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A special issue devoted to

Research Reverence: Cultivate, Innovate and Impact from MICOLLAC 2014

Guest Editors

Rosli Talif, Rohimmi Noor & Ain Nadzimah Abdullah

PERTANIKA JOURNALS

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Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities
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About the Journal

Overview

Pertanika Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities (JSSH) is the official journal of Universiti Putra Malaysia published by UPM Press. It is an open-access online scientific journal which is free of charge. It publishes the scientific outputs. It neither accepts nor commissions third party content.

Recognized internationally as the leading peer-reviewed interdisciplinary journal devoted to the publication of original papers, it serves as a forum for practical approaches to improving quality in issues pertaining to social and behavioural sciences as well as the humanities.

JSSH is a **quarterly** (*March, June, September* and *December*) periodical that considers for publication original articles as per its scope. The journal publishes in **English** and it is open to authors around the world regardless of the nationality.

The Journal is available world-wide.

Aims and scope

Pertanika Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities aims to develop as a pioneer journal for the social sciences with a focus on emerging issues pertaining to the social and behavioural sciences as well as the humanities.

Areas relevant to the scope of the journal include Social Sciences—Accounting, anthropology, Archaeology and history, Architecture and habitat, Consumer and family economics, Economics, Education, Finance, Geography, Law, Management studies, Media and communication studies, Political sciences and public policy, Population studies, Psychology, Sociology, Technology management, Tourism; Humanities—Arts and culture, Dance, Historical and civilisation studies, Language and Linguistics, Literature, Music, Philosophy, Religious studies, Sports.

History

Pertanika was founded in 1978. A decision was made in 1992 to streamline Pertanika into three journals as Journal of Tropical Agricultural Science, Journal of Science & Technology, and **Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities** to meet the need for specialised journals in areas of study aligned with the interdisciplinary strengths of the university.

After almost 25 years, as an interdisciplinary Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities, the revamped journal focuses on research in social and behavioural sciences as well as the humanities, particularly in the Asia Pacific region.

Goal of *Pertanika*

Our goal is to bring the highest quality research to the widest possible audience.

Quality

We aim for excellence, sustained by a responsible and professional approach to journal publishing. Submissions are guaranteed to receive a decision within 14 weeks. The elapsed time from submission to publication for the articles averages 5-6 months.

Abstracting and indexing of *Pertanika*

Pertanika is almost 40 years old; this accumulated knowledge has resulted in Pertanika JSSH being abstracted and indexed in SCOPUS (Elsevier), Thomson (ISI) Web of Knowledge [BIOSIS & CAB Abstracts], EBSCO & EBSCOhost, DOAJ, Cabell's Directories, Google Scholar, MyAIS, ISC & Rubriq (Journal Guide).

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We are continuously improving access to our journal archives, content, and research services. We have the drive to realise exciting new horizons that will benefit not only the academic community, but society itself.

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The abbreviation for *Pertanika* Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities is *Pertanika J. Soc. Sci. Hum.*

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International Standard Serial Number (ISSN)

An ISSN is an 8-digit code used to identify periodicals such as journals of all kinds and on all media–print and electronic. All Pertanika journals have ISSN as well as an e-ISSN.

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Lag time

A decision on acceptance or rejection of a manuscript is reached in 3 to 4 months (average 14 weeks). The elapsed time from submission to publication for the articles averages 5-6 months.

Authorship

Authors are not permitted to add or remove any names from the authorship provided at the time of initial submission without the consent of the Journal's Chief Executive Editor.

Manuscript preparation

Refer to Pertanika's **INSTRUCTIONS TO AUTHORS** at the back of this journal.

Most scientific papers are prepared according to a format called IMRAD. The term represents the first letters of the words **I**ntroduction, **M**aterials and Methods, **R**esults, **A**nd, **D**iscussion. IMRAD is simply a more 'defined' version of the "IBC" [Introduction, Body, Conclusion] format used for all academic writing. IMRAD indicates a pattern or format rather than a complete list of headings or components of research papers; the missing parts of a paper are: *Title, Authors, Keywords, Abstract, Conclusions*, and *References*. Additionally, some papers include Acknowledgments and Appendices.

The *Introduction* explains the scope and objective of the study in the light of current knowledge on the subject; the *Materials and Methods* describes how the study was conducted; the *Results* section reports what was found in the study; and the *Discussion* section explains meaning and significance of the results and provides suggestions for future directions of research. The manuscript must be prepared according to the Journal's **INSTRUCTIONS TO AUTHORS**.

Editorial process

Authors are notified with an acknowledgement containing a *Manuscript ID* on receipt of a manuscript, and upon the editorial decision regarding publication.

Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities
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Pertanika follows a **double-blind peer-review** process. Manuscripts deemed suitable for publication are usually sent to reviewers. Authors are encouraged to suggest names of at least three potential reviewers at the time of submission of their manuscript to Pertanika, but the editors will make the final choice. The editors are not, however, bound by these suggestions.

Notification of the editorial decision is usually provided within ten to fourteen weeks from the receipt of manuscript. Publication of solicited manuscripts is not guaranteed. In most cases, manuscripts are accepted conditionally, pending an author's revision of the material.

As articles are double-blind reviewed, material that might identify authorship of the paper should be placed only on page 2 as described in the first-4 page format in Pertanika's **INSTRUCTIONS TO AUTHORS** given at the back of this journal.

The Journal's peer-review

In the peer-review process, three referees independently evaluate the scientific quality of the submitted manuscripts.

Peer reviewers are experts chosen by journal editors to provide written assessment of the **strengths** and **weaknesses** of written research, with the aim of improving the reporting of research and identifying the most appropriate and highest quality material for the journal.

Operating and review process

What happens to a manuscript once it is submitted to *Pertanika*? Typically, there are seven steps to the editorial review process:

1. The Journal's chief executive editor and the editorial board examine the paper to determine whether it is appropriate for the journal and should be reviewed. If not appropriate, the manuscript is rejected outright and the author is informed.

2. The chief executive editor sends the article-identifying information having been removed, to three reviewers. Typically, one of these is from the Journal's editorial board. Others are specialists in the subject matter represented by the article. The chief executive editor asks them to complete the review in three weeks.

   Comments to authors are about the appropriateness and adequacy of the theoretical or conceptual framework, literature review, method, results and discussion, and conclusions. Reviewers often include suggestions for strengthening of the manuscript. Comments to the editor are in the nature of the significance of the work and its potential contribution to the literature.

3. The chief executive editor, in consultation with the editor-in-chief, examines the reviews and decides whether to reject the manuscript, invite the author(s) to revise and resubmit the manuscript, or seek additional reviews. Final acceptance or rejection rests with the Edito-in-Chief, who reserves the right to refuse any material for publication. In rare instances, the manuscript is accepted with almost no revision. Almost without exception, reviewers' comments (to the author) are forwarded to the author. If a revision is indicated, the editor provides guidelines for attending to the reviewers' suggestions and perhaps additional advice about revising the manuscript.

4. The authors decide whether and how to address the reviewers' comments and criticisms and the editor's concerns. The authors return a revised version of the paper to the chief executive editor along with specific information describing how they have answered' the concerns of the reviewers and the editor, usually in a tabular form. The author(s) may also submit a rebuttal if there is a need especially when the author disagrees with certain comments provided by reviewer(s).

5. The chief executive editor sends the revised paper out for re-review. Typically, at least one of the original reviewers will be asked to examine the article.

6. When the reviewers have completed their work, the chief executive editor in consultation with the editorial board and the editor-in-chief examine their comments and decide whether the paper is ready to be published, needs another round of revisions, or should be rejected.

7. If the decision is to accept, an acceptance letter is sent to all the author(s), the paper is sent to the Press. The article should appear in print in approximately three months.

   The Publisher ensures that the paper adheres to the correct style (in-text citations, the reference list, and tables are typical areas of concern, clarity, and grammar). The authors are asked to respond to any minor queries by the Publisher. Following these corrections, page proofs are mailed to the corresponding authors for their final approval. At this point, **only essential changes are accepted**. Finally, the article appears in the pages of the Journal and is posted on-line.

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ABSTRACTING/INDEXING

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Preface

The biennial Malaysia International Conference on Languages, Literatures and Cultures (MICOLLAC) organised by the Department of English, Faculty of Modern Languages and Communication, Universiti Putra Malaysia, has a reputation for being a comprehensive conference covering the areas of language, literature and culture. Since the first MICOLLAC in 1999, participants of MICOLLAC explore how different languages, literatures and cultures are constantly evolving.

As a brand, MICOLLAC has become known over the years as a conference that provides an opportunity for scholars, researchers and students in the fields of language, literature and culture from Malaysia and countries around the world to meet and share their knowledge and research findings. It also provides a platform for a network of academic collaborations to strengthen research in language, literature and culture.

These papers are mainly a collection of paper presentations from the 8th MICOLLAC conference held in Penang, Malaysia, with its theme "Research Reverence: Cultivate, Innovate and Impact from 12 to 14 August, 2014. In the academic world, doing research is part and parcel of our lives that is not only vital for professional development but also self-actualisation. Research reverence comes in the form of accolades and recognition given to participation and presentations at conferences and the publication of research findings in well established journals.

The 13 selected papers presented here cover research on two broad domains of language studies: Applied Linguistics/Linguistics and Literature. In line with the guidelines of PERTANIKA Journal of Social Science and Humanities (JSSH), the papers underwent blind review and the final papers were accepted after further editorial comments. We are grateful for the rigour of the review process and thank the reviewers for graciously consenting to do the job, and also the successful contributors who patiently went through every draft and comment.

This special issue is dedicated to the success of the 8th MICOLLAC conference and to the outcome of the intellectual endeavour in the form of a journal publication. We owe this success to the full cooperation of the Chief Executive Editor of UPM Journals, Dr. Nayan Kanwal. We would also like to thank Ms. Amirah Razali for her tireless effort in helping us to get all the papers ready for publication. Last but not least, we are indebted to the reviewers — whose names are acknowledged at the back of this issue — for providing their critical and timely feedback.

Guest Editors,
Rosli Talif
Rohimmi Noor
Ain Nadzimah Abdullah

December 2015

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SOCIAL SCIENCES & HUMANITIES

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Invited Article

Ecocriticism 101: A Basic Introduction to Ecocriticism and Environmental Literature

Scott Slovic

University of Idaho, USA

Try to imagine a society—or even an individual human being—that does not require some form of interaction with the natural world in order to exist. At the moment, I am reading Sharman Apt Russell's *Hunger: An Unnatural History* (2005), and she speaks in her opening chapter about certain individuals—eccentrics, desperately overweight individuals, and even "hunger artists" who perform by abstaining from food—who have avoided eating for extraordinary periods of time. An American magician, for instance, had himself suspended in a six-foot by six-foot by three-foot box near the Tower Bridge in London, England, for 44 days without food in 2003. But did this "entertainer," David Blaine, go without water? Without air? And what about the 465-pound Scottish man, known to the public simply as "A.B.," who fasted for 13 months in the mid-1960s in order to lose 276 pounds? Even during this long period of hunger, Mr. A.B. relied upon the planet, upon nature, for his very survival. All human beings throughout history have relied upon their relationship with nature in order to exist.

The problem, some might say, is that many of our cultures have either come to take nature for granted or have, as the ecological literary critic, or "ecocritic," Simon Estok, has written, developed an adversarial attitude towards nature, believing that human success and comfort require us to dominate and exploit nature rather than to live in a kind of symbiotic, or cooperative, relationship with the non-human world. Estok refers to this antagonism towards nature as "ecophobia" and argues that it is an essential condition of many contemporary societies, a condition that we may need to overcome if humans are to continue living on this planet well into the future.

What I have begun to describe above is a kind of paradox, a strange and ironic situation by which we know that we all need nature; yet, for some peculiar reason we humans like to think of ourselves as being free from the encumbrances of physical

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needs. We like to imagine we are clever enough to overcome the physical realities of our planet: living in cool, comfortable dwellings even in hot, humid regions of the world; eating any foods we desire, no matter the time of year and what's "in season"; jetting vast distances in a single day; consuming all other species for food or other purposes, even animals that are much larger and stronger than we are and even animals that are, like chimpanzees, our close genetic relatives. I'd guess that all of us, in some way or another, fit the patterns I have just described. I know I do, even though I am a so-called "environmentalist." Some scholars, in this age of the Internet, have gone so far as to argue that physical "place" is no longer meaningful—that we truly inhabit "cyberspace" rather than the world of nature. And yet, and yet … we eat, drink and breathe. We require physical space for our bodies. Many would claim that we are not spiritually satisfied unless we can feel the breeze brush across our skin, hear birds chittering in the yard or near the city streets we walk along on the way to school or work. To counter Simon Estok's notion of ecophobia, we have what biologist Edward O. Wilson has described as "biophilia," an intrinsic love of living things—some might expand upon this and suggest that there is, in human beings, an essential love of the world that motivates many of our behaviours, even perhaps our wish to continue living and to produce students and biological offspring who might similarly love and celebrate the Earth.

The point of showing that these biophilic and biophobic impulses compete with each other in the human mind is to suggest that our relationship with the natural world is complicated and often contradictory. In reality, this is not simply a twenty-first-century, urban, first-world situation—a result of industrialisation and the skeptical reasoning of the postmodern age. From the very beginning of our existence as a species, human beings have pondered our relationship with other beings in pragmatic, aesthetic and philosophical ways. How can we grow certain plants in order to eat them, hunt animals that are larger and swifter than ourselves? What kind of pigment might be used to depict deer or ox-like animals on the walls of caves in the Pyrenees Mountains of southern Europe? What is the difference between domestic animals who live among humans and wild animals who exist with a different degree of agency, apart from our own kind?

A few years ago, while giving a series of lectures in Toulouse, France, I visited a place called Grotte de Niaux, where people had imprinted colourful images of antelope-like animals on cave walls half a mile underground some 14,000 years ago. Other nearby caves, such as the famous ones in Lascaux, are thought to be thousands of years older than that. A few days after visiting Niaux, I went to Seattle, Washington, to talk with photographer and digital artist Chris Jordan, who uses cutting-edge computer software to manipulate thousands of images of SUV logos or cell

phones or plastic bags in order to create artworks, such as those in his 2009 book *Running the Numbers: An American Self-Portrait*, that aim to spur citizens in one of the world's most intensely consumerist societies to wake up to the implications of our vast exploitation of planetary resources and the pollution resulting from our discarded consumer goods. Jordan refers to the process of his work as "the trans-scalar imaginary." Although I have mentioned a few examples of visual art to represent the "environmental art" that has existed from the most ancient human cultures to the present, the same fascination with and confusion about the human relationship with nature has inspired songs, stories and reports about nature and our relationship with the world beyond ourselves in all human cultures across the planet. In the modern academic context, we tend to speak about poetry, fiction, nonfiction and drama to describe major types of "literature." But in some ways we are really talking about the same categories of communication—song, story and informative report—that humans have always relied upon to convey meaningful, delightful and useful ideas to each other.

What I have tried to describe above is the need for "environmental art" (which would include literature and visual art, but also music, theatre, film/TV and other forms of human expression) in order to help us understand our complicated and sometimes paradoxical relationship to the natural world.

But how this is connected to ecocriticism? If environmental art is a mode of human communication that explores and describes human relationships to nature in "beautiful" or "aestheticised" ways, then ecocriticism is the mode of scholarship that seeks to explain or contextualise this art. In other words, a poem about seasonal processes, such as Robert Frost's "Spring Pools," a poem published in the United States in the 1920s, would be an example of *environmental literature*; the 2006 article by Glenn Adelson and John Elder titled "Ecosystems of Meaning in Robert Frost's 'Spring Pools'" is a work of *ecocriticism* that explains Frost's poem.

What's especially exciting about my example here, the Adelson-Elder paper, is that the co-authors are a biologist and a literary scholar, and their collaborative effort, reaching across disciplines, provides a startling new interpretation of Frost's famous poem. Typically read as a dark and depressing poem about the "blotting out" of delicate spring flowers in the Northeastern United States by the shadows of summer leaves, the poem actually suggests, to the ecologically astute reader, that the spring flowers merely become *invisible* during summertime, as the above-ground flowers vanish, leaving the plants alive at the level of under-ground roots. When read together by the scientist and humanist, in the spirit of interdisciplinary ecological criticism, the brooding poem about competition and death turns into a poem celebrating the persistence of life. Because literary scholars so often

do their work in an individual way, let me highlight here the wonderful possibilities of collaborative research in this field. This can mean teamwork among colleagues in the humanities or even teamwork across different disciplines. To me, this 2006 article by Adelson and Elder is a particularly brilliant example of such interdisciplinary ecocritical teamwork.

Let me illuminate the field further by offering an introduction to some of the varieties of ecocritical scholarship from around the world. The actual term "ecocriticism" was first used in the title of a 1978 article by William Rueckert: "Literature and Ecology: An Experiment in Ecocriticism." This article floated the term out to the scholarly community, but few people picked up on the word until years later. Scholars had actually been studying natural themes and environmental issues in literature for many years prior to Rueckert's use of the word "ecocriticism" in the late 1970s. David Mazel, for instance, published a collection of proto-ecocritical writings called *A Century of Early Ecocriticism* in 2001, identifying many works between 1864 and 1964 that provide a foundation for contemporary ecocritical work. Although Rueckert may have been the first scholar to use the term "ecocriticism," it was not until the 1990s that critics rescued the word from obscurity and began to apply it to the field of environmentally-focused literary scholarship that was rapidly developing at that time. One of the well-known definitions that emerged in the 1990s is Cheryll Glotfelty's statement in the Introduction to *The Ecocriticism Reader* in 1996: she wrote that ecocriticism is "the study of the relationship between literature and the physical world" (p.xviii). Responding to the previous tendency of literary scholars to focus their work on the artistic design of literary works and the *human* contexts of such texts (gender, psychology, social class, ethnicity and so forth), Glotfelty and the writers whose articles she and Harold Fromm collected in *The Ecocriticism Reader* recognised that it is important to think about the even larger "environmental context" of literature (and other forms of human expression). After all, as David Mazel playfully and profoundly remarks at the beginning of his book *American Literary Environmentalism* (2000), ecocritics simply study literature "as if the earth mattered" (p.1)—and since the earth does matter to all of us (including everyone doing literary criticism), then perhaps all of us should try to keep the earth in mind when we think about literature. My own definition, which I published in Laurence Coupe's *The Green Studies Reader* in 2000, is that "[Ecocriticism is] the study of explicitly environmental texts from any scholarly approach or, conversely, the scrutiny of ecological implications and human-nature relationships in any literary text [or other artistic text], even texts that seem, at first glance, oblivious of the nonhuman world" (p.160). This statement reveals my own feeling that ecocriticism is a flexible, porous discipline, readily combining different critical strategies in order to tease out the ecological meanings

of all human expression, ranging from high art (poetry, painting, classical music etc.) to popular culture (television, advertising, rock music etc.).

Perhaps the central debate in ecocriticism today has to do with the merits of narrowing the scope of the field (i.e. pinning down an identifiable methodology, a body of acceptable texts to study or a political ideology that would fit within the boundaries of the field and thus help to define the enterprise) or maintaining the broad and somewhat baggy definition that has so far defined who ecocritics are and what they do. When British scholar Peter Barry included ecocriticism as the topic of the final chapter in the 2002 edition of his popular book *Beginning Theory*, he articulated several specific tactics that he associated with the environmental approach to literary studies, such as re-reading canonical literary works "from an ecocentric perspective," applying "ecocentric concepts" such as "growth and energy, balance and imbalance […]" to a variety of conditions and phenomena, placing "special emphasis [on] writers who foreground nature," appreciating "factual" or even scientific writing which has often been neglected by literary critics, and pushing aside certain critical theories that highlight the social and or linguistic construction of reality (p.264). But after outlining certain approaches that seem to be displaying a limited array of practices, Barry concludes his introduction to the field by quoting my own comment that ecocriticism, as the poet Walt Whitman once said of himself, is large and "contain[s] multitudes" (p.269). This, in fact, is what ecocritic Lawrence Buell is getting at when he states, in *The Future of Environmental Criticism* (2005), "The environmental turn in literary studies is best understood […] less as a monolith than as a concourse of discrepant practices" (p.11). Buell suggests that ecocriticism could better be described as a group of scholars who are looking or moving in the same general direction, although they are practising their scholarship in a variety of ways. This "concourse" (think of an airport terminal as an area through which passengers and workers are moving in recognisable directions, although individuals may be weaving this way and that) may suggest a general interest in matters environmental, although the particular concerns of readers and critics may differ.

In recent years, some ecocritics, such as Camilo Gomides at the University of Puerto Rico and Simon Estok (mentioned above) from Sungkyunkwan University in South Korea, have argued that we need a narrower, more precise methodology for the field. Gomides put a "new definition of ecocriticism to the test" in a 2006 article, writing: "Ecocriticism: The field of enquiry that analyzes and promotes works of art which raise moral questions about human interactions with nature, while motivating audiences to live within a limit that will be binding over generations" (p.16). This is an elegant and fascinating definition, admirable in various ways, not the least of which is the possibility that art and scholarship might work together to guide audiences to more careful strategies for living on the Earth.

When I read this definition I find myself thinking of Native American author Joseph Bruchac's lovely essay "The Circle Is the Way to See" (1993), in which he tells the story of Gluskabe, the trickster figure in northeastern North American indigenous traditions, who in one instance captured all the animals in the forest in his "game bag," leaving nothing for future hunts and therefore threatening his people with starvation—after telling the traditional story, Bruchac unpacks the implications of the story for late-twentieth-century readers, applying the moral aspect of Gluskabe's unthinking exploitation of nature to our own contemporary habits. In a way, Bruchac's interpretation of this particular story is the perfect demonstration of what Gomides is calling for.

Along similar lines, Estok, in the same 2009 article I mentioned at the beginning of this essay, states:

> *The strategic openness that characterizes early ecocriticism has become to a certain degree ambivalent, garnering success for ecocriticism in its bid to gain footing and credibility in academia, but also resulting in some uncertainty about what ecocriticism does or seeks to do, some sense that "we'll work it all out as we go along," to borrow a phrase from Dr. Sarvis in Edward Abbey's The Monkey Wrench Gang. The Edge seems to have become blunted.* (p.10)

Estok uses this concern as the foundation for his argument for a new term, "ecophobia," that he believes might lend focus and purpose to future ecocritical efforts. Ecocritics, he implies, should become "ecophobia hunters," identifying and condemning ecophobic (nature fearing/hating/destroying) tendencies wherever they exist in modern society. I have been reading cultural critic Curtis White lately; in his 2007 essay "The Ecology of Work," for instance, he says that our lives in countries like the United States are entirely controlled by corporations and by the capitalist system and that there is no way capitalism can ever "become green" because "the imperatives of environmentalism are not part of its way of reasoning." In other words, in many societies today, ecophobia is rampant, and since our modern way of life originated centuries ago, at least dating back to the beginning of the industrial revolution, we can probably keep ourselves busy identifying ecophobic attitudes towards nature in various artistic representations of nature from the past two or three centuries.

But other ecocritics, while recognising the power of ecophobia as an idea and a source of environmental damage, would continue to argue for a more ecumenical or broad-minded view of ecocriticism. I belong to this latter group. For one, I have found over the years that scholars, like artists, do not like to be herded together. We do not follow directions especially well, being of independent personality and imaginative tendencies of mind. In my frequent travels around the world to interact with ecocritics

and environmental artists from various cultures, I have noted striking differences in terminology and aesthetic and political priorities. Let me sketch out briefly what I mean by this. In Australia, a country which has produced some of the world's leading ecocritics, there are dramatic geographical extremes, ranging from fiercely dry deserts to lush tropical forests, from alpine heights to a vast seacoast. Ecocritics in that part of the world are naturally prone to what I would call "geographical determinism," a way of understanding literature and experience that foregrounds the effects of place on language and state of mind. Perhaps the most explicit statement of this view is Mark Tredinnick's 2005 book *The Land's Wild Music: Encounters with Barry Lopez, Peter Matthiessen, Terry Tempest Williams, and James Galvin*, in which he argues that these American writers derive their very literary styles from their home territories (in the compendious doctoral dissertation that preceded the book, Tredinnick included Australian writers in his discussion). Tasmanian scholar Peter Hay, the author of *Main Currents in Western Environmental Thought* (2002), has made comparable claims about his native island and about island cultures more generally. Meanwhile, Roslynn D. Haynes makes powerful claims for the influence of heat and aridity in Australia's "red centre" on artistic expression in her study *Seeking the Centre: The Australian Desert in Literature, Art and Film*. These are just a few examples from Down Under.

In the People's Republic of China, where the field of ecocriticism is currently booming (of course, out of 1.4 billion people you would expect there to be hundreds of literary scholars taking environmental approaches to their work!), there are some uniquely Chinese angles. For instance, in his 2006 book *The Space for Ecocriticism* (published in Chinese), Lu Shuyuan has an entire chapter analysing the "semantic field" of the character 风, which means "wind"—a particularly rich and multilayered concept in Chinese geomancy (known as "feng shui"). There are diverse approaches throughout Chinese ecocriticism, but another conspicuously local one is the tendency of ecoaestheticians such as Zeng Fanren and Cheng Xiangzhan to discern some of the core precepts of classical Chinese philosophy, including the Song Dynasty (969-1279 A.D.) phrase "tien ren he yi" (the harmonious oneness of the universe and man) or fourth-century B.C.E. thinker Chuang-zi's idea "ziran da mei" (nature is the most beautiful), in literature and art and to use the elegant expression of such ideas to sway the juggernaut of contemporary Chinese consumer society towards a new path.

In India, on the other hand, ecocritic Nirmal Selvamony leads a group of scholars who are intent on applying "tiNai" (the body of traditional Tamil ecological thought from the southeastern region of the subcontinent) to the study of literary works. In South Africa, Dan Wylie has tried to imagine how "Bushman" views of nature

might help to shape a locally appropriate southern African insight into texts and place. French scholar Bertrand Westphal developed the idea of "la geocritique" as a way of applying theoretical concepts like Deleuze's "transgressivity" and Derrida's "referentiality" to spatial experience, while across the border in Germany, Hubert Zapf leads a research group at the University of Augsburg dedicated to understanding "Kulturökologie," a quasi-Hegelian mode of analysis that finds ecological tensions in literary works. The list goes on and on, from Turkey to Argentina, Finland to Japan. The difficulty—no, the diplomatic and practical *impossibility*—of squeezing so many different perspectives into a narrow mode of ecocriticism explains why I strenuously support a more pluralistic view of the field.

The strongest tendencies in contemporary ecocriticism are the application of environmental perspectives to local literatures around the world or the comparison of literary works across languages and cultures. Patrick D. Murphy recognised the importance of the comparative approach in 2000 when he wrote the following in his book *Farther Afield in the Study of Nature-Oriented Literature*:

> *If ecocriticism has been hindered by too narrow an attention to nonfiction prose and the fiction of nonfictionality, it has also been limited by a focus on American and British literatures. In order to widen the understanding of readers and critics, it is necessary to reconsider the privileging of certain genres and also the privileging of certain national literatures and certain ethnicities within those national literatures. Such reconsideration will enable a greater inclusiveness of literatures from around the world within the conception of nature-oriented literature. It will also enable critics and readers such as myself, who focus primarily on American literature, to place that literature in an internationally relative and comparative framework. I see such reconsideration as one of the ways by which we can refine our awareness and expand the field of ecocriticism.* (p.58)

Indeed, many of the leading international ecocritics, such as Ken-ichi Noda and Katsunori Yamazato in Japan and Won-Chung Kim and Doo-ho Shin in South Korea, were trained as specialists in American literature, but in recent years have begun to write articles about environmental aspects of Japanese and Korean literature or have performed comparative studies of such authors as Miyazawa Kenji and Gary Snyder. I have found myself drifting increasingly toward comparative ecocritical studies, although I was also a specialist in American literature as an undergraduate and graduate student. I have described some of my courses in comparative ecocriticism in the essay "Teaching United States

Environmental Literature in a World Comparatist Context."

