, can he have a meal by himself?
- b. 韩信将兵，多多益善。
Han Xin jiang bing, duo duo yi shan.
Han Xin general soldier, more more better.
Han Xin command soldiers; the more the better.

In (1)a, the word Fan (meal, N.) is originally a collective noun referring to all the food for a meal. However, it is used as a verb denoting the action of having a meal. The noun goes through a verbalization process, which is metonymically motivated. (1)b is more complicated in that Jiang (general, N.) originally refers to a general who commands the soldiers and makes strategies for carrying out a war. In the example, it is used as a verb denoting the action of commanding soldiers, which contains the metonymy of PERSON FOR THE ACTION OF THE PERSON.

- (2) a. 漂亮 有 罪 吗？
Piaoliang you zui ma?
Beautiful has guilt PART.?
Is beauty guilty?
- b. 写作 使 人 明智。
xiezu shi ren mingzhi.
Write make people wise.
Writing makes wise men.

Verbs and Adjectives can also convert to nouns. Piaoliang (beautiful, Adj.) in 2(a) is an adjective originally used to modify things or persons with pleasant appearance. Here it acts as the subject of the sentence and is used as a noun referring to the quality of being beautiful. Similarly, Xiezu (write, V.) in 2(b) is used as a noun to refer to the action of writing something. The conversion of the underlined words in (1) is called verbalization and the two words in (2) are considered as the outcome of the conversion of nominalization.

Because of the high frequency of these borrowing or transcategorial shifts, scholars (Li, 1924/1955; Shi, 1960; Gao, 1960; Li & Liu, 1960; Chomsky, 1970; Hu & Fan, 1994; Cheng, 1999a, 1999b, 1999c;) claim that verbalization and nominalization happens in the process despite of the lack of inflectional change. Different from Indo-European languages, English for example, the verbs and nouns in Mandarin which shift from one category to another do not have morphological change.

The latest development in this perspective could be found in Cao (2019), who, from the cognitive perspective, claim that the cognitive mechanism of the phenomena is ontologicalization. The notion of ontologicalization originates from Lakoff and Johnson's (2003) theory on ontological metaphor and, more fundamentally, the classical model of categorization. The change of the words' syntactic relations and performance (the sufficient and necessary features which qualify a word to be a member of a category) surely changes their status in the previous category. Therefore, a shift of their membership from one category to another is nothing but natural and necessary.

¹ It should be noted that because of the high frequency of usage and the consequent entrenchment in language usage, some words are considered as multi-categorial words. For example, Diaocha (investigate, V.; investigation, N.), Yanjiu (research, V. & N.) are marked both as nouns and verbs. An extraordinarily larger number of words not being used in their usual syntactic slots is taken to be temporary borrowing.

There are also scholars who are against this view. Zhu, Lu & Ma (1961) and Zhu (1999) deny the tenability of verbalization and nominalization without morphological change. Verbalization or nominalization without morphological change is an untenable imagination. Instead, they claim that, as a unique characteristic from that of the Indo-European languages, Chinese words are multi-functional and the idea is illustrated as follows:

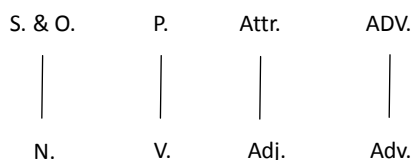


Figure 1: Word and Syntactic Role Correspondence In Indo-European Languages

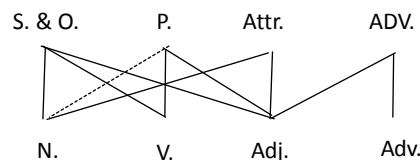


Figure 2: Word and Syntactic Role Correspondence In Mandarin

Both of the figures are quoted and translated from Zhu (1999). Figure 1 manifests the correspondence between word classes and syntactic roles in Indo-European languages, like English, while Figure 2 illustrates the complicated relation between words and their sentential roles. Zhu (1999) holds that, different from Indo-European language as shown in Figure 1, words in Mandarin are multi-functional. Besides their roles as subjects and objects, nouns in Mandarin can also act as attributives and, sometimes (as shown by the dotted line), predicates. Verbs and adjectives in Chinese can take far more syntactic roles than their counterparts do in English. Therefore, Zhu concludes that, in regards of taking syntactic roles, Chinese words are multi-functional and there is no conversion of part of speech for these words. Consequently, there is no categorial shift at all.

In line with the study of Zhu, Shen (2007, 2009, 2010, 2011) took one step further and claimed that the categories of Chinese words follow an inclusion fashion as shown by Figure 3. The noun is a superordinate concept which includes verbs, which, in turn, include adjectives. There are scholars who are against this view. Lu (2013) holds that the class inclusion model for Chinese words is untenable because it is just another name for the traditional classification of words and, thusly, does not solved the dispute at all.

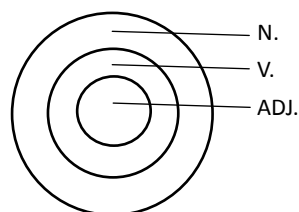


Figure 3: Word Class Inclusion Model

The classification of Chinese words with the classical model of categorization is of great influence because of its economy. All dictionaries available are compiled in this clear-cut fashion. Every word belongs to one or two specific part of speech neatly. It is true that this classification is useful for Indo-European languages because they are inflectional and fixed morphemes are available for words of different part of speech. This comes into big problem with Mandarin because this language is not inflectional and its words cannot be easily told which part of speech they belong to. The shortcomings are obvious in two aspects. First, it is hard to determine whether the extra functions of Chinese words from those of Indo-European language as shown in Figure 1 and Figure 2 should be considered as their original functions or functions gained through processes of verbalization and nominalization. Second, the fact that not all words perform similarly in terms of transcategorial shifts and that not all functions of the words are equal questions the claim of equal membership in this model.

B. The Prototypical Model of Categorization

As we can tell from intuition that, for each conceptual category, there seem to be some best examples that come into our mind spontaneously and some examples that we can hardly be sure about. When we are talking about FRUIT, we are thinking of apples, bananas, etc. as the best examples. When we are talking about VEGETABLE, cabbages, carrots come into mind first. However, tomato is hardly thought of as a good example for neither of the two categories. It resides somewhere in-between, being not a typical kind of VEGETABLE, nor a typical kind of FRUIT. Although this is culturally and geographical different and the concepts may vary individually, what for sure is that there are better examples in a category and there are not-so-good examples too.

In line with our personal experiences, Rosch and her co-workers' (Rosch 1973, 1978; Rosch and Mervis, 1975)

discoveries from psychological researches support a prototypical model of categorization. The core features of this model are the existence of prototypes, graded centrality and fuzzy boundaries, on which we will briefly address.

The notion of Goodness-Of-Exemplar is frequently employed by cognitive psychologists. The best example of a category is called the prototypes or prototypical members of the category. The members in a category are arranged in a graded style. Some members locate in the center of the category and act as the archetypes of the category while some reside at the periphery region of the category. Prototypes differ from the non-typical members in the frequency and order of mention, the order of learning, family resemblance and verification speed, to name but just a few. The prototypes have higher frequency of usage and are usually quoted as examples of the category. Usually they are first learned by children and have higher family resemblance than other members do to other members in the category. In experiment, they have a higher verification speed.

The prototypical model of categorization fits our intuition on how we recognize the world. In a category, there are good members as well as not-so-good members. All these members are linked through family resemblance. Although the prototypical model of categorization is usually considered to be divided into two versions, one in terms of a list of attributes of category members and the other depending on the notion of similarity, the shared notion of the versions is graded centrality and best examples.

Studies on word classes from prototypical model of categorization are many. Liu (1996) holds that, based on the analysis of statistics, Chinese nouns prone to be dissyllabic while typical verbs are monosyllabic. As prototypes in the category of nouns, proper nouns exhibit a higher level of stability and are not easily changed into other part of speech. Also, as central members of the category of verbs, monosyllabic verbs do not usually change into nouns or adjectives². Therefore, transcategorial shifts do not usually happen to typical words. Multi-categorial words are not considered as typical words in either of the categories.

However, the shortcomings of applying the prototypical model of categorization to the classification of words are also obvious. According to Croft and Cruse (2004), the first shortcoming lies in the excessively simplistic nature of feature list. Also, the “odd number paradox”, with which people may grade the odd numbers, poses as a challenge to the theory. Moreover, how to determine the defining features and how to differentiate neighboring categories have also been put forward as challenges for the model. Most importantly, proponents of the theory paid insufficient attention to the boundaries of the categories.

“There is no fixed limit on how far something can depart from the prototype and still be assimilated to the class, if the categorizer is perceptive or clever enough to find some point of resemblance to typical instances.”

--- Langacker (1991, p. 266)

From the quote above, Langacker claimed a very fuzzy boundary for a category. However, for a category, a boundary is so important that, without it, a category cannot function anymore. “A fundamental problem with boundaries is that they do not arise naturally from a prototype representation” (Croft & Cruse, 2004, p. 91). Accordingly, the boundary between different word classes is fuzzy in accordance with the prototypical model of categorization, which is, of course, against the principles of scientific research and our language intuition.

III. A DYNAMIC CONSTRUAL MODEL OF CATEGORIZATION: A NEW PROPOSAL

The shortcomings of the classical as well as the prototypical model of categorization, together with the researches by Guo (2000, 2010) and Croft and Cruse (2004), necessitate a reexamination of categorization which may better reveal its dynamic nature and, specifically, its inspiration to the classification of Chinese words.

Both of the two models of categorization mentioned in section II have in common a belief that, for each category, there is a constant underlying mental representation, which is our reason for subsuming them as static models of categorization. Smith and Samuelson (1997) questioned the notion of fixed categories with permanent representations with a number of experimental results. They claim that a concept is created out of past history, recent history and current input. In term of past history, memories of accumulated experiences have a permanent effect on our way of thinking and the tendencies may become so strong that they will not be easily perturbed and seem fixed. Recent history refers to the preceding mental activity while current input means the immediate context. Barsalou’s (1983) experiment shows that subjects are constantly forming new and contextually coherent categories which show similar features of well-established categories. Therefore, it is proposed that categories are variable and created on-line as and when needed (Croft & Cruse, 2004).

The dynamic construal model of categorization features variable but determinate boundaries. As we have seen in section II, one of the inadequacies of the classical model of categorization is that it entails sharp boundaries while natural categories are claimed to have fuzzy boundaries. However, the notion of fuzzy boundaries needs reexamination.

“...(D)ifferent subjects make different judgements as to the location of the boundaries, and the same subject will make different judgments under different contextual condition.”

--- Croft & Cruse (2004, p. 95)

² Lu (2013) holds that monosyllabic verbs, such as Gan (do, V.), Qu (go, V.), etc. acting as subjects are not nominalized. They are the remaining parts of clauses.

According to the dynamic construal model, boundaries are sharp, definite and variable. They are lines of division between what are inside and what are outside. Categories are results of the on-line construal processes and their contents change with regards to dynamic processes.

The dynamic construal model of categorization shed light on the research of Chinese word class classification and related phenomena. Guo (2000, 2010) took a motional view towards this issue as he claimed that part of speech resides on two levels: lexical and syntactical. Lexical part of speech refers to the fixed and deeply entrenched part of speech that words have, while syntactical part of speech refers to the temporary part of speech of the words that gained through on-line cognitive manipulation such as metaphor and metonymy. In actuality, Guo's differentiation between lexical and syntactical parts of speech reflects the effect of past history and immediate, contextual input to the categories of words. Of course, just as Smith and Samuelson claims, the accumulation of scattered cases and weak tendencies may become strong tendencies and, through repeated usage, the syntactic part of speech may become lexical part of speech, being fixed and stable.

It is not difficult to conclude that the proposal of the dynamic construal model of categorization provides new evidences for the tenability of transcategorial changes in Mandarin, namely, verbalization and nominalization.

IV. A DYNAMIC CONSTRUAL APPROACH TO THE DISPUTE OF WORD TRANSCATEGORIAL SHIFT

“Every sign by itself seems dead. What gives it life? In use it is alive. Is life breathed into it there?
-Or is the use its life?”

--- Wittgenstein (quoted from Croft and Cruse, 2004, p. 98)

A dynamic construal approach is taken to account for the transcategorial shift of word classes in Mandarin. In accordance with the claims of the dynamic construal model of categorization, we hold that there are clear and definite boundaries between word classes in Mandarin at the first place. Second, verbalization and nominalization do exist when the words take different syntactic roles and the shifts are cognitively evidential.

A. *Nouns and Verbs*

Scholars of different grammatical theories (e.g. Ross, 1972; Langacker, 2004, 2013) have agreed upon the maximal opposition of nouns and verbs³. In accordance with the government-binding theories, nouns are represented as [+N, -V] while verbs are represented as [-N, +V], the two categories pose as polar opposites. By contrasting the prototypes of nouns and verbs, Langacker (2004, 2013) claims that nouns and verbs are contrasting in all their basic properties.

Nominal archetypes are physical objects composed of material substance, residing primarily in space, where it is bounded and have their own locations. From a temporal view, they may persist indefinitely and are not thought of having any particular location in time. Also, they are conceptually autonomous and, therefore, people can conceptualize them independent of their participation in any event. A noun profiles a thing, which Langacker (2013) defines as “a set of interconnected entities which function as a single entity at a higher level of conceptual organization” (p. 107). It is a result of people's general cognitive ability of grouping and reification. Grouping is such a simple and general human capacity that any more detailed explanation would seem superfluous. Reification refers to the ability of treating a group of entities as a unitary entity for higher-order cognitive purposes. For example, 20 students may form a CLASS. The CLASS is reified through its conception as being a single unit and later may be referred to as a single thing.

The verbal archetypes are diametrically opposed to prototypical nouns. Typical verbs denote, instead of physical material, to energetic interactions consisting of the change and transfer of energy. The event denoted by the verbs locates in time, i.e., having its location in the flow of time. They are conceptually dependent because they cannot be conceptualized without conceptualizing the entities that are engaged in the event. Thusly, they are considered as relational and their schematic characterization includes both relational and nominal predications. Verbs are the products of our cognitive capacity to apprehend relationships and track them through time.

In terms of the manner of the perception of continuity through expanse⁴, generally nouns are considered as the products of our capacity of summary scanning while verbs are taken as the linguistic expression for sequential scanning. Through cognitive manipulations or different ways of construal, the two manners of scanning or perception may interchange with each other⁵ and result in nominalization and verbalization, which we will address next.

B. *Nominalization and Verbalization*

Nouns and verbs reside in two polar extremes of our cognitive conceptualization. As products of two different ways of perception in two expanses, one being space while the other being time, they form two distinctive categories. According to the dynamic construal model of the categorization, both of the two categories have sharp and determinate boundaries. The transcategorial shifts between the two categories involve changes in the ways of construal.

³ We disagree with Shen's (2007, 2009, 2010, 2011) claim that Chinese nouns, verbs and adjectives forms a hierarchical inclusion model. From the cognitive perspective adopted by the current paper and analogous papers, nouns and verbs resides at two polar extremes with adjectives, prepositions in-between.

⁴ This perception of continuity is called scanning by Langacker (2004). Nouns are results of the scanning in the expanse of space, while verbs are products of scanning in the expanse of time.

⁵ For researches on subjective motion or fictive motion, see Tao & Mao, 2011; Matsumoto, 1996; Talmy, 1996, 2000a, 2000b; etc.

Conceptually, nominalization and verbalization are asymmetric. As we have discussed in the previous part, verbs are dependent in that they contain series of component states in which the participation of things or entities is indispensable. Therefore, nominalization, which mostly from verbs and, secondarily, from adjectives, is inherently easy and nouns can be derived just by shifting the profile of conceptualization. The profiled element in a verbal conceptualization could be the subject (e.g. complainer, dancer, blender, judge, cook in English; and Daoyou (guide, V. →guide, N.), Daoyan (direct, V. →director, N.), Bianji (edit, V. →Editor N.) in Mandarin), the object (e.g. draftee, advisee, choice in English; and Tihui (feel, V. →feeling, N.), Chuandai(wear, V. →clothes, N.), Yimin (immigrate, V. →immigrant, N.) in Mandarin), the instrument (e.g. rocker, walker, probe in English; and Shache (brake, V. →brake, N.) Zhengming (verify, V. →certificate, N.), Zhuangshi (decorate, V. →accessories, N.) in Mandarin), the product (painting, bruise, mark in English; and Bianhao (Number, V. →Number, N), Fayan (speak, V. →speech, N.), Faming (invent, V. →invention, N.), Zhuzhuo (write, V. →work/books, N) in Chinese) or the setting or location of the action (diner, lounge, bowl in English; and Guaiwan (turn, V. →corner, N.), Fengkou (seal, V. →seal, N) in Mandarin).

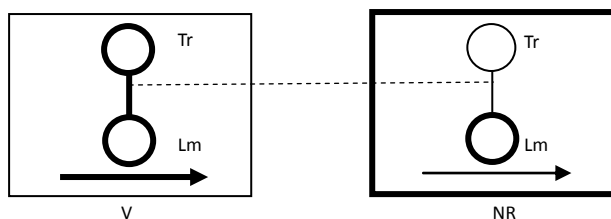


Figure 4: Nominalizing Process and the shift of profile

The process of the nominalization is diagramed in Figure 4. The simplified interpretation of the figure would be that the box on the left signifies the conceptualization of a verb where two entities or things are marked as trajector (Tr.) and landmark (Lm.), and the line connecting them represents the interaction between the two. The arrow below signifies that conceptualization of the interconnections are conceived through time. While the box on the right profiles just the landmark of the relation as indicated by the heavy-line box⁶.

On the other hand, since nouns are conceptually independent and autonomous, the verbalization of nouns requires the addition of conceptual content. For example, denominal verbs include “add N.” (e.g., salt, water, beautify in English; and Lu (bittern, N. →stew meal in bittern, V.), zao (e.g., vinasse, N. →add vinasse to (meat), V.), “remove N.” (e.g., weed, peel, declaw in English; and Niao (urine, N. →urinate, V.), Bian (excrement, N. →defecate, V.) in Mandarin), “use N. as an instrument” (e.g., glue, pencil in English; and Du (poison N. - Poison, V.), Bing (ice, N. →cool Sth. with ice, V.), Chan(shovel, N. →remove Sth. with a shovel, V.) in Mandarin) and so on (cf. Clark and Clark, 1979; Wang, 2010).

Because of the conceptual asymmetry, the numbers of the deverbal nouns and denominal verbs differ dramatically. According to Wang’s (2010) statistics, there are 2737 deverbal nouns while the denominal verbs are only 48 in her database which amounts to 200,000 words. High frequency of usage leads to the entrenchment of temporary transcategorical shifts. It is found that over 500 entrenched deverbal nouns but only 149 denominal verbs are considered as entrenched or multi-categorical words in modern Chinese.

