

The Use of Language in an Administrative Setting

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Abstract

One of the most interesting phenomena of using language in an administrative setting in Jordan is commonly referred to as *taxtaxa* 'shooting'. That is, to use a specific version of Arabic to fight, argue against, or weaken the status of a person who is leading an administrative position or who has an administrative status. Linguistic investigation and complete understanding of this phenomenon, as far as I know, has not been studied yet ⁽¹⁾ .

The present research attempts to explore the linguistic components associated with the use of language in an administrative setting. It shows that the use of language in such a setting triggers the application of specific linguistic structures that contain particular statements, expressions, terms, and idioms. It also views the use of language in an administrative setting as an art of fighting with words, as the user tends to apply *taxtaxa* aggressively to achieve certain objects. The paper discusses and provides evidence for the different elements of 'shooting' which include its definition, labels, levels, types, users, reasons, objects, times, reaction to, and effects, respectively .

Keywords: Arabic Linguistics, Arabic Pragmatics, Administrative Linguistics, Applied Linguistics.

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ملخص

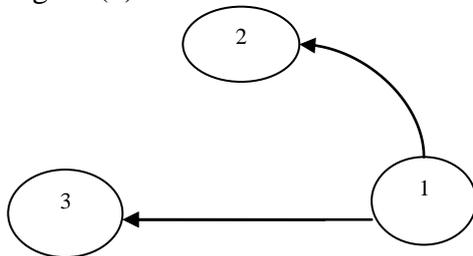
1. Introduction

Current linguistic trends have presented two opposing views about the nature of using language as a tool of communication in a broad sense. One view suggests a peaceful use that aims at facilitating interaction between members of a linguistic community (Suleiman 1995, Coulmas 1998, Searle 2000, Romaine 2000, Owens 2001, Boxer 2002, Downes 2005, Owens 2006, Coulmas 2006, and Bassiouney 2009), whereas the other claims that language is a tool that utilizes a non-peaceful communication that initiates or copes with “conflicts.” (Eadie and Nelson 2000, Rouchdy, 2003, Thomas et al 2003, and Suleiman. 2004). The complex and sophisticated nature of language use, however, justifies the realistic and reasonable vision of these conflicting views. Narrowing the scope of the second vision to include specific setting would help understand how language use functions in “conflicts”, which “are dependent on how the speakers interpret the facts of their situation” (Suleiman 2004: 55), and provide further evidence to such view. As far as I know, using language the non-peaceful way in an administrative milieu is not investigated yet, an issue that raises a high need to fill in this gap in the current linguistic trends⁽²⁾.

2. What is *taxtaxa*?

The literal translation for the term *taxtaxa* is ‘shooting’. It is derived from the root *taxx*, which means ‘shoot’. The process of ‘shooting’ can be defined as talking about or against someone to someone else. As shown in figure (1), below, person number 1 is talking to person 2 about 3.

Figure (1)



The process of *taxtaxa* is negatively looked at by people, because of its negative and non-peaceful effect on the targeted person(3) It is derived from a root that denotes a sense of ‘fighting’, ‘participating in a battle’, or ‘joining a war’ to express its impact. It is a starting point or a trigger of what is known as “a war of words” (Suleiman, 2004), a case where the insight of Owens (2001, 2006) is neither followed nor adopted, where sociolinguistics interaction does not proceed in a peaceful way and takes a form of a fight, a battle, or a war in which specific expressions are used and casualties, loss, or destructions are expected .

The process of ‘shooting’ itself is also described by some expressions:

- (1) *hazz ḍanab* ‘tail shaking’ *fīša* ‘shooting’ ‘ *isfīn* ‘shooting’
masīfi ḡūx ‘clothes washing’ *tašlīx* ‘shooting’
gaṣṣ ‘telling untrue stories’ ‘*ariṭ* ‘lying’

3. Labels

The person who practices *taxtaxa* is usually referred to by the following local terms:

- (2) *bitnaṭaṭ* ‘jumper’ *laggāg* ‘big mouth’ *xriṭy* ‘liar’
hazzāz ḍanab ‘tail shaker’ *massīfi ḡūx* ‘clothes cleaner’ ‘*ariṭ* ‘liar’
gaṣṣīṣ ‘(untrue) story teller’

A skillful *taxxīx* ‘shooter’, who practices *taxtaxa* regularly and successfully, is usually addressed by certain labels or nicknames that donate a negative or positive social image. In both cases, such labels represent an underlying negative connotation.