Earlier in my career I tended to teach courses on environmental literature that focused narrowly on American writers, such as surveys of American nature poetry or courses on The Transcendentalist Tradition (from Emerson and Thoreau up through Annie Dillard and Barry Lopez in the present), but more recently I have begun emphasising comparative approaches to environmental literature. A few months ago, for instance, I taught a seminar for graduate students at the University of Nevada, Reno, in the United States on the topic, Comparative Ecocriticism and International Environmental Literature. In my recent courses, I have included such authors and texts as Basho's *The Narrow Road to the Deep North* (Japan, 1966 English trans.), Gao Xingjian's *Soul Mountain* (China and France, 1990/2000), Marjorie Agosín's *Of Earth and Sea: A Chilean Memoir* (Chile, 2008), and Homero Aridjis's *Eyes to See Otherwise/Ojos De Otro Mirar: Selected Poems* (Mexico, 1998). Each of these authors—and many others from East Asia and Latin America, Africa and South Asia—would merit inclusion in a high school or university course on environmental literature. In my course a few months ago, because I had just attended a conference on Scandinavian environmental studies at the Swedish Embassy in Washington, DC, I decided to use such works as Peter Hoeg's *The Woman and the Ape* (Denmark, 1997) and Kerstin Ekman's *Blackwater* (Sweden, 1997) along with a diverse assortment of texts, including Alejo Carpentier's *The Lost Steps* (Cuba, trans. 2001), J.M.G. Le Clézio's *The Prospector* (France, trans. 1993) and *The Round and Other Cold Hard Facts* (France, trans. 2002), Zakes Mda's *The Whale Caller* (South Africa, 2006), Witi Ihimaera's *The Whale Rider* (New Zealand, 1987), Orhan Pamuk's *Istanbul: Memories and the City* (Turkey, trans. 2004), and Tim Winton's *Dirt Music* (Australia, 2003) and *Breath* (Australia, 2009), among others. (For many more examples of global environmental literature, see the "Booklist of International Environmental Literature" published in *World Literature Today* in January 2009.)

The main point here is, as I have been suggesting throughout this essay, that environmental expression is a global phenomenon, and while there are certainly important commonalities across cultures, it also seems important to recognise the rich local idiosyncrasies as well. As for ecocritical strategies and emphases, despite all efforts to develop what Turkish critic Serpil Oppermann half-jokingly calls "a universal field theory of ecocriticism" (echoing similar efforts in the field of physics), pluralism remains the name of the game.

All of this must seem rather humourless and boring to people who just want to get a sense of what the environmental approach to literature is all about in order to teach or take a basic English class. There is actually plenty of melodrama in the field with scholars taking each other to task for mis-describing fish (see Dana

Phillips's *The Truth of Ecology*), writing in too celebratory a fashion about the beauty of environmental literature (see Michael Cohen's "Blues in the Green"), and seeming overly enamoured with critical theory for some people's taste (see S.K. Robisch's "The Woodshed"). There is also humour—at least a little bit of it. Michael P. Branch gave a talk called "How Many Ecocritics Does It Take to Screw in a Light Bulb?" at a session on environmental humour at the June 2011 Association for the Study of Literature and Environment Conference in Bloomington, Indiana. His answer: 10. Branch's 10 ecocritics contemplating the need for artificial light range from the gender-sensitised scholar concerned about the phallic shape of a light bulb to the energy-conscious critic who wonders if we should instead be *un*screwing light bulbs! The final two ecocritics, according to this list, do not accomplish much screwing-in or unscrewing at all, but instead "argue about whether the light emitted by the bulb is first-, second-, or third-wave."

What is all this talk about waves? I would like to conclude my overview of ecocriticism here by reflecting briefly on the recent history of ecocriticism. For a fuller discussion of this, you can track down my 2009 article on "The Third Wave of Ecocriticism." Lawrence Buell started the use of the wave metaphor to describe the progression of ecocritical approaches in his 2005 book, which I have cited above—this approach follows the description of feminist scholarship as a series of waves. Buell wrote:

> *No definitive map of environmental criticism in literary studies can [...] be drawn. Still, one can identify several trend-lines marking an evolution from a "first wave" of ecocriticism to a "second" or newer revisionist wave or waves increasingly evident today. This first-second wave distinction should not, however, be taken as implying a tidy, distinct succession. Most currents set in motion by early ecocriticism continue to run strong, and most forms of second-wave revisionism involve building on as well as quarreling with precursors. In this sense, "palimpsest" would be a better metaphor than "wave."* (p.17)

I certainly agree with the idea that a palimpsest would make a better metaphor here, as it suggests as reality that early approaches to the field continue to be active and important even in the present—they do not disappear as actual waves in the sea vanish when replaced by newer waves. Still, the notion of a recognisable sequence of trends in the field does make sense.

Here is a thumbnail summary of the major sequences I have noticed in my quarter-century working in the field:

- Starting around 1980, but continuing to the present, we had an initial surge (a "first wave") of ecocritical work, even before people were generally using the term ecocriticism. This groundbreaking work tended to focus

on literary nonfiction (so-called "nature writing"); there was a strong emphasis on non-human nature (or "wilderness"), as represented in literature; initially the field was oriented towards American and British literature; and "discursive" ecofeminism was one of the most politically engaged sub-movements within the field.

- We can date the second wave to approximately the mid-1990s (continuing to the present) when the field began to expand to encompass multiple genres (and even popular culture—some would call this "green cultural studies"); the works and authors being studied became increasingly multicultural; we saw an increasing interest in local environmental literatures around the world; environmental justice ecocriticism began to emerge at this time, especially with the publication of *The Environmental Justice Reader: Politics, Poetics, and Pedagogy* in 2002; and the scope of ecocriticism expanded to include urban and suburban contexts in addition to rural and wild locations.
- Joni Adamson and I began using the term "third wave ecocriticism" in our introduction to the Summer 2009 special issue of *MELUS: Multiethnic Literatures of the United States*. Initially, we focused on the *comparatist* tendency in new ecocriticism, dating back to approximately 2000—comparisons across national cultures and across ethnic cultures. But later I began to describe other notable trends: the melding and tension between global concepts of place ("eco-cosmopolitanism" a la Ursula Heise) and neo-bioregionalism (as in Tom Lynch's discussion of "nested" bioregions); a rising emphasis on "material" ecofeminism and multiple gendered approaches (including eco-masculinism and green queer theory); a strong interest in "animality" (evolutionary ecocriticism; animal subjectivity/agency, vegetarianism, justice for nonhuman species, and post-humanism); critiques from within the field (such as those by Phillips and Cohen, mentioned above) that have contributed to the growing maturity of ecocriticism; and various new forms of ecocritical activism (such as John Felstiner's use of poetry as a means of environmental engagement).
- In 2008, Stacy Alaimo and Susan Hekman published the book *Material Feminisms*, which included Alaimo's article "Trans-Corporeal Feminisms and the Ethical Space of Nature," a study that vividly demonstrates how the human body is essentially embedded in the physical world and how literary texts illuminate both the material and the ethical implications of physical phenomena that pass between our bodies and the body of the Earth. In the Editor's Note for the Autumn 2012 issue of *ISLE: Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and Environment*, I referred to the growing tendency among ecocritics to focus on "the fundamental materiality

… of environmental things, places, processes, forces, and experiences" as a new "fourth wave of ecocriticism." This was soon manifested in the 2014 book *Material Ecocriticism*, edited by Serenella Iovino and Serpil Oppermann.

All of this might seem like more than you need to know if you are just dipping your toes into the ocean of ecocritical scholarship. Do not worry—the water's warm. (Some, such as Alaska author Marybeth Holleman, who writes about endangered polar bears in the Arctic, might say *too* warm—but that is another story!)

The goal of this introductory essay is to offer a welcoming, informative initiation to one of the most energetic and socially urgent branches of research and creative activity in the humanities, a field of inquiry that has certain trends and traditions of its own but one that also porously absorbs vocabulary and ideas from many other kinds of literary analysis and from other disciplines as well. I hope my thoughts here will encourage readers to do their own study of the environmental dimensions of literary texts and other forms of human expression.

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Note:

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Scott Slovic is professor of literature and environment and chair of the English Department at the University of Idaho, in the United States. He is the author of more than 200 articles concerning ecocriticism and environmental literature and has written, edited or co-edited 22 books, including *Seeking Awareness in American Nature Writing: Henry Thoreau, Annie Dillard, Edward Abbey, Wendell Berry, Barry Lopez* (1992), *Going Away to Think: Engagement, Retreat, and Ecocritical Responsibility* (2008), *Ecoambiguity, Community, and Development: Toward a Policitized Ecocriticism* (2014), and *Ecocriticism of the Global South* (2015). From 1992 to 1995, he served as the founding president of the Association for the Study of Literature and Environment (ASLE) in the US, and since 1995 he has edited *ISLE: Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and Environment*, a central journal in the field.

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Pre-Colonial Residuals in Toni Morrison's *Recitatif* and Alice Walker's *Everyday Use*

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ABSTRACT

This article examines Toni Morrison's *Recitatif* and Alice Walker's *Everyday Use* as post-colonial texts. Morrison's short story moves beyond the postcolonial aftermath to maintain pre-colonial cultural conventions. The discussion begins with how *Recitatif* is considered within the field of postcolonial studies, demonstrating such postcolonial concepts as diaspora, nativism and chromatism. The study also focuses on Alice Walker's short story *Everyday Use*, and discusses how various forms of Filiation/Affiliation and Synergy contribute to the conventions of pre-colonial culture. *Everyday Use* aims precisely at ethical propensity within colonial circumference. Thus, Walker self-consciously illustrates the level of its pre-colonial features, which expose the colonisation dispersal of identity.

Keywords: Chromatisim, diaspora, fantasy, filiation, affiliation, nativism, postcolonialism, synergy

INTRODUCTION

Homi Bhabha's (1994) inclusive insight "colonial ambivalence" has been of paramount interest in postcolonial critiques. The postcolonial formulation of "colonial enunciation" does not extol "entertaining colonization" since hybridity and all related colonial critiques oppose colonialism in all its aspects. Thus, the derived discourses of colonial imperial aphorism have been legitimised by anthropological scorchers and commentaries to uncover a prerogative elixir for the on-going "overlap and displacement of domains of difference" (p. 10). They are gradually replacing the common view of the colonised i.e. the necessity to render cultural engagements, which "whether antagonist or affiliative, are produced

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performatively" (p. 12). The extension of postcolonial over national or international territories lurks behind wishful conquest or an amorous desire to expose latent amorous representations of the colonised self.

The reality, though, is a divided vision of the colonised, perhaps within national confines where "national sovereignty had finally been achieved" (Young, 2003, p. 3). On the other hand, all-embracing colonialism finds its path, passing over the threshold of other entities. Henceforth, colonial nations are to be touted to change their inherent identity and "lose their origins in the myth of time and only fully realize their horizons in the mind's eye" (Bhabha, 1990, p. 1). Thus imperial forces propel different and various anthropological patterns. Such patterns are shaped and constructed in light of the colonisers and their catchall hegemony. The result will, inevitably, lead to a new identity, whether that of colonised or coloniser. As Laura Chrisman (2003) simply argues, a considerable evaluation of the "national identity crisis has long been recognized" (p. 5) from a different historical perspective.

The colonial produced mystique lies in a fundamental and principal judgement of the "self". Being so, the colonised "territory" awakens and absorbs its conscious recognition of the colonial impact on a very congruent place. The constantly deteriorating traditions before colonialism are apparently letting the new "other" colonial traditions dominate. The demystifying change to a new colonial world requires an internal change to the "self" to perceive the relevant identity and dominant "nostalgia for a lost wholeness and a new stage in the evolution ... and the latest developments at knowledge's ever expanding frontiers" (Klein, 1990, p. 12). As such, the postcolonial world entails a cartographic wholeness connecting colonised and coloniser in a new territorial entity. Nevertheless, it leads to a risky departure towards global predominance. The fear of global dominance, argues Klein, "examines both imaginative and material possibilities for individual and collective transformation in an increasingly globalized world" (p. 15).

The geo-historical continuum evokes an all-encompassing appraisal of the geographical culture of both colonised and coloniser. Notwithstanding this, the new colonial world has a detrimental effect on the course of colonisation. Spivak (1999) found that redefining the destabilised "world order" leads to "transnational literacy that keep[s] assiduous track, without assuming illusory command, of the changing relationship between global events and local trends in the current world order" (parentheses added) (p. 76). Moreover, colonisation's great influence evinces a human phenomenon which stands in need of a mutual exchange of colonial roles. That is, the hegemony of the coloniser forces the colonised to adapt the regular socio-historical conventions inherited from the antecedent period. In this way, the earlier social conventions change in the history of the colonised.

Spivaks' remarks on how the "world order" entangles a common feeling of some fashionable conceptualisation. The implicit

deception of colonisation originates in a sweeping human quandary of different origins. The supportive colonial powers, likewise, come to challenge. The main burden of this challenge is felt by the colonised. In the long run, a discriminatory line-up comes to terms with a number of colonial concepts, such as chromatism, diaspora, fantasy, nativism, synergy and so forth. The conspicuous plurality of these concepts goes along in the new colonial powers practised in the "new territories" where the "colonized was henceforth to be postulated as the inverse or negative image of the colonizer" (Ghandi *et al*., 1998, p. 15). The schematic re-inscription of the colonial world, then, to put it simply, emerges in a fetishisation of the "other". The tremendous colonial efforts of the coloniser are executed in heterogeneous attempts when "anti-colonial nationalism responds to this painful symbiosis between imperialist and nationalist thought in a variety of ways" (p. 118).

The purpose of the present article is to examine Toni Morrison's "Recitatif" and Alice Walker's "Everyday Use" as postcolonial texts. Presumably, these short stories present colonial change within a colonised nation. Such concepts as chromatism, diaspora, fantasy, filiation/ affiliation, nativism and synergy pervade the textuality of these short stories. In the main, the article argues for a pre-colonial vernacular identity and social life, and that this identity is changed over time by heroines being displaced to diasporic places other than their normal national territories.

FEATURES OF DIASPORA, NATIVISM AND CHROMATISM IN TONI MORRISON'S *RECITATIF*

This section discusses Morrison's *Recitatif* by applying postcolonial literary theory. Such postcolonial concepts as diaspora, nativism and chromatism will be used throughout the analysis of *Recitatif*. Various forms of colonial cultural concepts, such as diaspora, nativism and chromatism, have been productively and extensively explored in postcolonial theory. These concepts are associated with colonialism and its aftermath and have become central topics of postcolonial discourse.

Morrison's *Recitatif* recounts the story of two girls: Twyla and Roberta. They are taken from their mothers and put at St. Bonny orphanage for care in a diasporic environment. During their life in the orphanage, they are continuously visited by their mothers. But the story whimsically identifies the mothers as not the girls' true mothers. The girls become the heroines of the story and they develop an intimate relationship like sisters. As they encounter other girls at the same orphanage, they are cruelly treated until this experience renders for them new identities. Their new identities are culminated when they finally get married and cope with different, socially prestigious lives.

In *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies*, Ashcroft *et al*. (1998) discussed the historical perspective of diaspora. They argue that the spatial attributes of diaspora participate in shaping the "colonial" world. Accordingly, diaspora is a historical

phenomenon resulting in a human movement from one place to another. This movement is "voluntary or forcible" dispersal made by colonial powers and "is a central fact of colonization" (pp. 68-69) made by colonial powers. This is seen to be in harmony, in *Recitatif*, with Morrison's view of the relevance of "shelter" as an embodiment of the "movement" of the heroines, Twyla and Roberta, to the orphanage. From the very beginning, the story introduces St. Bonny's where these heroines are kept: "My mother danced all night and Roberta was sick. That's why we were taken to St. Bonny's" (p. 2253).

Moreover, Morrison, viewing positive cultural traditions before colonialism, describes the fragmentation of such traditions into new cultural restrictions. This is true of Twyla's recollections of their — her and Roberta's — bad experience with other girls in the orphanage. Big girls' maltreatment of Twyla and Roberta reflects the great extent of colonial impact. The advent of colonialism impinges on these conventions and changes them for the worst. Everything seems very different from their lives before being brought into the orphanage. The core transformational change in the heroines' personality is their adaptation to a new and different cultural environment.

Cultural transformation is relevant to Igor Maver's (2009) treatment of diaspora in *Diasporic Subjectivity and Cultural Brokering in Contemporary Post-Colonial Literatures*. Maver contends that Diaspora pursues the social or human "departure" to form a different entity. As Maver comments, "Historically speaking, Diaspora … refers to a communal experience of displacement and relocation as an ethnic collectivity" (p. 2). Displacement, therefore, is the regional periphery where diaspora takes place. It is decisive in shaping any new colonial identity. In *Recitatif*, Morrison implicitly exposes the diasporic implication when she opens her short story with a description of St. Bonny's, which is the place where Twyla and Roberta were taken. St. Bonny's is strikingly the colonial displacement field, especially in the opening statements since Twyla is surprised by St. Bonny's unusual furniture where there was "No big long room with one hundred beds like Bellevue. There were four to a room, and when Roberta and me came, there was a shortage of state kids, so we were the only ones assigned to 406 and could go from bed to bed if we wanted to" (p. 2253).

Maver, furthermore, approaches the "Diaspora paradigm." Here, Maver draws on his observations of the postcolonial perspective in different stages of cultural encounters: "representing the mobility of migration and then resettlement in a new country while maintaining cultural, religious and even political attachments with a homeland across the borders of nation states" (p. 2). In *Recitatif*, Morrison emphasises the need to regain the lost but positive manners of the past. Cultural manners are deformed by colonialism and its discriminatory practices. The heroines do not recognise their lost identity except when they leave the orphanage. Their settlement

in the orphanage blurs their normal cultural manners.

James Clifford and Mark Albey (1997), in *Routes: Travels and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*, share the view seen in Maver's description of diaspora. They contend that diaspora comprises supportive discursive "dialogues" among colonial domains leading ultimately to "a predicament of multiple locations" (pp. 255-266). In the same manner, Twyla, after leaving the orphanage, contemplates her detached living state which causes suffering. Twyla's predicament indicates a twofold experience i.e. her previous experience at St. Bonny's and her present alienated one. This experience manifests among Howard Johnson's "blacks and whites" interlocutions. Accordingly, Twyla feels personal alienation, as she recounts: "But I didn't know. I thought it was just the opposite. Busloads of blacks and whites came into Howard Johnson's together. They roamed together then: students, musicians, lovers, protesters" (p. 2265). The symbolic vehicle for colonial location is the car by which Twyla goes shopping to different locations, meeting people of various cultures.

In *Post-Colonial Studies*, Helen Tiffin *et al*. (2000) tackle the issue of cultural authenticity. In the main, diasporic implications can be traced through the cultural authenticity of the colonial environment. The colonial environment is contiguous with "cultural conventions" (p. 17). Morrison reveals her indigenous culture by foregrounding her pre-colonial authentic traditions. She purposefully 'silences' the postcolonial cultural impact by allowing traditional customs to subsume colonial dominance. The historical circumstances of social change and colonialism have made the "diasporic" experience an aspect of cultural phenomena. Thus, it (the diasporic experience) mostly belongs simultaneously to more than one culture. In *Recitatif*, Morrison is erudite in depicting such social phenomena. Obviously, she portrays a cogent displacement and, consequently, the effacement of pre-colonial traditions. This is evident in Twyla's description of Roberta's welfare: "There she was. In a silvery evening gown and dark fur coat" (p. 2269).

The diasporic paradigm forthwith prefigures and determines cultural nativism. Ashcroft *et al*. (1998) define the concept of nativism in relation to postcolonialism. Nativism, contend Ashcroft *et al*., seeks nothing less than to reclaim pre-colonial positive residuals. Ashcroft *et al*. define nativism as a concept formulating the colonised ethnic group to go back to the "indigenous" and national sense of social customs. In colonial societies, the sense of indigenous social customs disappears completely and leaves the colonised nation empty of a sense of relative traditions. The process by which any society loses its original social traditions falls into a deep-seated colonial agenda. As such, colonised nations could not escape the inevitable loss of "pre-colonial indigenous traditions" (p. 159).

In *Recitatif*, Morrison exposes nativist features through Twyla's words. Twyla longs

for positive traditional maternal care. This care is lost when she is put in the orphanage. Morrison portrays Roberta's mother's maternal state, which is characterised by a cultural commitment to pre-colonial social traditions. Twyla talks about Roberta's mother's relationship with her and Roberta. The mother warmly hugs the two children in care and passion as if they were really in their domestic house. In the context, Morrison describes the mother's encounter with the children through a biblical statement. When Twyla and Roberta develop an intimate relationship, they express nostalgic longing for family life. Such nostalgia is enunciated in the imaginative "apple blossoms" (p. 2259), which reveal benevolent for children attentiveness. This imaginative need for a mother's care goes along with Twyla's comments on her life in the orphanage: "I still go soft when I smell one or the other. Roberta was going home. The big cross and the big Bible was coming to get her and she seemed sort of glad and sort of not" (p. 2259). In so doing, she accentuates the religious dimension of resisting racial discrimination and the need of loving others. This is sweepingly evident in home life, rather than in displacement. Morrison provides a stereotypical maternal concept implying the presence of an essentially benevolent universe before colonialism. She repeatedly evokes this idea in *Recitatif* and faithfully alludes to the native indigenous manners prior to the advent of colonialism.

Fanon (1965) approaches the idea of native resistance to colonial confines because it has a close relationship with pre-colonial original identity. Fanon builds this posit on the concept of the "intellectual battle" (p. 170). Morrison expounds the transformation of the characters' status at the time of the pre-colonial world. Consequently, she maintains that positive culture will cause it to emanate again in the future. This is carried out by Twyla's observation of Roberta's change into a new social state: "Roberta had messed up my past somehow with that business about Maggie. I wouldn't forget a thing like that. Would I?" (p. 2262). Furthermore, Morrison evokes the same idea. This is evident when Twyla meditates on people's conversion of their stable "signs." Twyla and Roberta, however, do not undergo such change.

In *A Companion to the Literatures of Colonial America*, Castillo and Schweitzer (2005) consider the ethnographic attributes of otherness. They, furthermore, maintain that the colonial impact on social groups results in "removal" of the past convention before the appearance of colonialism. Here, the other is to be inadvertently forced to accept and adapt to this new social change. Consequently, Castillo and Schweitzer define alterity as a phenomenological term for "otherness" (p. 25). Alterity, thus, becomes a subject for transformation and deviation of the pre-colonial life.

To clarify this, Morrison articulates the sociocultural life prior to colonialism. During the change to native cultural conventions, many ethnic traits develop and disappear. Twyla and Roberta, for example, ask each other about their lives after marriage. They talk about the ways in

which Roberta's husband lives his life. This life circulates in its entirety and incarnates life after colonialism. Thus, it leaves its cultural impact on colonised societies. Twyla and Roberta are getting immersed in an "otherness" culture and change over time.

In *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason*, Spivak (1999) argues that the "other" undergoes a process of change. This cultural transformation, through colonial negative practices, becomes undermined and altered over time. Spivak also contends that the coloniser's power leads to the "other's" full cultural autonomy (pp. 2200-2201). Consequently, the temporal alteration is referred to as "historical" since it increases through different time phases. The "other's" culture, therefore, turns to a new social existence far from its traditional one.

In *Recitatif*, Twyla and Roberta get married. This new life is completely different from their previous harsh one. Here, Morrison reveals the notion of cultural transformation into other states. Her characters, once alienated and poorly cared for, enjoy prosperity. Twyla is depicted as being as prosperous as the rich. She celebrates Christmas Eve with the rich in a hotel and eats the finest food. This cultural shift from "pre-colonial traditions" does not satisfy her as much as did the past. Now she drinks coffee and enjoys driving cars which is a qualitative token of the coloniser since in pre-colonial societies people do not celebrate such prestigious life: "I stopped the car and went in. Just for a cup of coffee and twenty minutes of peace before I went home and tried to finish everything before Christmas Eve" (p. 2257).

Ashcroft *et al*. (1998) discussed chromatism in relation to postcolonial discursive studies. They maintained that chromatism refers to a "colour bias" in postcolonial societies; Ashcroft *et al*. argued that chromatism is determined through its manifestation in colour and gender, which appear physically on the "genital organs" (p. 37). Morrison is concerned with the representation of colour bias inherent in her characters. She describes the position of Twyla and Roberta among other kinds of people in New York and other places. They contemplate upon their skin colour as different from other people's. Here, Twyla talks about Robert's new situation in the orphanage. This indicates Morrison's mature and confident use of a racial stereotype in seriously tackling such an idea. The heroines recognise their colour when they interact with other people in a place they call "strange", which is Howard Johnson's: "we passed like strangers. A black girl and a white girl meeting in a Howard Johnson's on the road and having nothing to say" (p. 2253).

Edward Said (1979), in *Orientalism*, presents a provocative objective statement about the spatial dimension of a domestic milieu in what he calls "the poetics of space." As a postcolonial practitioner, he is a faithful representative of cultural notions. He tackles the relation between two different cultural or world groups, based on inferiority or superiority dominating this

relation. Therefore, he creates a cultural meeting within a universal spatial entity. As such, he aims to ease the tense relationship between these two groups. The superiority-inferiority relation is constructed through an "arbitrary" conceptualisation of specific geography. Said, proportionately, ascribes the colonial typography to the concept of "barbarian distinction" (p. 54).

Through projecting the concepts of diaspora, nativism and chromatism, Morrison successfully reveals the cultural effects of postcolonialism. The nostalgic textual representations refer to her aim to restore the socio-cultural residuals in colonised societies. In so doing, she gives inferior cultures a strong voice to express their suffering after the appearance of colonial dominance. She further aspires to reconstruct the lost cultural conventions in *Recitatif* to cope with the ever-changing world around her.

NOTIONS OF FILIATION/ AFFILIATION AND SYNERGY IN ALICE WALKER'S *EVERYDAY USE*

Alice Walker is opposed to the postcolonial world that serves merely as empowerment for cultural prosperity's sake. *Everyday Use* focuses on the main character, Maggie. The story is told from Maggie's point of view. She tells the story of her life and her family. In the course of the story, she decides to change her name to Dee because her previous name is the same as her oppressors'. Dee develops out of her rural life and enrols in an academic life that is completely different from her domestic living. All her previous cultural traditions contradict her new academic schooling. In the beginning of the story, she describes her peaceful family life. However, at the end of the story her family becomes rather harsh and different in comparison to the life she formerly led. This negative transition is brought about through colonial practices in the story.

Viswanathan (1989) discusses colonial attempts to construct historical "events" by the coloniser. Viswanathan measures the coloniser as an "agent of historical change" (p. 12). In colonial systems, the whole cultural subjugation lies at the heart of history as it changes and imprints various societies with inexperienced advancement. The inexperienced cultural development originates in a colonial transformation.

Walker's *Everyday Use*, recalling postcolonial concepts, also highlights the concern of the colonised that culture should serve as empowerment. It is a closely woven pattern of discourse relationships in which filiation (heritage or descent) and affiliation (relations based on a process of identification through culture) between discourse segments interact and reinforce one another (Ashcroft *et al*., 1998, p. 105).

Walker emphasises the sense of colonial alienation. In the story, the father and mother clean the house and bring up their children as a household responsibility. They sing lullabies and cheer up their babies at night with folk tales and chants. All this indicates a very traditional, domesticated life. Here, "descent" relationships between Maggie's family members involve a whole human

group that stands for a cultural paradigm. This increases the recognition of collectivity which circles family life, and further sustains the crucial need for heritage. In addition, the concept of heritage is incarnated in the female protagonist Wangero's decision to change her name to escape her family's oppression. In so doing, she constructs an authentic "heritage," which she thinks of as a proper manifestation of her real "African" heritage. Dee, thus, changes her name into Wangero. When she is asked by her mother, "What happened to 'Dee'? I wanted to know" (p.2), Dee replies, "She's dead," Wangero said. "I couldn't bear it any longer, being named after the people who oppress me" (p. 2).