Consider the boundary between verbalization and nominalization. The division is clear and sharp in the cases of both temporary borrowing and entrenched usages. The major determinant of the differentiation lies in the varying manners of construal that people carry out when they are engaged in linguistic interactions. Scholars (Zhu, 1960; Zhu, Lu & Ma, 1961; Zhu, 1999) argue against the tenability of nominalization based mainly the vast number of its occurrences in Mandarin and the lack of inflectional changes. We agree with Zhu (1960) that the classification of word classes should not solely depend on their syntactic roles and the falsehood of the argument that there are no word class based on the infeasibility of word classification as claimed by Gao (1955a, 1955b, 1956). However, the pervasiveness of deverbal nouns reflects people’s general cognitive capacity of alternating profile and construing a relation as a thing. Furthermore, the lack of inflectional changes does not invalidate the tenability of nominalization, no matter they are just temporary on-line manipulation or already entrenched as multi-categorical words.

C. Dynamic Construal of Meaning

Let’s return to the saying by Wittgenstein quoted at the very beginning of this section. Its inspiration with regard to the part of speech of words, no matter they are in Indo-European languages or Mandarin, would be that a coherent account can only be reached by considering both the determinate structural properties in the lexicon just as Zhu (1999) claimed and the infinite flexibility of dynamic construal in context as we emphasize in the current research. The “life” of a sign is breathed into it by its contextualized usage and dynamic construal of human cognition.

For an isolated word, its part of speech can only be judged by our accumulated experience of usage, which we call

⁶ There are other types of nominalization in Indo-European languages, like the profiling of a single episode of the process as denoted by the verb, action nominalization and gerundive nominalization. The current paper just focuses on the archetypes.

the entrenched categorization. The judgement may vary from person to person since people have individual past history and memory with the same words. Take Diaocha (research, V. & N.) for example, at the first sight it is considered as a verb because of its archetypical meaning and usage. Later, some people may realize that it is also a noun, reflecting the summative perception of the whole event. Generally, it is taken as an entrenched multi-categorial word.

What's more important is our capacity of the dynamic construal of meaning and, more specifically in our research, the on-line conceptualization of word classes. The categorization of words is subjected to the immediate linguistic context. For example, Lei (thunderstorm, N.) refers to the peals of thunder accompanied by lighting. However, its frightening characteristic enabled its verbalization into a verb, meaning to frighten and surprise people in an unexpected way.

- (3) 这部电影太雷人了。
 Zhe bu dianying tai lei ren le.
 This CLAS movie too surprise people PART.
 This movie is frightening and awkward.

Even a person who has never got to know the transcategorial change of Lei will soon understand the meaning of the word in this sentence, accompanied by its linguistic context, and its change from a noun to a verb. And this immediate understanding of its meaning and instant shift of its category manifests people's flexible, on-line, dynamic construal.

V. CONCLUSION

This article introduces a dynamic construal approach to the dispute of the classification of word classes in Mandarin. It is pointed out that the classification of word classes is in essence an issue of categorization. The current research shows that the static views of category, namely the classical model of categorization and prototypical model of categorization, cannot accommodate all the peculiarities demonstrated by different languages in terms of transcategorial shifts. We focused on the exposition of the basic principles and key concepts underlying the dynamic construal model of categorization on a cognitive basis. Exemplified by the new proposal's solution of the century-long dispute on word classification in Mandarin, it is shown that the dynamic construal approach can address the traditional concerns of theorists in a more satisfactory way.

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An Overview of Pragmatism and Pragmatism Assessment

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Abstract—From the time Stalnaker (1974) asked for the development of a pragmatic theory to take into account a detailed explanation of linguistic context, still there is not an agreed-upon theory to explain pragmatic knowledge (Roever, 2011). Due to the vital importance of reliability and validity in language assessment, it is imperative to develop a construct definition for the tests of pragmatic knowledge to be more valid, authentic, and generalizable. In this paper, a short review of pragmatism as well as some issues in the assessment of the pragmatic competence, such as reliability, validity, and practicality, is presented.

Index Terms—Pragmatism, pragmatic assessment, reliability, validity, practicality

I. INTRODUCTION

How do we make sense of a natural conversation? What capabilities and knowledge constitute our understanding and communication ability? Our language knowledge such as syntax and semantics is certainly at work. But the main story is something else as we communicate without saying things *directly*. Therefore, there exists another component of language knowledge that goes beyond the literal meaning of words to extract meanings from context; this aspect of language knowledge is called *pragmatic knowledge*.

Learning a new language entails far more than learning the grammar, vocabulary and phonological rules of the language. While communicating with other people in the second or foreign language, people need to comprehend the intended interlocuter's meaning as they make an expression and as well as make a linguistically appropriate response. However, sometimes problems occur in communication as speakers communicate their meanings implicitly. The problem gets worse when native speakers refer to cultural references unknown to non-native speakers. The ability to get the point, understand cultural allusions, and get ahead of the communication and manage the conversation in spite of sufficient cross-linguistic awareness subsume under pragmatics.

As stated in different modern language teaching models, efficient interaction in the target language involves more than just knowledge of grammar. In fact, pragmatics is the other essential aspect of knowledge of language knowledge that learners need to communicate successfully with native speakers. All recent language teaching and learning theories emphasize the critical importance of knowledge of pragmatics as the foundation of language ability in the globalized world of international communication.

Pragmatics

Pragmatics first appeared in a more philosophical sense and then later it came to be used in cognitive and sociocultural approaches. Morris (1938) was the first to use *Pragmatics* to define the main parts of *semiotics*, or the study of signs, their meaning and interpretation (Levinson, 1983). David Crystal (1985) defines pragmatics as the study of language from the perspective of the users, especially how they use language for social communication and how these choices influence participants in communication.

Supporting Crystal, Kasper (1997) defines pragmatic competence as awareness of the language use to accomplish language interaction objectives in a sociocultural **context**. Mey (2001), too, focused on the notion of *context* in his definition of pragmatics. Accordingly, pragmatics involves the study of the situations of the uses of language as required by the social environment. Context is central in defining pragmatics. It is language use as determined by a specific context or situation and encompasses both the literal and non-literal speaker meaning in communication. As Fasold (2006) argues, pragmatics involves the connection between the context language and sentence meaning. Pragmatics also involves the interplay among speaker meaning, sentence meaning, and context of use.

As context, in the above definitions, makes up the cornerstone of pragmatics, it is useful to provide a brief discussion on context. Context consists of all the linguistic and non-linguistic factors affecting communication. Context is categorized in the following parts (Celce-Marcia & Olshtain, 2000):

1. Physical context (the environment, time and place of the communication).
2. Linguistic context or co-text (what the interlocuters have already said in the talk).
3. Social context (social connection of those taking part in communication).
4. Epistemic context (shared knowledge of the speaker and hearer).

II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A. *Communicative Competence*

Upon the advent of the modern language teaching theories, especially the *communicative method*, **communicative competence** widely gained recognition and significance. Unlike the past, the aim of language teaching and learning was no longer translation or to be able to read target literature, rather conveying the desired meaning and communicate effectively. The basics of *communicative method* are (Deda, 2013):

- Communicative competence is the goal of Language learning
- Language learning happens in communication
- Meaningful communication is defined in terms of fluency and accuracy.

Communicative competence, based on Canale and Swain (1980), has four modules: sociolinguistic competence, discourse competence, grammatical competence, and strategic competence. Canale (1983) further argues that grammatical competence is grasping the linguistic code of the target language; sociolinguistic competence is the knowledge of the sociocultural rules in using the target language; discourse competence is the correct selection and arrangement of lexical items and syntactic structures to accomplish well-organized texts, and finally, strategic competence is the use of verbal and non-verbal strategies to recompense inadequate proficiency or to boost communication.

Communicative competence (Canale & Swain, 1980), in a given social context, has been the objective of all modern language learning theories, and *pragmatics* has been accepted as a crucial aspect of communicative competence. Therefore, pragmatics has grown in importance and recognition as worthy of research and assessment to discover implied meaning by means of contextual, sociolinguistic, sociocultural, psychological, and rhetorical factors (Purpura, 2004).

In his influential conceptualization of language knowledge, Bachman (1990) divided it into two categories:

a) Organizational knowledge, including grammatical and textual knowledge, is an awareness of the grammatical structure of the target code with the aim of producing right sentences and organizing these in texts.

b) Pragmatic knowledge, is an awareness of assigned specific meanings to the words and utterances in context, as well as their function according to the aims of the user. Pragmatic knowledge encompasses lexical knowledge, functional knowledge and sociolinguistic knowledge.

As it is seen in the above-mentioned principles of communicative method, communicative competence is cornerstone and benchmark of language teaching. Of course communicative competence is one of the many aspects of language competence. Other language competencies, in addition to *communicative competence*, can include:

a. Sociolinguistic Competence: It is the awareness of the social meaning of a linguistic item and the appropriacy of language use in a given social context for communication. To Savignon (1983), it is the knowledge of socio-cultural rules of discourse requiring understanding of the social context of language use.

b. Interactional Competence: Kramsch (1986) argues that interaction is the negotiation of the intended meanings, that is to say, interaction is adjusting speech to the intended effects on the listener. Kramsch (1986) maintain that interaction involves anticipating the response and possible misunderstanding, clarifying one's own and the other intentions.

c. Strategic Competence: To Canale and Swain (1980) strategic competence as the ability to use language knowledge effectively and appropriately for the sake of communicative interaction.

d. Discourse Competence: Discourse competence is the ability to arrange sentences into cohesive structures (Erton, 2007). Thus, it discourse competence helps gain insight by experiencing different interactional patterns in varying socio-cultural and physical contexts (Deda, 2013).

e. Pragmatic Competence: Deda (2013) argues that pragmatic is the ability to comprehend, construct, and convey accurate and appropriate meanings in the social and cultural context of communication.

f. Cultural Competence: Culture is the socially acquired knowledge by a given member of a society (Lyons, 1990). Cultural competence, to quote Le Page (1978), is that knowledge which an individual needs to know, in order to operate as a member of this society.

The connection between language and **culture** has attracted much interest. With the rapid growth of foreign language teaching in recent years, this issue of language and culture has been of utmost prominence in Second Language Acquisition and intercultural communication being at the front position of learning a second language (Byram *et al.* 2002). Since then, there has been a growing recognition of the insufficiency of grammatical knowledge in communication. This outgrowth of importance was chiefly inspired by empirical studies that revealed the effects of native culture and language on the development of learners' L2 language proficiency proposing that for L2 learners to achieve a full competence in the target language, it is greatly important to take into account the sociocultural and pragmatic aspects of the target language (Ishihara & Cohen, 2010).

It is generally believed that language is not just a cognitive process, rather, a social construct that is used and acquired in social interaction. Research findings show that grammatical knowledge alone does not guarantee successful communication. According to Hymes (1972), the rules of grammar without the rules of use are useless. The implication is that sociocultural rules of appropriate language use are also part of language knowledge. Thus the incorporation of

the socio-cultural rules of the second language is of utmost significance as language knowledge includes knowledge of both use and usage with knowledge pragmatics being at forefront of socio-cultural knowledge.

Knowledge of pragmatics, based on appropriacy and acceptability in the given social context in communicating intended meaning, to Leech (1983) is, in turn, divided into pragmlinguistic and sociopragmatic Knowledge. Thomas (1983) holds that pragmlinguistics concerns the linguistic means needed for communicative acts and sociopragmatics involves the social dimension of pragmatics and refers to appropriate social behavior in the target culture. Thus, pragmlinguistic failure implies conveying the intended meaning using inappropriate linguistic forms, and sociopragmatic failure is the lack of awareness of the social appropriacy. This failure, either sociopragmatic or pragmlinguistic, can have severe impacts on international politics, interpersonal relationship, and cause misunderstanding between the interlocutors (Takahashi & Beebe, 1987). Needless to say that the optimal level of pragmatic knowledge is not accessible in EFL contexts due to lack of similarity and proximity between the native culture and the target culture as research indicates the pragmatic awareness is greater in ESL students than EFL students suggesting that the target language context exerts a helpful effect on the sociopragmatic knowledge acquisition (Schauer, 2006; Bardovi-Harlig & Dörnyei, 1998).

For Jung (2002) pragmatic competence has several components and aspects. Accordingly, these aspects include: being able to perform speech acts, the ability to express and understand non-literal implication, to perform discourse and politeness functions as well as the ability to use cultural knowledge. These aspects of pragmatics are closely interrelated. In fact, in a given interpersonal communication act, they interact with each other to help get the message through.

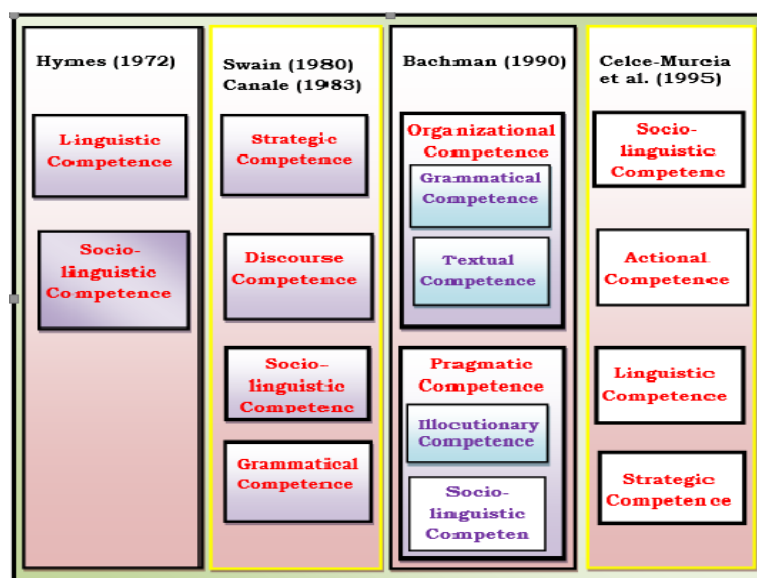


Figure 1. Models of Communicative Competence

B. Pragmatics and Speech Act Theory

Pragmatics entails the way people produce and receive a speech act in a social context. The notion of speech act was introduced by Austin (1962) suggesting that language is both saying and doing. Speech act is the performing of an activity using words or speech. A speech act, for Cohen (1996), is a functional unit of communication, and, to Searl (1969), is the basic unit of communication.

In speech act theory, the emphasis is on what the speakers intend by the utterances. The successful fulfillment of the utterance relies on two necessary conditions called felicity conditions. A felicity condition, according to Brown and Levinson (1987), is one of the real-world circumstances that are to be realized so that a specific speech act can function as planned.

In his conceptualization of speech acts, Austin (1962) categorizes three types of speech act. Accordingly, the three types of speech act are as follows:

1. **Locutionary act:** or the basic act of saying something which is meaningful and can be understood by the receiver.
2. **Illocutionary act:** the speaker's purpose or the performance of the act in saying it.
3. **Perlocutionary act:** the result or the influence of what was stated.

Speech act actually lies in the second or illocutionary act best as the intended meaning of the speaker in uttering the particular utterance. Likewise, Levinson (1983) links speech act to illocutionary act. Searl (1969) takes the Austinian concept of illocutionary act and further classifies it into five types: representatives, directives, commissives, expressives, and declarations.

C. *Pragmatics and Politeness*

Politeness causes confusion for the term can have different interpretations (Thomas, 1995). The reason for this confusion is that people define politeness in terms of pragmatics and not with the tendency to be nice to interlocutors. Politeness and speech acts are culturally loaded. To Barron (2003), the sociolinguistic politeness is the signals of respect and familiarity relevant to age, sex, and social position, while the lay notion of politeness is concerned with appropriate social behavior. In pragmatics sense, Thomas argues that politeness is concerned with strategies used to promote and maintain interpersonal relations.

Grice (1975) conceptualizes politeness in what he termed **cooperative principle**. Grice (1975) holds that the conversational involvement is as needed, at the stage it happens, by the established aims of the talk in which you are engaged. He summarizes his cooperative principle in four conversation maxims:

1. Quality: make your contribution as informative as needed
2. Quantity: make your contribution one that is true
3. Relation: be related to the point
4. Manner: be clear

Grice (1989) here introduces *implicature*. Accordingly, when there is failure in a maxim, the hearer tries to understand the message by deciding from the utterance. Thus, implicature is the additional implied information in the utterance to which the listener attends can successfully build speaker meaning. Grice aims at setting the ground for effective communication.

Leech (1983), in turn, invented *politeness principles* focusing on minimizing the expression of impolite beliefs and maximizing the expression of polite expressions. Leech's maxims of conversation include: tact, generosity, approbation, agreement, and sympathy.

Face is another notion which is taken to account in politeness. Goffman (1967) defines face as the positive social value a person claims for himself. Goffman also states that face can be scared, saved or lost. Brown and Levinson (1987), too, pay attention to face and emphasize that face can be lost, or enhanced and must be attended to in conversation. Brown and Levinson (1987) further differentiate between negative face and positive face. Negative face is the person's want to be free from imposition, and positive face is the desire to belong and be approved.

Politeness is heavily culturally bound and the context, or overall culture, plays a major role here. For a better understanding of message and a successful interaction, culture of the interlocutors is a determining factor. Supporting this view of the interplay between politeness and culture, Thomas (1995) states that politeness cannot be assessed out of context. The linguistic form alone is not accountable for politeness, rather, the context, the relationship between the speaker and hearer and the linguistic form, together, determine the politeness of a certain speech act.

D. *The Importance of Pragmatics*

The importance of pragmatic competence is greatly highlighted in the literature. Those speakers who are not pragmatically competent may seem uncooperative, or sometimes, worse, rude and insulting. Pragmatic competence does not necessarily develop with linguistic competence. Leech (1983) argues in favor of pragmatic competence when he splits linguistics into pragmatics, language use in different conditions, and grammar, decontextualized language system.

According to Locastro (2012) improving the learners' pragmatic knowledge is as important as developing IT and technology skills. Pragmatic knowledge is so important today. ESL/EFL teachers are the forefronts of pragmatics teaching. They are also highly held accountable for learners who intend to pursue their study or work abroad. So the EFL/ESL teachers need to continue to think critically about language use and prepare themselves. Locastro (2012) further argues that learners benefit from explicit pragmatics teaching and ideally become autonomous learners, in using pragmatics to solve communication problems and pushing their competence level. Thus, pragmatics attempts to offer students linguistic means and helps to learn and comprehend appropriate action (Yined Tello Rueda, 2006). It may imply the teaching of target language culture in the process of pragmatics acquisition. This issue of teaching culture is shared by several authors, such as Fantini (1997) and Kramsch (1998) suggesting that language expresses, embodies, and symbolizes cultural reality.

E. *The Importance of Teaching Pragmatics*

Teaching pragmatics is of great significance in language teaching especially in EFL contexts where the learners have no chance of exposure to the target language. Rose and Kasper (2001) argue that teaching pragmatics eases the learning of different facets of language. They hold that many features cannot be acquired without instruction, whether explicit or implicit. Accordingly, the teaching of pragmatics is not only facilitative, but also sometimes necessary for the acquisition of L2 pragmatic ability (Rose and Kasper, 2001).