3.1. Negative Labels

- (3) *mutasalliq* ‘climber’ *wuṣūly* ‘climber’ *tuhlub* ‘snoop ,
xibiṬ ‘mean’ *maṣlafīḡy* ‘selfish’ *ḍanab* ‘a tail’
mā bin‘aṭa ‘ein ‘never respected’ *fīayya* ‘snake’ *nasnās*
‘gossiper’

3.2. Positive Labels

- (4) *mad‘ūm* ‘supported’ ‘ *axṭabūṭ* ‘octopus’ *wāṣil* ‘powerful’
muṣaddaq ‘truthful’ ‘ *illuh nās* ‘has people around him’

kilimtuḥ mā bitsīr ʿōnīn ‘his word never gets two’

Although these terms sound positive, yet they are implicitly negative.

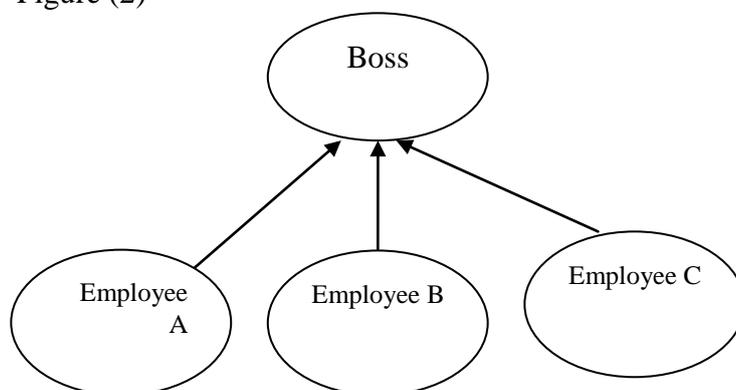
4. Levels of *taxṭaxa*

There are two levels of shooting depending on who practices it and who the target is.

4.1. Low

This type goes in two dimensions. First, it could be practiced between employees, who, for certain reasons, don't get along with their boss. As shown in figure (2), employees A, B, and C are talking against their boss.

Figure (2)

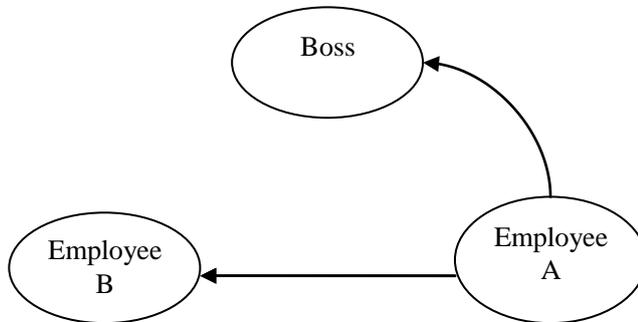


Shooters usually express their disapproval of their boss by using certain strategies:

1. Imitating his way of speaking.
2. Repeating the same word or sentence said by him.
3. Commenting on him ironically.
4. Making jokes about him.
5. Looking down to what he says.

Second, it might be used by employees themselves against one of their peers. An employee may express his disapproval of a peer by talking against this peer to the boss using the same strategies mentioned earlier, as shown in figure (3) where employee A is talking against employee B to the boss.

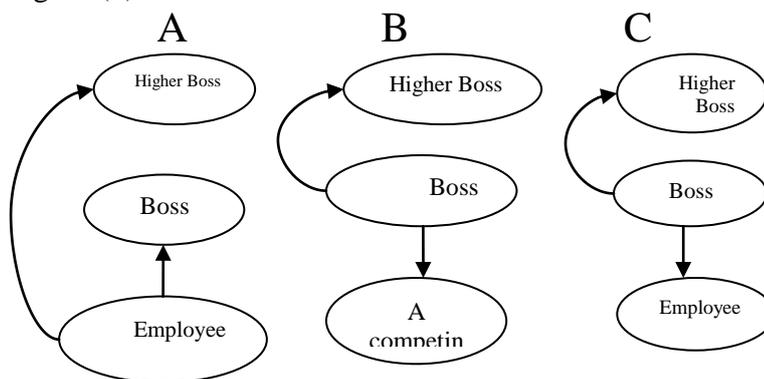
Figure (3)