Said (1983), in *The World, the Text, and the Critic*, discusses authorial intrusion into literary work. He describes affiliation in texts as being similar to historical development. Moreover, Said asserts that authorial "intrusion into work" is a depiction of the "historical aspect of affiliation" (pp. 174-175). This pertains to Walker's "perception" of the historical period prior to colonialism. In *Everyday Use*, Maggie's mother reports how her daughter acts sensitively. This sensitivity manifests itself as a contradictory state from her previous manner. She speaks in a forceful voice and treats the children without pity. This contradicts sharply with the authentic innocuous treatment of children in pre-colonial life.

Furthermore, Walker's work has some sociocultural implications for her society. She exposes social life at times when non-existent negative practices reign. This is clear in relation to Maggie's mother when she says that she feels differently towards Maggie. She always loved her, but now she hates her. She speaks with her harshly and does not show pity towards her as she did before. The awkward feeling resulting from this paradox is also projected in Dee's personality when she changed her name. She feels free when she recognises her authentic native name. This is obvious when her mother tells her the reason behind her name: "you know as well as me you was named after your aunt Dicie" (p. 7). This runs concomitantly with Said's conception of affiliation. Said (1983) argues that "affiliation" contributes to the author's social perspective. Furthermore, the author can make his work appropriate for the public's grasp of the text and the cultural changes in social groups.

In *The Gothic Colonial*, Arwa Mohammad Malaibari (2008) claims that there are a number of ways to combine inter-relations among postcolonial discourses, which are encoded into the authentic relationship between colonised and coloniser. Malaibari formulates the colonial encounter as a "fundamental concept of postcolonialism" (p. 29). What is particularly interesting here, however, is that from this relation a whole range of different colonial encounters emerge. Walker, in *Everyday Use*, foregrounds this idea in light of the treatment of women within colonised societies. Maggie contemplates her life, which embodies a similar pre-colonial social life where women are equal to men in domestic affairs.

Walker exemplifies these arguments with a textual observation centring on the importance of pre-colonial traditions. Walker is a cultural observer, and in the context of what is termed postcolonial literature, her systematic and detailed account of its textual properties is closely related to her conception of colonial discourses. Thus, Walker enhances the pre-colonial world. Her commitment to these discourses is influenced by the notion of cultural legacy.

In *A Companion to the Literatures of Colonial America*, Susan Castillo and Ivy Schweitzer (2005) tackle cultural dimension in terms of history. Castillo and Schweitzer claim that this notion is "relativistic to the author's gender" (p. 270). Additionally, they argue that history runs through regional places and spreads over relatively different typographies to specify the author's gender. By the same token, Walker highlights Wangero's position. Her mother remembers Dee's (her previous name) domestic habits as always being casual and simple. After enrolling in college, she becomes different and longs for novelty by maintaining her commitment to her family life.

López (2001) suggests a sociocultural periphery which may be amplified in colonial societies. The process of amplification may undergo "psychic" development to defy the dispersal of the "pre-colonial past". López contends, "Much of the process of psychic decolonization depends upon a sort of 'repigmentation' or 'unbleaching' of suppressed cultural histories to reflect both the precolonial past and the ugly truths of colonial violence and oppression" (p. 89).

In this regard, the idea of "cultural construction" has a strong contiguity with Ganguly's (2001) sociocultural constructive notions. Ganguly claims that cultural constructions need to be "examined" to expose the real presence of societies, stating that "the knowledge that cultures are "constructed" does not obviate examining the actualities of those constructions. One cannot assume that the surprises of a given cultural construction are inherently mirrored by the structure of analytic propositions posited to explain it" (p. 38). In *Everyday Use*, the idea of coherent societies incarnates stable societies. Maggie exalts her hash life because she has already left civil war behind and has a stable living: "I probably could have carried it back beyond the Civil War through the branches" (p. 8).

Synergy is another representative concept of chromatism. Synergy is the formulating force of "hybridity" (Ashcroft *et al*., 1998, p. 229). This force is produced by "reducible" anthropologic practices that foreground new human identities. In *Everyday Use*, hybridity and identity transformation conform to colonisation and its cultural aspects. Dee, for example, is affected by the coloniser's academic mentality, and thus, her domestic affairs gradually disintegrate.

Walker is consciously concerned with regaining the pre-colonial identity of colonised societies. In so doing, she exposes the passive image of the postcolonial world, which changes relatively, according to the coloniser's mentality. She eruditely critiques the detrimental colonial impact on societies.

Colonialism, and all its inclusive practices, leave iconoclastic and stereotypical images of both the coloniser and the colonised. Thus, cultures and societies dissolve in loss and human disintegration.

CONCLUSION

Morrison and Walker are two postcolonial icons who have explored various issues in a postcolonial discourse. They have offered fictional critiques which hold different interpretations and understandings of colonialism's aftermath and all that engenders in an ever-shifting world. They expose the ethnicity and indigenous representation of ethnic binarism, which centrally involves marginalised cultural groups. In so doing, the radical changes occurring in a postcolonial environment are merely depicted and formulated according to a certain experience undergone by the authors or similar individuals having the same fate. Throughout *Recitatif* and *Everyday Use*, there is a seemingly multifarious contradiction between life before colonialism and the incompatible imperial practices after that. The conviction of colonialism and its suppressive nuances brought a deep-rooted consciousness for the colonised to recognise the calamity of subjugation.

Colonial and postcolonial practices usher in a tremendous formulation of new societies on the verge of indispensable cultural development. The interplay between the centrally discursive hegemonic ideology and the voice of the suppressed is now seen in "a variety of political and cultural activities on campus" (Parekh, 1998, p. 19). The prolonged factor of colonialism involves inescapable adoptions in the course of the interplay among ethnic groups in the postcolonial world. As Said (1993) construes it, this is the exploration of strange regions in the world. Thus, naturalised segregation and separation find their path in the generating forces coming from the colonised, and the colonisers struggling to affirm their sociocultural goals. Yet, there is massive resistance on both sides of the colonial story. Critical endeavours, consequently, warn of responsive caveats to the potential subversion of human identity and ethnicity. In their short stories, Walker and Morrison favour such critical endeavours as complicated and justify nostalgia for life before colonialism.

Colonialism's ensuing nostalgic predilection represents cultural propaganda for the almost disappearing pre-colonial residuals. The primary interest and obsession with cultural traditions and social manners are now neglected in the bias of colour segregation, gender, social class and the like. With lavish descriptions and textual erudite portrayal, *Recitatif* and *Everyday Use* revive the need for a pre-colonial life, which is imperative for national identity. As such, they preclude colonial hegemony in human cultural practices i.e. fiction. The questionable principle of fictional writing is the expository utilisation of "the very tools of possible [cultural] redress" (parentheses added) (Achebe, 1988, p. 261). The tools of redress in *Recitatif* and *Everyday Use* are the concepts of diaspora,

nativism, chromatism, filiation, affiliation and synergy, which constitute decisive rectification and resurrection of spoilt national identity in colonised peripheries.

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The Transfer of the Implicatures of *Iltifāt* from Arabic to English

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ABSTRACT

Translation of *iltifāt* is a major challenge for Qur'ān translators and has attracted the attention of translation researchers and linguists, alike. *Iltifāt* with its first- to third-person shifts in deictic reference is a remarkable style of the Holy Qur'ān and is used to serve various pragmatic functions, such as implicatures. The aim of this paper is to examine the translation of the implicatures of *iltifāt* from Arabic to English. To achieve this aim, the implicatures of *iltifāt* shifts from first- to the third-person reference were extracted from the source text, the chapter of the Qur'ān named *sūrah al-Baqarah*, with reference to a number of Qur'ānic exegeses. In addition, the study attempted to identify the strategies used in the translation of Yūsuf Ali (2008) for *iltifāt* in *sūrah al-Baqarah*. The analysis revealed that there are a number of implicatures of *iltifāt* from first- to the third-person reference which can be found in exegeses. However, these implicatures are not represented in the text for the readers of Yūsuf Ali's translation. Translating implicatures from *iltifāt* requires intertextual cross checking from exegeses in order to attain the meanings of *iltifāt* that would otherwise be lost in translation.

Keywords: Iltifāt, personal *Iltifāt*, *Qur'ān*, *Sūrah Al-Baqarah*, implicature, pragmatics, translation

INTRODUCTION

Implicatures are what the speaker means or implies rather than what he explicitly says (Baker 2011). Readers of the Holy Qur'ān, particularly in the English language, need to know the implicatures of *iltifāt* and its tremendous impact as a means of communication in the text. As Islam is not meant only for Arabs, the need for translating the Qur'ān as a main text into

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the English language is evident (Mohaghegh & Pirnajuddin 2013, p.57). It is quite important, not only for readers, but also for researchers to know the implied meanings of *iltifāt*. Awareness of the shifts in person reference makes the reader of the verses containing these switches ponder upon their meanings and purpose. Considering only their surface meanings and not the underlying reasons for them is to see only part of the picture.

According to Vivanco (2006), the surface meaning (morphologically explicit: semantic level) and deep meaning (morphologically non-existent: pragmatic level) can be related. In the case of *iltifāt*, the surface meaning is clearly explicit in the text by the switch from one pronoun to another. The deep meaning has to be guessed by means of pragmatics through eliciting the implicature (implied meaning) from exegeses as intertextual texts.

Therefore, this study identified the meanings implied by the first- to third-person shifts in reference of *iltifāt* based on the three basic exegeses selected for this study i.e. al-Zamakhshari (1143), Abū al-Saᶜūd (1544) and al-Alūsī (1853).

Iltifāt is a popular style of the Holy Qur'ān. However, this stylistic feature poses certain problems for the translator and the receptor of the message. In *iltifāt*, there is a sudden transition and change in person or addressee during the discourse. Moreover, *iltifāt* is considered to be problematic in translation due to the differences between the two languages and is more problematic when it takes place in a sacred text such as the Holy Qur'ān. In this study, *iltifāt* reference shifts from the first person to the third person were examined from Yūsuf Ali's translation to determine if the implicatures of *iltifāt* are conveyed to the target readers.

LITERATURE REVIEW

A number of studies, such as Druakovic (2007) and al-Quran and al-Azzam (2009), have been conducted on the function of *iltifāt.* Druakovic's (2007) study aimed at analysing the concept of *iltifāt* (twist) and its main function in the Qur'ān especially in the verses of *al-Fātiḥah*, the first *sūrah* of the Qur'ān. The researcher reached two conclusions. First, there are significant differences between *iltifāt* in the sacred text and its equivalents that are offered in the European literature: European terms such as rhetorical deixis, apostrophe, phantasm and the like do not entirely cover the meaning and function of *iltifāt* in the text of the Qur'ān, in which this figure of speech has considerably more nuances. The second conclusion he came to was that the sacred text gives grounds for extending the interpretation of *iltifāt* in traditional Arabic stylistics itself. In other words, *iltifāt* does not remain only on the level of the sudden change of persons and rhetorical perspective; instead, the Qur'ān develops and grades it in such richness that it can be concluded that *iltifāt*, besides denoting a sudden change of persons, also includes a sudden change of tenses as well as active and passive forms.

In addition, al-Quran and al-Azzam (2009) discuss *iltifāt* in Qur'ānic discourse. In the study, *iltifāt* is called apostrophe. A number of examples from the Holy Qur'ān are selected, analysed and discussed. *Iltifāt* was tackled as a rhetorical device that has various functions such as creating terror or shock on the addressee and exclusiveness of the doer of an action. The study found that *iltifāt* has various functions that cannot be easily grasped by ordinary readers of the Qur'ān. It was also found that, unlike an ordinary transcript, the Qur'ānic text is rhetorical, and this requires deep contemplation on the religious document so as to have enough understanding of the various textual implications. In addition, the study demonstrated that misapprehension of the rhetorical features of the Qur'ānic text may lead readers to consider it as poorly structured and lacking coherence and unity. Finally, the study assumed that understanding *iltifāt* is problematic in the source text; its translation collides with many linguistic and extra-linguistic complications, which cannot be resolved without exerting different types of effort that can help in preserving the features in the target language. Therefore, for purely theological and philological reasons, a number of Qur'ānic exegeses were consulted, and three authentic interpretations of the Qur'ān are exemplified to show some real translation losses in the target text or exegesis as it fails to illuminate the meaning either conveyed or reinforced by *iltifāt*. The three selected translations are Arberry (1980), Pickthall (2002) and Ali (2003). The exegesis consulted are Ibn Kathīr (2003), al-Sabūnī (1981), al-Ṭabarānī (2008) and al-Zamakhsharī (2005).

Sharifabad and Hazbavi (2011) investigated translation strategies with regard to translating implicature in the story of the Prophet Joseph in the Holy Qur'ān. The authors compared and contrasted the conversational implicature and their related conversational maxims i.e. quality, quantity, relation, manner were analysed and explained in the target verses. The mechanisms and strategies of translating the related maxims and conversational implicatures in the analysed verses were investigated. In some verses, some of the translators could explicate the conversational implicatures and related maxims, while in some others; some translators could not translate conversational implicatures well. The English translators, in rendering the intended verses used four kinds of translation strategies: the use of footnotes, parentheses, brackets and no translation strategy. The study concluded that if the translators of the Holy Qur'ān before commencing to translate the Divine Book, studied some useful exegeses of the Holy Qur'ān, they would undoubtedly make more appropriate and natural translations of this Sacred Book.

Previous studies such as those just discussed provide a basis for this research because they give a useful picture of the functions of *iltifāt* in *al-Fātiḥah* and other *sūrahs* of the Holy Qur'ān. These kinds of study have implications for *iltifāt* and its translation. However, little research has

been carried out on implicature of *iltifāt* in *sūrah al-Baqarah,* and its translation into English by Yūsuf Ali. For this reason, this paper aims to contribute to the literature on the pragmatics and implicature of *iltifāt* in *sūrah al-Baqarah*. In other words, this study provides a deeper understanding of *iltifāt* by investigating its pragmatic functions and the implied meanings behind *iltifāt* without which the meaning will not be apparent to the target reader if there were a loss in translation. This study paves the way for further investigations on the translatability of different issues in Muslims' Holy Scripture, and it may also prove fruitful and beneficial for future translations of the Qur'ān into English.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The investigators adopted the framework of text-linguistics in order to attain a comprehensive analysis of *iltifāt* in the translation of *sūrah al-Baqarah* by Yūsuf Ali. Adopting Neubert and Shreve's (1992) standards of textuality, Baker's (2011) approach of implicature enabled the researcher to utilise this theoretical framework for the analysis of the data to be obtained. Neubert and Shreve's approach of textuality and Baker's approach of implicature were integrated in this study for the purpose of eliciting the implicatures/ intended meanings of *iltifāt* in *sūrah al-Baqarah*.

In Neubert and Shreve's (1992) approach, there are seven standards of textuality: intentionality, acceptability, situationality, informativity, cohesion, coherence and intertextuality. From a textuality point of view, a text is "a communicative occurrence which meets seven standards of textuality. If any of these standards is not considered to have been satisfied, the text will not be communicative" (Beaugrand & Dressler 1981, p. 3, cited in Abdul-Raof, 2001, p.108). Therefore, for the purpose of this study not all standards of textuality were examined. Only three out of seven standards were examined. The three standards were intentionality, situationality and intertextuality. If any of the seven standards proved not to have been satisfied, the text was considered as not being communicative. It could be enough to choose even one standard to judge the communicative effectiveness in Yūsuf Ali's translation. However, two others were included for the sake of reiteration and verification.

Baker's (2011) approach of implicature proves to be interlinked with the intentionality, situationality and intertextuality of Neubert and Shreve (1992). Baker's (2011) approach of implicature is not about what is explicitly said, but what is implied. Similarly, for intentionality, a competent translator has to identify implicated meanings, that is, the intention of the author, in selecting one form or structure rather than another. The intention of switching the reference from one pronoun into another in the text is of paramount significance in inferring what is conveyed. Likewise, in the translation of *iltifāt* and in order to gain intention to the switch, there is a need to return to intertextual texts such as exegeses so that,

for each switch, there is a situation. Baker's (2011) implicature can be understood better by referring to the three standards of textuality by Neubert and Shreve (1992).

METHOD

In order to identify and explore the translation of *iltifāt* in *Sūrah al-Baqarah,* this study made use of the following source and target texts and a number of other references.

A specific *sūrah* was chosen to be the corpus of this study because searching the whole Qur'ān is a formidable task. Only one chapter (*sūrah*), *sūrah al-Baqarah*, was chosen because it has the highest number of *iltifāt* compared to other *sūrah*s of the Holy Qur'ān.

The target text of this study was based on Abdullah Yūsuf Ali's (2008) English translation of the Qur'ān as the most important, authoritative and most popular translated version of the holy Qur'ān. In this study, three main exegeses of the Holy Qur'ān were consulted: Tafsīr al-Zamakhshari (1143), al-Alūsi (1853) and Abū al-Saᶜūd (1544). The three selected exegeses (*tafasīr*) are among the most widely used exegeses as far as *iltifāt* is concerned. These exegeses were selected for eliciting the meanings (implicatures) of *iltifāt* in *sūrah al-Baqarah*. Some other exegeses were used for additional clarification of the implicature of *iltifāt*.

DATA ANALYSIS

In terms of data analysis, a total of 46 *iltifāts* were elicited from *sūrah al-Baqarah* in the work of Abdel Haleem (1992) and al-Banānī (1993). The 46 instances of *iltifāt* were divided into four types based on both Abdel Haleem (1992) and al-Banānī, specifically *iltifāt* from the third-person to the first-person pronoun, *iltifāt* from the first- to the third-person pronoun, *iltifāt* from the third- to the second-person pronoun and *iltifāt* from the second- to the third-person pronoun. This study focuses only on one type of *iltifāt*, from the first-person to the third-person pronoun, because it occurs throughout the Holy Qur'ān and involves more implicatures in *sūrah al-Baqarah* compared to other personal *iltifāt*. The total number of *iltifāt*s from the first to the third in *sūrah al-Baqarah* is four.

This paper will examine the implicatures of *iltifāt* from the first- person to the third-person pronoun in *sūrah al-Baqarah* and discuss how these implicatures are conveyed to the readers of Yūsuf Ali's translation. In this step, identifying the embedded meanings of *iltifāt* occurs by referring to the three exegeses, al-Zamakhshari, al-Alūsī and Abū al-Saᶜūd that are frequently used for this.

An important goal of this study was to determine whether the transferred meaning in the target language reflected the source language meaning and if this could be done through referring to the translation of *iltifāt* of each type. If the implied meaning of the switch occurs in Yūsuf Ali's translation by compensation, by a footnote or any strategy that could be used to expose the implied meaning, then it is successfully conveyed to the target readers. If neither

implicature nor the form of the switch is clarified by the translator, as if it does not exist, then it is obvious that the meaning is not conveyed to the target readers. This analysis allowed researchers to determine pragmatic functions of *iltifāt* in *sūrah al-Baqarah* and how these are conveyed in Yūsuf Ali's translation.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The Implicature of 'Iltifāt' (First Person to Third Person) and Its Translation into English

All the examples of *iltifāt* of this type in *Sūrah al-Baqarah* refer to Allah, the Almighty. In these examples, references refer to Allah, the Almighty, in the first-person plural pronoun (We) in the speaking form, switching into the third-person singular pronoun (absence form), as in Allah (Lord). From the data of *iltifāt*, two main themes of the implicatures were identified. They were:

1. Instilling fear and sublimity
2. Providing guidanc

Instiling fear and sublimity

In Arabic, "إدخال الروعة وتربية المهابه" literally means "instilling fear and nurturing sublimity". This implicature of the switch from the first-person pronoun to the third-person pronoun shows a close relation of the lexical items fear (الروعة) and sublimity (المهابه). Some languages connect between sublimity and the words of fear. In Arabic, for example, the lexical item "روعه" means "الفزع" in the *Lisān al-Arab* dictionary (Ibn-Manẓūr 1956), which is translated in the Modern Written Arabic dictionary as "fear, fright, terror" (Wehr, 1976, p. 711). The lexical item "مهابه" is derived from the verb "هاب" that is translated in the Almaany dictionary as "to be afraid/ scared". In the *Lisān al-Arab* dictionary, "مهابه" means "الأجلال والمخافه". In the al-Maany Dictionary, the translation of the word "مهابه" is "sublimity, Majesty, awe". In other words, sublimity reflects fear and awe in the hearts of the listeners/readers. The lexical items "fear" and "sublimity" are interconnected. In most instances of this type, *iltifāt* from the first-person pronoun (speaking form) to the third-person (absence form) expresses fear and sublimity in the heart of the listeners (Abū al-Saᶜūd, 951 H/1544; al-Alūsī, 1270 H/1853).

The following is the first example on *iltifāt* that exemplifies the theme of instilling fear and sublimity in the hearts of the listeners in verse (2: 106):

قال تعالى: " مَا **نَنسَخْ** مِنْ آيَةٍ أَوْ **نُنسِهَا** **نَأْتِ** بِخَيْرٍ مِّنْهَا أَوْ مِثْلِهَا أَلَمْ تَعْلَمْ أَنَّ **اللَّهَ** عَلَىَ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ"
(106)

Translation [Yūsuf Ali]: *None of Our revelations do* **We** *abrogate or cause to be forgotten, but* **We** *substitute something better or similar: Knowest thou not that* **Allah** *hath power over all things?*

Iltifāt appears in the above verse in the change from the first-person plural pronoun to the third-person singular pronoun as

shown in Table 1. *Iltifāt* into the third-person singular pronoun (absence form) represented in Allah's name is to instil sublimity "المهابة" (Abū al-Saᶜūd 951H/1544; al-Alūsī 1270H/1853). It is the name of Allah that combines all the attributes of the Almighty, among which is the attribute of ability. The use of the proper name "Allah" is more eloquent in ascribing ability to Him than the first person-plural pronoun (We) (al-Alūsī 1270 H/1853). Some of Allah's attributes carry powerful and threatening meanings such as "قدير ". The lexical item "قدير " means that Allah is able and capable of doing anything. Thus, using Allah's attribute at the end of the verse is more rhetorical than mentioning any kind of punishment. Moreover, not mentioning the penalty scares and frightens the addressee even more.

Al-Zamakhsharī (538 H/1143) pointed out that the reason behind the revelation of this verse is that the disbelievers and Jews accused the Prophet Muhammad (Pbuh) to be the narrator of the Holy Qur'ān. Therefore, Allah, the Almighty, revealed this verse to prove to them that He Himself, and not the Prophet, was the producer of the Holy Qur'ān by starting the verse with the first-person plural pronoun, We. In the above verse, the three verbs **نَنسَخْ** (abrogate), **نُنسِهَا** (cause to be forgotten) and **نَأْتِ** (substitute), have been attached with the stress initial نـ (We) that precedes the verb. This signifies certainty, in that the semantic features of the verb will be carried out by the subject of the verb. Attaching the pronoun (We) to the verbs supports the argument and disperses doubt in the minds of the listeners that the producer of the Holy Qur'ān is Allah, the Almighty, and not the Prophet.

However, this has been misunderstood by non-believers, and they may have ascribed the first-person plural pronoun to the Prophet Muhammad (Pbuh). Therefore, Allah, the Almighty, reiterated that He Himself, was the producer of the Holy Qur'ān by using His name at the end of the verse. According to Abū al-Saᶜūd (951 H/1544) and al-Alūsī (1270 H/1853), this *iltifāt* from the pronoun (We) to using the noun (Allah) is to display sublimity and is a notification of Allah's thorough ability for all things, which is one of the rules of divinity. It is crystal clear and it leaves no doubt that this *iltifāt* has cut all the ways of doubt and ascribes the action to Allah, the Almighty, alone as has also been indicated by al-Banānī (1414H/1993).

TABLE 1
Iltifāt from First to Third in Verse (2:106)

Iltifāt	**Source Text**	**Target Text**
First-person plural pronoun (We)	مَا **نَنسَخ** أَوْ **نُنسِهَا نَأْتِ**	**We** abrogate or cause to be forgotten, but **we** substitute
Third-person singular pronoun (He)	**اللَّه**	**Allah**

Moreover, the above implicature of sublimity and fear is emphasised by the use of a rhetorical question. The Qur'ān abounds with interrogative statements that are not meant to seek answers or information, but to attain particular rhetorical effects. One important characteristic of rhetorical questions is that they are context-based. Thus, an adequate understanding of the various purposes and denotations of rhetorical questions depends mainly on the context of situation. Ateeq (in al-Abbasi, 2006) emphasised the significant role of context in disambiguating the metaphorical meanings contained in the rhetorical questions. He identifies several rhetorical denotations intended by rhetorical questions: negation, surprise, hope, confirmation, veneration, denial, condemnation, rebuke, sarcasm, warning, hyperbole, attraction and the like. The clause in the above mentioned verse (أَلَمْ تَعْلَمْ أَنَّ اللَّهَ عَلَىَ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ - Knowest thou not that **Allah** Hath power over all things?) is a rhetorical question for the purpose of veneration or sublimity. This rhetorical question confirms the previous implicature and proves to the disbelievers and the Jews that the only producer of the Holy Qur'ān is Allah the Almighty because He has power over all things.

The second verse on *iltifāt* that exemplifies the theme of instilling fear and sublimity in the hearts of the listeners/ readers:

قال تعالى: وإِنْ كُنْتُمْ فِي رَيْبٍ مِمَّا **نَزَّلْنَا** عَلَىٰ **عَبْدِنَا** فَأْتُوا بِسُورَةٍ مِنْ مِثْلِهِ وَادْعُوا شُهَدَاءَكُمْ مِنْ دُونِ **اللَّهِ** إِنْ كُنْتُمْ صَادِقِينَ

Translation [Yūsuf Ali]: *And if ye are in doubt as to what* **We** *have revealed from time to time to Our servant, then produce a sūrah like thereunto; and call your witnesses or helpers (If there are any) besides* **Allah**, *if your (doubts) are true.*

Iltifāt is switched from the first-person plural pronoun to the third person singular pronoun, as clarified in Table 2.

It is noted in this example that the person involved in *iltifāt* is Allah. In the first part of the verse, Allah speaks in the first-person plural. In the other part of the transition, He speaks in the third-person singular. The switch is manifested here in the change from speaking (presence) as in (**We** have revealed) that refers to Allah, the Almighty, and its corresponding possessive adjective (**Our** servant) to the third-person

TABLE 2
Iltifāt from First to Third in Verse (2:23)

Iltifāt	**Source Text**	**Target Text**
First-person plural pronoun (We,our)	مِمَّا **نَزَّلْنَا** عَلَىٰ **عَبْدِنَا**	**We** have revealed from time to time to **Our** servant,
Third-person singular pronoun (He)	مِنْ دُونِ **اللَّهِ**	besides **Allah**

singular form (the absence form) as in (besides **Allah**). The switch to "مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ" (besides Allah) would have conventionally been read as "من دوننا" (besides us). The verse starts with the speaker Allah, the Almighty, to refer to his Majesty and it is followed by the phrase (our servant) to clarify the relation of Prophet Muhammad (Pbuh) to his Lord and emphasises his complete worship and surrender to Allah, the Almighty. Then the verse turns to using the name of Allah in the third person (absence form) to emphasise that the owner of the previous pronoun **(We)** in "**We** have revealed" is Allah, with His divinity upon the whole of creation.

In the use of *iltifāt* in this verse, Abū al-Saᶜūd (951 H/1544) in his exegesis mentioned two pragmatic meanings of *iltifāt*:

a. To display fear and sublimity
b. To ensure the absurdity of those who worship others other than Allah who has all the attributes of perfection and divinity.

In the above verses (22-23), in Makkah, opponents had often been challenged to produce anything of comparable merit if they believed the Qur'ān to be the work of a human being. Al-Zamakhsharī (538 H/1143) mentioned that the lexical item "*Tanzīl*" (sending down in a gradual way) rather than "*Inzāl*" (sending down all at once) is used by Allah, the Almighty, because what was intended was sending down in a gradual way (*Tanzīl*), that is, in separate portions, which is an even greater challenge. This signifies that the Holy Qur'ān is sublime and it can never be produced by anyone except Allah, the Almighty. Furthermore, this proves the absurdity of those who worship others other than Allah, who has all the attributes of perfection and divinity. Allah, the Almighty, is challenging them and all their supporters to produce just a *sūrah* like it.