Various tasks and activities can be utilized to instruct knowledge of pragmatics. Pragmatics teaching can be included in the language classroom in the form of authentic input in terms of examples and providing models and interpretations. Kasper (1997) maintains that activities are of two types: observation activities, to raise student's awareness, and practice activities to offer opportunity for practice such as role play. According to Rueda (2006), in EFL classrooms, pragmatics should be incorporated in the curricula to expose learners to appropriate target language input, raise students' awareness of pragmatics, and create authentic conditions to practice knowledge of pragmatics. To

Bardovi-Harling and Mahan Taylor (2003), the goal of teaching pragmatics is to facilitate learners' ability to find socially appropriate language for the communicative situation.

The vast variation of language functions and speech acts causes problems in teaching pragmatics (Williams, 1988), and, therefore, the teacher is advised to make the learners aware of pragmatics in language. Brock (2005) devises a teaching strategy in teaching pragmatics; that is, the use of SURE. S stands for *See*, U for *Use*, R for *Review*, and E for *Experience*. In the see part, the teacher help the learner see the language in context, and raises the awareness. In the use section, activities are developed to use the function in context. The review part, is intended for the reinforcement of the formerly taught functions, and in the experience phase, teachers arrange for the learners to experience and observe pragmatics in communication.

F. Pragmatic Assessment

Language assessment aims at gathering data about students' linguistic competence and makes reasonable judgments. Therefore, it is essential to choose the assessment instruments that are proper for the specific interpretation and intentions, particularly using a range of assessment instruments accessible for assessment. Generally, the quality of assessment is evaluated based on three vital principles: validity, reliability, and practicality. The basic concept of each criterion is discussed, and how these concerns are considered in a pragmatic assessment.

Even though the assessment of the pragmatic knowledge in the second language is a less studied area of pragmatics, few language teachers and testers approach this significant topic in language teaching and testing. Therefore, there exists a few tests of pragmatic knowledge and it is a field in need of more research. Attempts made so far to assess pragmatic knowledge have usually focused on speech-act framework and are frequently criticized for pragmatic construct underrepresentation (Yamashita, 2008; Roever, 2011). To test pragmatic knowledge, test designers select interactive discourse completion test (IDCT) as their target language use (TLU) task as it is significant and practical for the classroom learning as well as social cooperation (Roever, 2011). Since the learners may live in the target language location, they will confront situations where they need to use linguistically appropriate language and can function socially to apologize, make request, refuse, or ask for permission. Bardovi-Harlig (1996, cited in Crandall & Basturkmen, 2004) correctly argues that pragmatic competence is more important than linguistic competence as if a learner makes a pragmatic mistake, it is considered as more serious than a grammatical mistake.

In Purpura's (2004) theoretical model of pragmatic knowledge, pragmatic knowledge is divided into several categories namely contextual, sociolinguistic, sociocultural, psychological, and rhetorical meanings. The construct definition of a pragmatics test is based on Purpura's (2004) model. In this model, it is supposed that learners are familiar with contextual, sociolinguistic, and rhetorical pragmatic meanings, thus, this specific test only tests sociocultural and psychological meaning (Purpura, 2004).

The construct definition of pragmatics that is assumed for a testing project will certainly have an influence on the test. In Levinson's view (1983), pragmatics has traditionally involved in five chief parts: presupposition, conversational implicature, deixis, speech acts, and conversational structure. Pragmatics studies, in applied linguistics, have concentrated on the exploration of speech acts and conversational structure and conversational implicature.

Kasper (1996) suggested the following subjects which to consider in interlanguage pragmatics, with an eye on the assessment of any of them: nonnative speakers' understanding of illocutionary force and politeness; how they produce linguistic action, the influence of contextual factors on choices made in means and forms, how speakers sequence discourse and manage conversation, success and failure in pragmatics, and the shared communication of conversational objectives in personal meetings.

1. Pragmatic assessment; Reliability

Reliability concerns the stability of scores in different testing occasions. Thus, when a learner takes a test over time, and the score does not change meaningfully, it can be concluded that it is a reliable instrument indicating the consistency of the construct being measured. As this type of reliability necessitates the learners to take the same test repeatedly, this is not practical and cannot be determined easily. To eliminate the problem of multiple administration of a test in several occasions, internal consistency is often employed. Internal reliability, to Brown (2005), is measured by examining the relationship of different parts to the whole based on classical test theory methods. Brown (2008) states that the estimates of reliability in written discourse completion tasks (WDCTs), oral discourse completion tasks (ODCTs), self-assessment, and role-plays is relatively acceptable and high; but the multiple-choice discourse completion tests (MDCTs) are an exception. However, Brown (2008) and Yamashita (1996) reported contradictory results for internal reliability of the multiple-choice DCTs.

To come up with a solution for the issues of intra-rater reliability and bias, the Multifaceted Rasch model has been applied in many studies in the literature (Roever, 2008; Tajeddin & Alemi, 2014; Youn, 2007). It was revealed that different scorers showed different degrees of variation of scoring across different task but rater training can be effective in minimizing rater bias and augment reliability in their rating.

2. Pragmatic assessment; Validity

In comparison to reliability, there is little research on validity in the pragmatic assessment literature. Validity concerns the appropriateness of interpretation and use of test scores and the decisions made on the test results. Bachman (1990) divided validity into construct, content, and criterion-related validity based on the type of evidence needed to corroborate intended test score interpretations. Construct validity is the cornerstone of assessment and

Bachman & Palmer defines it as the meaningfulness and appropriacy of interpretations made based on the test scores (1996). Roever (2006), for example, used both comparison and correlation approaches to show that his test of implicature, routine, and speech acts reflect the construct of pragmalinguistic knowledge.

Discourse Completion Task or test is another instrument in measuring learner's pragmatic knowledge. But in using this types of tests, we should be cautious of cross-cultural differences among test takers. According to Rose (1994), a DCT can not be a valid instrument to evaluate pragmatic knowledge cross-culturally. Accordingly, the supposition that the same DCT to be utilized in both Western and non-Western environments to stimulate similar speech acts did not hold (Rose, 1994). The standard DCT format make learners perform speech acts that they would not perform in such contexts. To Rose, multiple choice DCTs which contain the element of choice could be more revealing. In line with Rose, Brown (2001), too, stated that discourse completion tasks and other pragmatic measurement instruments were unsuccessful to prompt constant behavior from different tasks tackling the same facets of competence.

Content validity to Bachman & Palmer (1996) is the degree of correspondence of the features of a given language test task to the characteristics of a TLU (target language use) task. We can prove content validity by referring experts' subjective judgment about the degree of correspondence of the content of a given test in comparison to the features target language use (TLU) domain. As for the content validity of pragmatic test, there has been little research to settle the content validity of a pragmatic measurement. The reason for the deficit is that pragmatic measurement is a research tool, not as an instrument, and it by no means necessitates test givers to show that the test content fits the content of the non-testing condition.

3. Pragmatic assessments; Practicality

Practicality is an issue that needs to be considered in assessing the quality of a given test. Practicality concerns the availability of human and material resources for the administration and use of a certain test. Bachman & Palmer (1996) define practicality as the relationship between the resources required in the design, development, and use of the test, and the resources which are available. Thus, if the resources that are required for a given test are more than available resources, it is impractical and, as a result, would be unlikely to be administered, no matter how reliable and valid it is. Thus, when designing and developing a test, at the initial phase, it is necessary to evaluate the human and material resources, time, and cost that are needed for the test.

The practicality of a test, to a great extent, relies on the purpose and use of a given test. Some researchers (for example Brown, 2001; Liu, 2007; Roever, 2006) have discussed pragmatic assessment in terms of test development, administration, and scoring. In this regard, in terms of scoring, multiple-choice Discourse Completion Task, DCT, are time-efficient as well as cost-effective. But, to Liu (2007) and Roever (2006), in multiple DCT it is problematic to write reliable and valid options and distractors for every item. The alternatives to multiple-choice DCT tasks are written and oral DCT tasks. Compared with the multiple-choice DCT tasks, written and oral DCTs are relatively easy to develop and can stimulate actual reactions from language learners, but are more expensive to administer and score.

III. CONCLUSION

Measuring second language pragmatic knowledge has been done since 1992, but the validity, reliability, and practicality of the instruments used to measure this competence were under question as it was discovered, in the literature, that these instruments were limited, less valid, and less reliable. Thus, we needed to revise the traditional measurement tools and settle the problem or continue to encounter the persisting problems of L2 pragmatic competence measurement. So far, researchers have used new item forms for L2 pragmatics research which have the potential to heighten task validity and practicality, and to yield more valid measurements of pragmatic competence. However, when it comes to making decisions about test takers, we have to take into account reliability, validity, and practicality of these task types based on their intended use. In case of production tasks, such as conversation simulations and written exchanges, we should carefully plan the scoring scheme as well as scorer reliability should be examined. For recognition tasks, for example pragmaticity judgments, appropriate speech acts prediction, tests of conversational implicature, and speech act interpretation, it is important and necessary to check for internal consistency and validate these test tasks through comparison or correlational approaches.

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Complementarity of the Relevance-theoretic and Cognitive Linguistic Approaches to Metaphor Study: A Critical Review

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Abstract—This paper attempts to take a critical review of research work on the complementarity of the cognitive linguistic and relevance-theoretic approaches to metaphor study. Addressing the current concerns and problems of metaphor studies, the complementarity view demonstrates the cooperative potential of relevance-theoretic and cognitive linguistic approaches which will benefit metaphor studies and give full accounts of metaphor understanding and interpretation. In particular, the relevance-theoretic approach gives an account of ad hoc concept, emergent property and mental imagery which complements the cognitive linguistics and helps solve some issues in metaphor interpretation.

Index Terms—complementarity, cognitive linguistic approach, relevance-theoretic approach, ad hoc concept, emergent property, mental imagery

I. INTRODUCTION

Metaphor, as a kind of special language form, allows humans to express themselves implicitly. Metaphor has fascinated many scholars from various fields and has been studied from the perspectives of linguistic psychology, philosophy, pragmatics and cognitive linguistics. Among these approaches, pragmatics and cognitive linguistics are the most influential. Both relevance theory and cognitive linguistics play an important role in investigating metaphors since these theories have offered important insights into the working mechanism of metaphor. At the present critical stage of developing these approaches, some scholars have become aware of their cooperative and complementary potential instead of viewing them as contradictory (Gibbs & Tendahl, 2008; Tendahl, 2009; St över, 2010; Wilson, 2011), suggesting that it is essential to do researches of metaphors from a new, integrative or complementary approach.

It was Gibbs & Tendahl (2008) who first illustrated the complementarity of relevance theory and cognitive linguistics which offered insight into metaphor study. Tendahl (2009) puts forward a hybrid theory of metaphor which integrates relevance theory and cognitive linguistics to make further exploration of metaphor. Afterwards, St över (2010) proposes a new hybrid model with a modular mental architecture built in it. The studies of Tendahl and St över shed light on how to view the metaphor interpretation. Wilson (2011) argues that cognitive linguistics may greatly benefit from a relevance-theoretic explanation about the intended meaning of speaker during metaphor interpretation. Carston (2002) proposes an ad hoc concept construction in metaphor interpretation. Other scholars such as Esther Romero, Bel n Soria (2014), Xose Rosales Sequeiros (2016), Ewa Walaszewska (2014) also study the complementarity of the cognitive linguistic and relevance-theoretic approach to metaphor. All of these researches take the complementary view and further explore, such issues as emergent property and mental imagery related to metaphor understanding.

It should be noted that although the study of complementarity has made some achievements, there are still many open questions which are inadequately addressed in the existing studies. This paper aims to take a critical review of contributions and deficiencies of the current complementary study of metaphor, offering evaluative comments and suggestions along the way.

The paper is organized as follows. The second section states what metaphor studies are generally concerned with and reviews researches on the complementary perspective offered by relevance theory. The third section addresses the complementary perspective offered by cognitive linguistics. Section four discusses metaphor by dealing with the emergent property. Section five concludes the paper.

II. COMPLEMENTARY PERSPECTIVE ON RELEVANCE-THEORETIC APPROACH TO METAPHOR

According to current theories and studies of metaphor, there are many questions metaphor studies have focused on: How does metaphor work? How is metaphor processed in the mind of the addressee? Are there some mechanisms for metaphor understanding? Do there exist mechanisms for metaphor understanding? Do literal expression and figurative expression share the same mechanism? Do any other representational formats besides propositional utterance get involved during the process of metaphor interpretation? And, if so, what roles do they play and what effect do they have on the metaphor interpretation? Will the metaphorical interpretation take longer than literal interpretation? All of these questions are the debating concerns of metaphor study and prompt linguists to combine different theories in order to

find an answer to them. In particular, two directions of researches, cognitive linguistics and relevance theory, offer complementary perspectives on metaphor. The integration approaches of cognitive linguistics and relevance theory will benefit these current concerns of metaphor studies.

Sperber & Wilson (2008) propose a deflationary account of metaphor. They assume that there are no clear boundaries among metaphors, hyperboles and literal utterances but rather they exist on a literal-loose-metaphorical continuum. There is also no special mechanism but an inferential procedure to process different representations. Thus, metaphors, hyperboles and literal utterances share the same inferential procedure. It is noted that the meaning intended by the speaker is inferred rather than is derived by the concept decoding. The implications of the utterance are derived by mutually adjusting the implicit and explicit components of the interpretation (Sperber & Wilson, 2008). This deflationary account of metaphor is based on the relevance theory and gives a good explanation of the metaphor processing problems. However, there are still some problems to be discussed. The authors argue that the hearer follows a path of least effort to derive implications of the utterance, but what's the decisive factor in implication derivation? According to RT, the cognitive effect is the most important factor to achieve optimal relevance and the least effort is the attempt to achieve cognitive effect. Can the least effort decide the derivation of implication? Here the authors just give inadequate accounts. Besides, the authors lack enough evidence to prove the derivation of emergent properties since the same inferential procedure, which interprets all different types of utterance, is used to explain the inference of emergent properties (Sperber & Wilson, 2008). The authors also recognize the inferential comprehension process faces a challenge to deal with all different and complicated cases of emergent properties (Sperber & Wilson, 2008). Thus, the deflationary account is inadequate.

Carston (2017) sorts out three stages of development for the RT account of metaphor. The first period is in the mid 1980s when scholars claim metaphorical language is a kind of loose use; The second period is in the mid 1990s when it is assumed that metaphorical uses of word are used to communicate a different linguistically encoded concept; In the late 2000s, it is claimed that there are two relevance-driven routes to metaphor understanding which are determined by the degree of familiarity, complexity and novelty.

According to Carston, the RT account of loose use illustrates that the speaker employs the loose use of language to convey a wide range of implications and the hearer follows the path of least effort to satisfy expectation of relevance to retrieve those highly accessible contextual assumptions as Sperber and Wilson propose. The adjustment of encoded concepts results in the broadening or narrowing of concept extension. In the strength of utterance, some communicate strongly and others weakly. The strong implication shows specific intended meanings while the weak one makes the hearer infer the implications until it satisfies the expectation of relevance (Wilson & Sperber, 1995, p.222).

To derive contextual implications, the "mutual parallel adjustment" of explicatures, contextual assumptions, and contextual implications works out. Thus, the process of metaphor understanding is modified and inferential. This view is borrowed from Wilson and Sperber's opinion and Carston adds some of her views to it.

There are questions that raise some critical points. RT explains that the metaphor arises in communication but not in cognition. Is the arising of metaphor not related to cognition but only to loose use of language? This paper argues that metaphor may arise not only in communication but also in cognition. This is what RT fails to explain. Wilson (2011) links two conceptual domains to familiar metaphors and makes metaphorical use in a systematic way. Another challenge for RT is the inadequate investigation of non-propositional effects such as sensory, imagistic and affective effect. Later, Carston (2018) argues that mental imagery plays a significant role in the process of language comprehension. Although it is not the non-proposition communicated, it may attract the hearer's attention and make proposition manifest. In this respect, RT lacks any attention to the imagery. In order to solve the imagery problems, Carston (2017) proposes two routes of understanding metaphor. One is the quick, local, on-line meaning adjustment process; the other is a slower, more global appraisal of the literal meaning of the metaphorical language which can modify meaning to process novel metaphors.

One theory that has also paid attention to the non-propositional forms including imagery is the new hybrid model proposed by Stöver (2010). She assumes that there is a mechanism for different types of representations, and imagistic-experiential representations can indirectly influence propositional representations through a metarepresentational mediator. Imagistic-experiential representations can become computational input and part of the propositional meaning outcome. Non-propositional representations might get incorporated as part of encyclopedic entries and are made fit for reference (Stöver, 2010, p.200). Hence, Stöver's model makes progress in this aspect since it offers an account of the non-propositional effects that come about in metaphor understanding. It also incorporates an imagistic-experiential level of processing (Stöver, 2010, p.217). Stöver's model takes the relevance-theoretic perspective and also absorbs some cognitive concepts or cognitive forms into the model. The approach makes the metaphor theory more perfect and solves the problems in metaphor understanding that reveals the complementarity of these two approaches.

According to the new hybrid theory of metaphor (Stöver, 2010), the module works on the framework of relevance theory so it can retrieve mental knowledge to deal with information on time since the relevance theory includes cognitive aspects such as cognitive effects and cognitive efforts. The relevance theory complements the content of modular to make it information retrievable. For example, the perceptual module, capable of dealing with external bodily experience, is based on the relevance theory, and the internal module, dealing with the sentiments, is also related to

relevance theory. If these modules have optimal relevance to the communicative information, then it will be activated to process the metaphor. That is to say, only those modules that have optimal relevance can be activated to interpret the metaphor. All these aspects show complementarity of these two approaches and can be combined.

However, the relevance-theoretic approach does not focus on issues about metaphorical discourse since it considers metaphor to be on a par with other forms of language. This is part of the reason why relevance-theoretic approach is not very perfect.

III. COMPLEMENTARY PERSPECTIVE ON COGNITIVE LINGUISTIC APPROACH TO METAPHOR

The cognitive linguistic approach provides an alternative view to metaphor. According to conceptual metaphor theory, metaphor arises from mental mapping from source domain to target domain in the mind of people with the view that we conceptualize the world metaphorically which reflects the way of thinking. Gibbs & Tendahl (2009) emphasize the important role of mapping in metaphor since mapping can access contextual assumptions of utterances and is responsible for linking physical and psychological senses of concept attributes. Through mapping, it helps us recognize conventional metaphor and novel metaphor. If the attribute of the source domain does not typically map into the target domain then we can recognize the metaphor as a novel one. This is what relevance theory fails to recognize since relevance theory just pays attention to the inference of novel metaphor interpretation. Besides, only cognitive linguistics studies the motivation for individual metaphors, class of metaphorical statements and metaphorical inference patterns (Gibbs & Tendahl, 2009). Cognitive linguists explain that the recurring sensorimotor patterns motivate the use of metaphorical language, and many novel metaphors arise from complex blending processes.