4.2. High

This type takes place when an employee meets a higher boss to complain about his immediate boss. It also happens when a boss meets a higher boss to complain either about a competing person or an employee. A shooter in these situations follows the strategy of pointing out the weakness of the target. The three cases are illustrated in figure (4), where (4.A) an employee is talking against his immediate boss to a higher boss, in (4.B) a boss is arguing against a competing person to a higher boss, and in (4.C) a boss is complaining about an employee to a higher boss. (The curved line represents the destination to which *taxtaxa* should arrive, the straight line represents the targeted person):

Figure (4)



5. Types of *taxtaxa*

There are two types of *taxtaxa*; overt and covert. The former entails attacking the targeted person publicly on face to point out his problems and mistakes, while the latter is made indoors behind the target and normally addresses the boss of the target.

5.1. Overt

Examples of overt *taxtaxa* include the following statements used by a shooter in which the complement is always a negative statement:

- (5) *şafīfi gult ...* 'is it true that you said....'
bigūlu 'annak ... 'they say about you....'
leiş 'imilit ... 'why did you do.....'
fassirly leiş ... 'explain to me why....'
şū algāya min ... 'what is the object of'
şū rāyak bikalam flān ... 'what do you think of the opinion of people about.....'

The audience who witnesses this type of 'shooting' usually labels it with negative terms like *wağhana* 'keeping face', *şakwana* 'complaining', and *mzāwada* 'claiming loyalty'.

5.2. Covert

This type is considered more effective and destructive since the targeted person is not given the chance to defend his view. It is referred to as *fasfasa* 'gossiping', *dasdasa* 'insertion', *zarwaga* 'zigzagging', *naṭnaṭa* 'jumping', or *tahīna* 'grounding'.

The shooter usually uses the following expressions:

- (6) *simi 'it* 'I heard that...'
bigūlu ... 'people say that....'
lā tğīb sīra 'don't mention that....'
beiny wa beinak ... 'between you and me.....'
lulā ma'aztik 'indy, mā gultlak ... 'because you dear, I've told you...'
mişānak lāzim ti'raf innuh... 'for your sake, you should know....'
lafiada ġeirak mā fiakeit... 'I would not mention that to someone else...'
baḥiki 'aşān almaşlafia al'āma.... 'I am talking because of the public interest'

6. Users of *taxtaxa*

A normal employee may turn into a shooter who finds it a need to verbally attack his boss in the following situations. First, when the boss does not respond to the shooter's personal needs:

(7) *faššalny* 'he disappointed me' *nafaxit bgirba maxzūga* 'I blew air in a torn bag'

'ana bwād wa hū bwād 'I am in a valley and he is in a different valley'

mas'ūl ġaby 'a stupid boss'

Second, when the boss applies regulations strictly so that the shooter 'subjects are not met:

(8) *ġilif* 'stubborn' *mā buxiđ walā ba'ty* 'he never gives or takes' *'abū atta'līmāt* 'father of regulations'

'ala doary šār ni zāmy 'he applies the rules on me'

Third, when the boss is not fair:

(9) *'ibin fiarām* 'sun of a gun' *zālim* 'unjust'

mal'ūn wāldein 'parents' disobedient'

Fourth, when the boss is not flexible:

(10) *loaft* 'a board' *xašaba* 'a wood' *fieit* 'a wall'

Fifth, when the boss practices bad or corrupted administration:

(11) *fāšil* 'a failure' *šāgiđ* 'unsuccessful' *fāriġ* 'empty'

Meanwhile, a shooter may practice *taxtaxa* against a peer when reasons, as will be discussed below, are available.

7. Reasons for *taxtaxa*

The process of 'shooting' is triggered by one of the following factors, depending on the targeted person who might be a boss or a peer.