The Qur'ān is inimitable, and the effect of the recitation of the Qur'ān is overwhelming and terrifying. The effect of Qur'ānic recitation is described by the Qur'ān itself: "asd

قال تعالى: " اللَّهُ نَزَّلَ أَحْسَنَ الْحَدِيثِ كِتَابًا مُتَشَابِهًا **مَّثَانِيَ تَقْشَعِرُّ مِنْهُ جُلُودُ** الَّذِينَ **يَخْشَوْنَ رَبَّهُمْ** ثُمَّ تَلِينُ جُلُودُهُمْ وَقُلُوبُهُمْ إِلَى ذِكْرِ اللَّهِ"
(الزمر:23)

Translation: *God has sent down the fairest discourse as a book, consistent in itself,* **whereat shiver the skins** *of those who* **fear** *their lord; then their skins and their hearts soften at the remembrance of God.*

This shows that the rhetorical effect of the Qur'ān was first and foremost due to its recitation. It has to be recited and heard to achieve this effect. The rhetorical effect is caused less by the beauty of the text than by its awe-inspiring majesty and its message, which made listeners "shiver" (Wild, cited in Leaman, 2006, p. 295). The Qur'ān also has a strong aesthetic dimension. The inimitability of the Qur'ān as far as this is connected to aesthetics lays thus more in its overwhelming and frightening power. Wild

(in Leaman, 2006) mentions that Arabic and Islamic culture holds the style of the Qur'ān in highest esteem, with listeners to Qur'ānic recitation reported to have died under the overwhelming effect of the recitation. In other words, *iltifāt* from the use of the first-person plural pronoun (We) into the third-person plural pronoun (He) shows the great effect of the Qur'ān on listeners. The Qur'ān's inimitability and its overwhelming effect bring sublimity and fear in the hearts of the listeners through its recitation, and this undoubtedly ensures the absurdity of those who think they can produce something like the Qur'ān.

The meaning of fear and sublimity is emphasised further by the use of the conditional sentence "وإِنْ كُنْتُمْ فِي رَيْبٍ مِمَّا نَزَّلْنَا عَلَىٰ عَبْدِنَا " – "And if ye are in doubt as to what We have revealed from time to time to Our servant" followed by its apodosis "فَأْتُوا بِسُورَةٍ مِنْ مِثْلِهِ وَادْعُوا شُهَدَاءَكُمْ مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ " – then produce a *sūrah* like thereunto; and call your witnesses or helpers (If there are any) besides Allah". Conditional sentences consist of two parts. The first part is called protasis (*fiʿl al-shart*), and the second part is called apodosis (*jawab al-shart*). Semantically, the apodosis is dependent upon the protasis. The two clauses are semantically joined by the conditional particle إن– if. In other words, the action of the state expressed by the verb in apodosis will not take place if the action or state expressed by protasis has not taken place. In the above verse, the protasis is "وإِنْ كُنْتُمْ فِي رَيْبٍ مِمَّا نَزَّلْنَا عَلَىٰ عَبْدِنَا " – "And if ye are in doubt as to what We have revealed from time to time to Our servant " and the apodosis is "فَأْتُوا بِسُورَةٍ مِنْ مِثْلِهِ وَادْعُوا شُهَدَاءَكُمْ مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ"– then produce a *sūrah* like thereunto; and call your witnesses or helpers (If there are any) besides Allah". Thus, having any doubt as to what was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad (Pbuh) would not take place unless a *sūrah* like thereunto is produced. This indicates the impossibility and uncertainty of producing a *sūrah* like thereunto. The use of the particle إن– if alludes to uncertainty and non-affirmation. The conditional particle إن– if signifies that the action denoted by the verb is not certain to take place and cannot be affirmed. In other words, إن– if denotes "a sense of skepticism in the communicator's mind" (Abdul-Raof, 2006, p. 164).

To relate the use of a conditional sentence to the implicature of fear and sublimity, al Masa'eed (2009) dealt with the pragmatic functions of the conditionals in the Holy Qur'ān and showed that the conditionals in the Holy Qur'ān could convey the following pragmatic functions: challenging, rebuking, threatening, investigating for the truth, frightening, prohibition, giving instructions, reminding, ridiculing and expressing impossibility. In addition, Traugott *et al*. (1986, p.197) denoted that conditional speech acts can be utilised to represent threats. Most of the pragmatic functions behind conditional sentences mentioned by al Masa'eed (2009) and Traugott *et al*. (1986), mentioned above, denote fear and sublimity. In the above verse, Allah is challenging opponents to produce anything of comparable merit to the Holy Qūr'an, but

that is impossible. This impossibility is due to the inimitability of the Holy Qur'ān since Allah, the Almighty Himself, challenged the polytheists of Makkah to produce one *sūrah* as miraculous as those of the Holy Qūr'an. The Holy Qur'ān's inimitability and its overwhelming effect is enough to instil fear and sublimity in the hearts of listeners through its recitation.

Providing guidance

This implicature shows that guidance cannot be granted by anyone else except Allah, the Almighty.

The first verse on *iltifāt* that exemplifies the theme of provision of guidance, which cannot be granted by anyone else except Allah, the Almighty, is illustrated in verse (2:143) below:

قال تعالى: "وَكَذَلِكَ جَعَلْنَاكُمْ أُمَّةً وَسَطًا لِّتَكُونُواْ شُهَدَاء عَلَى النَّاسِ وَيَكُونَ الرَّسُولُ عَلَيْكُمْ شَهِيدًا وَمَا **جَعَلْنَا** الْقِبْلَةَ الَّتِي كُنتَ عَلَيْهَا إِلاَّ لِنَعْلَمَ مَن يَتَّبِعُ الرَّسُولَ مِمَّن يَنقَلِبُ عَلَى عَقِبَيْهِ وَإِن كَانَتْ لَكَبِيرَةً إِلاَّ عَلَى الَّذِينَ هَدَى **اللَّهُ** وَمَا كَانَ **اللَّهُ** لِيُضِيعَ إِيمَانَكُمْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ بِالنَّاسِ لَرَؤُوفٌ رَّحِيمٌ" (143)

Translation [Yūsuf Ali]: *Thus, have* **We made of you** *an Ummat justly balanced, that you might be witnesses over the nations, and the Messenger a witness over yourselves; and* **We appointed** *the Qibla to which you were used, only to test those who followed the Messenger from those who would turn on their heels (From the Faith). Indeed it was (A change) momentous, except to* **those guided by Allah. And never would Allah** *make your faith of no effect. For Allah is to all people Most surely full of kindness, Most Merciful.*

Iltifāt in this verse is shown in the shift from the first-person plural pronoun to the third-person singular as illustrated in Table 3.

In the switch into the third-person singular (هَدَى **اللَّهُ**), guidance is ascribed to Allah, the Almighty, and it is Allah who guided, and nobody could do this except Him, the Almighty God. According to Abū Ḥayyān(754 H/1353), the meaning of "هَدَى **اللَّهُ**" (Allah's guidance) involves

TABLE 3
Iltifāt from First to Third in Verse (2:143)

Iltifāt	**Source Text**	**Target Text**
First-person plural pronoun (We)	وَمَا **جَعَلْنَا**	**We** appointed
Third-person singular pronoun (He)	إِلاَّ عَلَى الَّذِينَ هَدَى **اللَّهُ** وَمَا كَانَ **اللَّهُ**	except to those guided by **Allah.** And never would **Allah**

several related meanings: Allah's guidance for people to follow the Messenger; Allah created the guidance for them, which is the faith in their hearts; He guides them to see the truth and the right thing; and He set them on faith. In short, these meanings reflect the ascribing of guidance to Allah. Additionally, the people who face no difficulty should not attribute such happenings to themselves but merely a success (*Tawfiq*) from Allah, the Almighty, as He guides them to His guidance.

For more clarification, in the above verse, the three verbs "**جَعَلْنَاكُمْ** – have **We** made of you", "**جَعَلْنَا** - **We** appointed" and "**لِنَعْلَمَ** – only to test", have been attached with the stress initial "نـ" (We) that follow the verb. This signifies certainty e.g. the semantic features of the verb will be carried out by the subject of the verb. Attaching the pronoun (We) to the verbs supports the argument and disperses doubt in the minds of the listeners. Here, the act of provision is declared by attaching the first-person plural pronoun " نا " which refers to Allah, the Almighty, to the verb "make/ appoint –جعل" In addition, the word "**اللَّه**" in "**وَمَا هَدَى اللَّهِ**", "**إِنَّ اللَّهَ**" and "**كَانَ اللَّهُ**" is repeated three times in the same co-text. Abdul-Raof (2001, p. 81) defined lexical repetition as "A common feature of Qur'ānic discourse to have words repeated intra-sententially or inter-sententially and repetition of lexical items is used as a cohesive device and can accomplish a communicative and rhetorical effect". The implicature of Allah, the Almighty's provision of guidance is reiterated further by both the stress initial "نـ" (We) and the lexical repetition of the word "Allah" three times, which ascribes the action to the Almighty, Himself.

In addition, the three lexical items "**جَعَلْنَاكُمْ** " – "have We **made** of you", "**جَعَلْنَا** "– "We **appointed**", "**هَدَى** اللَّهُ " – "those guided by Allah" give the sense of provision. The act of providing can only be bestowed by Allah, the Almighty.

The second verse on *iltifāt* that exemplifies the theme of the provision of guidance, which can be bestowed only by Allah, the Almighty, the only source of guidance, is in verse (2:3-5):

الَّذِينَ يُؤْمِنُونَ بِالْغَيْبِ وَيُقِيمُونَ الصَّلَاةَ وَمِمَّا رَزَقْنَاهُمْ يُنفِقُونَ (٣) وَالَّذِينَ يُؤْمِنُونَ بِمَا أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكَ وَمَا أُنزِلَ مِن قَبْلِكَ وَبِالْآخِرَةِ هُمْ يُوقِنُونَ (٤) أُولَٰئِكَ عَلَىٰ هُدًى مِّن رَّبِّهِمْ ۖ وَأُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ الْمُفْلِحُونَ

Translation [Yūsuf Ali]: *Who believe in the Unseen, are steadfast in prayer, and spend out of what* **We** *have provided for them (3) And who believe in the Revelation sent to thee, and sent before thy time, and (in their hearts) have the assurance of the Hereafter (4) They are on (true) guidance, from* **their Lord,** *and it is these who will prosper (5).*

Iltifāt switches from the first-person plural pronoun to the third-person plural pronoun, as clarified in Table 4.

Iltifāt from the first-person plural pronoun (We) that refers to Allah to the third-person singular (their Lord) has an intended meaning. The noun "رب" – "Lord" has been attached to the third-person plural possessive adjective "their" "ضمير الغائبين" (absence form) for the purpose of exposing His Majesty (Abū al-Saᶜūd, 951 H/1544). The switch to "their lord" is mentioned to stress and emphasise that guidance can only be granted by Allah, the Almighty (al-Alūsī, 1270 H/1853). The lexical item *huda* (the guide) stems from the same root as the word *hidayet* (righteous guidance, or guidance), which means showing someone the right path and guiding him thereupon. The Qur'ān argues that guidance is bestowed only by Allah, the only source of guidance. Al-Zamakhsharī (538H/ 1143) in his exegesis explained "هُدًى مِّن رَّبِّهِمْ" – "(Guidance from their lord) as they have been provided and given '*Lutf*'", meaning "Allah's kindness" and "*Tawfīq*" meaning "success", which is that they depend on their good deeds and promotion from better to the best. The guidance of the pious is considered to be a gift from Allah, which is given for their piety and their belief. In the context, this guidance can only be provided to those who believe in the unseen, establish the prayers, spend out of what Allah has provided them and believe in what has been revealed by God to His Prophets in the various ages and regions of the world, in the Book revealed to the Prophet Muhammad (Pbuh) as well as in those revealed to the other Prophets who preceded him and to those who believe in the afterlife. Thus, the reward should be equivalent to the deeds, and this guidance should be from Allah, the Almighty (al-Banānī, 1414 H/1993).

In the above verse, the lexical item "رَزَقْنَاهُمْ" – "**We** have provided for them" is attached to the pronoun "نا- We" that refers to Allah, the Almighty. This stresses the fact that sustenance is provided only by Allah. The Arabic lexical item *rizq* is derived from the verb *razaqa* (to provide with the means of subsistence). The verbal noun *rizq* in its Qur'ānic usage denotes anything given by God to man as a means of nourishment and sustenance, be it material or spiritual; it is thus often translated as 'bounty'. One of God's innumerable names is '*al-Razzāq'* (the All-Provider), and every instance of the provision of bounties mentioned in the Qur'ān has God as its subject. Similarly is the lexical item guidance in "هُدًى مِّن رَّبِّهِمْ-" – "They are on (true) guidance, from **their Lord**", which is followed by a prepositional

TABE 4
Iltifāt from the First to the Third in Verses (2:3-5)

Iltifāt	Source Text	Target Text
The first-person plural pronoun (We)	رَزَقْنَاهُمْ	what **We** have provided for them
The third-person singular pronoun (He)	هُدًى مِّن رَّبِّهِم	They are on (true) guidance, from **their lord**

phrase "مِّن رَّبِّهِم" – "from their Lord", which elucidates that the act of guidance can only be granted by Allah, the Almighty.

TRANSLATION STRATEGY

In terms of translation, the switch from the first-person pronoun to the third-person pronoun is translated literally by Yūsuf Ali. A literal translation of this switch in English would no doubt confuse the reader and may encourage him/her to read more into the utterance than is intended (Baker, 1992, p. 230), particularly when there are no hints of the sudden switch from one pronoun to another. The implicature of instilling fear and sublimity and providing guidance that are quite apparent in the explication of *iltifāt* in the intertextual texts of exegeses are not given enough or considerable attention by the translator, Yūsuf Ali.

CONCLUSION

There are two implicatures behind the switch from the first- to the third-person pronoun in *sūrah al-Baqarah* that are realised through reading the exegeses. None of the implicatures of *iltifāt* are conveyed in the translation of Yūsuf Ali. It can be argued that the transference of *iltifāt* for the target readers is significant for the sake of exposing the switches and their implicatures. In terms of translation from Arabic to English, literal strategy is the only translation strategy that is used by Yūsuf Ali in translating *iltifāt* from the first- to the third-person pronoun. Through literal translation, the switch that is obvious in the source text remained unexplained to the target readers. This translation strategy used by Yūsuf Ali is not helpful in attaining transference and conveying the meaning of *iltifāt*. Thus, cross checking exegeses and possessing a working linguistic-exegetical background that refers to *iltifāt* would help in understanding the meaning of *iltifāt* lost in Ali's translation.

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Investigating Gaydom Turning Points in *Body 2 Body*

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ABSTRACT

Numerous studies attempting to establish a genetic cause for homosexuality have been conducted since the early 1990s that have not been proven to be either valid or reliable. To date, the quest to establish the existence of a single chromosome in humans that would identify a person's homosexual identity seems futile as there are no scientific findings or DNA test results that have proven that such a third gender can be biologically determined. Therefore, on the premise that homosexuality, like race, is related to nurture rather than nature in the great nature versus nurture debate, this paper focuses on analysing the minds of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transsexual (LGBT) individuals by investigating the turning points to gaydom of several characters in selected short stories from the collection in *Body 2 Body - A Malaysian Queer Anthology* by examining their feelings and decisions when they decide to adopt LGBT identity. This paper also discusses the processes that are involved in the transformation of the characters' sexual identity. In addition, with Freudian psychic zones in mind, this paper also tries to determine whether these characters' id, as opposed to their ego and superego, take control of their desires, or whether the tendency towards homosexuality exists naturally within them and is the reason they choose to become and remain part of the LGBT community.

Keywords: Gender studies, LGBT studies, psychoanalysis

INTRODUCTION

This paper examines the minds of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transsexual (LGBT) characters through an analysis of their turning point towards gaydom. Three selected short stories taken from the book, *Body 2 Body - A Malaysian Queer Anthology*, edited by Jerome Kugan and

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Pang Khee Theik, will be discussed further to highlight the processes involved in the characters' transition in their sexual identity. This discussion is preceded by a brief overview of the subject of homosexuality and Freudian theories related to it.

Homosexuality and Gaydom

In ancient Greece, homosexuality was considered a beautiful relationship between two men, and it was treated as the "highest and the most appreciated form of love" (Barnecka, Karp, & Lollike, p.6). However, other cultures hold a different position on the issue of same-sex preference depending on their beliefs and moral development. For instance, in the Islamic perspective of homosexuality, it is considered a disgrace and an "ugly sinful act, which Allah s.w.t forbids in all religions even in the most primitive ones," (Works of Al-Islam Group, n. d.). Judaism and Christianity also view homosexuality as unauthorised and immoral sexual behaviour, and, thus, the term 'sodomy' is viewed as an act against nature in the Old Testament (Pilecka, 1999, p.14). After the fall of the Roman Empire, it was believed that, when Christianity took over Europe, homosexuality was abolished, as it was a sinful activity in the eyes of many. However, the first well-known gay activist, Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, decided to seek justice as he was a German jurist in Munich, and prevented the procedure of decriminalisation of homosexuality. Influenced by Ulrichs, many others also took up research into gender studies. For example, Richard Kraft-Ebing, a nineteenth-century sexologist who was inspired by the work of Ulrichs, decided to explore sexual orientation. His research led him to conclude that "homosexuality is more of the brain's degeneration rather than one's own nature development" (Barnecka, Karp, & Lollike, p.7).

From then onwards, mental health professionals were focused on curing homosexuality through various kinds of experiments and methods in order to help patients change their sexual orientation. Many of the techniques caused physical pain and emotional trauma (Weinberg, 1983, pp.50-60). For example, one of the extreme aversion therapies that was taken and adapted from Nazi-Germany concentration camps to cure homosexuality was to be kept in a windowless room for three days filled with excrement and vomit. This nightmare left a deep scar on Peter Price's life as he was only 19 years old at the time when his mother had forced him to seek treatment for his homosexuality. During his treatment he was forced to listen to tapes insulting and abusing him as a queer person. Other than that, he was given a stack of gay magazines and crates of his favourite drink, Guinness, and had to listen to tapes of the doctors criticising his identity. He was also injected with multiple drugs, which resulted in nausea. Doctors refused to help the boy when he was seen to be ill and decided that he should just vomit over himself. Moreover, he was forced to look at semi-nude men and was given injections every hour to enforce an association between the nausea and the feelings he experienced at the

sight of male bodies. Besides being forced to listen to tapes and receive injections, Price was forced to endure electric treatments, which permanently damaged his remaining overall humanity. According to Price, the aversion therapy made him violently ill, and it practically destroyed his life (Barnicke, Karp, & Lollike, p.15). Such therapy sessions to cure homosexuality usually did result in making the person more ill. Indeed, this seemed to be the result of the belief of many that homosexuality was a mental disease and could be dismissed.

The components of homosexuality may be realised through various causes, which include behaviouristic, biological and psychodynamic origins. According to a columnist for 'Renew America,' in many of his experiences dealing with homoerotic culture, the pattern is mostly the same. He explained that most people were seduced into the same-sex experience, which was that their first sexual encounter and happened to be abusive, involving either same-sex rape or molestation. That first incident of abuse was repeated and eventually became habitual. Some would say it became them (Maguire, 2010). The observation of a homosexuality pattern is connected with the first sexual experience with a person of the same sex. Therefore, "behaviourists claimed that homosexuality is learned and would therefore be able to be unlearned" (Barnicke, Karp, & Lollike, p.10). At the same time, this is seen as more nurture- rather than nature-based, and it then develops into a homosexual identity.

Numerous studies have attempted to establish a genetic cause for homosexuality that have not been proven to be valid or repeatable since the early 1990s. Hence, the biological determination of those who claim that they were "born this way" becomes inaccurate. This is due to the fact that there is "no evidence that has stood up to meticulous peer review pointing to a genetic etiology, although there are cases where some boys become more effeminate and some girls more masculine" (Satinover, 1996). However, psychologists viewed this pattern of queer culture to be incidental and not causative. Hence, there is no compelling evidence that can be used to expose the origin of homosexuality besides other environmental factors that influenced a person's learnt behaviour towards entering the 'gay kingdom' (Herek, 2014 p.6).

Nurture vs. Nature Instincts

Based on Freud's model of psychoanalysis, the human mind is divided into three separate units, which consists of the id, the ego and the superego. The id is the animal part of the psyche that contains man's primitive drives, and it only seeks the principle of pleasure, the main objectives of which are to achieve the satisfaction of its needs and desires. If the id is frustrated it tends to become aggressive. The superego contains more of the values and social morals that tell us what is right and wrong for us, and it influences us to behave well. When we do not, it punishes us with anxiety and guilt. On the other hand, the ego controls the greater mental processes for determining answers and problem-solving; thus, it also helps to

balance the id-superego dilemma by serving them with creative solutions that would satisfy the request of both constraints (as cited in Sammons, 2014). This was Freud's understanding of how the human self works, with the superego always attempting to control the mind to only focus on important issues that matter at the moment. All of the characters in the stories selected for this study face to some degree the struggle of the ego to make sense of the demands of the id.

Sigmund Freud, in developing this theory of his own, held that the human mind behaves like an iceberg stuck in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean, static like a statue waiting for a big hit in order for it to dissolve into chunks of ice, which then melts into the water. This relates to the Freudian view that simple behaviour can have complex hidden causes. At the same time, he noted that we have to "think of our mind like an iceberg where most of it is hidden beneath the surface" (as cited in Sammons, 2014).

Many scientists and psychologists have tried to expand their research in terms of revealing genetic influence on sexual orientation. However, most research has not determined any origin of DNA related with how homosexuality develops. Most of the psychologists who resorted to a behaviourist point of view have explained that a person becomes homosexual if their first sexual experience had been with a person of the same sex. However, while having sexual experience with the same sex does not fix sexual orientation, it might be used as a stimulus to sexual arousal when masturbating. Therefore, a person may replace the negative sexual experience into a positive reinforcement when masturbating (LeVay, 1996, pp.88-89).

On the other hand, an American study came out with rather conflicting findings when they found new evidence that could prove male homosexuality is influenced by genes. Dr. Michael Bailey, of Northwestern University, Illinois, who co-led the research, stated that being gay has nothing to do with choice. However, "this research has not yet been published and it is not completely determinative which other environmental factors could be involved" (as cited in Molloy, n. d.). This study has clearly proven that even though the main objective is to discover the existence of a gay chromosome in human DNA, actual findings, to date, have not been able to deliver a strong statement that homosexuality is the result of genetic predisposition. Hence, it would still seem that "Gaydom is a symptom of confused identity caught by most individuals who are lost with their own feelings and it is no doubt that people can recover from being homosexual" (Barnicke, Karp, & Lollike, p.31).

Turning Points of Characters' Id and Ego

Homosexuality encompasses a variety of "phenomena including same-sex intercourse, same-sex romantic and emotional bonding, same-sex desires and relationship created by certain shared culture communities. Furthermore, a report clarifies that most adults in the United States never made a conscious choice about their sexual orientation and that they have always felt

the same type of sexual attractions and desires" (Herek, 2014). This situation could be related to the unnamed character in the first selected short story "Good Job," written by O Thiam Chin, who was forced by his father to take up a part-time job as a graphic designer at an old friend's printing press company. The first day at work gave him an impression that the office environment was dry, and he disliked the idea of small talk with other colleagues. However, in this story the unnamed character narrates his own point of view regarding the curiosity he felt towards Uncle Ang, the director of the company:

> *I didn't see Uncle Ang that morning, but whenever he appeared later, he would either be looking over my shoulder, checking what I was doing or stepping out of the office, yelling behind him, at no-one in particular, anything please call me on my mobile. Sometimes he would stop and ask me how I was doing, whether I was doing okay. I said yes, I'm fine, it's great.* (O. Thiam Chin, p.126)

As time goes by, the relationship between the unnamed character and Uncle Ang, the director of the company, bonds from all the work producing designs for book covers, brochures and flyers for their clients. In the beginning of the story, the unnamed character feels rather odd with the attention that was given to him, knowing that he is just an apprentice who has just started working at the company. Nevertheless, after being praised by the director for being diligent, he feels very confident. Thus, he works extra hard at his tasks to gain approval from his boss. Based on the homosexual identity formation theory, "identity is acquired through a developmental process;" and it changes according to the interaction process that occurs between individuals and their environments" (Cass, 1979, p.219). In other words, "a person's sense of self as gay evolves over time, and the environment influences half of a person's self-concept toward being gay" (as cited in Thoma, 2005, p.5). This is partly true because, when the unnamed character is sexually molested for the first time by Uncle Ang, he feels confused that his "mind went haywire, pounding with the heady rush of blood and excitement, and then it suddenly shut down to a blank" (Chin p.129). This situation can be assimilated with how the Id mind works for the unnamed character when he feels confused over his first sexual encounter with the same sex. According to Freud, "humans know very little that goes on in the mind and that most of our thoughts, feelings and many of our memories are locked away in the unconscious" (as cited in Sammons, 2014).

> *I brought my fist to my face, biting it, absorbing the pain to my recesses, and the blood from the open wound leaked into my mouth. I tasted blood, and the raw, serrated edges of pleasure. In the secret depths of my being, I desired more. When his fingers were withdrawn, I uttered a soft, mournful 'no'...I started to cry,*

> *though I wasn't sure whether it was from the intense pain or the violent pleasure.* (p.131)

Thus, the second time he is molested by Uncle Ang, he obeys every instruction given and does not resist or fight back. Moreover, on some other days the unnamed character "would pass on a single overriding thought in his head: I want to be fucked again" (p.132). Freud believed that "the roots of our behaviours are driven mostly by our desires" and he considered sexual motives as the most important instinctual drives in which the 'Id mind' wants to be satisfied" (as cited in Sammons, 2014). Hence, the turning point for the unnamed character is highly influenced by his id mind, especially the sexual drives, which made him feel a certain kind of sexual attraction and desire to be drawn into having sex with his superior.

The Realisation of the Ego from the Id Mind

In the second selected short story entitled "Friends of Everyone," written by Julya Oui, we are told the story of an "awful journey of being gay" (p.165) of the main character, named Rik. For many years, he has been gay and he thinks that it is natural for him to be a homosexual entering the life of gaydom; however, he expresses his opinion towards his new identity of being a straight guy as "people change" (Oui, p.165), and that "he was cured from his iniquitous and despicable way of life" (Oui, p.166). In the beginning of the story, Rik mentions that he considers himself to be a very extreme queer person due to all of his past scandals and relationships with almost every guy he meets. Thus, after gaining confidence from joining a new faith in town called "Friends of Everyone; a non-denominational, non-religious, non-biased, non-political and all-embracing organisation run by Master Beh" (p.165), Rik feels as if "he was slain by the power of the celestial beings" when Master Beh cures him from his previous identity and he even realises that he was unconscious practically most of his lifetime when he was gay. This is similar to Freud's description of the mind being trapped in 'the unconscious,' which is something that we are mostly unaware of and cannot become aware of. Rik realises that when he regains consciousness, he feels like he cannot accept his former lifestyle because when he reflects on the past by looking at the clothes he in his closet, he instantaneously feels disgusted with "the viridescent, the cerise and the shimmers now that he'd changed" (p.165). This shows that the main character is going through a process of realisation and embracing the conversion he makes; this process is called 'repression.' This is an impulse that has been put off and buried deep in one's unconsciousness, making one forget reality and the truth, which makes the main character resent his fears of "being found out, exposed and ostracized" (p.166). Moreover, when Rik explains the main thing that he disliked most about being gay, it was his obsession with people discovering his sexual identity. This is one of the elements that characterise the unconscious mind, which Freud put

under 'bad' and 'worse' conditions, and of which humans are not aware. For example, the points that people repress in their unconscious minds are usually negative such as "fears, unacceptable sexual desires, irrational wishes, immoral urges, shameful and traumatic experiences along with our selfish needs" (as cited in Sammons, 2014).