From the perspective of cognitive linguistics, the complexity of human activities requires different kinds of representations to deal with human cognition and activities. We need different kinds of representations to handle the complexity of human experience. However, relevance theory holds that both the literal utterance and the metaphorical expression are only represented in the form of proposition since it proposes that only proposition can be communicated. Thus, the view of cognitive linguistics that different representational formats get involved in the process of metaphor interpretation seems to be more convincing than relevance theory as it considers the complexity of human cognitive activities. This is where cognitive linguistic approach can complement the relevance-theoretic approach.

What deserves a special mention is that cognitive linguistics offers a number of insights which are likely to enrich relevance theory, for example, emergent properties (Wałaszewska, 2014). Emergent properties emerge in the process of interpretation of a metaphor, thus creating something new ((Wałaszewska, 2014). In the following section, a more detailed discussion about the emergent property will be shown.

Tendahl (2009) puts forward the hybrid model of metaphor that approves the integration of these two approaches. Tendahl points out that conceptual region of words should be gained first when retrieving a word. The conceptual region consists of several components which are contextual information of the word, lexical concept, encyclopedic knowledge, as well as phonological and morphological knowledge and free slots. The free slots need to be filled via the activation of connectors to external knowledge structures. A conceptual metaphor is the type of external knowledge structure connected to entrenched free slots. The conceptual region provides lexical information and procedural information for making up an ad hoc concept (Tendahl, 2009, p.200). Given the information, we can know how to construct a specific ad hoc concept. Thus, a conceptual region is a preparation stage for building an ad hoc concept. In my view, the external knowledge stored in the conceptual region can be used to construct the ad hoc concept. And the external knowledge varies from context to context in different situations. In this sense, there exists a complementary relationship between cognitive linguistics and ad hoc concepts within the scope of relevance theory in that ad hoc concept encompasses external knowledge in the conceptual region in human mind. Without these materials, ad hoc concepts will not be successfully accessed.

The hybrid theory of metaphor digs out great potentials for integrating these two kinds of linguistic approaches which has been ignored in the past. The model provides some solutions to the metaphor interpretation and is convincing although there still some deficits in it. Tendahl's model lacks enough empirical work to ascertain whether there is a difference in processing effort between category-crossing and category modification metaphors. And he suggests that literal expressions, conventional and novel metaphors, category-crossing and category modification metaphors all work similarly. All of these are characterized by a relevance-sorting process of the lexical concept and profiling against external knowledge domains. But there exist questions about whether they all work in the same way. If they work in the same way, then how to differentiate the processing of these different concepts or expressions? And is it true to assume that literal expression and metaphor process in the similar way? Tendahl does not work out a specific mechanism to explain his assumption instead of explaining it generally and it is not convincing enough. This problem is solved by Stöver (2010) in her new model. Moreover, due to our general complexity and fluidity of the conceptual system, it is difficult to design psycholinguistic experiments on the cognitive effects. Therefore, it is difficult for scholars to ascertain the cognitive effects derived from the addressees.

Stöver (2010) proposes her new hybrid model of metaphor with a modular mental architecture. Different representational formats should be processed separately and thus would not interrupt each other. Stöver assumes that the metaphor understanding mechanism is inner inference within the modular framework of the mind since it needs to have its special mechanism to deal with its processing and interpretation of implications. Within the modular mental

architecture, we can differentiate the logic facts between subjective intuitions, and we avoid putting all the representational formats together to overgeneralize them. The modular framework has a special processing mechanism that can ensure a specialization at the propositional level, ascertaining accuracy and directionality of thinking, and thus it can keep away from purely associative processes (Stöver, 2010, p.184). This view contradicts the relevance theory as relevance theory does not view metaphors as a separate category requiring specialized language processing. Besides, to account for the metaphor understanding and metaphoricality, cross-domain mappings can do it (Stöver, 2010, p.186). Cross-domain mappings can account for the metaphors with accompanying effects by means of source - to - target mapping. Thus we find that it is essential to use the cognitive approach to improve the theory of metaphor even though the whole framework is based on the principle of relevance theory. The new hybrid model of metaphor provides powerful support for the metaphor interpretation and forces the metaphor research into a new direction to complementary relationship.

IV. THE EMERGENT PROPERTY

A. *Relevance-theoretic Account of Emergent Property*

Relevance-theoretic approach gives an inferential account of the emergent property. Wilson and Carston (2006) propose how the emergent properties are derived from contextual implicature. The emergent properties are not the components of the lexical concept but derived from our combination of encyclopedic knowledge and contextual implications. They are relevance-driven and more relevant than other information so they are selected by RT according to the intended meaning of the speaker (Wilson & Carston, 2006, p.12) and satisfy the expectation of relevance theory.

According to the view of Wilson and Carston, the encyclopedic knowledge used to derive emergent features should be transformed to fit the discourse context. The encyclopedic knowledge cannot directly give rise to the emergent properties but should be transformed or modified to apply to the discourse context.

In the process of deriving emergent properties, there is no special mechanism but an inferential interpretive procedure to give rise to emergent features. The forward inference and backward inference, the mutual adjustment of the explicature, implicature and context are used to commonly infer the emergent feature.

Thus, RT explains emergent properties are the result of a series of transformation and deductive inference. While Tendahl and Gibbs propose that the incongruity of the means and the end of the encoded concepts results in emergent properties (Tendahl & Gibbs, 2008, p.1829). But they also recognize that RT cannot explain that a physical attribute can acquire a psychological sense (Tendahl & Gibbs, 2008, p.1839). Hence, they assume that the mapping can connect the physical and psychological sense. This is the complementary aspect of these two approaches. However, does RT really illustrate where emergent properties come from? It seems that RT stills faces many challenges. Vega Moreno (2007) defines that “emergent properties are constituents of assumptions derived as implications in processing a metaphor” and “emergent properties need to be derived inferentially from the combination of at least two premises used in the utterance comprehension” (Vega Moreno, 2007, p.101). The combination of assumptions, implicatures and explicatures results in the emergence of emergent features (Vega Moreno, 2017, p.311). The emergent features arise from the combination of our knowledge of topic and vehicle and emerge through the identification of an existing category (Vega Moreno, 2017, p.311).

According to Vega Moreno, the metaphor interpretive process is based on the premises that may be a set of assumptions made accessible by the encoded concepts. The potential assumptions can be used as premises to help derive emergent properties.

Vega Moreno proposes a solution to the emergent property that pragmatic inference enables the combination of assumptions, encoded concept and implications to derive the emergent properties. After combination, the adjustment process will stop until it warrants the derivation of implications and ad hoc concepts. In this process, it also involves pragmatic fine-tuning of other concepts.

In this sense, we would like to know whether the principle of optimal relevance guides the ending of the gap. Here Vega Moreno does not fully explain it. There are other questions: Vega Moreno argues that the hearer will acquire the implications chosen as the intended meaning of the utterance and treat other implicature as potential implicatures (Vega Moreno, 2007, p.104). How does the hearer regard other implicature as potential ones but not the intended ones? Vega Moreno (2007) assumes that some premises may be accepted as part of the speaker’s intended meaning in order of the assumption’s accessibility.

Is there any procedure to determine whether it is intended or not? Obviously, the account of this problem lacks enough evidence.

By relevance-theoretic approach, an inferential account of metaphor can explain how these emergent features get derived and are applied to attributes of encoded concepts which solve the problems of how addressees interpret the metaphorical utterance. The relevance-theoretic approach sheds new light on accounts of metaphor. However, this relevance-theoretic approach cannot convey the full force of metaphor because it does not combine images into theory. As Carston (2010) proved, the imagery is a distinctive feature of metaphor so it is necessary to complement relevance-theoretic approach by using cognitive linguistic approach to carry mental images in a proposition and explain how emergent property emerges as images in the mind of hearers. On the other hand, analyzing the emergent property

merely from the inferential perspective can only make sure the validity of the inference, that is, the verification of hypotheses but cannot fundamentally illustrate the derivation of the emergent property.

B. Cognitive Linguistic Account of Emergent Property

From the above analyses, it is noted that relevance theory offers a genuine alternative into cognitive linguistic approach to metaphor. But there are some deficiencies that need to be solved by cognitive linguistic approach. And cognitive linguistics offers insights to emergent properties. Tendahl and Gibbs (2008) argue that the neural theory of metaphor with conceptual metaphor can account for the emergent properties. The conceptual mental blend can yield a new emergent structure arising from the juxtaposition of elements from the input space. The integration of the blending structures becomes the emergent structure which contains more meanings and elements than original structures. It is the conceptual blending structure that provides explanations for the emergent properties. And Fauconnier and Turner (2002) propose the Conceptual Integration Network to further explore this kind of fusing space. It is noted that there are three kinds of processes resulting in the emergent structure, namely, composition, completion and elaboration. Through a series of complex blending and projection of the elements and spaces, the metaphor blend is formed and it fuses elements and associates the source input and the target input to make interpretations. As a result, the emergent properties emerge in blending spaces.

In conclusion, both relevance-theoretic approach and cognitive linguistic approach give account of emergent properties based on linguistic theories but they also lack strong support and evidence to be convincing. It is believed that the integration of both of these two approaches can shed new light on metaphor study.

V. CONCLUDING REMARKS

This paper has analyzed how relevance-theoretic approach and cognitive linguistic approach to metaphor study complement each other and explained the advantages of these two approaches which can solve problems cooperatively in metaphor interpretation. But as mentioned above, there are still some problems in these two approaches and it is needed to find some solutions to give better accounts for these problems.

Through these analyses of metaphors, the complementary perspective of two approaches sheds light on the metaphor interpretation in literature. It is known that there are usually metaphors in literary works which endow the works literariness and artistry and we need to find a new approach or perspective to interpret the metaphors in literature since metaphor interpretation lack any concrete mechanisms and needs to explore a new perspective to complete it. The complementarity view can encourage literary studies to reconceive literary works and metaphors in literature as well as afford new ways of literary studies and account for metaphors in literary works. Both the cognitive linguistic and relevance-theoretical approaches can offer new ways of accounting for metaphor and the complementary perspective can provide frameworks for literary metaphors that can complement some aspects which cannot be explained solely. Therefore, the complementarity view is of great value since it can be applied in many other fields such as literature.

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Impact of Using Blackboard on Vocabulary Acquisition: KKU Students' Perspective

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Abstract—This research aims to investigate the impact of employing the learning management system (Blackboard) on attitudes of King Khalid University (KKU) students. The research examines the students' knowledge and skills in employing the Blackboard in their learning process, and investigates the elements, which influence the students' attitude and performance in using Blackboard in classroom instruction from their perspectives. To this end, the author has selected a sample of 34 of KKU students, where they have been requested to complete a 14-item questionnaire. Findings of the current study revealed that KKU students faced several difficulties in learning English language vocabulary. Consequently, the students have developed negative attitudes towards English vocabulary. The study found that Blackboard had a little influence on the attitude and performance of the KKU students in vocabulary learning. The study also showed that there were some limitations in the use of Blended Learning. It needs an action plan in order to make supportive learning opportunities for the university students.

Index Terms—Blackboard, performance, attitude, English vocabulary

I. INTRODUCTION

Teaching and learning a foreign language covers multiple areas of study. Yet, there is a general consensus amongst linguists, educators and researchers that vocabulary is one of the most significant components of language teaching and learning. Indeed, according to Nushi and Jenabzadeh (2016, p51) what differentiates intermediate and advanced learners of a foreign language “lies not in how complex their grammatical knowledge is but in how expanded and developed their mental lexicon is”. Acquiring a large vocabulary is essential for learners to be able to convey thoughts, express ideas and successfully communicate with others in the target language. Yet, teaching and learning vocabulary can be quite challenging which can have a negative impact on the students' attitude towards acquiring it. Therefore, in the recent years there has been a growing interest in employing technology for vocabulary acquisition (Hajebi et al., 2018).

The age of the internet and the ongoing technological developments are continuously transforming the teaching and learning processes all across the globe. Learning in virtual spaces is becoming increasingly significant and prominent in the educational spheres (Hajebi et al., 2018; Tsai, Shen & Fan, 2013; Wong et al., 2018). In fact, a recent research suggests that “most EFL teachers prefer to decrease the utility of traditional approaches and enhance the use of technology-based learning approaches (Hajebi et al., 2018, p372). Consequently, educators are investigating the effectiveness and the impact of various learning management systems within the foreign language classrooms. The current research aims at exploring the Blackboard as one of the most prominent and used learning management systems in the context of Saudi higher education in order to assess the extent to which Blackboard helps students learn vocabulary efficiently and whether it has a more positive attitude towards learning.

The current study is highly motivated by the challenges of the Saudi higher education context especially in the area of teaching and learning vocabulary, and by the urge to boost the learners' performance and attitude towards this particular area of language acquisition as it is of the utmost importance. Besides, the current study goes in parallel with the global modern trends in applying and assessing the Blackboard technology within the language acquisition practices with a focus on the Saudi context in order to give an insight of the impact of this technology use in improving King Khalid students' performance and attitude towards vocabulary and to overcome the challenges it represents.

A. Literature Review

Several teachers and instructors, in the past years, embraced the learning management system. Several educators have been also concerning with integrating technology into the educational sector. According to research findings, the most prominent feature of learning management system (LMS) is that it enhances the learning-teaching process and strategies (Adam & Deon Nel, 2009). In the learning management system, the most common LMS that is currently available to several higher education institutions are Blackboard, Moodle, WebCT, SAKAI, and LAMS. Founded in the year 1997, Blackboard is a licensed LMS, and one of the most common marketable LMSs embraced in the HEIs (Chang, 2008). The potentials in Blackboard have the possibilities to alter the teaching and learning method in general. Blackboard offers an interactive learning medium that can be modified in order to meet the students' educational needs.

Blackboard has been embraced by the HEIs its easiness, ubiquity, and accessibility. For Alenezi and Shahi (2012), it is understood as the comprehensive technological platform for learning and teaching, management the educational content, and the learning measurement outcomes. Moreover, it consists of integrated models, with an essential set of

skills that function together. In their research, they provided the essence and importance of integrating the LMS into the educational process. Furthermore, Tarhini and Masa'deh (2016) stated that the LMS approach as Blackboard provides the academic staff with the required course management methods for tracking the students' interactivity with learning materials, grading, and observing closely the progress of the class.

Hockly (2011) has provided three new reasons and causes for implementing the LMS and its tools. Hockly provided the reason for the technological innovations at the present time, as learners mainly expect the technological integration into their classes in order to assist them in their educational process. Moreover, learners expect to have the abilities to fit this difficult process into their daily routine and busy lives. In addition, several education directives expect the educators to get the options to accessing the LMS such as Blackboard.

Hill (2014) has concluded that the Blackboard was the leading giver and provider of the LMS for all higher education institutions with larger than (800) enrolment. Moreover, Mohsin and Shafeeq (2014) indicated that the EFL instructors have favorable perceptions on the applications of Blackboard for teaching the English language skills. Most instructors see Blackboard and its applications as a structured platform of E-Learning that assists promoting the instructor-student relationship in a certain educational program to provide as easy process of learning and teaching.

Al Zumor (2013) has conducted a research study aimed to explore the views of English as Foreign Language (EFL) students at King Khalid University concerning the advantages and disadvantages of mixing the face-to-face instruction features and Blackboard's language instruction. The research's sample consisted of 160 male students. They found that there were advantages for this method where it can offer a setting in order to get more efficient implementation of the indirect strategies of language learning such as affective strategies, social, and meta-cognitive strategies. In addition to that, the authors recommended several suggestions in order to establish supportive chances in learning for language students such as providing suitable training programs for students, solving technical issues, and increasing the labs number.

In the same line of research, Fageeh, (2013) has investigated the educational effects of the spin as a computer-mediated communication environment (CMC) to teach academic writing and improve student attitudes towards academic writing. Learners' interactions in CMC's Blackboard environment were analyzed using two types of online collaborative strategies: simultaneous chat and asynchronous discussion boards for academic writing for students. The study adopted the quantitative method in analyzing and collecting data using the SPSS program. The researcher found that the students' experiences on using the Blackboard were uneven. The analysis showed that the more students experience using a blackboard, the greater their knowledge of using CMC. Also, the results showed that CMC and Blackboard helps to interact and enrich the learning of English. At the end of his study, the researcher recommends to research more on this topic in the future.

Alharbi, (2015) has conducted a research study, aiming at studying the impact of online training tools, namely blogs, discussion boards, wiki, and integrated facilities in Blackboard as a computer-mediated communication; also, regarding the EFL students' behaviour towards literacy abilities in the environments of e-learning. The researcher has used a mixed-method approach to examine the impact of such methods on students' behaviour and writing/reading performance. The study concluded that the students' performance s on an integrated writing/reading test was noticeably improved. It also concluded that the tools of the e-course supported the writing/reading abilities and facilitated students' interactions. In addition to that, the researcher recommended to conclude and to discuss the pedagogical implications and recommends tips for prospective research.

Similarly, Alshwiah, (2009) has examined impact of a proposed strategy in blended learning in medical vocabulary teaching at Arabian Gulf University (AGU) on several outcomes of the learning/teaching process. The researcher's sample was (50) students. This study concluded that regarding behavior and achievement towards English, there were no statistically significant differences between the control and the experimental groups except the second exam in the midterm, where the total score of the control group was noticeably better than the other group. The study also concluded that though language learners were satisfied with the learning environment, the learners lacked the administrative endorsement.

Lastly, Fageeh, (2014), has examined the impact of implementing an online dictionary to show a new vocabulary etymological analysis through accessing encyclopedia, thesaurus, and web on improving vocabulary and whether it could lead to positive behaviors towards learning vocabulary in language students. The study also examined the etymological analysis feature of the Online Dictionary in Blackboard settings for the improving vocabulary acquisition and behavior towards such process. The researcher concludes that the best technique for learning new vocabulary is the new learning strategy of vocabulary, i.e., etymological analysis. The study recommended more studies in this field.

What distinguishes the current study from previous studies?

Through previous literature revisions, Hill (2014) and Mohsen and Shafeeq (2014) aligned with the results of this research that EFL teachers have positive perceptions of Blackboard applications to teach English language skills. Most Blackboard trainers and its applications see it as a structured e-learning organization that helps to strengthen the teacher-student relationship in a particular learning program to provide an easy learning and learning process. Alharbi (2015) believes that student performance in the integrated reading/ writing test and acquisition of new vocabulary English language by using Blackboard.

The novel aspects of this study which distinguishes from the previous studies are:

1. Previous studies have focused on learning English as foreign language by e-learning tool method in general, while this study focuses on analyzing the students' attitude and performance when involved in studying English using Blackboard at King Khaled University.
2. This study focuses on determining the impact of using Blackboard as a means of using it to learn English vocabulary at KKU. In addition, there is no previous study that has addressed such an issue.