7.1. Shooting against a boss

7.1.1. To take revenge from the boss

The prefix *ba-* in the following examples represents future threat.

(12) *bašiffuh* 'I will hit him' *bafzafiu* 'I will scandalize him'

ba'alġuh 'I will cure him' *baballiġ* 'I will inform about him'

badāwih 'I will treat him' *bawarġih* 'I will show him'

ba'arfuh fiaġmuh 'I will let him know his worth'

7.1.2. To announce boss mistakes

(13) *lakšif wrāguh* ‘I will reveal his papers’ *kulluh 'xṭā'* ‘his is full of mistakes’

kalamuh miš šafīṭfi ‘his speech is wrong’ *ḡalṭān* ‘he is wrong’
šugluh miš šafi ‘his work is wrong’ *'abu alḡalṭāt* ‘father of mistakes’

7.1.3. To reveal boss violations

(14) *xālaf atta 'līmāt* ‘he violated the regulations’

miš mazbūṭ ‘his is not on the right track’

bitāfiyal 'alqānūn ‘he is fooling the law’

'idāry fāšil ‘administratively corrupt’

walla mā 'afawitha iluh ‘I swear not to forgive him’

'ārīf maxābīh ‘I know his secrets’

7.1.4. To impose boss response

(15) *mīn huwwa* ‘who is he!’ *šū makanuh* ‘what is his position!’

mīn warāh ‘who is supporting him!’ *šū hadafuh* ‘what is his goal!’

'al'ayām beinna ‘days between us’

7.1.5. Jealousy from the boss

(16) *'ala eiš* ‘for what!’ *šū mu'ahaluh* ‘what is his qualification!’

mīn huwwa ‘who is he!’ *miš m'abiyy 'einnī* ‘he is not filling my eyes’

šū biswa ‘what is his worth’ *hādā illī ṭili 'minnuh* ‘is this all that he got!’

7.1.6. To preserve peers support

This is made to gain a group support against the targeted person:

(17) *biddu ydammirna* ‘he wants to destroy us’

biddu yifbiṭna ‘he wants to make us upset’

biddu yxarrib byūtna ‘he wants to destroy our houses’

biddu yifriḡna ‘he wants to burn us’

mā bixaf Allah ‘he does not fear God’

mā biḡīb fiada ‘he does not like anybody’

miš šāyifna bi 'yūnuh ‘he does not see us with his eyes’

miš fiāsib fisābna ‘he does not count us’

7.1.7. To spread rumors about the boss

(18) *fialafūly innuh...* ‘they swore to me that...’

ḡālūly innuh... ‘they told me that...’

simi 'it innuh... 'I heard that.....'
ğāny xabar innuh... 'I got the news that.....'
mit 'akkid innuh... 'I am sure that.....'
rāfi tšūfu innuh... 'you will see that.....'

7.2. Shooting against a peer

7.2.1. Personal fights or clashes

(19) *bawarğth* 'I will show him'
barabbth 'I will raise him'
badamruh 'I will destroy him'
'na warāh wazzaman tawil 'I am behind him all the way'

7.2.2. Personal hatred or jealousy

This surfaces when the 'shooter' asks others not to interact with the targeted person:

(20) *dīr bālak minnuh* 'be careful from him' *lā tiθiq fih* 'don't trust him'

xarrāb byūt 'he's houses' destroyer' *miš sahil* 'he is not easy'
xabīθ 'he is mean' *bitxalah* 'annak 'he will leave you'

mā 'induh walā 'he is not loyal' *bifiki bgafāk* 'he talks behind your back'

7.2.3. To defend a mistake

A shooter may appeal to *taxtaxa* to defend a mistake that he made to avoid peers' criticism:

(21) *flān mā bifham* 'that person does not understand'
bitdaxxal 'he interferes in my business' *bixfi alfiagāy'ig* 'he hides the truth'
kaddāb 'he is a liar' *maškalğy* 'he is a trouble shooter'

7.2.4. To hide the truth

Criticizing others is another policy to hide a truth that the shooter knows:

(22) *flān kaddāb* 'that guy is a liar' *bikub šarruh* 'he is pouring his bad deeds on us'

birmi maşāybuh 'he is throwing his problems on us'
bifayyiš fina 'he is shooting us'