The point of realisation and coming out from the repression of Rik's own mind would make him a person who managed to combat his own desires and, most importantly, stand up against his own id mind. Although the first experience of change brought him into stages of confusion, he feels torn between understanding what is best and what is good for him. Therefore, he believes that changing his identity from gay to straight is a good thing for him but, most probably, not the best experience worth mentioning. This is because, when Rik decides to change, he explains, "it was an abrupt decision, but that was how it worked, said the Master, nothing like instant abstinence" (p.166). This clearly verifies the point that relates to how an individual foresees his or her life in the future. For example, being a homosexual is a choice that people can choose or not, whereas, on the other hand, it relies heavily on the perceptions and attitudes of the individual in accepting the transition happening in their life. Based on Katz's elaboration on the functions of attitude, it serves multiple purposes such as knowledge function (cognitivism), adjustment or utilitarian function (behaviourism), ego-defensive function (Psychoanalytic) and/or value-expressive function (social behaviourism). Katz also describes the ego defence function to be a defence mechanism (i.e. denial, repression, projection etc.) that people use to protect their self-concept from perceived threats. He relates ego defence to prejudice in that people unconsciously project their feelings of inferiority onto targeted minority groups and, as a result, feel superior (as cited in Landini, 2002, p.15). Therefore, Rik decides to project his feelings of repression and, in denial, shares the news, which he thinks is positive, with all his friends that he is no longer a homosexual. This action clearly proves that the character Rik is going through the process of realising that he has been forced into the transition of becoming a heterosexual person without knowing whether he really wants to move on.

> *He sat on the bed among his clothes and wondered if he was ever going to find love as a straight man. But that was beside the point. You don't worry about such things because such things don't really matter in the end; he thought to himself and fell back to bed reminiscing about his life. His new path would make a lot of people happy, especially his parents who had been praying very hard for a wholesome daughter-in-law who would be dexterous from bed to kitchen. It would also be easier now that he wouldn't have to hide his condition from some of his friends and colleagues. But then again, he remembered he was happy.* (Oui, p.166)

From the above excerpt, we can analyse the main character's intention after having gone through the process of turning around in his sexual identity from being a homosexual to a heterosexual person. It is understood that his life as a gay man had definitely been a wonderful experience for him, except for the fact that when he returns to his consciousness, he questions his own self and wonders if being straight is the right choice for him. Initially, Rik believes that when he changes his sexual identity he would make people around him happy, and this somehow poses the question to his own soul as to whether being straight will make him happy. Most of the time he is thinking about whether he will survive being straight because he often "felt his past clinging to him like heartburn…When he didn't share their enthusiasm to explore the gender that made boys into men he questioned his sexuality for the first time and it frightened him. And now standing at the threshold of a new life, he felt that fear again" (p.169). Not all individuals "display consistency among their sexual feelings, behaviour and identity; some experience considerable fluidity in their sexuality throughout their lives" (Herek, 2014, p.1) Therefore, it is understood that being gay has always been Rik's best time of life. At the same time, after going through the process of healing his identity, he feels as if he needs support from close friends, but not everyone is supportive of his decision, which makes him become even more confused with his motives in changing his sexual identity. Consequently, the character Rik is awakened by the rationale of his ego, which makes him realise the right path he should choose, but he is still heavily influenced by the fascinations of his desires.

The Id Mind vs. the Ego

The final analysis, of the selected short story entitled "Hafiz's Dilemma," written by Ann Lee, is an alluring story that brings us to understand what beauty means in a relationship without prejudging a person's sexual identity. The story begins with how Hafiz is upset with his (transsexual) girlfriend when he accidentally found one 'pubic hair' on the bed, knowing that it did not belong to either of them. Feeling curious, he suspected disloyalty, and it then "turn Hafiz's life upside down" (p.67).

> *Hafiz didn't have to look at it twice. He saw it being held up to the light in CSI by Grissom but he didn't really want to know its DNA or how crisp and thin it felt between the fingertips. As he hooked up from his book, there it was: curious fishhook, just lying there. Lying was right: proof at last, of deceit. But now that there was damning evidence, he was sad. Maybe they just rubbed skins. Bitch. How un-dig-ni-fied to find fucking out like this.* (Ann Lee, p.67)

The above excerpt is taken from the beginning of the story, where the plot leads us to comprehend the conditions of what seems like a normal relationship

between couples who have had some misunderstanding argument to talking about how one pubic hair could make the boyfriend (Hafiz) furious. The fact that he finds a strand of hair, which anybody could overlook, and that its presence clearly upsets him, shows that this relationship is serious, and Hafiz is definitely concerned about his girl. However his girlfriend is not biologically female; "Hafiz was no lover of women as he liked softness, curves, a strength and elegance to things. But he didn't generally attribute these to women, at least not the biologically born, surgically or sociologically constructed ones he knew" (p.68). According to Cass' theory individual choice is important in a person's homosexual identity development (Thoma, 2005, p.6). It is important to know that, in relating with Hafiz's situation, we have to acknowledge, "sexual orientation is experienced in complex and variable ways, which are undoubtedly influenced by both biological and societal factors" (Shagor, 2014). Hence, the turning point for Hafiz comes from both experiences of biological and societal factors. This homosexual momentum comes from his young and wild habits where he would "love to look at anyone and imagine what they are like in bed" (p.69). He took this habit to a higher level where he channelled out his desires by watching "porn non-stop for days until he was so sure of each genre and his mind was totally disengaged" (p.69). Relating back to the previous theory of how a person becomes homosexual, with the first sexual experience having been with a person of the same sex, provides support in explaining Hafiz's dilemma of verifying his own sexual orientation. Next is the part that indicates the individual's sexual identity, which depends on the first sexual encounter where the individual goes through physical touch with another person, regardless of gender. Even though the sexual experience does not fix a person's sexual orientation, in relation to Hafiz's situation, his first sex was with someone of his own gender; although it was a wonderful and warm experience, he clearly understood the immorality of his actions. However, this does not stop him from moving forward into more deeply exploring his sexual desires because "like a uniform, he had worn his shame during the day and hung it up at night when he went to sleep" (p.69). Although he understood humiliation, he transformed it into positive reinforcement when he falls in love with someone of the same sex, and the innocence of that time almost undoes him. The first sexual experience makes him feel "as if all his clothing had been removed by the boy though each piece had left its imprint on his skin" (p.69).

In addition, the innocence of Hafiz's youth influences his sexual preference, and it evolves through time, which makes him believe that he is not straight, according to his experiences of the past involving relationships with people of the same gender. This pattern clearly shows that Hafiz has replaced negative sexual discernment as a positive aspect in his life. Thus, he learns to accept that he "just grew to enjoy sex without fear" (p.70); without fear of being

judged by society and ostracised by others. This results in another resolution, where the character Hafiz in this story gets involved in an atrocious episode of eccentric affairs with men previously in his life, and later grows to be very fond of sex.

> *I really liked the sex we had. When we first started, it was like climbing over and under fences in order to cut the wire that framed them… Hafiz stood for a moment, staring after her, listening for the start of the car. Then he went back to reading, having assured himself he was still, after everyone, and in spite of everything, very much loved.* (p.75)

This shows that Hafiz is following his id mind and the extreme sexual desires he devours while being with the same gender. Although he admires beauty and elegance that are usually associated with the essence of womanliness, because he likes men, he transposes these features onto the man who is now his girlfriend. As Freud mentioned, the id mind is always the animal part of the human psyche, and its main function is to be satisfied with selfish needs, especially sexual desires; this seems to suggest that Hafiz is trapped in his own psyche. At the same time, being in a relationship where he is sexually happy makes him believe that he is very much in love; this is a sign that his id mind is severely controlling the emotions and sanity of his ego.

CONCLUSION

Psychoanalytical theory works to analyse the individual's behaviour in connection with the id, ego and superego. The stories analysed here show that the individual characters' behaviour depends on personal lust; this signifies that the character is obeying his or her id mind, and that the turning point of becoming an LGBT person is mainly to fulfil his or her own desires. On the other hand, if the characters' are being rational about their action in becoming an LGBT person, it is said that they are obeying their ego because that is a self-aware reaction of the individual character. Also, it makes the character feel complete and happy because it is what they believe to be real. On the other hand, if the character is proven to be feeling misled or confused with his or her own morality, it signifies their guilt feelings over what the superego is telling them when they choose to be an LGBT person. In conclusion, all three analyses of the short stories taken from the anthology indicate that the power of the id mind controls the self-realisation of the individual characters towards the functions of understanding their own personalities as LGBT persons. All of the characters discussed here go through physical experiences with the same gender, and somehow, they mould their character into becoming homosexual beings. This probably has to do with the individual's own strength to combat what the id mind desires most by choosing to look at the realistic function of the situation and not to be confused by temporary happiness.

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Bilingualism in Malaysia: Language Education Policy and Local Needs

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ABSTRACT

On 11 September 2012, the Prime Minister unveiled the National Education Blueprint that laid the foundation for transforming the Malaysian education system. Among the issues addressed was the strengthening of the teaching and learning of the English language alongside the reinforcement of the learning of the national language. Attention was given to ensuring students' English language proficiency through an emphasis on bilingualism (Bahasa Malaysia and English), which is one of the six key "attributes" addressed in the blueprint. The blueprint currently invites comments and feedback from the public in order for it to be sensitive to local needs. In this context, the concept of bilingualism must be clearly established and explained as the degree of bilingual proficiency one achieves often depends on the wider societal attitudes towards the languages concerned. This paper aims to explore the context of bilingualism in Malaysia and to describe responses from an important segment of society, the teachers who contribute to achieving bilingualism among students who ultimately will constitute the workforce of the nation. As such, the policy and current practices have significant implications for any agenda to be successfully implemented in order to contribute meaningfully to local and international economies. The study traces the development of bilingualism and bilingual education in Malaysia. It also provides information on responses of language teachers who are seen to be policy implementers and stakeholders who can provide salient information on the effects related to language education policy.

Keywords: Bilingualism, Malaysian language education policy, local needs, English language, national language

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INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of bilingualism is often founded on the language needs of a society. To understand language needs, one often would have to understand the notion of bilingualism. A narrow definition of a bilingual is that he or she is able to grasp and perfectly understand two languages. In other words, a bilingual needs to have "native-like control of two or more languages" (Bloomfield, 1933, p.55). On the other hand, a wider definition of a bilingual is one who uses two or more languages to communicate (Mackey, 1962). What then are the criteria that define a bilingual?

It would appear that the term 'bilingual' is applied by people in different ways. For some, it means an equal ability to communicate in two languages. For others, it simply means the ability to communicate in two languages, but with greater skills in one language. In fact, it is more common for bilinguals, even those who have been bilingual since birth, to be somewhat 'dominant' in the use of one language.

In the study of bilingualism, there are various angles that can be positioned. Among them are, what does it take to be bilingual? What do you have to understand about another language to be considered bilingual? What are the problems faced in the bilingual education system in a particular country? How do these problems affect students who are not fluent in either of the languages learnt? Underlying the issues raised is an understanding of language competence in the two languages. This will translate into an investigation into the magnitude of bilingualism. Another possible focus could be on the context of bilingual language acquisition, whereby investigation on age of acquisition (related to age at which the languages are acquired and its consequence on bilingualism) would also give insight into the state of bilingualism. Other studies on bilingualism have concentrated on domain of language use (circumstances in which languages are used) and finally, social orientation (which refers to environment), which offers another dimension for investigation.

In connection with the understanding of bilingualism, bilingual education is another important aspect. Bilingual education refers to an educational programme in which both a native language and a second language are taught as subjects and both could be used as media of instruction for the academic programme. In general, a bilingual approach in education refers to the use of two distinct languages for teaching. Bilingual programmes that are well designed and well received by the people at all levels of society will ensure that students have a better chance of success. One of the foremost reasons for advocating bilingual education is to instil a sense of integration and equality among members of a society, apart from viewing bilingual education as a step towards gaining the means to communicate socially and effectively. When students gain fluency in the language that is used in mainstream society, it enables them to integrate and feel connected to their peers and society. Other influencing factors in achieving bilingual competence

are attitude and motivation and levels of language proficiency (Dornyei & Clement, 2001; Gardner, 2001; Masgoret & Gardner, 2003; Al Mamum *et al.*, 2012).

Both attitude and motivation are often intertwined. Attitude can be influenced by instrumental and integrative motivation. Having instrumental motivation could lead to a person's favouring the use of a particular language that is perceived to have a high status and can bring about economic advantage. On the other hand, having integrative motivation refers to a perceived desire and need of a person to gain membership into a community. Attitude is a subjective matter. Perceptions that denote attitude are brought about by a complexity of experiences. Judgments are made about entities according to beliefs and values. For example, a language can be judged as superior or inferior. However, according to Chomsky, "There is no such thing as inferior languages. No one language is more superior or inferior than the other" (cited in Parilah & Fauziah, 2007). As such, an attitude that professes one language to be superior to another language should not be adopted as a determinant of language education policy.

THE STUDY

This study primarily focused on the development of bilingualism in Malaysia and its related language education policies. In connection with this, the study also ventured into perceptions of teachers on bilingualism, which provided baseline data on the effects of policy implementation. The approach to gathering the data was two pronged. The first part involved document analysis and review of related literature. The second part of the study involved a questionnaire survey. Respondents were language teachers at Malaysian secondary schools who were randomly selected.

The History and Development of Language Learning in Malaysian Schools

In Malaysia, the *madrasahs* and other Islamic schools were the earliest forms of schooling, and they may be traced back to pre-independence days (prior to 1957). Secular schools were introduced under British colonial rule at the initiative of the British government. It was also during the time of British colonial rule that large numbers of immigrants from China and India arrived in Malaya. These migrants eventually established vernacular schools for their respective communities. The British did not establish a single uniform system of education during its rule. Emphasis was on the promotion of English medium schools, especially through the work of English missionaries. The Chinese schools were set up as independent enterprises supported by Chinese guilds and communities, while the Tamil schools were largely established to serve the children of Indian migrant workers in the rubber estates. Malay schools, on the other hand, were instituted by the British government to cater for the Malay community's needs.

Prior to independence, the Malay language was already a vital language, as well as the language of general daily commerce,

but the language of the government was English. Nevertheless, public notices and important documents were rendered in four main ethnic languages: Malay, English, Mandarin Chinese and Tamil. This linguistic landscape set the stage for further development of bilingualism/ multilingualism and the learning of languages in schools.

An impetus to Malaysian language policy development and change was the gaining of independence in 1957. This witnessed the formalisation of the Malay language as the sole national language of the country provided in Article 152 of the Malayan Constitution. However, the policy allowed the use of English for official purposes. The aim of the National Language Policy was to integrate a nation through one common language, which would enable easy communication and understanding.

Meanwhile, English-medium schools continued to thrive, and, in fact, studying in such schools had become an icon of prestige. These schools catered mainly for children of the Malay elite, Chinese businessmen and Indian merchants. The English school was seen not only as a passport to social mobility, but also as providing countless opportunities to those seeking entry into various professions, especially government jobs (Asmah, 1982).

In 1967, a decade after independence, the Malay language was given further prominence with the official declaration of using the language as the medium of instruction in schools. The 1970s saw a gradual change of English-medium primary and secondary national-type schools into Malay-medium national schools. The change was completed by the end of 1982.

Bilingualism in Malaysia

Traditionally, the Malay language has always had a symbolic function in the country. It is the mother tongue of the Malays, who are the majority race in Malaysia. They have an emotional attachment to the language because it is intrinsic to their culture and identity. As Malaysians, the other races embraced the Malay language, Bahasa Malaysia (BM), when it became the policy to use BM as the national language and the phrase *Bahasa Jiwa Bangsa* (Language is the Soul of the Nation) became the motto of a united nation.

The English language, on the other hand, became the language of trade, commerce and communication. It is also the language of politics, science and technology. The English language was needed to establish and maintain diplomatic relations with other countries, to further education, build the country's economy and to excel in science and achieve progress. The English language is recognised as the global lingua franca and is the most commonly used language among foreign language speakers. Throughout the world, when people with different languages come together, they commonly use English to communicate. Hence, learning the English language also became a necessity in Malaysia because knowing the language meant opening the

door to a myriad of opportunities, job prospects and employability, both within and outside of the country.

In the 1970s, Malaysia had one of the best standards of education in the region, and this was attributed to the English language. The country had very competent teachers who were equally proficient in both the English language and Malay. Many teachers were in fact "non-specialised' as they often had to teach other subjects in English as well.

However, the face of education has since changed. In fact, Malaysia today stands at a cross-roads; the country has progressed by leaps and bounds, but bilingual literacy seems not to have taken off as successfully as planned. In fact, according to some quarters, we have regressed in our efforts to learn English. In particular, school children in rural areas have minimal contact with the English language throughout their 11 years of schooling, apart from their English class lessons.

The current situation clearly illustrates a state of multiple challenges and complexities that surrounds language literacy, especially that of learning English. As a result, many studies were initiated to address problems faced by our learners in learning English. These studies highlight two important issues regarding English language learning in Malaysia. The first is that Bahasa Malaysia has a strong influence over the learning of English and could have contributed to the deterioration of English. Learners of English often tend to be influenced by their mother tongue or first language when writing or speaking in English. Often, they use direct translation and dictionaries to comprehend English texts (Ambigapathy, 2002; Nambiar, 2007).

The second issue is the strong emphasis on teaching English as a school subject only. Students are then tested on the skills and rules in their school and national examinations (Razianna, 2005) without much relevance for real communicative use. The learning of the English language is, thus, mechanised, implying that there are only 'fixed' ways of using the language, isolating it to basic communicative use. The way the English language is presented (as a neutral set of language systems) to the students, influences them to view its learning specifically for classroom purposes only. Hence, it can be argued that English language literacy will continually be regarded as an alien language to the learners' communicative discourse.

In addition, because of its strong orientation towards national-based assessments, our education system has generally produced students who are unable to operate autonomously (Koo, 2008) 'whereby learners assume the part of empty vessels' (Naginder, 2006) with the teacher as the main source of input. This approach discourages and inhibits independent language learning. The strong tendency to depend on teachers for the students' own learning is further worsened by the prevalent emphasis on examinations throughout their school experience (Ambigapathy, 2002). The high importance placed on scoring good grades in the examination further establishes

the need to memorise and regurgitate even in the discourse of assessment in higher learning institutions (Koo, 2008; Lee King Siong *et al.*, 2010).

Studies have also revealed the need to reassess the methodology used to teach English literacy. One common suggestion that emerges from these studies is to incorporate out-of-classroom practices into the learning, as well as deliberation on social and cultural influences on English literacy learning (Razianna, 2005; Naginder, 2006; Maros *et al.*, 2007; Nor Hashimah *et al.*, 2008;). In this context, Noorizah (2006) and Rosniah (2006) also called for an understanding of students' reading and learning styles in order to promote better language learning among the students.

Maros, Tan and Khazriyati (2007) explored the interference effect of Bahasa Malaysia as an important inhibiting factor on the acquisition of English literacy among Form One students (13 year olds). Using error analyses and contrastive analysis, the study examined errors made by 120 Form One students from six rural Malaysian schools in the states of Pahang, Selangor and Melaka. Based on the errors found in the students' essays, the study concluded that the learners had difficulty in using correct English grammar in their writing. The three most frequent errors were wrong use of articles, subject-verb agreement and the copula 'be.' The study claimed that, although not all errors were due to mother tongue interference, a large number of errors identified suggested interference from Malay grammar. In a related work, Nor Hashimah *et al*. (2008) examined the morphological and syntactic differences between the Malay language and English, and concluded that linguistic differences proved to be one of the major factors influencing students' inability to successfully acquire English literacy. In yet another study conducted on 315 Form Two students, it was found that the most obvious weakness of the students' language ability was in the area of grammar, especially morphology and syntax. The study showed that students had problems with suffixes and plural inflections as these linguistic variables do not exist in the Malay language. The study also confirmed that differences in syntactic structures between the Malay and English languages contribute to the wrong use of the copula 'be,' subject-verb-agreement and relative pronouns. Further, the study maintained that, apart from the linguistic obstacles, social factors, such as unenthusiastic attitudes, lack of interest towards learning the language and an environment that does not encourage learners to use the language, have exacerbated the problem of acquiring the English language.

In their study and analysis of 72 written essays in English by Form Four students in one semi-urban Malaysian secondary school, Saadiyah and Kaladevi (2009) found that, generally, students had problems applying correct grammatical rules in their writing. This finding was consistent with two previous studies that identified common grammatical errors made by students i.e. subject-verb agreement and wrong use of singular and plural forms. In

addition to the wrong application of verb tense, inappropriate choice of words and prepositions were also common among the participants. The findings of this study implied that, despite having gone through 10 years of learning English, these students had yet to master basic grammatical structures.

These studies have been done in an attempt to find and identify the possible causes for the low English literacy levels among Malaysian learners, and also to recommend some directions for improving the learning of English, and, thus, bilingual ability. While the country continues to be plagued by such problems, limited English proficiency cannot be generalised to all as there are still some Malaysians who are proficient in the English language. However, it is conceded that the overall picture is discouraging and is indicative of the need to change the ways in which English language literacy is taught and learnt by Malaysian learners. Research has established that when learning a second language or a foreign language, it is of utmost importance that learners receive maximum support in terms of providing a supportive and conducive learning environment, as well as an adequate, meaningful language experience. Otherwise, as Koo (2008) asserted, "literacy practices … will continue to produce learners who look at knowledge as learning of a fixed body of information which can be regurgitated and applied without much comment and critique" (p.57).

While there is an official policy, what determines language choice and use in a multilingual society, such as that of Malaysia, is also left to social forces at work. Issues of language choice and use are prevalent and constantly debated. This is not surprising as language use is coupled with sentimental attachments, particularly when the language is inextricably linked to nationalism and personal identity. These issues are evident in works by Chan and Ain (2013), Gill (2003), Nik Safiah (1987) and Ozog (1992). Ozog (1992) viewed the role of English in the Malaysian education policy and its relationship with the National Language as a problem. He discussed the relationship as a dilemma for the country's policy planners. Nik Safiah (1987) highlighted that "Malay faces stiff competition from English. While the policy is to use the national language in all official instances, in many important domains of language, English is still the preferred language" (p.5). Gill (2003) strongly asserted that many scientific and technological terms were non-existent in the Malay language. As such, this poses a dilemma whereby teachers, especially at the tertiary level, often had to resort to the use of textbooks written in English. Chan and Ain (2013) observed that the influence of socio-cultural factors on language choice is most clearly illustrated in the widespread use of English for legal matters in Malaysia. These discussions reinforce the strong status of English. The value attached to the English language has obvious repercussions on the defining of bilingualism in the Malaysian linguistic scenario.

Thus, it could be concluded that there exists a state of "unbalanced" development in bilingual efficiency. Bahasa Malaysia is

the official language and is firmly anchored as the national language, but English continues to be taught as a subject, though it is widely spoken and used, especially in business. With regard to the Chinese medium and the Tamil medium primary schools, the government promises to maintain the status quo. There is also a strong local movement to maintain the languages and their use in national-type schools. The existence of these schools is, however, seen by some as a barrier to national unity, especially from the point of view of using the national language in all education domains.

Language Education Policy in Malaysia

The national education system is a catalyst for bilingualism (Asmah, 1982); although bilingual education itself is not openly advocated in Malaysia, nonetheless, it is often implicitly sanctioned. The rationale for bilingual education can be traced to the Malaysian Constitution, which states that Bahasa Malaysia is the national and official language and that no one is to be prevented from speaking and teaching other languages. Through the historical development of education and its policies in Malaysia, the languages that have gained significance are Bahasa Malaysia (as the national language), English (as an international language), and the vernacular languages (Mandarin Chinese and Tamil), which largely serve the needs of the local communities.

In the context of current practice, the Malaysian public school system is organised into national and national-type schools at the primary level, while, at the secondary level, all students are placed in only national schools. In national schools, Bahasa Malaysia is the medium of instruction and English is taught as a subject. This includes the learning of Mandarin Chinese and Tamil as additional subjects if there is a demand for them. In national-type schools, Mandarin Chinese and Tamil are used as media of instruction.

In matters of promoting bilingual efficiency, language policies in Malaysia have been tempered by a number of significant changes. Among them was the introduction of the Malaysian English University Language Test (MUET) in 1999, which requires all pre-tertiary students who wish to enter Malaysian public universities to sit the test. This policy indicates a recognition of bilingual efficiency at the tertiary level and beyond. Four years later, in 2003, a policy of using English to teach mathematics and science was introduced (Chan & Tan, 2006). This policy expressed a concerted effort to develop bilingual education in schools. However, the policy was short lived, and, in 2009, the medium of instruction was reverted to that of Bahasa Malaysia. In its place, currently, another initiative has been instituted which reinforces the status and role of Bahasa Malaysia as the national and official language with a parallel emphasis on the acquisition of competence in the English language. This gives renewed emphasis and recognition to the importance of both languages in nation building. In the next section, language education policy in relation to the latest education blueprint, which has implications on bilingual development, is discussed.

Language Education Policy and the Malaysian National Education Blueprint (2013-2025)

In view of current educational developments and challenges, the Malaysian Ministry of Education, in October 2011, launched a comprehensive review of the education system in Malaysia in order to develop a new National Education Blueprint (NEB). This new blueprint was made in the context of impacting international standards and the government's aspirations towards providing an education system of the highest standards, so as to better prepare its generation of school-going children for the needs of the 21st century. A lot of hard work was invested into developing the NEB via a multitude of analyses, surveys, interviews and research conducted with the support of national and international education experts, officials, principals, teachers, and parents across Malaysia. It was drafted to ensure that major improvements are made to the current national education system. The final NEB report was unveiled by the Prime Minister, Datuk Seri Najib Tun Razak, on September 11, 2012.

The NEB outlines various strategies to provide a comprehensive plan for a rapid and sustainable transformation of the education system from 2013 through 2025. The NEB focuses on six student attributes: knowledge, thinking skills, leadership, bilingual efficiency, ethics and national identity. To achieve the desired student outcomes, the NEB outlines educational reforms through 11 'shifts' listed below:

1. Provide equal access to quality education of international standards;
2. Ensure every child is proficient in English and Bahasa Malaysia;
3. Develop values-driven Malaysians (this would be achieved by expanding the Student Integration Plan for Unity programme for students);
4. Transform teaching into a profession of choice (only the top 30% of graduates will be recruited for teaching. The lure would be a new career package and reduced administrative duties.);
5. Ensure high performing school leaders in every school;
6. Empower JPNs, PPDs and schools to customise solutions based on need (state/District education departments and schools can tailor their approach for different schools);
7. Leverage ICT to scale up quality learning across Malaysia (Ministry of Education to expand 1Bestari (wifi) to all schools);
8. Transform Ministry of Education capabilities and capacity to streamline function;
9. Partner with parents, community and private sector at scale (parents will be able to support their child's learning and monitor their progress online through a School Examination Analysis System – 500 trust schools to be set up.);
10. Maximise student outcomes for every ringgit (ensure outcome-based

budgeting with government spending on education); and

11. Increase transparency for direct public accountability (the blueprint and progress of its goals will be made public).

Through this vision, the NEB is meant to achieve the five outcomes of access, quality, equity, unity and efficiency, which, it is hoped, will set the stage for transforming the Malaysian education system. One of its main objectives will be to ensure that every child will be proficient in both Bahasa Malaysia and English, the former being the national language and language of unity, and the other, the international language of communication. Students will also be encouraged to learn an additional language.

Thus the blueprint has laid the foundation for greater efforts in the acquisition of two or more languages. To oversee the efforts pertaining to the development of the English language, the Ministry of Education has also instituted an English Language Standards and Quality Control Council.