B. Study Questions

The researcher noticed that many King Khalid students face many difficulties in learning English vocabulary. Consequently, the students have developed negative attitudes towards English vocabulary. This issue has been clear through the university tests and the teachers' evaluation of the students' performance in the learning process. As it appears that the current teaching method used in the university does not assist the students in overcoming the difficulties in using the Blackboard in learning English vocabulary.

Accordingly, the study seeks to find out the answer to the study's main question 'Does Blackboard have a positive influence on the attitude and performance of the Saudi university students' in vocabulary learning?'

C. Study Hypothesis

The researcher hypothesis the following:

- Blackboard possesses a positive influence on the attitude and performance of the Saudi university students' in vocabulary learning.

II. METHODOLOGY

The researcher employs a survey study for examining the student's attitude and performance in Blackboard for learning vocabulary.

The target population of this current study are the students at King Khalid University. According to Verma and Mallick (1999), the survey method is considered as a popular employed process in terms of the educational studies. Through this method, as the researcher mentioned above, the questionnaire was administered to meet the goals set for this study, as it is considered a proper method in the data gathering. The researcher employed the questionnaire to gather the data for this study in order to have a full view of the instruments utilized.

A. The Participants

34 students from King Khaled University formed the sample of the current study. The participants were informed that their identities remained confidential and would be used for the research purposes.

B. Instrument: Questionnaire

Oppenheim (1992) states that questions are useful as they can produce the answer frequencies, which is adjustable for statistical and analysis treatment. The study used a questionnaire as an instrument, which was set into (2) sections. The first one gathered the information of the academic level of the English students (Whether they are learning through Blackboard or other tools). The second consisted of (14) Likert-type scale and focused on identifying whether these students have a negative or a positive attitude towards blackboard.

III. RESULTS

In order to answer the research questions, descriptive statistics were run to analyze the students' responses to the data collection tools. Table 1 summarizes the levels of the students participating in this study.

The participants in the study will be 34 students, and it is proposed to be conducted on the participants in order to view their opinion on the matter of this study in order to gain the necessary data. The participants will be informed that their identities are going to remain confidential in their role in the research; thus, using their answers for study purposes only.

TABLE (1):
THE DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE IN THE LIGHT OF STUDY LEVEL

Level	Frequency	Percent
2	10	29.4
3	1	2.9
5	1	2.9
6	20	58.8
7	2	5.9
Total	34	100.0

Table (1) provides the percentage of students in different academic levels who have positive opinions toward studying vocabulary through the Blackboard. The output has three columns. The left column names the different levels of students, and the middle column demonstrates the number of students equitable to each level, and the right column presents the percentage of interest in the Blackboard for learning vocabulary. It is shown that ten students in level two

exhibit 29.4 percent of approval. Similarly, only one student in both levels 3 and 5 show a typical percent of 2.9. The highest percentage of 58.8 is shown by 20 students in level 6. The percentage decreased to 5.9 percentages by two students in level 7.

Reliability and Validity of Questionnaire

The researcher has used Guttman's method to test the reliability of questionnaire, and the results are as following:

TABLE (2):
RELIABILITY STATISTICS OF QUESTIONNAIRE

Lambda	value
1	.603
2	.681
3	.649
4	.536
5	.653
6	.763

Validity of questionnaire:

The questionnaire was presented to a number of specialists in the field of languages, translation and psychology. They were asked about:

- 1- The extent of appropriate phrases to measure the subject of the questionnaire.
- 2- Is the statement negative or positive?

To test the study hypothesis (**Blackboard possesses a positive influence on the attitude and performance of the Saudi university students' in vocabulary learning**), the researcher used the descriptive statistics, and the results as summarized in Table 3.

TABLE (3):
MEANS AND SD OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE STATEMENTS

No	Statement	Means	St. deviation	Order
1	I frequently use Blackboard.	1.85	.857	14
2	I find it convenient for me to implement Blackboard in learning vocabulary	2.35	1.070	6
3	I attend virtual classrooms for some English courses.	2.12	1.250	12
4	I feel that I learn new vocabulary when I attend the virtual classes	2.35	1.125	7
5	It is interesting to use Blackboard to learn English language vocabulary.	2.35	.981	8
6	I feel that I learn new vocabulary from the announcements sent by my teachers.	2.21	1.038	10
7	I better learn vocabulary from Blackboard rather than traditional learning styles.	2.50	1.022	2
8	Online discussions that supports text-based chat via Blackboard help me to enhance my vocabulary knowledge.	2.47	.992	3
9	I like the use of Blackboard in learning English language vocabulary because of the varieties of its tools and features.	2.41	1.019	5
10	Submitting my assignments via blackboard is an effective way to improve my English vocabulary	2.00	.953	13
11	I like the use of blackboard in learning English language vocabulary because of its features, such as color, graphic, animation and layout.	2.35	1.070	9
12	The use of virtual classes gives me quick feedback which improves my vocabulary	2.44	.960	4
13	The use of Blackboard encourages me to search for online sources	2.15	1.077	11
14	Online discussions give me a chance to speak freely and listen to others' speech. Subsequently, my vocabulary has been increased easily.	2.62	1.181	1

Table 3 presents many statements related to their means and standard deviation. The first order with the highest mean of 2.62 and a high St. Deviation of 1.181 is in the online discussions gives the students a chance to speak freely and listen to others' speech. Subsequently, their vocabulary has been increased easily. The second order "I better learn vocabulary from Blackboard rather than traditional learning styles" decreases to a mean of 2.50 and St. Deviation of 1.022. The third order of "Online discussions that supports text-based chat via Blackboard help students to enhance my vocabulary knowledge" is nearly as equal as to the second order with a slight decrease to 2.47 but with a noticeable decrease of St. Deviation to .992. "The use of virtual classes gives me quick feedback which improves my vocabulary" ranks the fourth order with a mean of 2.44 and St. Deviation of .960. The St. Deviation shows an increase to 1.019 in the fifth order of "I like the use of Blackboard in learning English language vocabulary because of the varieties of its tools and features", but the mean is stable with 2.41. The sixth order is as nearly stable in St. Deviation and mean as the fifth order. The seventh order "I feel that I learn new vocabulary when I attend the virtual classes" has the same mean of 2.35 as the one of the sixth order and St. Deviation of 1.125. The eighth order "It is interesting to use Blackboard to learn English language vocabulary" has the same mean of 2.35 as the previous two, yet the St. Deviation decreases to .981. The ninth order has the stable mean of 2.35; however, the St. Deviation increases to 1.070. The tenth order of "I feel that I learn new vocabulary from the announcements sent by my teachers" demonstrates increment in the St. Deviation to 1.038 but with a slight decrease in the mean to 2.21. The eleventh and twelfth orders maintain a mean from 2.12 to 2.15 and the St. Deviation ranges between 1.077 and 1.250. The thirteenth order of "Submitting my assignments via blackboard is an effective way to improve my English vocabulary" shows decrement in both of the mean with 2.00

and St. Deviation of .953. The last order demonstrates the lowest mean of 1.85 and St Deviation of .857

IV. DISCUSSION

The current study found that the online discussions get a little chance for students to speak freely and listen to others' speech and gave them new vocabulary; while Alharbi's (2015) study found the students' performance on getting new vocabularies were high when teacher used e-course tools. As for the better learning and getting new vocabulary from blackboard, the current research concluded that a little effect for students was noticed. Fageeh (2014) has found the same result in his research. As for the online discussions that support text-based chat via Blackboard help students to enhance their vocabulary knowledge, the analysis of current study ensures that there is almost no effect on students learning. The other study of Fageeh (2013) concluded that learners who were taught through Blackboard had more favorable behavior toward the elements of collaboration, productivity, and participation. Al Zumor (2013) concluded that Blackboard settings and Blended Learning offer an environment for more efficient implementation of indirect strategies of language learning; while the current study found that the Blackboard's features and tools do not have a strong impact on learners in learning new vocabulary. As for the learning could take place more effectively by using Blackboard rather than traditional learning styles, the analysis of current study found that there was a little effect on students' learning outcomes by using Blackboard in English language study, and in the same context, Alshwiah, (2004) has found that Blackboard had more positive effect on students learning.

As for the remaining questionnaire statements, which are: "The use of virtual classes gives me quick feedback which improves my vocabulary", "I find it easier and convenient to use Blackboard in learning vocabulary". "I feel that I learn new vocabulary when I attend the virtual classes". "It is interesting to use Blackboard to learn English language vocabulary", "I feel that I learn new vocabulary from the announcements sent by my teachers", "The use of Blackboard encourages me to search for online sources". "I attend virtual classrooms for some English courses", "Submitting my assignments via blackboard is an effective way to improve my English vocabulary" and "I frequently use Blackboard", the researcher did not find any previous studies that looked at such aspects and questions that were mentioned earlier in the current study, so this is one of the strengths of this study.

V. CONCLUSION

The current study shows that Blackboard manages to improve the King Khalid university students' performance and attitude towards learning vocabulary to a certain extent despite the limitations. In fact, the study shows that many challenges and difficulties still face learners and faculty members in the implementation and use of such blended learning methods and technologies. Therefore, the Blackboard is considered a learning management system with great potentials that deserves further study and investigation in order to fully benefit from the learning opportunities it offers. This study is a first step that should be followed by many more in the field of technologies utilized for language acquisition within the context of Saudi higher education so that Saudi institutions can evolve and develop more effective and adequate practices.

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A Study on the Cultivation of Primary School Students' Cross-cultural Awareness—Based on the Schema Theory*

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Abstract—The cultivation of cross-cultural awareness for primary students is a key point in the English class. Apart from the traditional method, schema theory will be a new way for it. This paper investigates the current situation of primary school and analyses the problems in class. It explores the effective methods under the schema theory and provides relevant suggestions.

Index Terms—schema theory, cross-cultural awareness, primary school students

I. INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, with the development of economy, the increasing intercultural contact is prevalent in the world. English, as an international language, has been widely adopted by many countries as well as in China. At present, English, an international medium, has been chosen as a major teaching course in China not only to help people to join the outside world but also to develop cross-cultural awareness which can guarantee a smooth international communication.

Without cross-cultural awareness, even though people can speak English well, they may not understand other people with different values and customs and carry on effective communication. What's worse, a cultural shock may arise and destroy the communication. As result, Chinese government along with other countries or organizations realizes the importance of cross-cultural awareness and regards it as one of the key competence in the educational program. In 2016, a study on Chinese students' six key competence specifically pointed out that the fifth key competence refers to the "an emotional attitude and value orientation to deal with the relationship between other countries". It is clear that students with cross-cultural awareness may hold open attitude to the difference and actively participate in international communication. Hence, from the primary school, it is necessary to cultivate cross-cultural awareness and enlarge cross-cultural knowledge in the teaching process.

However, the reality is opposite to the anticipation. On one hand, though many researchers carry out some studies on cross-cultural awareness, they mainly focus on university students and high school students. Most researchers pay little attention to the study of primary school students because they believe that cross-cultural awareness is an advanced ability which is largely beyond the ability of primary students. On the other hand, teachers in primary school seldom become aware that students need to form cross-cultural awareness when they begin to learn English. As a result, cross-cultural knowledge and awareness learning to large extent has been ignored in primary school English class. Contrary to cross-cultural learning, vocabulary learning and the structure of sentence learning become the hot spot in the class. What's worse, this class leads to significant deviation from Chinese culture and western culture and to the lack of background knowledge of western countries and civilizations, which finally ruins the English learning on the whole.

In fact, based on the cognitive development of primary students, they are curious about learning English and are good at imitating the world around, so it is the proper time to cultivate cross-cultural awareness in the English teaching. This paper will discuss how to cultivate cross-cultural awareness on the basis of schema theory and try to provide useful methods for the English class in the primary school stage.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

A. Schema Theory

The word "schema" firstly appeared in ancient Greek philosophy and psychology, which was a bridge connecting the new concepts and perceived objects. In modern sense, the modern schema theory was proposed by German

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psychologist Barlett, who thought that people's memory was not static but need to integrate new things into the existing schema in brain. (Barlett: 1932) In 1970s, Rumelhart said all knowledge was packed in units and unit was the schema which was an abstract of knowledge.(Rumelhart:1977)Based on these above discussions, it can be concluded that schema is an abstract knowledge structure and the original schema will be quickly activated if the new information is imputed. Later, Rumelhart developed the modern schema theory and practiced it into reading process. He thought that any written material was meaningless and only readers can use their existed knowledge schema to build textual meanings. (Rumelhart: 1977) All in all, schema plays an important role in decoding and encoding the new information. In other words, schema is the cornerstone for cognition, reorganization and comprehension for new information.

The cultivation of cross-cultural awareness is not a simple process which is even more complicated than reading process itself. In the reading process, schema is the background knowledge to help readers to internalize new information into a new knowledge structure so the reading materials can be understood well. When students do some readings, they not only activate their knowledge schema but also culture schema, which is helpful for their reading process. The cultural schema is a branch of schema, proposed by Rumelhart in 1997, which means that a kind of knowledge schema originated from our cultural knowledge.(Rumelhart: 1977) Needless to say, when students encounter the cultural difference, they will stimulate their existed schema including language schema, content schema and cultural schema to interpret the current situation. However, their existed cultural schema alone cannot solve all the cultural obstacles, so the cultural schema heavily relies on the other two schema. From this perspective, in the English learning process, language and content schema is usually obvious but the cultural schema is invisible so it is not easy for students to build cultural schema. In other words, cultural schema needs to be built through the learning process. For students, much different cultural knowledge is subtly learned along with many words and sentences, and the establishment of cultural schema is also inconceivable. Therefore, it is significant to help students form a cultural schema and train it during the teaching process. After all, cultural schema will largely help people to adjust the appropriateness and effectiveness of their behavior in the cross-cultural situation. In short, as a new theoretical model, schema theory provides new prospects for cultivation of cross-cultural awareness.

B. Cross-cultural Awareness

Culture and language is a twin and cannot be separated as the society develops fast. As early as in 1921, E. Sapir clearly pointed out that "Language does not exist in isolation, and the existence of language cannot be separated from cultural".(Sapir: 1921) Since then more and more experts observed that culture and language cannot be apart from each other and more studies are related to the two aspects. In the 1950s, linguist R. Lado proposed a cultural reference model in linguistics and stressed the importance of learning foreign language and the importance of learning cultural and social knowledge. In the 1970s, the birth of communicative teaching method largely promoted the culture part of language teaching. In the 1980s and 1990s, the cultural teaching has occupied a bigger part in language teaching and pays attention to the cultural differences in foreign language. In the 2000s, cultural education has made a qualitative leap and the cultivation of cultural awareness has been paid much attention, which also has been put into educational curriculum by many countries. In all, many experts put forward many valuable opinions and have achieved profound progress in the study of cross-cultural awareness.

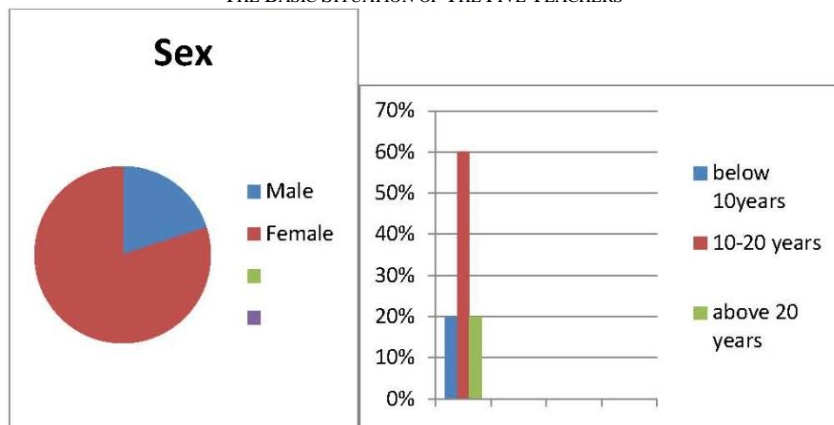
Hanvey firstly came up with the concept cross-cultural awareness in 1979 and pointed that cross-cultural awareness referred to the understanding of cultural background of both countries while doing cross-cultural communication. (Hanvey: 1979) Byram proposed that learning a culture of another country is based on the understanding of own culture and the comparison of their similarities. (Byram: 1997) In addition, the cross-cultural awareness is not only the mastery of knowledge, but also the ability to use it. From their classical statement, teaching language transforms its old ways and content. The primary change is that the relevance of language teaching and cultural teaching has become the normality in the education. For teachers and students, learning language is not only learning language itself and it also needs to combine the cultural habits of the target language country. In order to cultivate the cross-cultural awareness as well as accurate and decent communication, students need to understand the differences between different cultures and their differences in language use. As American foreign language teaching expert Winston Brembeck wrote in his book "to know another knowledge and not his culture is the very way to make a fluent fool of one's self"(Huang:42), cultural teaching has been greatly improved in the class. As a result, teachers will instill history, geography, traditions values and lives in class so that students will grasp the enough cultural knowledge. In addition to cultural teaching, the significance of cross-cultural awareness has been stood out. According to Anderson, the cross-cultural awareness is divided into three levels: the first is about the recognition of cultural phenomenon; the second is about the recognition of cultural differences; the third is about the understanding of other cultures from their perspective.(Anderson:1983) Actually, the three levels of cross-cultural awareness will be combined together and integrated into one. Cross-cultural awareness is a powerful supplement to linguistic knowledge and can help students better understand cultural phenomenon hidden in the language. Nowadays, the new curriculum reform in our country requires the teachers to pay attention to the all-round development of the students' comprehensive ability, and their overall quality development in foreign language teaching. In view of cross-cultural awareness, students finally need to learn cultural acculturation while doing communication with foreigners.

III. THE CULTIVATION OF CROSS-CULTURAL AWARENESS

A. *The Investigation of Current Teaching Situation*

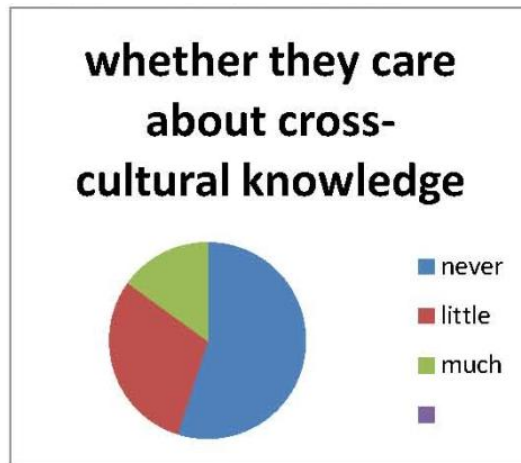
Cross-cultural awareness has been written into the National English Curriculum Standard for Compulsory Education (2011) which points out that cross-cultural awareness was a necessity for students including the systematic understanding of the history, customs, traditions, lifestyles and art, behavioral norms and values of the target language country. Most importantly, they are capable of understanding the difference between Chinese culture and Western culture, and adapting their cultural understanding according to other languages. However, in the real English class, the cultivation of cross-cultural awareness is seldom involved in teaching process. There are some factors accounting for this phenomenon. The first factor is closely related to teachers concerning their knowledge to cross-cultural teaching, their attitudes to cross-cultural teaching and their teaching methods to cross-cultural teaching. The following discussions are about the survey (questionnaire and interview) from 20 primary teachers who are mainly from 5 primary schools in Z city.