7.2.5. To practice power

‘I swear this position has a (free) phone’

wallah mawqi ‘ fih maṣāry

‘I swear this position has (good) money’

8.5. To be powerful

(28) *halmansib biḥtafi kul al’bwāb* ‘this position opens all the door’

mā fiada bigullak wein rāyiḥfi ‘nobody asks you where are you going’

mā fiada balšān fīk ‘nobody questions you’

‘*inta sayyid nafsak* ‘you are the lord of yourself’

8.6. To avoid being a follower

(29) *lā sā’il wala mas’ul* ‘no body supervises you’

’amry bīdy ‘my decision is in my hand’

dawamy ’ala keify ‘I work when I want’

basawy illi bidi yāh ‘I do what I want’

mā fiada mfiāsibny ‘nobody investigates my work’

8.7. To hunt a chair

(30) *miš ’afīag minni* ‘I have more right in this position than him’

’akal fiaggy ‘he took my right’

mā ’induh mu’ahalāti ‘he does not have my qualifications’

8.8. To weaken the status of the chairman

(31) *mā biḥham* ‘he does not understand’ *šugluh ḡalaṭ* ‘his work is wrong’

mā bidāwim ‘he does not show up at work’ *mā bitābi* ‘he does not follow up’

kṪir fiaky ‘he speaks a lot’ *miš daqīq* ‘he is not accurate’

8.9. To prove presence

This happens when arguing against a peer.

(32) *badaggig warāh* ‘I always check his work’

nabbahtu ’akṪar min marrah ‘I warned him several times’

naṣafituh ‘I advised him’

law lāy kān.... ‘without me it would not be so’

štaḡalt ’annuh ‘I did his work’

8.10. To get personal needs

This occurs when talking with a new boss against an old one.

(33) *’adurak šilfiat al’umūr* ‘you fixed the problems’

’illi ḡablak xarrabha ‘the old boss made problems’

gablak rāfi fiagna ‘we lost our rights before you’
‘adur flān nżalamna ‘we were treated unfairly by the old boss’
hassa ‘ni zman fiagna ‘now we guarantee our rights’

8.11. To destroy the boss social image

(34) *mutakabbir* ‘arrogant’ *muta ‘ağrif* ‘proud’ *şāyif fiālluh*
‘overconfident’

baṭnuh ‘ğrab ‘his tummy is dirty’ *hamağy*
‘barbarian’

şuğul ‘azāyim ‘he seeks invitations’ *bṭeiny* ‘he likes
his tummy’

ğī ‘ān ‘he is hungry’ *raxış* ‘he is cheap’ *sarrāğ* ‘he is a
thief’

mā ‘induh karāmah ‘he has no dignity’ *ganāş furaş*
‘chances hunter’

8.12. To achieve success

This happens when looking down to the achievements of the targeted person to make people just remember the achievements of the shooter:

(35) *miş hal ‘injāz* ‘this achievement is nothing’

‘ay wāfiad bi ‘malha ‘anyone can do that’

mā sāwa işy kṀīr ‘he does not do a big thing’

hāda wāğbuh ‘this is his job’

miş hal ‘amal almumayyaz ‘his work is not distinguished’

‘ iştī ‘ādy ğiddan ‘this is very normal’

lula aldaz mā bisawīha ‘he cannot do it without others’
support’

8.13. To gain credit for others works

A shooter may struggle to maintain a positive administrative image in front of his boss by repeating certain expressions to point out his important role in achieving a particular task, even if someone else has done it:

(36) *‘ana ‘illi ‘milit heik miş huwwa* ‘I did this not him’

law lāy mā şārat ‘it would not happen without me’

‘ana şağğāl ‘aleiha ‘I am working on it’

duxut lamma sawweitha ‘I worked hard to do it’

‘axdat min wagtei kṀīr ‘it took a lot of my time’

ta ‘abatnī kṀīr ‘it exhausted me a lot’

galabt 'aleiha addinya 'I bothered the world to make it'
jannanthum fiatta raddu 'alayya 'I bothered them a lot to reply to me'

8.14. To mislead the boss

Misleading the boss, from a shooter perspective, will provide the chance to achieve the desired goals. This involves a continuous complaint about the target:

- (37) *mas 'ulītu huwwa* 'it his responsibility'
fiāsbu huwwa 'you should question him'
lā trud 'alleih 'don't respond to him'
xarrab aššugul 'he destroyed the work'

8.15. To trick a peer

A shooter may talk against a peer to the boss, but when meeting this peer he claims the opposite.