Teaching as a Profession of Choice

With regards to transforming teaching into a profession of choice (Shift 4), international research has shown that, in education, teacher quality is a very significant factor in determining student learning outcomes. Equally significant is a teacher whose language proficiency matches international standards, which in the Malaysian context refers to the use and teaching of the English language. As one of the measures highlighted under Shift 4, all 70,000 English teachers, nationwide, will be required to pass the Cambridge Placement Test (CPT) within a stipulated time. Teachers who do not meet this standard will receive intensive 'upskilling'. Training and re-training would be an ongoing process.

One of the initiatives of the NEB is to recruit teachers who graduate in the top 30%. A stringent selection process must be carried out to hire the right people. To further ensure proper recruitment, graduate teachers will be offered attractive career packages, career development and progression and other perks. In addition, schools and the Ministry of Education will work in tandem to ensure that the school curriculum is interesting and challenging: one that will strike the right balance between academic and non-academic development and bring out the best in both students and teachers, alike. A poor syllabus and poor teaching methods will definitely lead to deterioration of our standards of education, which surely includes the learning of languages.

As teachers play a significant role in education planning, their perceptions provide useful insight into the issue of bilingualism, which is a thrust in the NEB. Thus to complement the review on the state of bilingualism in Malaysia, data were collected from teachers to obtain their views.

DATA ON BILINGUALISM FROM TEACHERS

Teachers as policy implementers, are a group of professionals who definitely can

provide important perspectives on current educational issues. To complement the discussion on the bilingual initiative, data were collected from 39 Malaysian secondary school teachers. Three male and 36 female teachers participated in this study, the majority of whom (87%) were Malay.

As presented in Table 1, the internal reliability (Cronbach-α) for the survey questionnaire was .996, which indicates very high reliability.

TABLE 1
Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	No. of Items
.996	77

The respondents were between the ages of 20 and 59 years. It was found that 38.5% of the teachers taught Bahasa Malaysia, whereas 61.5% reported teaching English as a subject. The descriptive statistics obtained showed that the majority of the teachers had more than 10 years of teaching experience.

In terms of language proficiency, 43.6% of the teachers reported themselves as being very proficient in Bahasa Malaysia, while in sharp contrast, only one teacher rated him/herself as very proficient in English. In the proficient category, 51.3% considered themselves to be proficient in Bahasa Malaysia, and an almost equal percentage (48%) of teachers considered themselves proficient in English. Only 5.1% of them said they were fairly proficient in English. Interestingly, half of the teachers stated that they had studied other languages that they really enjoyed learning. However, most of them were not sure whether it was difficult to learn another language.

As seen in Table 2, respondents were asked to assess their perceptions of bilingual education. The participants were asked their perceptions of the usefulness of bilingual education. Their responses ranged from low to low usefulness. More than half of the respondents (53.8%) had a very positive perception of the role of bilingual education. However, a sizeable number of respondents (41%) were found to have only a moderate perception. They appeared not to believe strongly in a policy of bilingual education. However, only 5.1% of the teachers seemed to think that bilingual education was not useful. It can be concluded that adoption of bilingual education is a debatable issue. A strong force to promote bilingual education as being useful appears not to be evident.

Table 3 shows teachers' perceptions of the levels of bilingualism among students.

TABLE 2
Perceptions Towards Bilingual Education

	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Low	2	5.1	5.1
Moderate	16	41.0	46.2
High	21	53.8	100.0
Total	39	100.0	

Many of the respondents (51.3%) believed that students fall within a moderate level of bilingualism. However, 35.9% of the respondents felt that students had a high level of bilingualism. Only a small number (12.8%) felt that students had a low level of bilingualism. In the Malaysian situation, bilingualism can be perceived as being quite firmly grounded. This seems to suggest that the colonial language legacy has affected the development of bilingualism. Currently, students could be said to enjoy a reasonable competence in the use or mastery of two or more languages. However, the policy of promoting the learning of more than one language has much ground to cover if a high level of bilingualism is to be attained for most students.

Table 4 illustrates teacher's attitudes towards bilingual students. In this question, 43.6% of the respondents indicated that the factor of knowing more than one language among students does not influence their attitude towards the students. Only 15.4% of the respondents reported that they had a positive attitude towards bilingual students. A rather high proportion (41%) of the teachers expressed that knowing and using more than one language was of no consequence to them. In other words, bilingualism is not of much significance among teachers. This seemed to translate into the idea that teachers do not perceive being bilingual to be an advantage. If it is not seen to be an advantage, then it could also mean that teachers do not have a very firm view of the learning and use of more than one language and the emphasis on the learning of languages. They could be seen as not being strong models of a bilingual user as their attitudes did not show strong enthusiasm for bilingual ability, and, in turn, this could have an effect on instrumental or integrative motivation among students in wanting to learn languages.

TABLE 3
Perceptions of the Level of Bilingualism Among Students

	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Low	5	12.8	12.8
Moderate	20	51.3	64.1
High	14	35.9	100.0
Total	39	100.0	

TABLE 4
Teachers' Attitudes Towards Bilingual Students

Teachers' attitudes towards bilingual students	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Low	16	41.0	41.0
Moderate	17	43.6	84.6
High	6	15.4	100.0
Total	39	100.0	

Table 5 shows the overall teacher perception of students' abilities in English and Bahasa Malaysia. The mean indicator of 2.65 shows that teachers believed that students are able to use English to some extent. As expected, the mean score of 3.23 for Bahasa Malaysia ability was higher as Bahasa Malaysia is the medium of instruction in schools. This result clearly shows the positive effect of the use of the national language for all levels of the education system as forwarded as a central objective in the national education policy. However, the mean of 3.23 (out of a maximum score of 4) could be increased. This would mean that there is a definite motivator for policy makers to want to strengthen the role and status of Bahasa Malaysia. The mean figure of 2.65 (out of a maximum score of 4) for English indicates that student bilingualism does not support the equal competence definition for bilingualism. Instead, it supports the current state of English as a second language subject that is given less emphasis. This unequal state of bilingual competence attests to the need to further promote the use of English together with the strengthening of the national language. Standard deviation figures for the responses of both languages were rather similar, which suggests the stability of responses of the teachers surveyed.

Tables 6 and 7 present more support for the perceptions of bilingual competence, according to low, moderate and high competence levels for each language. The figures indicate that the bulk of the students (48.7%) were at the moderate level for English ability. This was followed by 33.3% of the students who fell into the high level. In this survey, it would appear that there were a considerable number of students who seemed to be considered proficient in the use of the English language. As for Bahasa Malaysia, the high level was only 66.7%. This means that teachers have a high

TABLE 5
Overall Perceptions About Students' Ability in English and Bahasa Malaysia

N		Mean	Std. Deviation
39	English	2.65	.72364
39	Bahasa Malaysia	3.23	.76114

TABLE 6
Perceptions About Students' Ability in English

	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Low	7	17.9	17.9
Moderate	19	48.7	66.7
High	13	33.3	100.0
Total	39	100.0	

expectation of Bahasa Malaysia competence. About one third of the respondents (33.3%) were considered to be only moderately competent.

THE FUTURE OF BILINGUALISM IN MALAYSIA

Bilingualism in Malaysia is undoubtedly well established. From the years of language development, Malaysia has formulated and revised its language education policies. Policy matters hold tremendous significance for the nation as they help to build or retard national development. Currently, criticism is abundant about an education system that has not met societal expectations. The general public, including parents, are beginning to play a proactive role in children's education. They have a reactionary voice to policies and the state of teaching and learning.

An instance of the involved public is seen in the formation of independent groups of concerned educators and citizens such as Parents Action Group for Education (PAGE), which engages in dialogue and debate on current issues of education, including language education policies. Currently, issues debated have centred on the importance of English and Bahasa Malaysia, emphasising that English language learning requires stronger impetus and action in order to enable Malaysians to gain a competitive edge globally. In addition, there are special interest groups that advocate reverting to teaching mathematics and science in English in school. More radically, it has been reported in the media that certain quarters have recommended that the government should re-establish English medium schools as a measure to improve English language competence. These strong reactions have caused the government to seriously address the issues raised and to institute new moves to address the concerns. The NEB is clearly a new initiative launched by the Government to pave the way towards a better educated Malaysia grounded on learning at least two languages. Another new initiative announced by the Minister of Education is to mandate a pass in the English language in the 2016 form five school leaving certificate (The Star, 15 January 2015). However, aspirations to have targeted proficiency in a language require long term and sustainable planning. Ample exposure and practice are fundamental in successful language acquisition. In addition, one must also have a passion (motivation) for learning the language.

TABLE 7
Perceptions About Students' Ability in Bahasa Malaysia

	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Moderate	13	33.3	33.3
High	26	66.7	100.0
Total	39	100.0	

Data suggest that being a bilingual is seen by teachers not as not being a significant factor in forging a positive attitude towards students. If this is the perception of teachers, then encouragement for bilingualism from teachers may seem not to be strongly forthcoming. Given the intertwining between learning and teaching, one would expect teachers to have a positive attitude towards the development of bilingualism. However, much more needs to be said about having motivation from teachers.

There seems to be a need for much reorientation in government efforts on providing bilingual opportunities and development. A factor that continues to plague language planners is the baffling issue of why Malaysian bilingual students who have learnt English for 11 years are still falling short of English language competence, especially at levels deemed to be adequate for employability. The panacea for this situation appears illusive. It could be said that the Malaysian education system has yet to find a solution for this – there has not yet been implemented a sound policy to establish bilingualism that will give added value to internationalism. However, the government cannot be faulted for lack of trying as it has set into motion new objectives and goals that could be considered as the way forward in getting Malaysians to be more committed bilingual operatives.

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A Literature Review of Rapport Management in Business Meetings

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ABSTRACT

A meeting is a planned communicative event where the participants' role is to achieve the discussed objectives. Business English (BE) is often used as the lingua franca for meetings. Studies on BE are becoming a growing interest but there are still limited readily available studies on business meetings, especially on those in the Malaysian context, and even fewer that describe rapport management in meetings. In a meeting, rapport is established when there is a shift in formality in the management of face, sociality rights and interactional goals. This may be the result of the display of the chairperson's power. BE, on the other hand, is used to achieve the communicative purposes that help to promote rapport. By reviewing past studies, this paper explores how the chairperson in local and other cultures establishes rapport through the use of politeness and other communicative strategies in conversational turn-taking. Conversational Analysis (CA) has been used widely to analyse audio and video recordings of meetings as it provides for microanalysis of such turn-taking. Past studies have shown that politeness, small talk, humour and the use of non-verbal expressions are elements of rapport management displayed by the chairperson.

Keywords: Rapport management, conversational analysis, chairperson, Business English

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INTRODUCTION

Business English (BE) used in business meetings has been an object of research since the 1970s. A wide collection of studies has been done on conversational strategies such as humour and small talk used in business meetings involving the use of BE. Apart from that, studies on topic management, decision making and turn-taking have all

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been closely examined by analysts such as Clifton (2009), Du-Babcock, (1999) and Svennevig (2012a) in their analyses of the spoken texts of BE from business meetings. The majority of these studies have two criteria in common: the method of analysis and studies on rapport management.

A tedious but meticulous method, conversational analysis (CA) is a microanalysis tool that is used to make sense of the participant's actions towards a social order by first transcribing sample texts from actual conversations (Asmuss & Svennevig, 2009). CA is heavily dependent on transcribed samples to the extent that a wider range of symbols used for transcription were introduced by Jefferson (2004). This analytical tool allows for the understanding of the discourse community being studied as it allows for the analysis of the speech exchange system that is unique to a particular community (Schegloff, 1999).

CA is used to study these features of conversation and for that reason, it is an ideal analytical tool for studying BE in business meetings. With its growing popularity, studies on institutional settings such as the workplace environment have begun recognising its reliability and its dependence on audio and video data, making this approach compatible with technology as a method of data collection (Clifton, 2006). This reliance on technology gives this method an extra advantage as it allows conversational analysts to include non-verbal behaviours as part of their findings on what affects the social patterns of speakers. Apart from CA, studies on rapport management are a common topic among studies on business meetings.

Recently, there has been a steady rise in studies on humour, small talk and the turn-taking interaction between the chairperson and other meeting members, suggesting that rapport management in business discourse is a growing interest. However, studies in 2013 have shown that more interest is being given to studies on improving the teaching of business studies (Short et al., 2013; Drury-Grogan & Russ, 2013; Anderson et al., 2013), Business English as a Lingua Franca (BELF) in Asian culture (Du-Babcock & Tanaka, 2013; Kankaanranta & Lu, 2013) and decision making (Baraldi, 2013). Therefore, rapport management is a gap that needs to be addressed. Furthermore, not many studies have been conducted on this in the Malaysian context.

This study explores rapport management for various reasons. Heylighen and Dewaele (1999) calculate the overall formality for a given situation, providing an idea of how members of a discourse community should act based on the formality of the situation. This theory allows its users to understand the setting via different situational variables such as the participants and the physical background. The understanding of both formality and rapport management allows us to understand how BE is used to manage what is said in the business context without being offensive.

The purpose of this paper is to review recent research into the development of BE as a lingua franca. Specifically, this paper reviews past literature on rapport

management to better understand how participants in a meeting create a mutual understanding after taking into account the formality of the business meeting environment. This paper discusses previous research on (1) how rapport is established in business meetings and (2) how Business English is used in the Malaysian context to promote rapport.

Formality

Saville-Troike (2003) defined formality as an interlocutor's choice of register that is represented by different language forms and manners of speaking for the particular topic or setting. Her view on formality was that it is based on two broad ideas. Firstly, it is determined by setting. This is relative formality. Irvine's (1979) definition fits into this category. Secondly, word choices are used to represent the formality of the situations, and this is described as formality of language (Saville-troike, 2003). Marshall and Tsekouras (2010), in expounding their own views of formality, explained that it is rule-guided, and it determines specific patterns of behaviour. Furthermore, the tone of social interactions among interlocutors is used to exhibit formality or informality.

Heylighen and Dewaele (1999) developed a theoretical framework to understand the overall formality of a setting. Fig.1 shows that formality is a combination of several aspects happening at the same time. However, these aspects are based on two ideas of formality. Heylighen and Dewaele (1999) explained that formality of a setting, either written or spoken, is based on how one pays attention to form or the proper code of conduct that he or she adopts. This is surface formality. However, surface formality is best understood when it is represented by the language used, or deep formality.

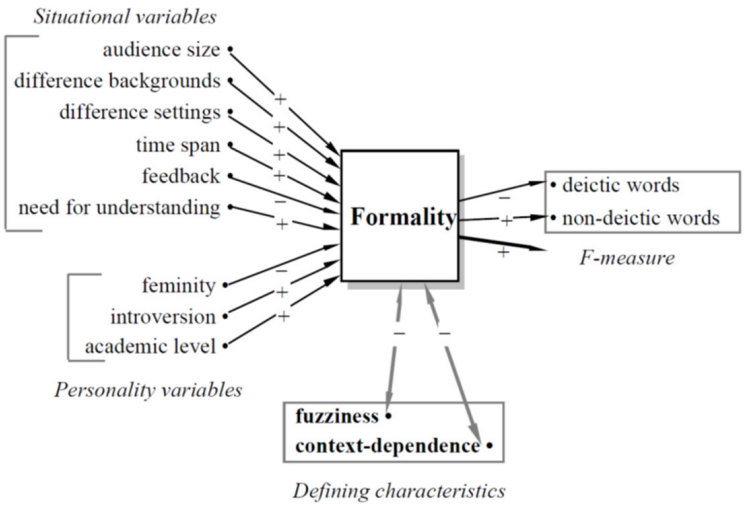

Fig.1: Heylighen and Dewaele's (1999) formality theory.

The first aspect of formality comprises the situational variables shown in Fig.1; these are the factors that contribute to the overall formality of a setting. This is combined with the language that is used in that setting in which formality can be measured by the *F-measure*. The combination of situational variables and the result of the *F-measure*, while based on the idea that the setting is to minimise shared contexst (elements of context-dependence and fuzziness), explains the overall formality of the setting. In conclusion, formality is formal language expressed explicitly to avoid ambiguity (Heylighen & Dewaele, 1999).The advantage of having this theory is that it can accurately quantify the overall formality for any written or verbal communication. This theory gives an idea of what would affect rapport in a meeting.

Rapport Management

Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory on politeness explained that "it is in everyone's interest to maintain each other's face, which can be threatened and damaged through interaction with others" (Ogiermann, 2009). However, their theory emphasised the individual's face without considering the importance of culture or non-verbal communication. Their theory prioritised the individual's actions towards face with regards to whether it appeals to others or if the actions of the individual are viewed as unimpeded. Their theory lacks the potential to be used in specific settings such as that of a Malaysian business meeting. In a similar study, Planken (2005) studied the interpersonal relationship of members in a business meeting using a theory that built on the ideas of Brown and Levinson's politeness theory: Spencer-Oatey's (2008) rapport management.

Rapport management has three main components: the management of face, the management of sociality rights and obligations and the management of interactional goals. The first aspect in rapport management is face. The definition of face can be understood as a person's sense of identity or self-image (Brown & Levinson, 1978; Spencer-Oatey, 2008). Spencer-Oatey regarded this aspect of rapport management to have its own characteristics, such as personality traits or beliefs to name two, and these characteristics are sometimes viewed positively, negatively or neutrally. These face characteristics or values "vary from person to person and from context to context" (Spencer-Oatey, 2008). These values represent the individual, group or culture that the individual belongs to.

The next component of rapport management is sociality rights and obligations. This aspect looks at how people regard themselves as having a range of sociality rights and obligations in relation to other people in the sense that negative rapport would be promoted if these rights were infringed (Spencer-Oatey, 2008). Depending on the social situation and context, those in a business meeting would probably make adjustments to how they should perform in a meeting while taking cultural values into consideration as part of

their rapport management. The third aspect of rapport management is similar to the general objective of any business meeting. Interactional goals in rapport management have a lot to do with people having their own specific goals to achieve when interacting with others. The desire to achieve them can significantly affect their perceptions of rapport because failure to achieve them can cause frustration and annoyance (Spencer-Oatey, 2008).

The same applies when someone speaks to us in a manner that is inappropriate. This will affect our rights; the more severe the negative action towards our face such as insulting speech acts, the more threatened we feel our 'social identity' is (Matsumoto, 1988) i.e. the more we feel that our face is threatened. In 1989, Matsumoto argued that all use of language is potentially face-threatening:

> *Since any Japanese utterance conveys information about the social context, there is always the possibility that the speaker may, by the choice of an inappropriate form, offend the audience and thus embarrass him/herself. In this sense, any utterance, even a simple declarative, could be face-threatening*. (Matsumoto, 1989, p.219)

Matsumoto's argument is in relation to Brown and Levinson's theory as their politeness theory mainly concerns illocutionary politeness, while Matsumoto's discussions deal mainly with Japanese honorifics or the stylistics of politeness. Brown and Levinson focused on only one domain in their attempts to create a universally accepted theory on politeness but in rapport management, it is important to manage other domains as well, such as the illocutionary domain, discourse domain, participation domain, stylistic domain and non-verbal domain, as each plays a role.

These domains are represented by the manner of language that is used to exhibit clusters of co-occurring features, which are better known as communication style (Spencer-Oatey, 2008). Brown and Levinson (1987) viewed communication style to be positive politeness while negative politeness viewed it as involvement (Scollon & Scollon, 1995) independence and Andersen et al. (2002) viewed it as expressiveness or distance. All these views share a commonality with the formality theory in that they describe the speaker's communication style as being either explicit or implicit.

Explicitness, as Spencer-Oatey (2008) explained, is the extent to which a message is coded unambiguously in the words that are chosen. From this explanation, we can begin to understand how rapport management is related to politeness and politeness with formality as formality is achieved by "being explicit in order to minimize ambiguity" (Heylighen & Dewaele, 1999). To put it simplistically, rapport management, which is based on the politeness theory, is a factor that helps explain the formality of a given situation.

Spencer-Oatey (2008), with her five-domain rapport management model, has explained how her model is related to Brown and Levinson's (1978) politeness theory, and that through using certain styles or manners of communicating, rapport management can help describe the formality of a situation. Furthermore, she discussed the major factors that influence rapport management. These include the participants, message content, social roles and activity type (Spencer-Oatey, 2008). 'Participants', as a factor that influences rapport strategies, is explained by two minor categories to help show the relations of the participants within a group. These categories are power and distance. Power is seen in the relationship between the participants such as manager and worker. Those with more power will have more sociality rights i.e. the power to reward or control others. Relationship, therefore, can be seen as 'unequal relationship' (Olshtain, 1989) or 'equal relationship' (Wood & Kroger, 1991). Distance refers to the relationship between participants such as the relationship between two friends or between a person and a stranger. The social distance between the participants will affect how the participants are to be treated. In relation to participants, the number of participants will also affect the rapport strategies of the speaker as "more participants evinced a sense of being under surveillance" (Wasson, 2000, p.5).

The next factor to influence rapport strategies is message content. Spencer-Oatey (2008) used the term 'costs' to elaborate how the content of the speaker's message may affect the rapport of the speaker. This 'cost' feature within a message can affect a speaker financially, in relation to time, effort, imposition, inconvenience, risk and so on. If the cost is too high and creates an inconvenience, then the balance in the participants' relationship needs to be restored. Social or interactional roles, for example, sales assistant-customer or chairperson-committee member, also affect rapport strategies. By having a realisation of the social role, participants in the interaction would realise their rights and obligations, and the limitations of those rights and obligations as well (Spencer-Oatey, 2008). Finally, type of activity affects rapport management strategies, as described by Gunthner (2007), who noted that communicative activities often have communicative genres that reflect the social and cultural values of the speakers. These communicative genres may display the social patterns of the five domains in rapport management (Spencer-Oatey, 2008).

In business meetings, a communicative genre is applied to outline the specific turn-taking strategies. From there, participants would have an idea of how one should participate in the event and how their message should be formed, which may incorporate all five domains of rapport management. Depending on the type of business meeting, this will influence the number of participants and, quite possibly, who participates in the event. The more important meetings would have participants with higher positions, and this may create a wider social distance among

the participants and make them aware of the rapport management strategies that need to be used because of this power gap between them. This promotes a higher degree of formality as the participants are less similar to one another (Heylighen & Dewaele, 1999). The significance of using rapport management is that it is more elaborate than the politeness theory and more suited for institutional settings such as business meetings. Nevertheless, it needs a tool to analyse its five domains, and it is here that conversational analysis (CA) plays an analytical role.

CONVERSATIONAL ANALYSIS (CA)

Using CA to analyse spoken discourse in business meetings provides advantages in studying their conversational features. Since these meetings can be sampled using both audio and video methods, an analyst is able to rely on technology to analyse non-verbal behaviours in the study of speakers' social patterns. Barske (2009) and Clifton (2009) have both used video recordings in order to collect data on body language that affected interactions in a business meeting. Many other studies followed a similar approach to data collection and argued that future studies should use a more integrated design (Markaki & Mondada, 2012; Nielsen, 2012; Svennevig, 2012a). These studies began using CA as it contributes to the understanding of interaction in the workplace. Furthermore, CA explains the structure of an organisation as it analyses spoken discourse in the business context (Asmuss & Svennevig, 2009).

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This paper reviews how BE is used in rapport management with the given formality in past studies. To avoid possible confusion, BE can be characterised as general words used for business-related matters such as 'big' and 'manage' (Nelson, 2006). Previous studies on BE, especially by those before the turn of the century (Williams, 1988; Linde, 1991; St John, 1996) tried to provide more authenticity to BELF. That has not changed as research into BE has come a long way from learning how BE course books were not relatable to real contexts (Williams, 1988) to how a combination of BE and non-verbal communication is used to carry out communicative acts (Bjorge, 2012). The study of BE began as being a materials-led movement due to the rising need to improve BELF (St John, 1996). It was considered as such because BE was seen as a tool used in the office but there were problems in determining its role in the working environment when it was not the dominant language as studies have shown (Nickerson, 1998). However, recent studies have shifted this movement to being a research-led movement. In companies with a multicultural background, BE is the dominant language (Louhiala-Salminen et al., 2005; Planken, 2005; Rogerson-Revell, 2008). This setting allows researchers to analyse conversational strategies for the purpose of improving business discourse over a company's need to use BE. The next section of this review extends this discussion to past studies on BE in relation to conversational strategies used in a

meeting and how it is used in the Malaysian context to promote rapport.

RAPPORT MANAGEMENT BETWEEN SUPERIOR AND SUBORDINATE

Spencer-Oatey's (2003) rapport management is derived from Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory. The study on politeness begins with Wasson (2000). Her study offers an idea of what is considered polite. CA was used to study the turn-takings of an American company meeting and Wasson used to analyse the degree of politeness in business contexts. Based on her findings, politeness can be said to be a result of the interlocutors' cautiousness towards the setting. Wasson described the speaker's sense of caution as speaking with care with regards to setting.

One factor Wasson identified was the speaker's concerns regarding being monitored or evaluated by their peers or superiors. Politeness in a meeting becomes evidently clear during disagreement between the majority of participants in a meeting and the selected speaker. This is represented by a long silence among the participants, indicating that the speaker needs to amend his or her own ideas in a polite manner (Wasson, 2000). When it came to decision making, Wasson (2000) observed that politeness was derived from the participant's attitude during the meeting. Participants would act as good team players because they favoured equality over aggression and dominating behaviour. This is due to the participants' unfamiliarity with one another; it also offers a chance to close that social gap. While it is not impossible that participants would do the opposite to gain favour or to build a reputation, it would be more profitable if participants worked together (Wasson, 2000).

This collaboration between participants may be viewed either positively or negatively. From a positive point of view, teamwork is being expressed in the meeting. Hence, creating a positive rapport but from a negative point of view may not be entirely favoured by the speaker due to the way it is achieved. Collaboration is seen when other participants would try to lighten the mood by inserting a joke or two once they realise the meeting has become tense due to the main speaker's poor idea. It may seem less formal or less polite but it maintains rapport in the meeting. However, if the main speaker still does not realise the problem then a long silence follows and this should catch the speaker's attention.

In a similar study, Friess (2013) identified similar results in politeness in a meeting between superiors and subordinates. His study indicated that there are two types of politeness strategy. The first is positive politeness strategy, where the participant tries to get along well with the other participants. If the participant is a subordinate, then there would be a high degree of politeness in order to gain favour and to save face. In the superior's point of view, positive politeness is seen when the participants alter their politeness strategies with current participants or when they meet with a new participant in order to welcome

that participant. However, the opposite effect can also occur if the superior in the meeting wishes to establish dominance or to save his or her face. Consequently, this causes the participant to lose his or her face and resort to using negative politeness strategy as well, for example through the use of apologies.

Nielsen (2012) has shown that body gestures related to objects in a meeting room such as gazing at documents or slides on a projector are another form of turn-taking strategy. It is also quite possible that it affects the politeness of the participant. The following section deals with this paralinguistic aspect in business meetings and looks at the non-verbal domain of rapport management.

Combination of Verbal and Non-Verbal Expressions to Promote Rapport in Business Meetings

Markaki and Mondada (2012) focused on how speakers identified opportunities to speak in an international meeting by mentioning the participant's country, bodily orientations and gaze directions. All of which, the researchers believe, would bring attention to and ultimately allow the representative of a country to speak. Opportunities to speak are derived from the use of verbal and non-verbal expressions, organisation of talk such as mentioning a participant's country along with bodily orientations. According to Markaki and Mondada (2012), mentioning a participant's country will have the floor's attention in the form of a gaze towards the representative of that country; the same result would be achieved by gazing or pointing at a target participant.

The combination of verbal and non-verbal expressions helps to create the organisation of talk in a business meeting. These non-verbal actions further clarify that meetings are not necessarily strict and rigid despite turn-taking being controlled by the chairperson. It is up to the participants to decide how and when they should take up their turn. Yet, it should not be mistaken that the chairperson is someone who dominates most of the turn-taking in a meeting. With that, it should be noted that turn-taking in business meetings is organised by the chair and the chair extends the right to speak to other members.