TABLE ONE
THE BASIC SITUATION OF THE FIVE TEACHERS



It is interesting to find that no matter how long they have taught in the primary schools, they hold almost the same attitude to the cross-cultural knowledge. Most of teachers don't care much about the cross-cultural knowledge and even aren't eager to receive further training about cross-cultural knowledge. Almost 70% teachers spend less than 30 minutes in expanding their knowledge about other cultures each day. The following questions and graphs can prove this:

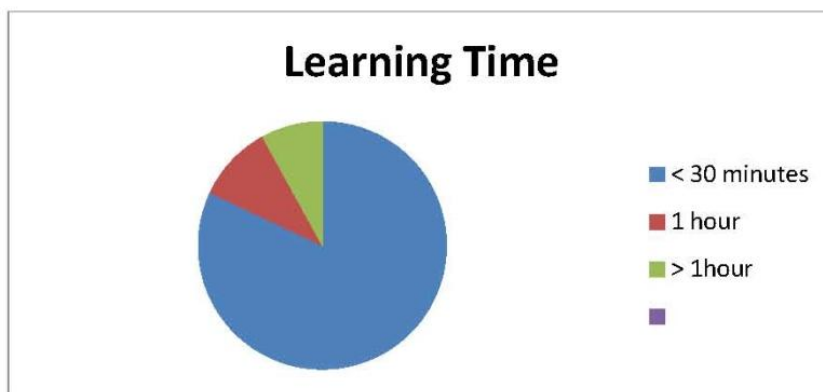
TABLE TWO
TEACHERS' KNOWLEDGE ABOUT CROSS-CULTURAL AWARENESS



- 1) The first question is whether you care about the cross-cultural knowledge
A. Never B. Little C. Much
- 2) The second question is whether you are interested in getting training about cross-cultural knowledge:
A. Never B. Little C. Much

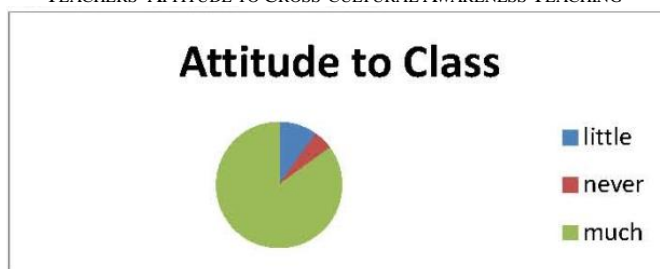


3) The third question is how much time you spend on learning knowledge about other cultures each day:
 A. Less than 30 minutes B. One hour C. More than one hour



From the survey, it is not surprising to find that teachers are not concerned about the cross-cultural knowledge as people expect. Furthermore, it is not difficult to find out a truth that teachers are not equipped with enough cross-cultural knowledge and lack the basic understanding about it. Even they are aware of it, they will not pay enough attention to it because they have been deeply influenced by score-orientation teaching model. In addition, they believe that they needn't get more training about it in that they will not communicate with many foreigners in daily life so it is useless to learn more about it.

TABLE THREE
 TEACHERS' ATTITUDE TO CROSS-CULTURAL AWARENESS TEACHING

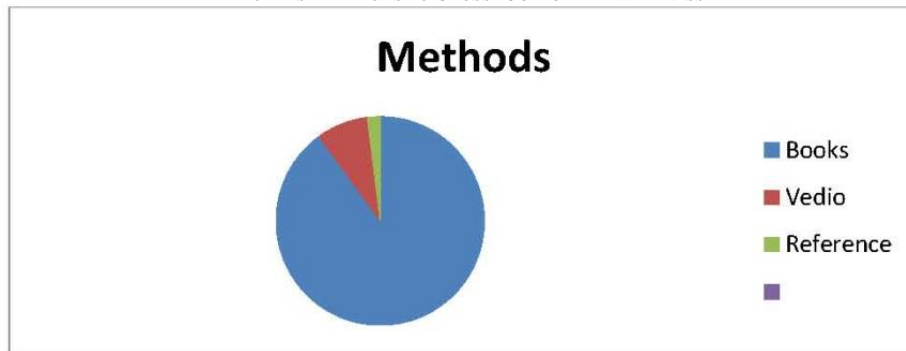


4) The fourth question is that whether it is conducive to English learning while teaching cross-cultural knowledge in class:

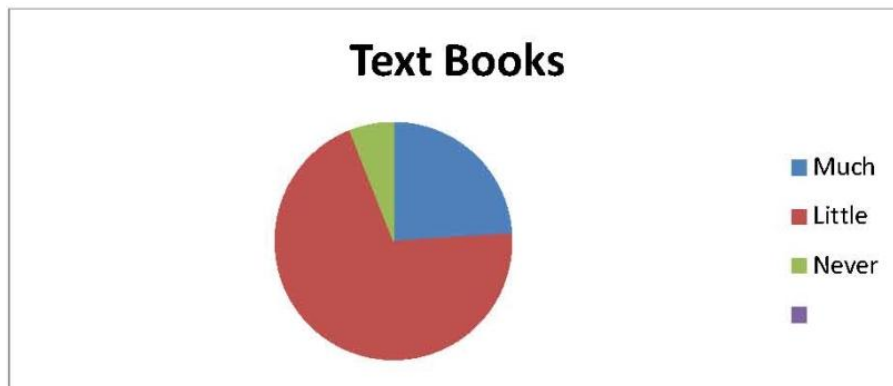
- A. Never
- B. Little
- C. Much

Different from the above survey, up to 85% teachers hold the positive attitude to the cross-cultural teaching and think that it is necessary to impart cross-cultural knowledge to students in class. They believe that cross-cultural knowledge will help students understand the text well, and make the class more interesting. However, in real class, due to the stress from the exam, teachers have to give up this part and spend more time on exam training.

TABLE FOUR
TEACHERS' METHODS TO CROSS-CULTURAL AWARENESS



- 5) The fifth question is what method teacher will take in class to impart cross-cultural knowledge
A. Books B. Watch Video C. Reference Materials
- 6) The sixth question is how much text book you will use for teaching cross-cultural knowledge
A. Much B. Little C. Never



From the survey, it is clear that teachers pay little attention to the requirement of curriculum and seldom focus on imparting it in the class. Most of the time, they instruct the cross-cultural knowledge in a simple way (only instruct the basic knowledge within the book) and will not extend the study because they find that it costs much time to prepare the class and add some troubles to organize the class. Even though they believe that this will be helpful for students, they will not insist on that kind of teaching content. What's more, teachers often adopt the tedious way (teacher-centered teaching method) to instruct knowledge and lead to a dull class. For teachers, they are usually inclined to be limited in the materials and seldom ask students to find related materials after class which is of little use for exams. As a result, teachers mainly develop the four basic language skills and ignore the content learning so that cross-cultural teaching has been marginalized in the class. In the long run, students will be lacking in the ability to combine the language and culture into the real use.

The second factor is student. Firstly, most of the time, students are puzzled about learning goal so they usually show their uncertainty to cross-cultural knowledge, to say nothing of the cross-cultural awareness learning. Students are largely lacking in this aspect. The following discussions are about the survey (questionnaire) from 100 primary students (the grade 5) who are mainly from 5 primary schools in Z city. Here are ten questions about English-speaking countries referring to many aspects such as: basic geographic knowledge, greetings and so on.

Question1 and question2 are about geographic knowledge:

Question1: Where is the capital of the U.S.A?

A. Washington B. New York C. Los Angeles

Question2: Where is the capital of the U.K?

A. London B. Bath C. Cambridge

Question 3 and question 4 are about privacy:

Question 3: Can you ask other people's age?

A. Yes B. No

Question 4: Can you ask other people's marital status?

A. Yes B. No

Question 5 and Question 6 are about holidays.

Question 5: Which holiday does not belong to Americans?

A. Spring Festival B. The Christmas Day C. The Halloween

Question 6: What thing isn't related to The Christmas Day?

- A. Lantern B. Santa Claus C. Christmas Card

Question 7 and Question 8 are about greetings.

Question 7: What can you say when you see somebody?

- A. How old are you? B. Hello C. Have you eaten yet?

Question 8: What will foreigners say when they meet each other?

- A. What's weather like? B. Have your sister married?

- B. Where are you going?

Question 9 and Question 10 are about

Question 9: What do foreigners prefer to eat?

- A. Rice B. Bread

Question 10: What do foreigners prefer to drink?

- A. Tea B. Coca Cola

TABLE
CROSS-CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT ENGLISH SPEAKING COUNTRY (ENGLAND AND AMERICA)

	Right (percentage)	Wrong (percentage)
Question 1	24%	76%
Question 2	70%	30%
Question 3	45%	55%
Question 4	57%	43%
Question 5	88%	12%
Question 6	90%	10%
Question 7	50%	50%
Question 8	65%	35%
Question 9	89%	11%
Question 10	78%	22%

Based on the survey, it is easy to find that primary students have gained some knowledge about foreign cultures especially holidays. However, referring to some greetings and values, more than 50% students are confused about it and they always infer cross-cultural knowledge from their Chinese culture. This survey clearly shows that cross-cultural knowledge learning in class is far from the requirement in the curriculum and can't meet the practical use in real conditions. Aside from the basic knowledge, students are also uncertain about the non-verbal behavior in the cross-cultural situations, such as, the facial expressions and body language, which is harmful for the communication. During the interview, students show their enthusiasm to learning new information so teachers need to make use of this characteristic. Besides, students are more familiar with American culture and they have shown a kind of stereotype to foreign culture which will lead to future communicative failure.

Secondly, students' attitude to cross-cultural awareness is of the same significance in learning English and forming their cross-cultural awareness. The following survey will account for the findings. Here are four questions for students:

Question 1: Do you think the cultivation of cross-cultural awareness is useful for learning English?

- A. Very much B. Little C. No

Question 2: Are you interested in learning foreign culture?

- A. Very much B. Little C. No

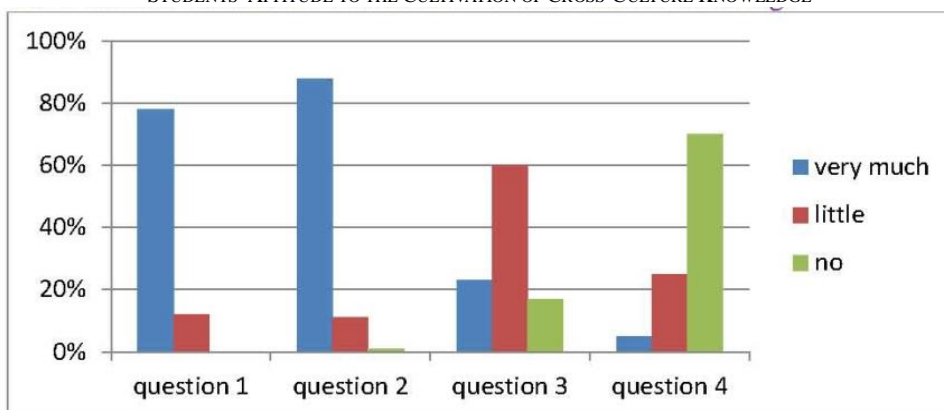
Question 3: Will you spend some time learning foreign culture?

- A. Very much B. Little C. No

Question 4: Have you got cross-cultural knowledge from teachers?

- A. Very much B. Little C. No

TABLE
STUDENTS' ATTITUDE TO THE CULTIVATION OF CROSS-CULTURE KNOWLEDGE



From the table, it can be easily seen that more than 80% students admit that the cultivation of cross-cultural awareness is useful but few of them think that it is useless because it is not examined in the exam. Furthermore, due to the current examination system, even though students are interested in learning, they will not devote to it. They are willing to learn useful words and sentence structure rather than the cultural knowledge. Additionally, students cannot get enough cultural knowledge from teachers which also hinder their development in this aspect.

In summary, students need to be told the importance of cross-cultural knowledge and be imparted enough cross-cultural knowledge on the basis of their English level.

B. The Cultivation of Cross-cultural Awareness under the Schema Theory

In the light of cross-cultural awareness teaching, many teachers try different methods in class. From studies afforded by some teachers, Weiwei Sun (2018) emphasized that cultural assignment can make up for the shortcomings so it is necessary to supplement enough cultural knowledge. Siqi Huang shared (2016) the same opinion on with Sun in her paper. Lijun Zhu (2008) analyzed the characteristic of cross-cultural awareness and put forward experiencing teaching method. Actually, in this paper, the author plan to discuss the cultivation of cross-cultural awareness based on schema theory. As is known to all, schema theory can be compared to a huge system which can store much classified knowledge in human's brain. When people receive new information, the brain will set up a new schema or send the new information to the pre-existed schema. According to this theory, people can stir related knowledge to understand new knowledge. In other words, the pre-existed knowledge will help students to learn new information. Students in primary school have strong curiosity to learn new knowledge while they are inclined to forget the new things quickly. In this aspect, fully using schema theory is helpful to students to cultivate cross-cultural awareness.

1. Building Cultural Schema for Students

Actually, students in primary school haven't started to get any chance to develop their cross-cultural awareness or they even don't have enough knowledge. Combined with the previous study, firstly, teachers should promote their cultural awareness. On one hand, teachers need make full use of class and textbooks to instill necessary cultural knowledge to students to help them build cultural schema. During the interview, in order to get high marks, most of teachers give up this cultural teaching which is badly needed in English learning. For example, holidays are good examples for students to learn western culture so teachers need provide comprehensive knowledge to build the new scheme for students. It is pity to see many teachers miss the good opportunity to show western culture and only introduce some simple words on the surface. In fact, students are willing to receive more interesting information rather than words or expressions. On the other hand, teachers need to insist on indoctrinating cultural knowledge after class because building a new cultural schema needs a long time and repetition. In view of it, teachers can assign a certain number of homework for students so that they can add more into their cultural schema. For example, students can find some short video or cartoons about holiday to make deep impression on this new schema. After all, watching rather than books is more intuitively for primary students to build cultural schema.

In summary, building a new cultural schema is not an easy thing for students so teachers need to be attention to some problems. In the survey, there are two aspects are harmful for building schema if teachers neglect them in class: the usage of textbooks and the teaching methods. For textbooks, teachers need to classify it according to students' current level and build own unique cultural schema. Through this, students can grasp cultural knowledge step by step and cross-cultural awareness will gradually appear. For teaching methods, the straightforward teaching method will lead to the dull class and even destroy class. As for cultivation of cross-cultural awareness, teachers try to set up the real situation to enrich students' cultural schema. To primary students, besides creating the similar conversation, singing and chanting are also interesting which contain enough knowledge so that teachers need to dig out various teaching methods.

2. Comparing Old Schema and New Schema

In the above part, the importance of building new schema has been stressed. In fact, culture is not totally new for primary students because they have their old cultural schema so they will activate their old schema while building a new one. As it known to all, the old schema and the new schema have similarities and differences so it is a useful method to cultivate cross-cultural awareness when students learn to compare the old schema with new one. In the first place, Chinese culture has something in common with western culture so students can easily grasp new cultural notes when they can activate the old schema. For example, Chinese spring festival and the Christmas day have the same function: family together. When Chinese students meet foreigners, they can understand their behavior and communicate well in that the old schema helps students to build the same schema and foster the cultural communication. In the second place, Chinese culture has little in common with western culture so students should be attention to the old schema. Generally speaking, the improper use of old schema will become obstacles in the cultivation of cross-cultural awareness. For example, greeting is a common phenomenon in communication. In this case, the original cultural scheme of students will affect their cross-cultural communication. When they meet foreigners, they will subconsciously stir their old schema and say the following expressions: "Have you eaten your lunch?" or "Where are you going?" These expressions adequately show that students don't build the new cultural schema and they are not equipped with the cross-cultural awareness. In this situation, teachers need to introduce the new schema and help students to do the contrast between the two ones. Only through the contrast, can students remember the new schema and raise the awareness to finish the communication.

To sum, cross-cultural awareness requires students to understand the cultural phenomena from the foreign language perspective. For students, when they meet the obstacles, they need to admit the cultural difference and get used to adopting new schema to solve problems. In the real communication, many cultural patterns in the brain of students will be stirred consciously or subtly, so students can use the accumulated schema to extract the proper information to deal with problems. In the cross-cultural adaptation, students need to identify the different social situations and show the appropriate behavior with the help of old and new schema. Students need to decode the different cultures under the same scenario or the same behavior under the different cultures, and then encode new schema to finish the cross-cultural communication.

IV. SUMMARY

In short, as a new theoretical model, schema theory has shown new prospects for cross-cultural communication research. Schema theory especially the construction of cultural schema is of significance to language teaching. In this teaching process, teachers are aware of cultural teaching and building cross-cultural awareness which is good for students to understand language well and become a competent communicator. What's more, the primary students are easily influenced by outside changes so their learning schema is not static and changing continuously because primary students will grow up and transform their old cognition. Thus, in the teaching process, teachers need pay attention students' growth and adjust schema theory to raise cross-cultural awareness.

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Reconciliation or Alienation: The Representation of the Syrian Refugee Crisis in the Jordanian Print Media: *Al-Ghad Newspaper* as a Case Study

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Abstract—The influx of Syrian refugees to Jordan is considered one of the most serious social events that the country has witnessed in decades. The unprecedented flow of refugees that received extensive coverage by the Jordanian print media played an instrumental role in shaping the representation of both the event and the actors involved in the crisis. This paper departs from the premise that news reports are “elements of social events” and as such employ language to change, maintain or inculcate the knowledge, beliefs and social relations shared by members of a society. To this end, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is adopted to investigate how *Al-Ghad Newspaper* uses language to represent and frame the Syrian refugee crisis and the Syrian refugees and considers whether this portrayal has contributed to the reconciliation or alienation of the Syrian refugees in the Jordanian society.

Index Terms—critical discourse analysis, Jordanian print media, Syrian refugee crisis, Syrian refugees, *Al-Ghad Newspaper*

I. INTRODUCTION

In 2011, the Arab world witnessed a wave of protests that were mainly ignited by the deteriorating standard of living in many of the countries situated in this part of the world. Arab citizens could no longer tolerate the conditions instated by the ruling regimes, such as the rise in prices, the exponential rates of unemployment, and the deficit in human rights that prevented genuine social and economic reform. Consequently, anti-government protests and demonstrations erupted to express the Arab citizens’ disapproval of the status quo.