- (38) *dāfa'it 'annak* 'I defended you'
laṭṭaftilak alğaw 'I cheered it up for you'
gultuluh ysā'dak 'I told him to help you'
ḍakartak bilxeir 'I mentioned all the good things about you'
minni kul adda'im 'I gave you all my support'

9. Times of *taxtaxa*

The times in which *taxtaxa* occurs rely on the following situations.

9.1. Meeting the immediate boss

In this case, the target is a peer:

- (39) *mā biğğāwab* 'he never responds'
xalliṣna minnuh 'for our sake get rid of him'
xarrab šugulna 'he destroyed our work'

9.2. Meeting the higher boss

The target in this case is the immediate boss.

- (40) *huwwa mudīr willa muwaẓẓaf* 'is he a manager or an employee?'

mā 'indu xibra 'he lacks experience'
'*axṭā'uh rafi tbayyin* 'his mistakes will show'

9.3. Meeting peers

In this case the target is the immediate boss or another peer.

- (41) *lā trud 'alleih* 'don't respond to him' *ifiligluh*
'ignore him'

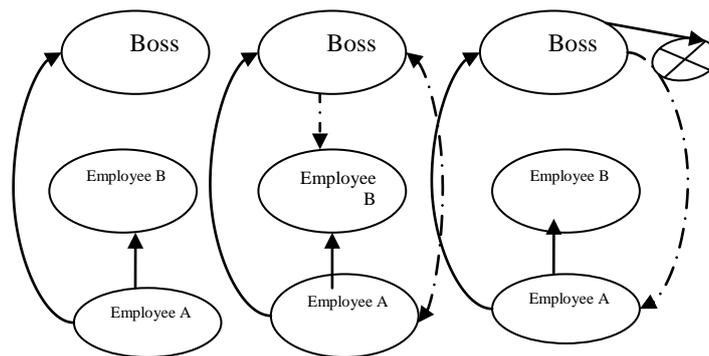
mā binxadim ‘he does not deserve our effort’ *izbiluh* ‘treat him like trash’

mā bigaddir ‘he does not appreciate others’ *tanšuh* ‘quit dealing with him’

10. Reaction to *taxtaxa*

Skillful bosses believe in the local expression “*mā ft nār bidūn duxxān*”, that is, ‘there is no fire without smoke’. They are familiar with *taxtaxa*, its reasons, and its objectives. They do not, in most cases, react or make a decision against the targeted person, unless the shooter provides critical evidence against his target. Inexperienced bosses, on the other hand, may not carefully examine the reasons and objectives of shooting, and thus, may take an action against the targeted person. However, when shooting takes place indoors with a skillful boss, there are four scenarios that represent the reaction of this boss. First, as shown in figure (5.A), an employee A is talking against his peer (B) to the boss. But the boss, as in figure (5.B), will be on touch with employee (B) to check all complaints against him as well as direct him. Eventually, as shown in (5.C), the boss does not make a decision against the targeted person⁽⁴⁾ except stopping communication with him, but maintains contact with the shooter to explore his reasons and objectives and, in certain cases, to use him as a source of information that provides a feedback about the work of other employees.