Through studying linguistic choices and non-verbal expressions in an ethnographic study, Virkkula-Raisanen (2010) was able to display the combination of verbal and non-verbal communication being used for effective communication in a business meeting. Her study explains how segments of talk are highlighted in turn taking via body gestures and rising intonation. From her study, when a speaker needed to stress an important agenda, actions such as holding an object and displaying it to the other members were sometimes used to gain attention. Her findings also described how the combination of a few language features were being used at the same time. Participants may at times use non-verbal expressions with rising intonation to deliver a stressed segment of a speech. The use of physical movements such as checking the time may signal the closing

of a meeting while the chairperson usually provides a brief conclusion or summary to end the meeting (Nielson, 2012). Another form of rapport management would be to use humour to create a positive rapport between participants but what exactly are the outcomes of using humour?

Using Humour in Rapport Management During Business Meetings

Humour is common in all cultures and its general purpose is to relieve tension or to act as a stress reliever. Brown and Levinson (1978) identify the main function of humour as being to create a positive self-image by amusing an audience through a shared idea of what is funny. Rogerson-Revell (2007), on the other hand, related the main function of humour to the management of rapport in business meetings as it helps to "construct a position of respect and status within the group" (Rogerson-Revell, 2007, p.5). While the use of humour in business is to build positive rapport, its general function as seen commonly in any culture, can still be applied in the business context as well. Grindsted and Annette (1997) discovered how humour was used strategically as a negotiating tool among Danish and Spanish participants in a simulated negotiation.

While humour is common in any culture, it varies as it is used differently in multiple business contexts (Rogerson-Revell, 2007). Rogerson-Revell (2007) explained that humour was used to show the hierarchical difference between the chairperson and the other participants in a meeting in an intercultural context. After analysing several different meetings in an international airline corporation in Southeast Asia, it was learnt that humour varied in each of the meetings as each meeting used a different style to engage its audience via humour. This was partly due to the possibility that each type of meeting would have its own culture.

Despite that, the characteristics of humour remained evident in any type of meeting. According to Rogerson-Revell (2007), humour is often associated with how it shifts a meeting from being formal to informal. Meetings that use humour as a communicative strategy are seen as dynamic rather than static. They create a shift in interactive style from one that is more structured to one that is loosely relaxed and informal. The purpose of using humour to create this shift in an interactive style is usually seen during discussions of problematic or conflictual issues (Grindsted & Annette, 1997; Bateson, 1953). Kangasharju and Nikko (2009) viewed humour as a means to create a bond or "fellow-feeling" among participants in an attempt to close a topic smoothly in a positive atmosphere.

Humour may be seen as a linguistic strategy to diffuse language difficulties in an effort to ignore confusion or to stall in a meeting (Rogerson-Revell, 2008). One strategy is what Firth (1996) called the 'let-it-pass' strategy. Usually, this strategy is used among non-native English speakers. On the other hand, it is also used by the chairperson as a communicative tool. Holmes et al. (2007) described how the chairperson controls the use of humour

during a meeting. It is possible that the chairperson has a major influence on rapport management as he or she provides the sociality rights to allow humour from the other speakers.

Overall, humour is used to create a more relaxed environment, to enable bonding and to provide more rights for other participants to take their turn at speaking. Besides humour, past studies have examined the use of small talk to manage rapport in a business meeting. The next section provides a lengthier review of this.

Small Talk Builds Rapport in Business Meetings

In business discourse, small talk serves as a topic initiator in business meetings. However, it has an even greater purpose in the development of a successful business meeting (Yang, 2012). In Yang's (2012) study, the overall function of small talk in business meetings is to help initiate the meeting and later, to help develop it. It achieves this through building an interpersonal relationship between the participants by building in-depth social communication with the participants (Yang, 2012).

Pullin (2010) also shared the same view on small talk. She explained that its overall functions are related to rapport management that it builds, maintains and reinforces in a peaceful manner. Choice of topic also has its importance (Planken, 2005; Pullin, 2010). Rapport can be easily achieved when there is common ground to interact or there are 'safe topics' between the participants. Pullin's study emphasised how safe topics achieved positive rapport, which eventually leads to successful negotiation. Examples of safe topics include food, music, pets and pop culture. By using safe topics to maintain business meetings, small talk can be used to also "develop it by linking the act of small talk with other sequences of talk" (Yang, 2012).

In short, small talk can be seen as a tool that creates opportunities for participants to help develop a meeting from the initial opening phase. By shaping the structure of a business meeting to be more dynamic, small talk achieves successful rapport management in the process. Although these past studies have expanded our knowledge of rapport management, the findings of these past studies are predominantly from western culture. Therefore, studies on Asian culture in relation to business meetings should be taken into account.

Related Studies on Business Meetings in Asian Culture

St John (1996) explained that each culture has its own perception of formality as the main objective to achieve effective presentation. Corporate culture, as she explained, is best noticed during a business meeting. To be an effective business communicator, there is also a need to understand the culture of the business environment. Studies on business culture reveal a deeper understanding of the differences of business meetings in the West and in the East. Nickerson (2005) highlighted in her study on English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) that the differences

between business meetings in the West and in the East are influenced by their national cultures and the company's practices.

A study by Fung (1993) examined the use of indirectness employed by participants from two companies in a business meeting. The study used the politeness theory as their theoretical framework to explain the how politeness is caused by the power status of the speaker (Takano, 2005). According to Fung (1993), those who used indirectness were perceived to be indecisive and of lower status but those with authority used indirectness as communicative strategy. Those in authority would exploit indirectness to pressure others to accept their viewpoints but at the same time it was also used to build rapport among participants. Moreover, indirectness was used during critical moments of negotiation in business meetings. It is a strategy used by higher-ranking participants to gain more support for their view.

Other studies have shown that Hong Kong natives were more participative in their meetings and their communication patterns were more elaborate when they spoke in their mother tongue but when they needed to speak in English, which was their second language, communication patterns in meetings were more linear and direct (Du-Babcock, 1999). In a later study on the use of BELF in Hong Kong, it was revealed that the Cantonese would rather use English if they needed to communicate with foreigners (Evans, 2013). These past studies showed how the role of BE is different in the West, where it is accepted as a lingua franca, but in the East, it is reserved as a tool to be used only when necessary. To answer the second research question in this review, the next section reviews past studies in the Malaysian context.

Business English in the Malaysian Context

Previous studies have shown that a culture influences the way BE is used in the business context. In Malaysia, how BE is used would have slight differences due to cultural influence. While Standard English is taught as a second language in schools and at tertiary institutions, many Malaysians feel more comfortable when they are able to use Malay (Izzuan, Baharum, & Tretiakov, 2007). What, then, is Malaysian Business English?

Nair-Venugopal (2007) gave a detailed explanation of the characteristics of Malaysian BE in her study on the Malaysian workplace despite not providing any relevant information on the study's methodology. She explained that Malaysian BE is defined by "how localized ethnic speech is combined with the characteristics of BE in business settings in which forms Malaysian Business English " (Nair-Venugopal, 2007, p.206). She referred to these localised ethnic speeches as "ethnolects, segmental phonology and prosody of the utterances of the members of the three major ethnic groups, Malay, Indian and Chinese" (Nair-Venugopal, 2007, p.207). Based on the findings, code-switching and code-mixing seemed to contribute mostly to the characteristics of Malaysian Business English. Features such as lexical shifts also related to code-

switching as Malaysians replace one or two lexis with localised expressions.

While these previous studies provide an idea of how BE is perceived in Malaysia and in Malaysian business culture, this next study explains how BE is used in local business meetings. The study (Nor & Aziz, 2010) analysed how politeness strategies were used by the chair to maintain face of his or her subordinates. The study revealed that most of the politeness strategies used by the chairperson were negative politeness strategies. Negative politeness can be seen as being too direct and as the study shows, the chair used his authority to assert his decision with negative politeness while using other politeness strategies to minimise the hearer's face threat. Other politeness strategies include the use of 3rd person pronoun 'we' and hedging.

In short, BE in the Malaysian context is dependent on various cultures in the workplace environment. Its use, combined with the phonology and the prosody of utterances of each culture, describes how BE is used in the Malaysian context. The purpose of continuously conducting research in a similar field is to update the current state of knowledge. At present, it is understood that local BE courses lack authenticity, which is almost similar to the problems stated by Williams (1998). As such, the solution suggested by Izzuan et al. (2007), that is, to create simulated events, should be taken into consideration and be applied in current BE courses or run the risk of having future entrepreneurs who are lacking in communication skills.

DISCUSSION

The interesting aspect about studying business discourse in a meeting is how much there is to learn about formality. Most of the past studies considered in this review were on large meetings. Therefore, it is understood that the overall tone of these meetings was formal despite the fact that this claim was based on only one variable of formality i.e. audience or in this review, the participants in the past studies. While it is not an accurate claim as it did not use the F-score, sufficient information on formality can be gathered based on the participant's background and the number of participants (Heylighen & Dewaele, 1999).

From that, one would have enough information to determine rapport management that participants in a meeting would have used if there was a superior-subordinate relationship in the meeting. These past studies showed that the chairperson or a superior had the highest authority over rapport management, which in turn affected formality. Both humour and small talk were described in past studies to have been used as effective strategies to manage rapport and ensure success in a meeting (Kangasharju & Nikko, 2009; Pullin, 2010). While both conversational strategies ensure positive rapport, only humour has ever been reported to affect formality (Rogerson-Revell, 2007). Though it was not mentioned in past studies, small talk affects formality as it creates common ground for participants to build an interpersonal relationship via 'safe talk' (Planken, 2005). This common

ground is more or less shared context among participants and according to Heylighen and Dewaele (1999), the greater the shared context, the lower the formality.

The implicit-explicit manner of speech affects not only formality but rapport management as well. This manner of speech can also be termed as indirectness-directness (Spencer-Oatey, 2008). In Hong Kong, BE is not the most favoured lingua franca, and this leads to a more linear-direct meeting (Du-Babcock, 1999). However, in an earlier study indirectness was used by either superior or subordinate as a communicative strategy (Fung, 1993). It is still inconclusive how BE is used in the Asian context but its use has a direct effect on formality just as when Western companies use small talk and humour.

Fung (1993) described how those with authority used indirectness as a communicative strategy. Likewise, Rogerson-Revell (2008), Firth (1996) and Markaki and Mondada (2012) described how the chairperson dominates a meeting by allocating turn-taking opportunities or used conversational strategies such as humour to direct the flow of the meeting. Prior studies on the influence of the chairperson showed that those with authority were those who determined rapport management and eventually, the overall formality of the meeting.

CONCLUSION

This review found that generally, rapport is established when there is a shift in formality in the management of face, sociality rights and interactional goals. Previous studies revealed that the chairperson has great influence over these three domains in rapport management. In relation to face management, the chairperson uses communicative functions, humour and small talk to create a more dynamic meeting. The uses of such functions are tools employed by the chairperson to help diffuse problematic or conflictual issues (Grindsted, 1997; Bateson, 1953). Its use reflects the chairperson's hierarchical relationship in a meeting as the chairperson systematically uses it to build 'fellow-feeling' among meeting members in an attempt to maintain rapport (Rogerson-Revell, 2007). These communicative functions are not exclusive to the chairperson alone but through its use, the chairperson is able to provide more turn-taking opportunities or rights to speak to other meeting members.

Apart from the use of small talk in creating more rights to speak, the combination of verbal and non-verbal expressions by the chairperson can be seen as promoting rapport. As Svennevig (2012b) highlighted, the use of body gestures such as pointing by the chairperson are references to take up speaking rights. Either the next turn is initiated via self-selection or the non-verbal message conveyed from the chair's body gesture prompts the next speaker (Svennevig, 2012a) to take his turn. Actions such as holding an object or raising intonation may highlight the importance of an agenda (Virkkula-Raisanen, 2010). This also creates a shift in formality that the meeting needs to be more focused as it

'gathers attention' (Markaki & Mondada, 2012). In a way, the use of body gestures to control the distribution of turns creates order in topic management. However, negative rapport may arise when a participant in a meeting tries to achieve specific interactional goals when it is not approved by the majority of the meeting's participants.

As Wasson (2000) pointed out, participants in a meeting favoured equality or aggressive behaviour. As such, politeness is much needed in rapport management. In accordance with Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory, participants would use different types of politeness strategy in relation to setting. In 2013, Friess noted that a chairperson may switch politeness strategies when welcoming new participants. The results from his study indicate that a chairperson or superior's use of either positive or negative politeness strategy will directly influence future interactional goals of other participants. From these past studies, it can be assumed that rapport is the result and display of the chairperson's power. BE, on the other hand, is used to achieve the communicative purposes that help to promote rapport.

However, with limited studies on BE in the Malaysian context, little can be elaborated on rapport management in Malaysian business meetings. With regard to the second research question of this review, the chairperson in Malaysian business meetings is more in favour of using negative politeness strategies over positive politeness strategies. Despite having limited local studies on rapport management, results from past studies on business meetings in various cultures have all shown that the chairperson has an important role in rapport management. Naturally, it is the responsibility of the chairperson to manage the distribution of turns, which results in rapport management. However, these past studies on rapport provide great examples of chairpersons managing rapport in a meeting. This is important as there have been cases of rapport being poorly established such as shown in the study by Spencer-Oatey and Xing (2004), where the participants in the study were considered to be disrespectful to their guests due to failing to take the setting into account.

This review of recent studies begs the question of what the next step in researching business discourse is to be. This review suggests that there are two choices that may be considered for future studies. As it stands, there is limited knowledge of Malaysian business discourse. While it is understood that Malaysian BE courses could use more authenticity in their syllabus, more studies on the participant's manner of speech used in Malaysian business meetings would fill this gap in knowledge. Du-Babcock's (1999) study on the role of BE in a meeting and Nor and Aziz's (2010) study on politeness strategies are different approaches to analysing manner of speech but this only shows the available possibilities.

Future studies in Malaysian business discourse should look into the conversational strategies between superior and subordinate. This would provide more information on rapport management and formality in the

local context. More importantly, local BE courses would have the most to gain as information on the use of BE would provide the authenticity needed for BE courses. Presently, any local study on BE would still need high dependence on past studies that were based on Western culture. Recent studies examined in this review provide the necessary literature on studies on rapport management or BE. Adaptation of these past studies in future local studies would eventually lead to a more authentic BE course.

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Discursive Construction of Asian Responses towards Impoliteness

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the responses of Asian speakers towards impoliteness they received. Using conversations between participants of the reality TV show 'The Amazing Race Asia' from Season Two and Season Four (Lau & White, 2007, 2010) as our data, we investigated how participants responded when their 'face' (sense of dignity) was being threatened or attacked. We explored the response options proposed by Bousfield (2008) and applied them to this Asian context. Findings of the study indicate that most of the participants responded to impoliteness by denying responsibility by offering an account or explaining their respective mistakes in order to reduce face damage. Those who avoided argument tended to either accept the face-threatening act or remain silent. Additionally, obeying a command was a response found in the study, which may be included under response strategies of accepting a face-threatening act.

Keywords: Responses, impoliteness, face-threat, counter, offensive, defensive

INTRODUCTION

Impoliteness is a multidisciplinary field of study (Culpeper, 2011, p.3). Media studies such as the study of television shows is an area of research that can be scrutinised for aspects of impoliteness. Impoliteness is largely embedded in reality TV shows, especially game shows such as 'Survivors', 'Hell's Kitchen', 'The Amazing Race' and many others in which participants work as a team in order to win. In these situations, we can identify how participants handle pressure or emotion and respond to the impoliteness they receive from their team members.

During an interview, Henry Reed, a participant in 'The Amazing Race Asia' Season 2, claimed that he and his partner had trouble finding the directions to a pit stop during the race because of their poor communication skills. His words are given below:

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> *We definitely had trouble driving because we didn't communicate very well* (The Amazing Race Asia Season 2, 2007).

Another participant, Paula Taylor, from 'The Amazing Race Asia' Season 2 further confirmed that if the team (Henry and Terri Reed) had not argued much, they might have been a really strong team. She said:

> *The fact that they fight so much actually slows them down. So like now, we just can see we don't scare about them anymore because really I'm sure if they don't have any emotional fight, they'll be really strong* (The Amazing Race Asia Season 2, 2007).

Purpose of the Study

According to Austin (1990, p.277), a hearer will determine what is polite or impolite according to contextual factors, which include hearers' expectations of speakers' intentions and non-verbal cues. The participants' poor communication might be due to a lack of tolerance between the speaker and the hearer.

Responding to the claims made by the Asian participants of 'The Amazing Race Asia' reality TV programme that their constant arguments and use of impoliteness led to poor performance, this study investigated the kinds of responses made based on the impolite utterances received. While most studies have overlooked these issues (Culpeper *et al*., 2003), this study intends to fill the gap by identifying the ways hearers respond to face threats.

Responses Towards Impoliteness

Stewart (2008, p.36) claimed that hearers depend on their previous experience or knowledge to decode ongoing conversations. Based on Bousfield's (2008) response options model, when a receiver has received impoliteness which damages their face, they either respond or do not respond (Bousfield, 2008, p.188).

Bousfield's (2008) response options model shows that individuals who choose not to respond will remain silent. Staying silent can convey many meanings. The individual may be playing dumb or not knowing how to defend himself. Some would rather stay silent to accept the face-threatening act. Others might be silent while thinking how to defend themselves (Bousfield, 2008, p.188). It could also be offensive when one refuses to speak when it is one's turn to speak (Bousfield, 2008, p.188).

Otherwise, participants might remain silent when the meaning conveyed by an utterance is unclear or inaudible when spoken. Sometimes, attempts to answer are denied as the speaker constantly interrupts (Bousfield, 2008, p.190). In certain situations, it is better to stay silent to avoid more conflict, especially when facing a superior (Bousfield, 2008, p.191). This response aggravates the damage of face because the receivers are assumed as accepting the cause of the offending event. Apart from staying silent, withdrawing is

another no-response strategy. In this case, one participant withdraws physically, leaving the conversation in order to end the argument (Bousfield, 2008, p.215).

Conversely, individuals who choose to respond will either accept or counter the face attack (Bousfield, 2008, p.193). When receivers accept face attacks, they either agree or take the blame or even apologise for causing the offending event. Similar to staying silent, this, in fact, worsens face-threatening acts (Bousfield, 2008, p.193).

Based on Bousfield's (2008) response options model, countering a face attack can be divided into offensive and defensive strategies. However, both strategies come in pairs, such as offensive-offensive or offensive-defensive (Bousfield, 2008, p.193). An offensive-offensive strategy involves countering a face attack with another face attack. It usually occurs among interlocutors with equal social or power positions (Bousfield, 2008, p.193). For instance:

S1: Shut up, you fat pig.
S2: Shut up, you idiot.

In this conversation, it can be noted that after being commanded by S1 to keep quiet and being insulted as a fat pig, S2 counters the offensive utterance with another face attack by calling S1 an idiot.

Individuals who use offensive-defensive strategies tend to defend their own face. Bousfield (2008, p.195) notes that this strategy aims to deflect or block in order to reduce the face damage. Abrogation is a defensive strategy speakers use by switching roles and avoiding the responsibility for causing the offending event in order to save face (Bousfield, 2008, p.195).

According to Bousfield (2008, p.197), ignoring a face attack is a defensive counter strategy where the individual responds positively or expresses insincere agreement. This often occurs due to differing power positions. On the other hand, offering an account or explaining one's action may also defend and reduce the face damage. In other words, the recipient can deny the responsibility with an explanation or by providing excuses (Bousfield, 2008).

Pleading is another type of defensive strategy in Bousfield's (2008) response options model. For instance, an individual may respond with some politeness strategies like "Please don't do this to me" or cry (Bousfield, 2008, p.200). When they plead, they are damaging their own positive face. This strategy is used to seek sympathy from the offender and, at the same time, make them look terrible for not withdrawing the face attack (Bousfield, 2008, p.200).

The response options mentioned above were previously developed by Culpeper *et al*. (2003). Bousfield (2008) later modified these responses and expanded the model. According to Bousfield (2008, p.206), there are other defensive strategies in different discourses that can be considered. All of these response strategies (i.e. keeping silent, accepting face attack by agreeing or apologising, countering face attack with another face attack, explaining one's action, ignoring FTA, abrogating and standing off) are seen as being highly related to this study.

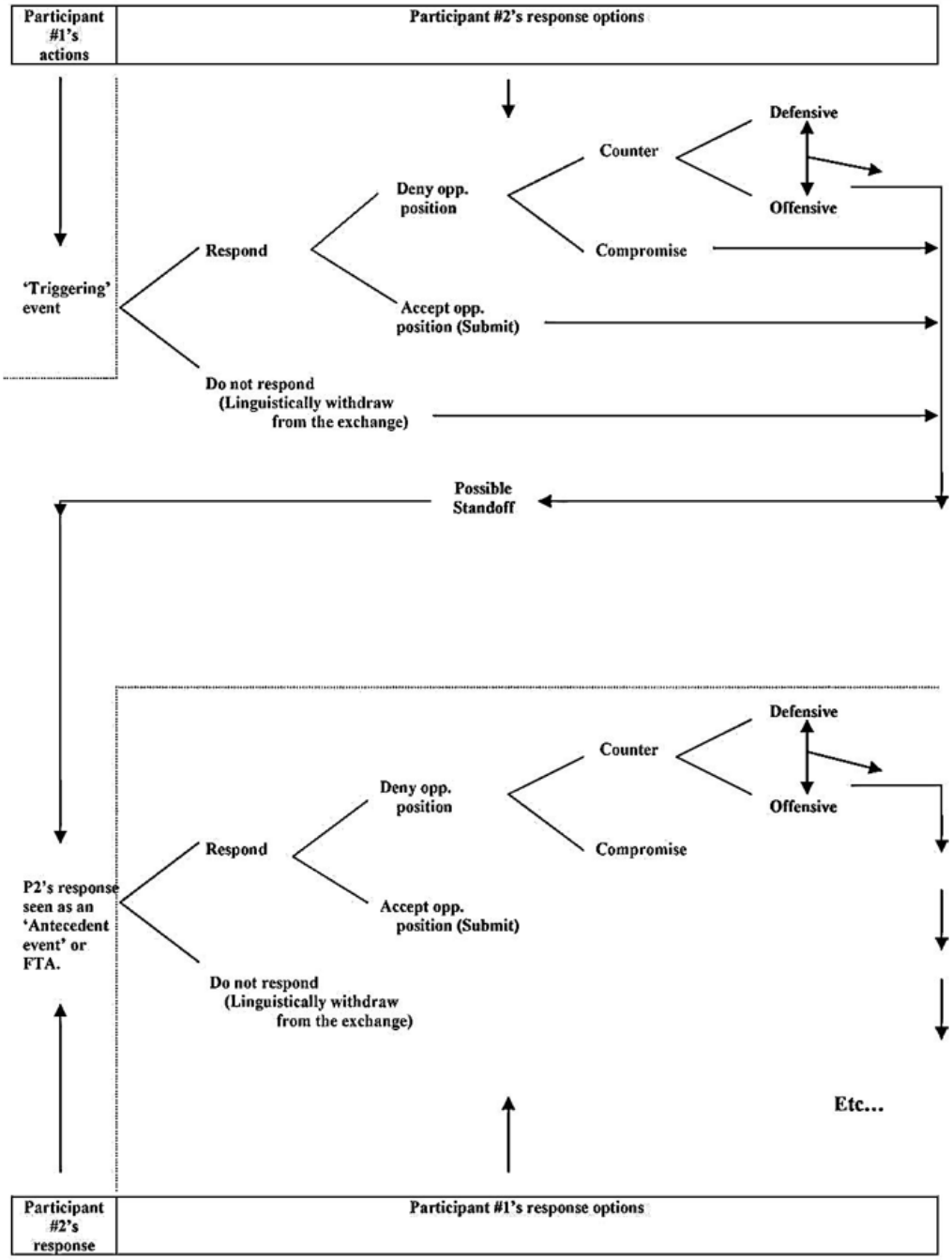

Fig.1: Bousfield's (2008) response options model

Bousfield (2008) has applied the response options model on several TV shows such as 'Redcaps', 'Soldiers To Be', 'The Clampers', 'Parking Wars', 'Boiling Points' and 'Raw Blues'. He discovered that the recipients of impoliteness in these TV shows responded according to his response options model. However, there is no evidence found of the stand-off response option in the excerpts from the police, military or kitchen scenarios. This is because the participants in those data had different social roles and power relations in impoliteness discourses (Bousfield, 2008, p.215).

Nonetheless, Perelmutter's (2010) research shows a different kind of option. She conducted a study on conversations between a modern Russian mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. Based on this study, she discovered that when the daughter-in-law was offended by the mother-in-law, such as when her performance of the household chores was criticised by her mother-in-law, she could not confront her directly due to social differences and power relations. However, she restored her face later by complaining to her peers in an online forum support group in order to gain their support or approval. Based on the study, the daughter-in-law metaphorically attacked the offender in order to restore her previous face damage.

RESEARCH DESIGN

This was a qualitative study examining how interlocutors responded to impoliteness. Conversation Analysis (CA) was employed as a basis for the analysis, which included the features of turn-taking, overlaps and interruptions.

With the use of CA, it was also easier to analyse interruptions or when two individuals spoke simultaneously as they were represented in the transcript (Bousfield, 2008, p.8). For instance, overlapping speech occurred when speakers intended to take over the conversation. If the speakers attempted to prevent the interruption, they increased their volume and kept talking. Yet, overlapping can sometimes be co-operative when interlocutors are just mirroring what they say. As for adjacency pairs, arguments occurred when the expressed point of view was a follow-up with a challenge as response (Paltridge, 2006, p.115). Consequently, how the receivers responded to the insult or face-threat they received could be identified.

Hutchby (2008) conducted a study on impoliteness through the use of conversation analytic approach. Based on his study, he emphasised that researchers should be more focused on the way interlocutors orientated themselves towards impoliteness they received from others instead of just being concerned with particular linguistic devices (Furman, 2011). This is because conversation analysis deals with the way speakers organise their utterances during a conversation (Furman, 2011).

MATERIALS AND METHOD

The data gathered for this study were retrieved from four selected episodes in Season Two and six selected episodes in Season Four of 'The Amazing Race Asia'

(Lau & White, 2007, 2010) reality TV show (see Table 1). Each episode of the reality show was downloaded from 'Watch Series' (2007, 2010) website (http://watch-series-tv.to/). Season Two and Season Four were selected for this study based on participants' social relationship.

This reality TV show was chosen to examine the way Asian participants interacted with each other while under pressure. It focuses on the participants, who have to perform specific tasks, and they are constantly being pressured to search for directions to get to their destination. Ultimately, they are competing with other participants from different countries in undertaking the tasks to reach their objective.

The selected participants for this study were Asians. Table 2 reveals the profile of the participants, which includes the pseudonyms, relationships among teammates, age, gender and the country they were from in Seasons 2 and 4.

There were a total of 14 participants sampled for this study. Out of these 14 participants, four came from Malaysia and four from Hong Kong while there were two participants each from Singapore, India and Indonesia. They were mostly siblings, friends, cousins or couples as stated in Table 2.

The conversations were naturally occurring speech and thus, spontaneous representations of the participants' emotions. For instance, when participants succeeded at a task, they were delighted whereas, when they were faced with obstacles or challenges, they tended to argue.

The data were analysed based on the conversation analytic approach. The episodes were transcribed according to Jefferson's (1984) Transcription Conventions (see Appendix). The conversations were organised according to different categories of responses using Bousfield's (2008) response options model. The findings were, therefore, supported by the analytical vignette from the selected samples.