Inspired by the protests that erupted in Tunisia and Egypt, and coupled with the deteriorating economic conditions prevalent in the country, Syrians took to the streets in March 2011 demanding change and better living conditions. However, the government’s failure to contain the protests, and the violent crackdown on protesters that it adopted, triggered unrest nationwide. Before long, the country descended into a civil war, and the ensuing violence that led to collective killings and a dire humanitarian crisis forced many Syrians to leave the country. Indeed, this conflict, which has been ravaging the country for the past nine years, forced around 6.7 million Syrians to flee their homeland and seek refuge in other parts of the world, leading to “a global refugee crisis of unprecedented proportions” (The Guardian, August 2015).

Although many Syrians left their country to nearby Arab countries during the onset of the civil war in 2011, the Syrian refugee crisis started to gain momentum in 2012 when the number of refugees, looking for safety and stability outside their country, witnessed a drastic increase with long-term effects on the host countries. The countries that received a marked influx of refugees in 2012, and the subsequent years, were Jordan, Turkey and Lebanon; Iraq, Egypt and North Africa accommodated a lower number. By the end of 2014, three million Syrian refugees were officially registered in these countries which were ill-equipped to cater for such an astronomical flow of refugees (Reid, 2018).

In Jordan, the alarming influx of Syrian refugees led to the establishment of three refugee camps, namely the *Zaatari*, the *Azraq* and the *Mrajeeb Al Fhood* (Emirati Jordanian Camp) to provide shelter for the Syrians seeking refuge in the country. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) 2019 figures, these camps now accommodate around 121 thousand refugees out of the 665,498 registered Syrian refugees in the country. These figures indicate that Jordan is “hosting the second highest share of refugees pro capita in the world” (<https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/69371.pdf>). For a country facing economic hardship and with limited resources, this forced displacement has had negative repercussions on Jordan and the Syrian refugees. The difficult economic conditions have deprived many of these refugees of “economic opportunities, quality education and access to essential services” (The Jordan INGO Forum, 2017) making them “desperate for work, impacted by debt and struggling with changing gender roles within families” (CARE International Report, 2017). By the same token, catering for the needs of the refugees had adverse effects on the economic, educational, medical and social sectors in Jordan

which, in turn, aroused Jordanians' resentment against the Syrian refugees; a tense relationship that has existed between the Syrian refugees and the citizens of all the host countries since the beginning of the crisis.

Although the aforementioned factors have played a role in shaping peoples' attitudes towards the Syrian refugees in Jordan, one cannot ignore the influence of the media representation on the public attitudes prevalent in the country with regards to the newcomers. According to Hall (1997, p. 61), representation is "the process by which members of a culture use language to produce meaning." This view entails that the people, events and experiences portrayed in the media do not themselves carry any meaning; rather, it is journalists and reporters who give them meaning through the language they use, and as such, they offer a specific representation of the events they are covering. This paper, therefore, tries to investigate, by adopting Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) how *Al-Ghad* journalists use language to portray the Syrian refugee crisis and the Syrian refugees with the aim of understanding the impact this framing might have on the parties concerned, namely the Jordanian citizens and the Syrian refugees.

II. COVERAGE OF THE SYRIAN REFUGEE CRISIS IN THE PRINT MEDIA: AN OVERVIEW

In the 21st Century, different types of media are used to disseminate information and knowledge. The outlets responsible for such an activity include the conventional media, like newspapers, television and radio and the newly adopted non-conventional sources, such as the social media that depend on the internet and the digital content. This diversity in sources has facilitated access to knowledge and has presented end-receivers with different presentations about the same topic.

The pluralistic media outlets, however, do not always secure unbiased information since they provide hard facts as well as evaluations about current events; a dual role that enables the media to both "reflect" and "shape" public opinion and government actions (Macnamara, 2005). Hence, these organizations have "the power to influence knowledge, beliefs, values, social relations and social attitudes" (Fairclough, 1995a, p. 2). Such a role enables the media to act as "important social institutions" (Bell, 1991) that employ language in a specific way to fulfill the agendas and financial aspirations of the "powers" responsible for covering ongoing events in different parts of the world. Consequently, variations in the representations of the same event are noted in the media and the impact of these portrayals on the receiving audience can be paramount. For this reason, media analysis is instrumental in understanding how events are constructed in the print media, for as Fairclough (1995a, p. 47) rightly states:

In media analysis one is always comparing and evaluating representations in terms of what they include and what they exclude, what they foreground and what they background, where they come from and what factors and interests influence their formulation and projection.

One of the events that received extensive worldwide media coverage is the influx of Syrian refugees and migrants to a number of destinations spread over a large geographical area. The turmoil resulting from the unexpected flow of refugees and the resettlement measures adopted by the different governments towards these groups of people, coupled with the media's unpreparedness for this kind of coverage all played a role in defining the image(s) employed in representing the "newcomers."

Indeed, the marked increase in the attention given to the refugee situation in the print media prompted researchers to examine how these outlets have depicted the Syrian refugees who sought refuge in countries all over the world. The research conducted covered a wide spectrum of newspapers and paid special attention to the narrative used in constructing accounts about the refugees, and the impact of the chosen discourse and subject matter on the receiving audience (Matar, 2017; Allen, 2016; Berry, Garcia-Blanco & Moore, 2016; Miholjic, 2017; Parker, 2015; Dosti, 2017; among others).

The analysis of the data has revealed that the representation of the Syrian refugees in the West was mostly unfavorable, with varying degrees of hostilities expressed towards the incoming refugees. Overall, the refugees were considered an economic burden; a threat to national security; a threat to social cohesion; and a reason underlying the increase in crime rates; all factors that lead to insurmountable negative repercussions on all the parties involved in the resettlement crisis. However, the "tone" of the framing varied in the newspapers investigated. In Europe, for example, the Swedish press adopted the most positive attitude in its portrayal of the Syrian refugees, whereas the British press was the most aggressive and the most polarized (Berry, Garcia-Blanco & Moore, 2016).

Another significant finding has been noted regarding the repertoire prevalent in the print media and which has reinstated the widespread negative stereotypical images about the refugees in the West. Words and phrases, like "unwanted invaders," "illegal migrants," "migrant invasion," "opportunists," "unskilled and voiceless crowd, needless to any society," "cockroaches" and "criminals" were labels used to refer to refugees (Parker, 2015; Miholjic, 2017; Tyyskälä et al., 2017; Williams, 2015; respectively). In fact, this inflammatory discourse has hardened public attitudes towards the refugees and has been responsible for influencing public hostility and dehumanization against the displaced Syrians (Coole, 2002; Mollard, 2001; Esses, Medianu & Lawson, 2013).

In the Middle East and North Africa Region (MENA), coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis was influenced by the scale of the refugee resettlement in the host countries as well as the economic, political and social concerns prevalent in these destinations. Media coverage in countries that adopted the "closed door" policy towards the Syrians, like the Gulf

States, focused on reporting the crisis and its consequences in general and “blamed” the US and its western allies for failing to intervene in the conflict in Syria (Matar, 2017).

However, in Lebanon and Jordan where an astronomical flow of refugees was noted, the coverage took a different turn. The “newcomers” were framed as both “victims” and “intruders;” they were “victims” because they were trying to escape the atrocities of the Syrian regime, and hence were considered “brothers” and “guests” in need of all forms of assistance to adapt to their new milieu. In Jordan, these people started receiving services and donations from public and private sources; therefore, sympathy and compassion were the overriding frames observed at the onset of the crisis. With the rapid increase in the number of people seeking refuge in the aforementioned countries, the humanitarian portrayal witnessed a shift since these people became “intruders” who posed a threat to the economic, social and political setup of the host country. Indeed, these groups were considered a “time bomb” that was ready to explode any time (El-Behairy, 2016).

In Egypt, Syrians started to pour into the country during President Morsi’s reign whose government adopted the “open door” policy towards the resettlement of the newcomers. Accordingly, the representations of those displaced were positive and emphasized the human aspect of the crisis; labels such as “brethren” were used extensively, and the economic benefits and the cultural diversity endowed on the Egyptian economy and society because of the Syrian presence in Egypt were highlighted. After Morsi was ousted in June 2013, negative narratives started to replace the positive portrayals that were predominant prior to this date (Mousa & Fahim, 2013). Not only were the Syrians considered affiliates of Morsi and his toppled government, but they also became a “burden” on the economy, with adjectives like “disrespectful,” “ruined” and “lost” circulating more frequently in the different media outlets (Matar, 2017).

The representation and framing of the Syrian refugees in the Western and Arab media outlets reveal that there are points of intersection in the portrayals adopted by the journalistic institutions in these countries. Although the depictions in the Arab media were more tolerant of the new arrivals, especially at the onset of the crisis, the feelings of discontent and frustration against the displaced gradually started to surface with the continuous influx of refugees whose presence entailed additional pressure on the services and the resources in the respective host countries.

III. THE REFUGEE CRISIS IN THE JORDANIAN PRINT MEDIA: *AL-GHAD* AS A CASE STUDY

The media sector in Jordan is licensed and regulated by the Jordan Media Commission (JMC) which is a body that is responsible for regulating and developing the printed, electronic and audio-visual media outlets in the country. It also oversees the implementation of the media laws and policies adopted by the government. Although these laws guarantee freedom of expression, modern-day media remains government-influenced which necessitates that journalists adopt self-censoring strategies to ensure that they do not trespass “the red lines,” and hence violate and contradict the nation’s national agendas and values. To secure this end-result, the Press and Publication Law regulates the media environment and is adhered to in the publication of the seven daily newspapers: *Al-Rai*, *Ad-Dustour*, *Al-Ghad*, *Ad-Diyar*, *Al-Anbaat*, *As-Sabeel* and *The Jordan Times*; all of which are in Arabic, with the exception of *The Jordan Times* which is published in English. While some of these dailies are state-owned, others are private institutions.

Although the arrival of refugees to Jordan has attracted the attention of the Jordanian print media since 1948 when Palestinians fled their country to seek refuge in Jordan, the newspaper coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis, characterized by the continuous reporting and the sharp increase in the volume of reporting, has been unprecedented. The dramatic number of refugees pouring into the country, and the challenges their arrival imposed on society as a whole, forced the print media outlets to discuss issues pertaining to this event. Before long, the refugee crisis became one of the most predominant topics tackled on a daily basis in the different newspapers.

One of the dailies that tackled the Syrian refugee crisis extensively is *Al-Ghad*. *Al-Ghad* is a privately-owned daily newspaper that was established by Mohammad Alayyan and *Al-Faridah for Specialized Publications*. Launched in 2004, it was the first independent daily in Jordan’s media landscape to compete with the two-state run newspapers, namely *Al-Rai* and *Ad-Dustour*. According to its founder, *Al-Ghad* is branded as an “independent, liberal, open Jordanian newspaper” that aims at disseminating information of a diverse and pluralistic nature to its readers (Al-Wakeel, 2016). Although the government does not exercise direct editorial control on *Al-Ghad*, the newspaper adopts self-censoring practices, especially regarding reports and articles that can arouse negative “national sentiments” and violate the “principles of the Kingdom.” After fifteen years, studies conducted by the research firm IPSOS-STAT and the organization IREX reveal that “the paper boasts the largest fixed subscriber base readership and overall reader satisfaction rates” (Industry Arabic, 2018); an unexpected success story for a conventional media outlet that has to compete with the non-conventional media landscape that has become easily accessible to users worldwide.

Al-Ghad has managed to survive in today’s ever-changing media landscape characterized by a decline in the print media readership and sales in three ways: (1) by targeting a diversified audience; (2) by adapting to the modern media realities; and (3) by striking a balance between the Jordanian Press and Publication Law and independent media coverage. Accordingly, the Oxford Business Group has referred to *Al-Ghad* as “Jordan’s first major independent newspaper” (Fanack Newsletter, 2018). For all of the aforementioned reasons, this newspaper has been chosen as a representative example of the Jordanian print media to investigate how the Syrian refugee crisis and the Syrian refugees have been depicted and framed and the possible outcome of such representation on *Al-Ghad* readers.

IV. CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) adopts a critical, interdisciplinary approach to the analysis of discourse. The proponents of CDA believe that discourse is a “communicative event” which conveys certain “beliefs,” “ideologies” and “identities” (Chilton and Schäffner, 2002), and hence text producers use language to create and enhance power relations in a society. Language is not an “innocent” medium of communication that is merely used to transfer information; rather, it is an apparatus that instates asymmetrical power relations of dominance, resistance and difference (Fairclough, 1995b; 2003). This view of language involves “interpretative work” (Wodak and Cilla, 2006) which aims at deciphering and explaining, with the help of theories from linguistics and other disciplines, such as sociology, cognitive psychology, philosophy and cultural studies, the “inexplicit” or “hidden” social information expressed in discourse. Accordingly, Fairclough and Wodak, (1997, p. 258) state that CDA involves “real and often extended instances of social interaction that take a linguistic form or a partially linguistic form.”

Although the CDA models introduced over the years differ in the methodology adopted and the research areas covered, CDA practitioners mainly focus on two aspects when analyzing discourse. They consider the relationship that exists between language, power and society and the polemic association between language and its users (Fairclough, 1985; 1992; 1995b; 2003; Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; van Dijk 1989; 2006; Wodak, 2001; Wodak and Meyer, 2015; among others).

One of the CDA models that have gained ground over the years is the framework developed by Fairclough (1985), a major proponent of CDA. Fairclough asserts that CDA transcends the “conventional” methodology of text analysis and encompasses the “relationship between texts, processes and social conditions, both the immediate conditions of the institutional context and the more remote conditions of social structure” (p. 26); an approach that underlines the significance of “social conditions” in the analysis and interpretation of power relations expressed in texts. In the 1990s, Fairclough introduced his three-dimensional model in which he investigated how power relations affect the content and form of discourse by outlining three inter-related dimensions of discourse. These include the object of analysis (verbal or visual texts); the process used by text producers in the production or reception of the object of analysis (writing, reading, speaking, viewing etc.); and the socio-historical conditions that govern these processes. To analyze these dimensions of discourse, Fairclough identifies three different analytical strategies for each of the aforementioned dimensions: description, interpretation and explanation, respectively. Under this categorization, description tackles the formal properties of text; interpretation looks at how texts are produced and how readers interpret texts; and explanation examines the ways in which discourse functions in a specific socio-cultural framework (Fairclough, 1992).

In his later works, Fairclough (2003, p. 2) develops his approach regarding the analysis of discourse by looking at language as “an irreducible part of social life,” and hence, considers texts as “elements of social events” that have “causal effects” on text recipients since texts can change people’s ideologies and views towards various societal events represented in discourse (p. 8). Processing text meaning, and the ensuing effects on the end-receivers, involves three analytical elements: action, representation and identification. Although Fairclough acknowledges the importance of the aforementioned types of meaning, he underlines how language is used in discourse to *represent* the “social events” and the “social actors” involved in a specific societal incident or occasion. To this effect, he identifies and discusses a variety of “principles” and “variables” that are employed in discourse to represent the social events and social actors presented in media discourse.

Van Dijk (1989; 2006), another major proponent of CDA, investigates how discourse can be employed to approve, resist, or reconstruct relations of inequality between different members of a society. He specifically explores how media uses discourse to reinstate racist prejudices against minority groups, and hence generate negative attitudes towards these “social entities.” To van Dijk, manipulation is a key element in CDA whereby “politicians and the media manipulate voters and readers through some kind of discursive influence” (2006, p. 360). Using triangulation to analyze manipulative discourse, van Dijk adopts a social, cognitive and discursive framework because he is of the viewpoint that manipulation involves three interrelated aspects: unequal power relations between the participants (the social dimension); the mental influence inflicted on a community via discourse (the cognitive dimension); and the discourse employed to enact the aforementioned dimensions (the discursive dimension). When discussing the meaning of discourse and its manipulative connotations, van Dijk differentiates between the semantic macrostructures and microstructures employed in discourse. The former level deals with the topics or themes tackled in the representation of a social event, whereas the latter level investigates the lexicon, syntax and rhetorical figures used to shape the representation of a social event and its participants.

Along the same lines, Wodak and Meyer (2015, p. 2) reiterate that CDA aims at “analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language.” To these practitioners, language can “express,” “signal,” “constitute,” and “legitimize” social inequality. Wodak (2001) adds a new dimension to CDA by emphasizing the importance of integrating the historical context of discourse in the analysis of language; she argues that certain sociological and psychological variables determine text production and should be given due attention in the analysis of discourse. Fairclough and Wodak (1997) emphasize the interplay between the linguistic and the non-linguistic aspects that should be taken into consideration in the analysis of discourse. They claim that CDA addresses social issues that revolve around power relations and the interpretation of non-linguistic elements, such as ideology, society, culture and history that play a role in the production of a particular discourse.

Since CDA practitioners consider language part-and-parcel of social life and acknowledge that it is employed to represent certain “beliefs” and “ideologies” about minority groups, this framework is adopted to examine how language can be “manipulated” to portray a certain event and its social actors.

V. METHODOLOGY

To examine how language is used in the representation and portrayal of the Syrian refugee crisis and the Syrian refugees, a total of three hundred news reports published between the years 2012 and 2015, and culled from *Al-Ghad Newspaper*, are examined. News reports have been selected for two main reasons. First, *Al-Ghad* exclusively used news reports to provide information on the Syrian refugee crisis and the arrival of Syrian refugees to Jordan. Second, news reports are supposed to be the most unbiased in their representation of events since they focus primarily on presenting hard facts. The analysis aims at confirming or refuting this goal and investigates to what extent it has been implemented on the Syrian refugee crisis. The sample chosen studies a broad cross section of news reporting across the aforementioned period to uncover, by adopting a combination of tools from van Dijk’s (1989; 2006) and Fairclough’s (2003) approaches to CDA, how certain discursive devices are used in *Al-Ghad* to imply specific meanings and ideologies pertaining to the Syrian refugee crisis and the Syrian refugees. Van Dijk and Fairclough’s approaches to CDA are chosen because their framework can be applied to news reports in Arabic.

VI. RESULTS OF THE ANALYSIS

A. The Representation of Social Events: The Macro-structural Level

Van Dijk (1989; 2006) considers that the meaning of discourse may be conveyed at the “local” or “global” levels of language; whereas the former deals with expressing meaning with the help of certain discursive lexical and syntactic structures, the latter focuses on the topics and themes selected in presenting information to an audience. In the media, the topics selected in news reports, form a sequential semantic structure that summarizes the text content and uncovers the “hidden” meanings and ideologies that journalists want to convey to their readers. To achieve these goals, text producers can emphasize or de-emphasize topics and themes, foreground or background prominent incidents and specify or generalize information (van Dijk, 2006). Along the same lines, Fairclough (2003, p. 139) considers that there are a number of “principles” that are used to represent “social events;” these “principles” utilize a variety of strategies, such as exclusion, inclusion, evaluating, explaining and legitimizing to “filter” events, and hence portray them in different ways.