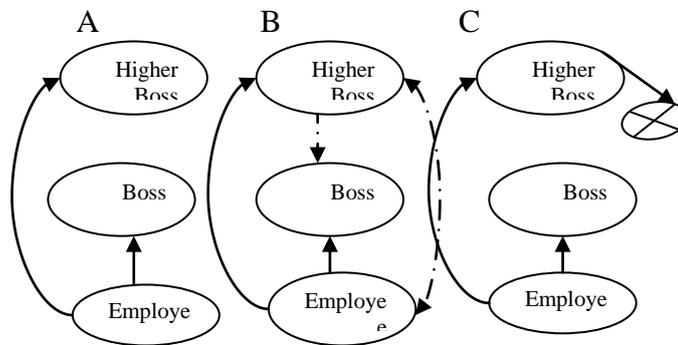
Figure (5)



Second, an employee is talking against his immediate boss to

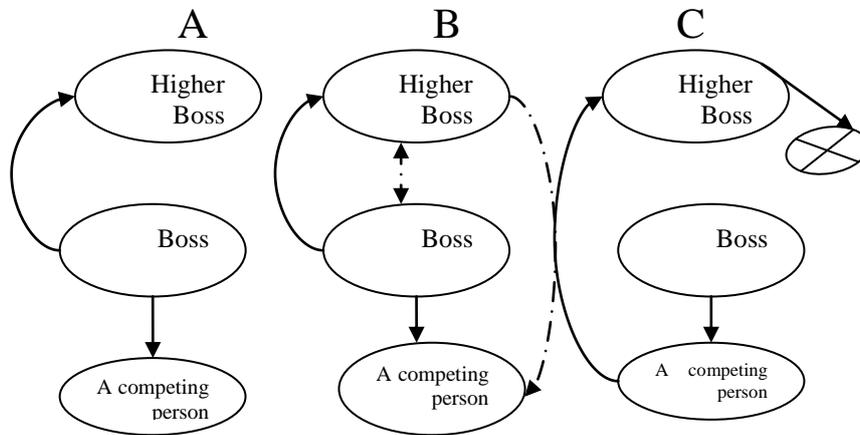
the higher boss as shown in figure (6.A). The higher boss, as in figure (6.B), will contact the concerned boss to question all complaints against him, while maintaining contact with the shooter to gather more details. The higher boss may not act against the target, as shown in (6.C), but will maintain listening to the shooter to get more feedback about the efficiency of the concerned boss for future evaluation or direction.

Figure (6)



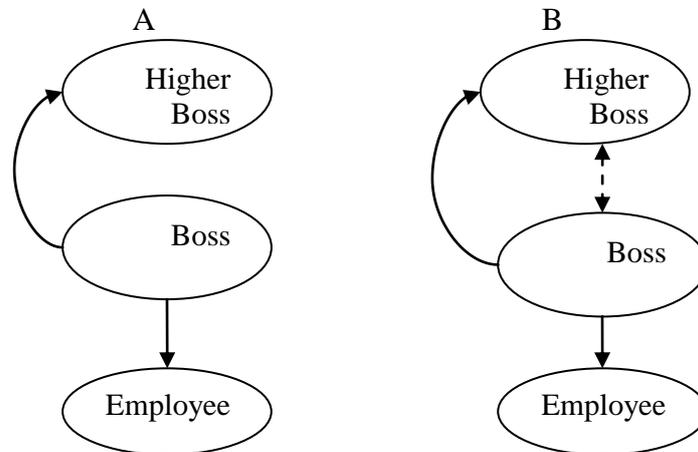
Third, a boss may complain or argue against a competing person to a higher boss, as in (7.A). The higher boss, in turn, may maintain communication with both parties, as in (7.B). As a result, no action against the target may be taken. The higher boss may decide to discontinue communication with the shooter himself who fails to provide logical reasons against his target, as in (7.C). The shooter is a loser in this case, because the higher boss will maintain communication with his opponent. In other words, failure to practice strong shooting may change into a critical shooting against the shooter himself.

Figure (7)



Fourth, a boss may argue against an employee to a higher boss, as in (8.A). The higher boss, in turn, may maintain communication with this boss whose arguments might be convincing, as in (8.B). As a result, the higher boss may continue communication with the shooter to receive further information which will affect the status of the target and lead to making a decision against him.

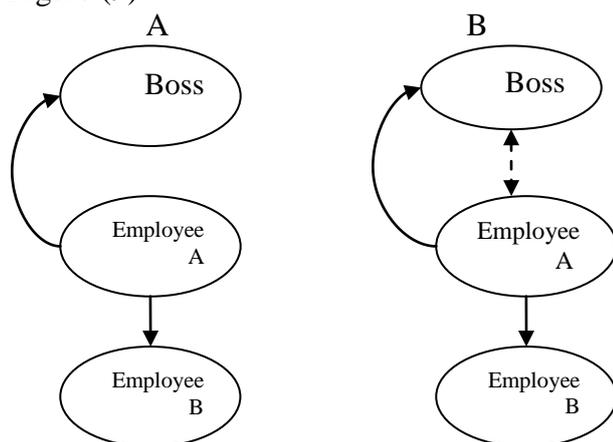
Figure (8)



Fifth, the same scenario mentioned above might be repeated but with a different shooter and a different target. Employee A may argue against employee B to their boss, as in (9.A). The boss may listen to the shooter whose arguments might be convincing, as in (9.B).

Eventually, the boss may maintain contact with the shooter to receive further details which will affect the status of the target and lead to making a decision against him.

Figure (9)



11. Effects of *ṭaxṭaxa*

The question is: does shooting affect the target? The answer is yes. This is evident from the following examples, where in (42) the shooter expresses his ability in achieving his aim through defeating his target:

(42) *‘axadħa bil ‘a zal* ‘I gave it (the shot) to him in the muscle’

fi aṣṣamīm ‘(he received the shot) in the heart’

ṭil ‘at min rāṣuh ‘it (the shot) went out of his head’

To avoid consequences, and as a protection measure, it becomes common among employees to warn each other by using labels that address a boss or certain peers who are skillful in practicing *ṭaxṭaxa* routinely.

(43) *fīṣu wilgabbir* ‘his shot sends to the grave’

lsānuh munšār ‘his tongue is a saw

kalamuh yuḡtul ‘his speech kills’

‘abu alma ‘arik ‘father of battles’

fiarbaḡy ‘a warrior’

12. Conclusion

The broad scenario of “a war of words” which represents “a conflict between languages or language and varieties” (Suleiman 2004: 15) is

clearly evident when it is narrowed to an administrative setting, as it sheds light on a specific instance of such war. In this particular setting, which has its own linguistic aspects and components, an aggressive version of Arabic is used. This version triggers a battle of words which concerns a linguistic fight or struggle “between the speakers of a language who compete over resources and values in their milieus”.

In an administrative setting, a battle of words can occur. In this battle, a skillful *ṭaxxiḥ* ‘shooter’ or *fiarbaġy* ‘warrior’ does his best to use the available weapons, which are words and expressions, to fight and defeat an opponent in “a conflict” triggered by a state of discord caused by the actual or perceived opposition of needs, values, and interests.

Acknowledgments

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Notes

1. ¹ The following symbols with their Arabic equivalents are used throughout this paper; ' ء, d, d ض, k ك, b ب, d ذ, t ط, l ل, t ت, r ر, z ظ, m م, θ ث, z ز, 'ع, n ن, g ج, s س, g غ, h ح, fi ف, f ف, w و, x خ, s ص, q ق, y ي
2. ² This research was conducted during my sabbatical at Prince Mohamad Bin Fahad University at Al-Khobar, KSA in the academic year 2007/2008. This study is based on my personal experience taking over two different administrative positions at Mu'tah University, Jordan, for more than seven continuous years. This experience gave me the chance to interact with administrative staff at different administrative levels in different times and situations. A questionnaire was also distributed during August, 2007 to more than 50 persons who were in different administrative positions at Mu'tah University. It includes the following questions:
 1. What do you think of taxtaxa?
 2. Who are involved in it?
 3. What are the types of it?
 4. Do you practice taxtaxa?
 5. When do people practice it?
 6. Why do other people practice it?
 7. What are the advantages of it?
 8. What are the disadvantages of it?
 9. How do you react to it?
 10. How do other people react to it?
 11. What common expressions used to express it?
 12. How do you defend yourself from it?
 13. How do you defend others from it?
 14. What are the reasons behind it?
 15. What blocks it?
3. ³ The following notions will be used for figure 1 – 9. Head of the curved non-dotted line means talking with or complaining to, head of the straight line means talking against, head of the curved dotted line means talking against, two heads means making a continuous contact, and a circle with a cross means no action is taken.
4. ⁴ This is represented by a crossed circle