Overall, the results of the analysis reveal that on the “global level” *Al-Ghad* focuses on certain topics and themes to cover the Syrian refugee crisis during the 2012-2015 period. One of the predominant themes reported on the aforementioned “social event” was the scale and pace of the number of refugees entering the country. Although reference to this theme was highest in the years 2012-2013, news reports continued to mention this issue, to a lesser extent, in the years 2014 and 2015. In the years 2012-2013, the number of Syrian arrivals to Jordan on a daily, weekly or monthly basis was emphasized, while the net number of refugees residing in the country was highlighted in the remaining two years. In fact, out of the 183 articles analyzed for the 2012-2013 period, 51% of the reports refer to the scale and pace of the refugees fleeing to Jordan. Headlines like "756 لاجئا سوريا يجتازون الحدود" (756 Syrian refugees cross the border); and "9532 سوريا يلجأون إلى المملكة خلال أسبوع" (9532 Syrians seek refuge in the Kingdom in a week) were common.¹ This extensive coverage probably took place because the Jordanian government was unprepared for such a flow, and the Jordanians were bewildered by the intensity of the influx. Nevertheless, the news reports provided “positive self-presentation” of the Jordanian government and the Jordanians who “welcomed” the newcomers and were “tolerant” of the consequences of the refugee influx on the country (van Dijk, 2006). News reports that foregrounded and provided general and specific details on the “positive actions” of the Jordanian authorities and the Jordanian public were prominent in the 2012-2013 coverage. The type of activities carried out by the Jordanian government and the Jordanian public during the Syrian refugee crisis was underlined, for information such as "قوات حرس الحدود ما زالوا يستقبلون" (Border guards are still receiving hundreds of refugees fleeing the developments in their country); and "المفرق: الأمن يفض احتجاجا ضد السوريين" (*Al-Mafraq*: “Security forces” stop protests against Syrians) represent examples of incidents that were frequently referred to and included in the news reports.²

During this period, the negative repercussions of this unprecedented “social event” were excluded and de-emphasized; negative topics about the Syrian refugees and the burdens their presence imposed on Jordan were minimal. Out of the 183 news reports studied in 2012 and 2013, only 5% refer to the economic, societal and medical burdens imposed by the Syrian presence on the Jordanian economy.

Concurrent with the coverage on the scale and pace of the Syrian influx to Jordan, the newspaper emphasized the services that the Jordanian government, the public and the private organizations offered to the refugees. In 2012, when the number of refugees started to rise dramatically, the Syrian refugees were looked upon as “guests” that fled their homeland looking for security. For this reason, these people started receiving services and donations that included the

¹ *Al-Ghad* 20/9/2012; 26/4/2013; respectively

² *Al-Ghad* 22/10/2012; 10/3/2013; respectively

erection of makeshift camps, medical treatment and educational support. Details, such as حملة لتطعيم 90 ألف لاجئ سوري (Campaign to vaccinate 90 thousand Syrian refugees against polio and measles); and اضطرت مديرية التعليم إلى إخلاء المستودعات لاستعمالها كغرف صفية في سبيل مواجهة الاكتظاظ جراء تزايد عدد الطلاب السوريين (The Education Directorate had to evacuate warehouses to use them as classrooms to overcome the overcrowding of classes due to the increase in the number of Syrian students) appeared in 2012 and 2013.³ Out of the 183 articles examined in 2012-2013, 44% acquaint readers with the services given to the Syrian refugees. As for the donations given to the refugees, they came in all forms: financial aid, food rations, clothes, bed covers and heaters, to name but a few. When reporting on these donations, the donating body, the nature and quantity of help provided were foregrounded. Information like الكتاب والسنة (Al-Kitab wa Assunah distributes 1000 gas heaters to Syrian refugees); and 10 ملايين دولار مساعدات سعودية للاجئين السوريين في المملكة (Saudi aid worth \$10 million to Syrian refugees in the Kingdom) was frequent in 2012 and 2013.⁴

At the beginning of 2014, a shift in the themes reported was observed and the “evaluation” of the crisis started to take a different turn. The Syrian refugees in the country were considered a “burden” and negatively impacted the economic, medical and educational sectors as well as the country’s infrastructure. The challenges facing the government, and the expenses incurred to sustain these sectors were underlined. In 2015, out of the 85 articles analyzed, 18% of the news reports investigated tackled the economic burdens encountered by the Jordanian government. The reports that discussed the medical burdens amounted to 13%, while 15% of the reports investigated the educational burdens. Reports like 5.8 مليار دينار تكلفة اللجوء السوري على الأردن (Syrian asylum seekers cost Jordan 5.8 billion dinars); and أفدرت كلفة الطلبة السوريين (The cost incurred due to the Syrian students’ attendance of public schools estimated at \$193 million) were frequent.⁵

The role the Syrian refugees played in escalating the unemployment levels among the Jordanians was also foregrounded in the 2014 and 2015 coverage. The news reports attributed the rise in unemployment rates to the low wages the Syrians accept, as well as their willingness to undertake all kinds of jobs. For instance, السوريون يقبلون بأجور قليلة وبساعات عمل طويلة (Syrians accept low wages and long working hours)⁶ reveals the negative impact this group of people had on the Jordanian labor force. The differentiation between the Us/Them relationship started to surface, and the polarization of society into “Jordanians” and “Syrians” gradually gained momentum, arousing bitter feelings and sentiments among all the parties involved in the crisis (Zayda, 2013).

The needy refugees depicted in the 2012 coverage were portrayed and underscored as security and demographic threats in the 2014 and 2015 reports. With regards to security, two kinds of challenges had to be addressed: (1) the infiltration of “illegal” refugees across the border; and (2) the internal threats emanating from the difficult living conditions experienced by the refugees. The demographic threats were clearly articulated in reports that mention the total number of Syrian refugees residing in Jordan. For instance, one of the reports stated that the refugees represented “21% of the total demographic make-up of the country;”⁷ an alarming figure if one takes into consideration the persistent flow of refugees. Other reports focused on the demographic imbalance in the northern governorates where most of the Syrian refugees sought refuge. *Al-Ghad* readers were informed that the “number of Syrian refugees in *Al-Mafraq* exceeds the number of Jordanian nationals;”⁸ a comment that can raise resentment among the Jordanians, especially if the economic, medical and educational hardships facing the city are born in mind.

The Syrian refugees were also associated with crime in the reports that covered the 2014-2015 period. The reports revealed that the crime rate increased in Jordan after the arrival of the Syrian refugees for “6 thousand crimes” have been committed since “the beginning of the crisis.”⁹ Specific information on the crimes committed was given, and readers were informed that robbery, drug smuggling, rape, begging and clashes with the police were the most prominent “criminal activities” performed by the Syrian refugees. Also, specific crime incidents were reported and emphasized, creating a sense of “disgust” with the refugees.

The analysis of the themes covered between the years 2012-2015 in *Al-Ghad* reveals that the “tone” of the coverage has changed over the years. The shifts in representation can be visualized as points along a scale, with refugees viewed at one extreme as “guests” fleeing war and destruction, and hence worthy of compassion and support. On the other extreme, refugees are looked upon as “intruders” that have put additional burdens on a country that is suffering from limited resources and economic hardships. As Matar rightly states (2017, p. 293), the negative narrative used to depict the refugees has helped in constructing “the refugees as a collective “other” whereby a divisive line is drawn between “us” and “them;” an end-result that has helped in alienating the “other” (the refugees) and in creating friction between the Jordanian citizens and the “foreigners.” According to Zayda (2013), the inflammatory repertoire that dominated the news reports in the Jordanian print media negatively influenced the public’s attitudes towards the refugees and helped disseminate hate against them. Gradually, the level of resentment against the newcomers increased, making them “unwelcome” constituents of the Jordanian society. Such an outcome indicates the significance of examining how

³ *Al-Ghad* 15/4/2013; 16/9/2013; respectively

⁴ *Al-Ghad* 24/10/2012; 12/1/2013; respectively

⁵ *Al-Ghad* 20/5/2014; 2/8/2015; respectively

⁶ *Al-Ghad* 11/2/2014

⁷ *Al-Ghad* 10/3/2014; 8/4/2015; respectively

⁸ *Al-Ghad* 11/10/2015

⁹ *Al-Ghad* 11/2/2014

refugees, migrants and asylum seekers have been represented and classified in the print media since the news not only reflects the ongoing events, but actively contributes to, and constructs our understanding of the meaning of current events (Hall, 1997).

B. The Representation of Social Actors: The Micro-structural Level

In the past few years, CDA has revealed that journalists use language differently not only in the way they report events but also in the manner they portray the actors involved in these events. To van Dijk (1989; 2006) and Fairclough (2003), this aim is fulfilled using a number of “variables” that allow journalists to choose between a group of syntactic structures in order to “reflect” the ideological affiliations of the media outlet and “shape” and “construct” the receiving audiences’ attitudes and beliefs. The choices made may focus on the use of one or more of the following structures in the representation of social actors: inclusion/exclusion; pronoun/noun; activated/passivated; personal/impersonal; named/classified; specific/generic; and nominalization (Fairclough, 2003: 145-146).

The micro-structural analysis of the news reports in *Al-Ghad* during the 2012-2015 period indicates that the linguistic structures most frequently used to portray the Syrian refugees (the social actors) include, in order of prominence, the following variables: named/classified; activated/passivated; and nominalization. Although other “variables” are employed in the selected corpora, they are only noted in a limited number of reports; consequently, they are not considered worthy of analysis.

The most noticeable discursive structure employed by the journalists to represent the social actors in the Syrian refugee crisis is the named/classified variable (van Dijk, 1989; 2006; Fairclough, 2003) which is noted in 46% of the data analyzed. According to Fairclough (2003, p. 146), the participants in an event “can be represented by name or in terms of class or category.” In 90% of the news reports analyzed during the 2012-2015 period, the social actors are “classified” under the following labels: “Syrian brethren,” “Syrian refugees,” “Syrian families,” “refugees” and “legal and illegal refugees.” The members belonging to these classes are rarely “quoted or referred to as speakers who voice facts and opinions” (van Dijk, 1989, p. 214). On the contrary, they are considered anonymous “masses” that “poured” into the country in the form of “waves” and are collectively depicted as “individuals” who found Jordan a safe haven away from the bloodshed widespread in Syria. Van Dijk (1989, p. 215) is of the viewpoint that “this bias in the distribution of speaking roles” may be attributed to the “subjective” role associated with such speakers who are not believed to be credible enough to describe their experiences. Although quoting the social actors by name is noted in 10% of the reports, the horrendous experiences these “speakers” encountered crossing the border to Jordan are ignored, and their grievances are mainly undermined. In general, when the names of these speakers are identified, the information they provide about their life and experiences in Jordan is “filtered” to meet the agendas of the media outlet.

The second most used discourse structure that takes place at the “local level of syntax” (van Dijk, 2006, p. 373) involves the use of the active or the passive voice to transmit a specific message to the receiving audience. Arabic, like English, employs the active voice to emphasize the doer of an action and reverts to the passive voice when the agent is unknown, and there is no need to identify it. The analysis of the data reveals that the active voice is used in 30% of the news reports, specifically when the Syrian refugees are involved in certain events and activities.

In the 2012-2013 coverage, the Syrian refugees are active actors that occupy subject position under three circumstances: (1) when reference is made to the number of refugees entering the country; (2) when the refugees praise the Jordanian government as well as the public and private organizations for providing them with the necessary services; and (3) when reference is made to the services and facilities offered to the refugees. Examples like "اجتاز زهاء 378 لاجئا" (اجتاز زهاء 378 لاجئا سوريا الشيك الحدودي) (378 Syrian refugees cross the border); and "يجمع اللاجئون السوريون في مخيم الزعتري على كفاية المواد التي توزع" (Syrian refugees in the *Zaatari* camp unanimously agree on the availability of foodstuffs in the *Zaatari* camp)¹⁰ represent 80% of the news reports published in 2012 and 2013. The Syrian refugees mainly occupy subject position when they are looked upon as “beneficiaries” who are grateful for the services, facilities and aid they receive from the Jordanian government and other national, regional and international organizations.

In the 2014 and 2015 coverage, the Syrian refugees occupied subject position when they were explicitly portrayed as agents responsible for protests, crimes, rise in unemployment, the unavailability of housing and the deterioration of the country’s infrastructure. In short, the role they played as agents witnessed a drastic change, for their presence in the country is “perceived as causing problems” to the government and the society at large (van Dijk, 1989). Such representation coincides with other research results conducted on minority groups whereby the active voice is adopted when these groups are associated with negative incidents taking place in the host countries (Fowler et al. 1979). Out of the 117 news reports analyzed in the abovementioned period, 42% present the Syrian refugees as active agents that have participated in the deterioration of the economic, social, educational and medical conditions in the country. This “negative-other-presentation of the opposition as opportunistic” (van Dijk, 2006, p. 379) is clearly noted in sentences like "طالب العديد من اللاجئين السوريين بتوفير وظائف خدمية داخل مخيم الزعتري" (A number of Syrian refugees demand service jobs in the *Zaatari* camp); and "نفذ العشرات من اللاجئين السوريين داخل مخيم الزعتري مسيرة احتجاجية على تردي الأوضاع الإنسانية ونقص الخدمات" (Dozens of Syrian refugees living in the *Zaatari* camp protested against the deteriorating humanitarian conditions and lack of services in the camp).¹¹

¹⁰ *Al-Ghad* 18/9/2012; 8/9/2013; respectively

¹¹ *Al-Ghad* 8/10/2014; 22/3/2014; respectively

The third most frequently used discursive structure in the portrayal of the social actors in the crisis is nominalization. Fairclough (2003) considers nominalization a “grammatical metaphor” that transforms verbs into nouns. It is a structure that “excludes social agents in the representation of events” (p. 220); consequently, the “doer” of the action or process is obfuscated (Fowler et al., 1979). In Arabic, nominalization, referred to as *al-maṣḍar*, is also used when people initiating an action or process are absent, contributing to the mystification of agency.

In the 2012-2015 coverage, there is a tendency to use nominalization in headlines to elide the agents responsible for certain activities that are conducted against the Syrian refugees. These include incidents that are associated with acts of deportation, instances of death and injury as well as services offered to the refugees in the form of material aid. Although the obfuscated agents are sometimes identified in the news report content, especially when the entity is a government body or a charitable organization that has donated aid to the Syrian refugees, some agents are left unspecified.

The analysis shows that nominalization is used in 24% of the news report headlines that cover the 2012-2015 period. In the 2012-2013 period, *Al-Ghad* utilizes “constructive” labels and frames to portray the Syrian refugees who are considered “guests” looking for refuge in Jordan to avoid the dire conditions in their homeland. Therefore, the agents elided are those responsible for inflicting suffering on the refugees as well as the Jordanian citizens and government officials and representatives; these groups are “suppressed” and are made anonymous since nominalization “obfuscates agency, and therefore responsibility, and social divisions” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 144) as exemplified in the following headline: إصابة 26 رجال أمن في أعمال شغب في الزعتري (Injuring 26 policemen in riots in the *Zaatari* camp); a linguistic choice that is in concordance with the state of affairs prevalent in Jordan during 2012 and 2013. As for the entities that repeatedly provide services and financial aid towards the well-being of the refugees, they are obfuscated because they can be identified by *Al-Ghad* readers, especially if the donating body is affiliated to the government as can be noted in the following excerpt "تجهيز 220 مطبخا لصالح اللاجئين السوريين في مخيم الزعتري" (Equipping 220 kitchens for the Syrian refugees in *Zaatari* camp).¹²

The 2014-2015 period witnessed a shift in the attitude adopted by the government and the people towards the refugees, for they explicitly announced the negative consequences of the Syrian refugee presence in Jordan, and articulated the measures undertaken against the refugees living in the country. However, *Al-Ghad* journalists choose nominalization to elide the parties involved in implementing such measures. The Jordanian entities responsible for deporting, arresting and injuring the refugees were not identified, and therefore the “sufferings” they might be inflicting on the refugees were ignored. Examples of such instances of nominalization include: وفاة 3 لاجئين سوريين وإصابة 4 أثناء اجتيازهم الحدود (The death of 3 Syrian refugees and the injury of 4 as they cross the border); and ضبط 40 متسولا غالبيتهم من اللاجئين السوريين (Arresting 40 beggars most of whom are Syrian refugees).¹³ Excluding the agents performing the aforementioned actions is a discursive strategy that is used not only “for generalizing and abstracting” but also for “obfuscating responsibility” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 220).

The analysis of the data shows that the discursive devices selected to portray the Syrian refugees indicate that language is not an “innocent” medium of communication and can be “molded” to fulfill the agendas adopted by the different media outlets. As Schnellinger & Khatib (2006, p. 36) rightly state discursive manipulation plays “an important role in defining messages, and in shaping opinions and perspectives.”

VII. CONCLUSION

The role of the media in disseminating information and shaping public opinion has been given the attention it deserves over the years. There is unanimous agreement that media coverage is a combination of hard facts and evaluations that reinstate particular frames and themes about ongoing events with the aim of fulfilling the agendas of the “powers” that run the media outlets.

To test this premise, CDA is adopted to examine the macro and micro structures employed by *Al-Ghad* journalists in the portrayal of the Syrian refugee crisis and the Syrian refugees. The analysis reveals that these journalists choose specific themes, topics and discursive structures to represent the aforementioned event and actors. On the macrostructural level, the depiction of this social event went through two phases. Journalists in the 2012-2013 coverage adopted a positive framing of the event and the actors endowing a “human touch” on the reporting. In the 2014-2015 coverage, the “picture” presented to *Al-Ghad* readers about the crisis and the refugees was predominantly one-sided; the stories depicted reflected the opinions of government officials and the perspectives and experiences of the journalists reporting the events. Reinstating the stereotypical images about the “foreign” newcomers has contributed in alienating this group and creating a rift between the two opposing parties involved in the crisis.

On the micro-structural level, three variables are used predominantly in the representation of the Syrian refugees: the named/classified, the active/passive and nominalization. These structures confirm the images and framing presented at the macro-structural level arousing both reconciliation with and resentment against the newcomers which indicates that the print media is not always detached in its depiction of controversial issues. Rather, it influences how we understand and perceive the world through narratives that support and enhance existing assumptions. The linguistic structures used

¹² *Al-Ghad* 25/9/2012; 23/9/2012; respectively

¹³ *Al-Ghad* 20/1/2014; 10/3/2014; respectively

in the 2014-2015 coverage were responsible for igniting hatred and suspicion against the refugees, and with the passage of time, Jordanians explicitly expressed their resentment of the Syrian refugee presence in the country.

The results of the analysis reveal that developing a media culture that expresses different views regarding the same event should be emphasized to secure a narrative that is balanced and that counteracts misconceptions about events and peoples involved in a certain crisis or conflict.

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Theory and Practice in Language Studies (TPLS) is a peer-reviewed international journal dedicated to promoting scholarly exchange among teachers and researchers in the field of language studies. The journal is published monthly.

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