TABLE 1
Selected Episodes from Seasons 2 and 4 of 'The Amazing Race Asia'

Season	Selected Episode	Minutes per Episode
2	1	47:59
	2	48:03
	7	46:59
	10	46:07
4	1	49:09
	2	51:34
	3	46:03
	4	47:28
	6	48:15
	12	44:02

TABLE 2
Profile of the Participants

Season	Year	Pseudonyms	Relationship	Age	Gender	Country
2	2007	Vivian	Sisters	29	Female	Malaysia
		Prue	Sisters	24	Female	Malaysia
2	2007	Molly	Dating for 10 Years	28	Female	Hong Kong
		Evan	Dating for 10 Years	26	Male	Hong Kong
4	2010	Cheryl	Rebel Pals	21	Female	Singapore
		Mona	Rebel Pals	22	Female	Singapore
4	2010	Hudson	Father & Daughter	53	Male	Indonesia
		Nicole	Father & Daughter	24	Female	Indonesia
4	2010	Ian	Married couple	33	Male	Malaysia
		Tyra	Married couple	38	Female	Malaysia
4	2010	Sean	Cousins	25	Male	India
		Mike	Cousins	23	Male	India
4	2010	Alex	Dating couple	32	Male	Hong Kong
		Whitney	Dating couple	24	Female	Hong Kong

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This section discusses the conversations of the participants responding towards face attacks they received. Table 3 presents the frequency of the types of response strategies used by the Asian participants. The findings reveal that the defensive counter strategy, which is denying by offering accounts or explaining one's actions, was the most used strategy.

Defensive Counter Strategies

Defensive counter strategies used by participants sampled in this study included denying by offering an account or explaining one's action, ignoring an FTA, abrogation and stand-off.

Deny by offering accounts or explaining one's action. When their face was attacked, several participants used this strategy to reduce the face threat by showing it to be erroneously delivered in the first place (Bousfield, 2008, p.198). In the following example, Prue doubts Vivian's sense of direction for being too dependent on her.

Example 1 (S2, E10):

Context: The following conversation occurred when Prue and Vivian were on their way to Hercules Fountain in Royal Palace, Hungary, to search for their next clue.

1. Prue: I think you're relying on me [to think where it is].
2. Vivian: [**I'm not relying on you**], **Prue. I dunno.**
3. Prue: Neither do I.

4. Vivian: So don't say that. **Don't say I'm relying on you. I'm not.**
5. Prue: No, I'm saying if you think is that, then we can just try.

As shown in Example 1, line 1, Prue accused Vivian of not being independent enough when seeking directions. In return, Vivian defended herself by denying the accusation (line 2) and claimed that she was not relying on Prue (line 4) in order to reduce her face damage.

In Example 2, Mona doubted Cheryl's concentration while searching for the directions to get to their next task.

Example 2 (S4, E2):

Context: The following conversation took place in Sabah, Malaysia, when Mona and Cheryl were on their way to their next task.

1. Mona: Turn right?
2. Cheryl: Yeah.
3. Mona: [Are you reading the sign or looking at the scenery?]
4. Cheryl: [Oh wait, the sign.] **I'm looking at the sign and I'm matching it with my clue. You can't expect me give you an instant answer you know.**
   ((*Change of scene*))
5. Cheryl: The marked flag. Oh, left, left. Why you turn right?
6. Mona: You pointed there, dude.
7. Cheryl: **I said left, here.**

In line 3, Mona doubted Cheryl for not focusing on the competition task. In return, Cheryl defended herself by claiming that

TABLE 3
Types of Response Strategies Used by Asian Participants

Types of Response Strategies Used by Asian Participants				Frequency
Respond (33)	Counter (21)	Defensive (19)	Offering an account or explaining one's action	13
			Ignoring FTA	3
			Abrogation	2
			Stand-off	1
		Offensive (2)	Counter face attack with another face attack	2
	Accept (12)	Obey		5
		Agree		4
		Apologise		3
Does Not Respond (17)	Silent			17

she needed some time to look for the sign, as shown in the utterances, "I'm looking at the sign and I'm matching it with my clue. You can't expect me give you an instant answer you know," (line 4). The second argument occurred when Mona misunderstood Cheryl's direction and made a wrong turn. Then, she blamed Cheryl for pointing in the wrong direction in the utterance, "You pointed there," (line 6). In return, Cheryl defended her face and insisted that she gave the correct direction (line 7).

These two examples illustrate one of the common responses that could be seen throughout the data in this study as the participants tried to justify their actions in a way to avoid a direct admission of responsibility.

Ignoring the face attack. This strategy usually occurred when participants responded with an insincere agreement or the implied face attack was ignored. In Example 3, Alex and Whitney were upset that they could not perform the first detour task.

Example 3 (S4, E4):

Context: The following conversation took place in Ambalangoda, Sri Lanka, when Alex and Whitney decided to switch detour tasks.

1. Alex: ((*Bangs the table*))
2. Whitney: Let's go.
3. Alex: I told you.
4. Whitney: You said you can do it, right?
5. Alex: Yeah, yeah, can you do it? Can you tell me what is this?
6. Whitney: No.
7. Alex: No, can you do it? Can you just tell me? Don't waste time. Can you tell me what's this?
8. Whitney: No, we're leaving.
9. Alex: No, I'm not leaving without you telling me this.
10. Whitney: Why? I don't know it.
11. Alex: You've learned it.
12. Whitney: I don't know it.
13. Alex: You've learned it.
14. Whitney: No, we didn't do it over and over and over. Sorry.

((*Change of scene*))

15. Whitney: It's your fault.
16. Alex: My fault? **It's always my fault**=
17. Whitney: =Because it is your fault. You just like to get defensive.

In lines 5, 7 and 9, Alex attempted to seek disagreement with Whitney by urging her to read the words again. Whitney avoided agreeing with him (line 8) and abrogated the responsibility for choosing the task (line 15). In return, Alex replied with an insincere and sarcastic agreement,

"It's always my fault" (line 16). According to Bousfield (2008, p.198), this strategy can also be offensive, given that it is an unconcealed misunderstanding of Alex's meaning.

Abrogation. Abrogation is one of the defensive strategies in which participants switch roles to avoid responsibility of the offending event. In Example 4, Prue was upset at Vivian for entering the wrong lane.

Example 4 (S2, E7):

Context: The following conversation occurred when the team accidentally entered the wrong lane while heading to Yongin for their next task.

1. Prue: WE'RE SO CLOSE, WE'RE SO CLOSE. BUT I LOOKED DOWN ((*at the map*)). SO I DIDN'T KNOW WHERE WE WERE HEADING ANYMORE. I DUNNO WHAT BROWN SIGN YOU SAW.
2. Vivian: **BUT AT LEAST, BUT AT LEAST YOU ALSO DIDN'T KNOW. YOU'RE ALSO WRONG YOU SEE.**
3. Prue: I KNOW WE ARE SUPPOSED TO KEEP LEFT. TO KEEP LEFT. WE'RE NOT SUPPOSED TO TURN. WE'RE NOT SUPPOSED TO TURN 4.1 KM, UNDERSTAND?
4. Vivian: I'm asking you, I'm asking you. Shhh::: Now, I'm asking you to calm down.
5. Prue: Hah::: Damn lah.

As shown in line 2, Vivian switched the responsibility of entering the wrong lane to Prue when she claimed that Prue was also wrong because she too was not aware of where they were heading. In return, Prue disagreed by stating that she had known all along that they were supposed to be in the left lane. Clearly, Vivian was trying to avoid becoming the only focus for the offending event when she shifted the responsibility to Prue.

Stand-off. This strategy often occurred when one of the participants changed the topic i.e. after realising that neither party was going to compromise. Example 5 is the continuation of the event from Example 4 when Vivian accidentally entered the wrong lane and caused her team to be delayed.

Example 5 (S2, E7):

Context: The following conversation took place in Woncheon, South Korea, where Vivian entered the wrong lane, which eventually led to the team wasting their time and

energy, as well. This resulted in Prue being impolite.

1. Prue: We have to get back. Whatever it is we have to get back.
2. Vivian: I already say just now I [was wrong.]
3. Prue: **[I DON'T CARE] ABOUT JUST NOW,** THIS SUCKS OK. [WE WERE ON THE RIGHT TRACK].
4. Vivian: **[OK, just look at Anseong.]**
5. Prue: WE WERE SO CLOSE LIKE ABOUT TEN MINUTES AWAY. You have to get back or we will definitely out ok, now.

In line 3, the utterance, "I don't care about just now" shows that Prue was unwilling to forgive Vivian. Instead, she kept reminding Vivian of her earlier mistake by shouting. In line 4, Vivian made a move to stand off by changing the topic, as shown in the utterance, "Ok, just look at Anseong." This defensive counter response shows that the receiver did not suffer any loss of impolite face damage.

Offensive Counter Strategy

Offensive counter strategy occurs when participants counter face attacks with another face attack. In other words, they damage the other's face in order to save their own face. Example 6 shows that the team was arguing about the directions while on the road to their next destination.

Example 6 (S4, E1):

Context: The following conversation took place when Alex and Whitney were heading to Georgetown, Malaysia, for their next task.

1. Alex: Why is there a junction at the Georgetown?
2. Whitney: That's where it is.
3. Alex: **How do you know that?**
4. Whitney: Well, how do you know where it is? You don't know where it is. **Just shut up and drive**.
5. Alex: Just shut up and, **just shut up and sit there**.

From lines 3 and 4, it can be seen that Alex and Whitney continuously disagreed while trying to figure out the way to Georgetown. The question that Alex posed in line 3, "How do you know that?" indicates that he doubted Whitney's competency on the directions, which was also the primary reason for their disagreement. In return, they countered with an offensive-offensive strategy when they commanded each other to keep quiet, as shown in lines 4 and 5.

This offensive-offensive response strategy occurred because both interlocutors

were of equal social and power positions and so, they could freely command each other.

Accept. When participants take the responsibility for the reason in which the impolite utterances are expressed and accept the face attack (Bousfield, 2008, p.193), they tend to respond by obeying, agreeing or apologising.

Obey. Many believe that when the offender is more powerful than the hearer, the hearer will mostly keep silent and accept the face threatening act when his or her face has been attacked (Austin, 1990, p.279; Bousfield & Locher, 2008, pp.8-9; Culpeper *et al.*, 2003, p.1562). For instance, girls of Lebanese origin are raised to be disciplined and to obey their parents and teachers without a fuss (Bacha *et al*., 2012). In Chinese culture, Confucian beliefs are upheld, for instance, children or the young must always respect and obey their parents or the elders; a wife must obey her husband; and an employee should obey his or her superior without any objection. Limberg (2009) claimed that English native speakers often prefer not to respond to a threat, especially if a threat is delivered by someone with greater power status. Hence, when one disobeys, he or she is considered impolite.

Rong (2009) has conducted a study on the characters of the film, 'The Joy Luck Club', to analyse conversations from the film based on politeness and impoliteness theories. The mother (Suyuan) believed that her daughter (June) should always obey her commands. When June did not do so, Suyuan reclaimed her status as mother by raising her voice. June's disobedience and arguing with her mother appeared to be impolite due to the generation gap and societal expectations. However, the samples in this study show a different trend as the participants tended to obey their partners although they had the same power position.

In Example 7, Tyra was frustrated at her husband, Ian, for providing the wrong answer on the screen because every wrong answer led to them being penalised for two minutes.

Example 7 (S4, E3):

Context: The following conversation took place when Tyra and Ian were searching for the picture of a golden Buddha on the television screen, which would lead to the clue for their next destination.

1. Tyra: Honey, next time don't. **Just look okay? Look! Look! Look!** Don't just simply do too fast.
2. Ian: ((*found the clue*)) Correct!
3. Tyra: Huh, really?
4. Ian: Yeah. And we are *going* there. Whoo hoo hoo.
5. Tyra: Bag. Bag. Bag. I cannot carry the bag. **You carry it,** I'm tired now.
6. Ian: ((***obeys command and carries the bags***))

In line 1, it can be observed that Tyra treated Ian as if she were more intelligent than him. In this instance, she reprimanded

him for repeatedly providing the wrong answers. Using the contraction "don't" and the interrogative form "Look!" illustrate the manner in which Tyra assumed higher authority and warned Ian to be more alert. Further, in line 5, the utterance, "You carry it," indicates Tyra's command that Ian should carry her bag. She appeared to be quite fed up, helpless and tired due to the mishap. In return, Ian kept quiet and obeyed his wife (line 6). In this instance, Ian seemed to be subservient, less powerful, listening and obeying his wife without any protests at all. Tyra, in this case, had the upper-hand.

Another example is illustrated in the following conversation, where Nicole (the daughter) and Hudson (the father) were discussing who should perform the next task.

Example 8 (S4, E9):

Context: At Malimbu beach, teams were required to dive into the sea in order to retrieve a money briefcase. This was a roadblock task where teams needed to decide on one member to participate in the task.

1. Nicole: ((*Reading the route info*)) Who can you count on to take a dive? You.
2. Hudson: OK, I can dive
3. Nicole: Open it! ((*Refers to another envelope*))
4. Hudson: ((***obeys and opens the envelope***))

In line 3, Nicole commanded her father to open the other envelope. As noted by Culpeper (2011, p.115), it is acceptable to give a command to one's child but not to one's parents as it depends on the potential contextual relationship. Conceptually, this act damaged her father's face directly. As always, Hudson did not give any response but obeyed his daughter (line 4). In this instance, Hudson acted as the offender, being the one with 'lethargic behaviour.'

The next example took place at St. James Power Station in Singapore. The teams were required to perform a two-minute magic show in which they needed to unlock their handcuffs in order to obtain the next clue.

Example 9 (S4, E12):

Context: Mona could not unlock the handcuffs. As the handcuffs got stuck, they also hurt her hands.

1. Mona: It's fucking hard. Can you take it out? QUICK TAKE IT OUT!
2. Cheryl: ((***obeys the command***))

When one is in pain, being polite is the last thing on one's mind and this is exactly the case in Example 9. In line 1, Mona, who was in pain, lost her patience. She swore and loudly commanded Cheryl and the other helpers to take the handcuffs off. Cheryl had no choice and obeyed the direct command without uttering a word.

It is apparent that the participants did not rebuke one another, but appeared to

accept impolite and swear words thrown at them. The participants had every right to disobey the impolite commands and directives received since they were of equal power and social position with their partner, but instead, they appeared to be unperturbed and carried on with their task.

Agree. In agreeing with the face attack, it may increase the face damage to the recipient. However, participants sometimes use this strategy to avoid conflict. In the following example, Hudson was curious to know whether the other team got the taxi. His action eventually annoyed Nicole.

Example 10 (S4, E12):

Context: The following conversation took place in Singapore when the team was heading to the nearest Caltex service station to find a vintage car in order to get their next clue.

1. Hudson: Are you sure they, the Richards, still didn't get the taxi?
2. Nicole: Yes.
3. Hudson: Where are they?
4. Nicole: They're there.
5. Hudson: Oh, ok ok.
6. Nicole: **Dad, focus! Next time listen to me.**
7. Hudson: **Yeah, ok ok.**

As seen in line 6, Nicole directed her father to focus and listen to her in the future. This act showed that she was domineering and exerting power over her father. In return, Hudson conceded in order to save time, as shown in the utterance, "Yeah, ok ok" (line 7).

Apologise. When recipients apologise, they are taking the responsibility for the reason the impolite utterances were expressed. The following example occurred in Coronet Peak, New Zealand when the teams were searching for their clue at the snow hill .

Example 11 (S4, E6):

Context: Hudson was looking for the clue buried in the snow hill with a meter detector in order to get to the pit stop. However, Cheryl's meter detector also directed her to the same area as Hudson's.

1. Hudson: Go somewhere else, Cheryl.
2. Cheryl: My meter says the exact same thing as yours did. **I'm sorry**, Hudson.

In line 1, Hudson directly commanded Cheryl to go somewhere else because he was worried that Cheryl might find the clue before he did. In this case, Hudson's command, "Go somewhere else," can also be considered as a dismissal. In other words, he wanted Cheryl to leave. While insisting that her meter was giving the same reading as his, Cheryl accepted Hudson's direct impoliteness and apologised (line 2).

Do Not Respond

Receivers who do not respond to an act of impoliteness would remain silent. Sometimes, participants would rather stay silent as an indication that they accept the face-threatening act in order to avoid more conflict.

Silent

In Example 12, Evan is frustrated at Molly for being unable to help out with the detour task.

Example 12 (S2, E2):

Context: The following conversation took place in Manila, The Philippines, when the team was doing their detour task.

1. Evan: Could you screw this stuff on? You not even screw it on.
2. Molly: What stuff?
3. Evan: You're getting pretty useless now man.
4. Molly: ((***silent***))

Evan was annoyed with Molly's act. Consequently, he associated her with the negative aspect of being useless with the emphasis on the personal pronoun 'you' in the utterance, "You're getting pretty useless now man" (line 3). This act somehow also lowered Molly's competency in completing the task. However, Molly did not respond, but kept silent (line 4).

In the next example, Mike and Sean were required to travel from the Thean Hou Temple to Batu Caves, Kuala Lumpur. However, they accidentally misplaced their route information.

Example 13 (S4, E1):

Context: The team was searching for their route info.

1. Mike: Route info. Where is the route info? How can you lose this man? How can you lose it? There. There it is.
2. Sean: ((***silent***))

In line 1, Mike blamed Sean for losing the route information. He used the personal pronoun 'you' instead of 'we', although it was the responsibility of both team members to be careful with the route information. He also repeated the utterance, "How can you lose it," when they did not locate it. However, Sean did not respond but instead, kept silent (line 2).

Another example can be seen in the following conversation where Tyra and Ian had just completed their roadblock task.

Example 14 (S4, E1):

Context: This conversation took place in Batu Caves, Malaysia, when Tyra was in pain because she had accidentally sprained her ankle earlier. Thus, Ian carried Tyra to the cab.

1. Tyra: Ah::: BABY! OUCH!
2. Ian: Pain? =

3. Tyra: =Yes, painful. ((*Ian accidentally drops Tyra on the floor*)) Are you NUTS? PAIN!
4. Ian: ((***silent***))

While heading to the cab, Ian accidentally dropped Tyra on the floor. Tyra yelled in pain and called him "nuts" (line 3), which made him the offender as he had added more pain and grievances. Nevertheless, he did not apologise for his careless act nor did he respond as an act of acknowledging his mistake (line 4).

The analysis shows that some participants accepted FTAs and they chose not to respond by remaining silent. Perhaps the participants wanted to avoid triggering further impoliteness or arguments because they felt it was a waste of time and energy as the competition was time-limited.

CONCLUSION

This study demonstrated the various responses of the participants towards the impoliteness they received. The findings revealed that most of the recipients of the impoliteness in this study tended to defend themselves in order to save face. The highest frequency of defending was by giving an explanation or some form of excuse to deny responsibility in comparison with ignoring FTAs, abrogation and stand-offs. This shows that the participants tended to deny responsibility and reduced face damage of the impoliteness received in order to show that the impoliteness was mistakenly issued in the first place.

Participants, who accepted the various forms of impoliteness thrown at them, tended to either respond by agreeing or apologising, which signified their willingness to take full responsibility for their actions as they were probably guilt-ridden. In doing so, they avoided triggering more conflict. All of these response options increased the intensity of FTAs towards the addressees.

Apart from the category of responses highlighted by Bousfield (2008), obeying the orders is a response option that can be added under response strategies of accepting an FTA. The instances of commands made in the study were never ignored; instead they were met with silence. The male participants tended to treat silence as a strategy to manage time, maintain group harmony and control conflict. It appears that maintaining silence as a response option was highly important to the Asian participants, and, as such, this finding contributes to the field of pragmatics and, specifically, Bousfield's (2008) response options model.

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APPENDIX

Jefferson Transcription Conventions (1984)

Symbol	Name	Function
[text]	Brackets	Indicates the beginning and end points of overlapping speech or interruptions in conversation.
=	Equal Sign	Indicates the break and subsequent continuation of a single utterance. The next speaker begins instantly at the end of the current speaker's utterance. This usually occurs during turn taking or when one is defending his/her points.
.	Period	Indicates falling pitch or intonation.
?	Question Mark	Indicates rising pitch or intonation. This demonstrates the way one poses questions.
,	Comma	Indicates a temporary rise or fall in intonation.
ALL CAPS	Capitalised text	Indicates shouted or increased volume speech. This usually occurs during an argument or when trying to dominate the conversation.
underline	Underlined text	Indicates the speaker is emphasising or stressing the speech.
:::	Colon(s)	Indicates prolongation of a sound. This is also used to show annoyance.
(XXX)	Single parenthesis with triple X	Speech which is unclear or of doubtful in the transcript.
((*italic text*))	Double parentheses	Annotation of non-verbal activity, such as gestures or facial expressions.

NOTE: The transcription process took approximately six weeks, i.e. seven days per week and eight to 10 hours per day to complete. All the 24 episodes were transcribed based on Jefferson's (1984) Transcription Conventions. This set of conventions provides information about the occurrence of simultaneous speech, showing when and how impolite utterances occurred.

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Acting out and Working Through in Chimimanda Ngozi Adichie's *Half of a Yellow Sun*

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ABSTRACT

Half of a Yellow Sun, written by Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, is a novel filled with notions of tragedy, strife and survival. This novel recounts the experiences of characters who lived in a country torn apart by a civil war resulting from political upheaval. This study elucidates the trauma concepts of acting out and working through as done by the main characters of this novel. Furthermore, it ascertains why the characters are traumatised, the effects of the trauma and whether they recover from such trauma. There are quite a few concepts related to trauma theory, which is the literary theory used here as it best suits this research study. However, the main focus of this study is the concepts of acting out and working through from Dominick LaCapra. A close reading of Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's novel in the light of trauma theory provides insight into how to understand the horrors of trauma. People are often ignorant of the horrors of trauma and how it can affect a person, unless they undergo trauma themselves. Furthermore, since trauma theory has been largely linked to the medical rather than the literary field, it is viewed as a contemporary theory, unlike post-colonialism or feminism. Therefore, this study will be beneficial to literary students and people who conduct research in the same field of study.

Keywords: Trauma theory, Nigerian-Biafran War, Dominick Lacapra, acting out, working through

INTRODUCTION

Civil war has plagued many countries of the African continent such as Burundi, Uganda and Nigeria, to name just three. Kitissou and Yoon stated that the slave trade and colonialism could have had a deep impact on the post-independence civil war in these countries (2014, pp.146-162). They added

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that the slave trade was a lucrative means of economic gain, which precipitated a rush of Europeans to the African continent. Natural resources such as diamonds and gold led to a "scramble for Africa," which saw European powers such as Britain, France and Germany colonising many parts of Africa (2014, pp.146-162).

Nigeria has gone through many adverse situations: it was colonised by the British and then enslaved by Europeans dating back to before the 1960s . Gaining independence did nothing much to benefit Nigerians, who upon liberation, were not able to manage their country and were soon thrust into another devastating event, the three-year civil war between Nigeria and Biafra. War involves carnage and destruction, and its aftermath represents the most devastating consequences that can befall a country and its people. It demands a heavy death toll, the disintegration of families and society and the emotional trauma of those who survive. Call and Cousens stated that "[w]hen peacebuilding fails, parties to conflict often unleash greater violence than in the prior war — grimly attested by the nearly two million dead after peace unravelled in Angola in 1991 and Rwanda in 1993-1994" (2008, pp.1-2).

Told in two parts, *Half of a Yellow Sun*, a novel by Chimimanda Ngozi Adichie, is set in the early and late 1960s. It revolves around the lives of characters from different backgrounds in a country before and during the civil war between the Hausa and Igbo ethnic tribes. This war between Nigerians and Biafrans was so devastating and horrific that it left many people scarred and traumatised.

Trauma is a condition wherein a person relives the nightmare of a horrific or catastrophic event they experienced. Such events may have deep impact on a person who has endured much physical and mental abuse. This paper attempts to show how a person deals with such trauma through discussion of the lives of several characters who come together in this novel. The novel captures the lives of twin sisters, Olanna and Kainene, university lecturer, Odenigbo, British ex-patriot, Richard, and young villager, Ugwu, before, during and after the war. It unfolds the story of how the characters' lives become intertwined, only to be torn apart by war, and how they come to terms with their new living conditions.

AIM

People tend to take life for granted and are often oblivious to any form of danger that might befall them, close friends and family. Be they natural or man-made, such events leave a mark on those who experience them. There are certain people who are trapped in the past and find it difficult to move on with their lives. They are unable to function normally because they are haunted by past events that remain fresh in their minds.

Half of a Yellow Sun illustrates the challenges people face as they fight for survival, from the onset of civil war until the war ends. The lives of the two characters chosen for this study are vividly described in the novel from the beginning, before war erupts up to the end of the political

turmoil. It details the challenges they face in order to survive. Their lives are changed so drastically that normalcy is a distant memory. They become witnesses to the atrocities of war. This paper explores how the characters' lives change because of the war and highlights the traumas they undergo. This paper also aims to determine whether they are able to make peace with the past and move on with their lives, or if they remain trapped in the grip of trauma.

CONCEPTS

Any form of activity that can trigger nightmares or flashbacks with regards to a distressing past event that one has been struggling to forget can take a huge toll on the individual's mental and physical health. This explains the theory of trauma, which can be seen as the effects that are imprinted on a person's psyche after having undergone an intense emotional experience that manifests as recurring dreams or nightmares, and which makes it difficult for the individual to move on. Trauma is also described as an experience that a person undergoes that devastates them as a result of horrific events, such that they may have uninvited recurring images (Caruth, 1996). These recurring nightmares and hallucinations that disturb an individual from time to time are considered manifestations of trauma. Trauma prevents an individual from moving on in life; it disrupts all or any normalcy and causes much upheaval. Caruth acknowledged Sigmund Freud's definition of trauma as a wound that is inflicted upon the body, before further developing this definition to include a violation of the mind, in which the wound cannot be seen in plain sight.

> *[t]he breach in the mind's experience of time, self and the world is not, like the wound of the body, a simple and healable event, but rather an event that…is experienced too soon, too unexpectedly, to be fully known and is therefore not available to consciousness until it imposes itself again, repeatedly, in the nightmares and repetitive actions of the survivor.* (cited in Caruth, p.4)

In order to enlighten the reader and make sense of the behaviour of the characters in *Half of a Yellow Sun*, two concepts in relation to trauma theory are applied. These two concepts, acting out and working through, are processes that are interconnected and necessary to overcome trauma. These two concepts, derived from the theory of trauma, are said to be responses made to overcome the trauma experienced by people (Schick, 2011). Dominick LaCapra is a trauma theorist who defined the concept of acting out as "the tendency to repeat something compulsively," whereby the person experiences repetitive memories of traumatic events, and the concept of working through is "a kind of countervailing force," such that the person makes an effort to break away from the problem at hand and is able to differentiate between the past and the present.

However, some people have been known to resist this form of therapy. They are only

able to undergo the process of acting out simply because they find it difficult to work through their trauma. There are situations when an individual is not prepared to face a life-shattering experience leading to anxiety and pain, or 'Angstbereitschaft', as Freud termed it (as cited in Verbestel, p.10). This can be explained as an overwhelming reaction to a horrific impact, the trauma resulting from which a person's brain is not prepared. This symptom can also be recognised as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and is seen as a way of acting out the traumatic experience. This situation of non-preparedness can result in a state of recurring trauma, which will affect an individual psychologically.

In order to overcome trauma, one needs to address the issues that prevent him or her from moving on with life, and this can only be done by going through the process of working through the painful experience. As Schick stated in her article, though the problems are worked through, they may recur. "Working through is itself a process that may never entirely transcend acting out… [it] is never achieved once and for all" (Schick, 2011).

It appears that one cannot discuss war literature without talking about violence, death and trauma. These events are interconnected and result in much pain and suffering. Furthermore, death is often the result of violence perpetrated by mankind and by known persons, as is the case in *Half of a Yellow Sun*.

TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

The novel, *Half of a Yellow Sun*, by Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie is written in two parts and illustrates the lives of the characters before and after civil war erupted between Nigeria and Biafra. The lives of the characters are intertwined, though the characters are from different backgrounds. It can be seen that the characters undergo drastic changes in their behaviour and personality after having experienced the horrors of civil war. The changes in their behaviour, personality and lifestyle can be attributed to the trauma that they experience. The lives of the two chosen characters from *Half of a Yellow Sun* are analysed in three time periods: pre-war, during the war and post-war to gauge the effects of trauma and determine whether they are able to move forward in their lives after the war.

Odenigbo and Olanna are the two selected characters who are referenced in an attempt to bring to life for the reader the horrors of the Nigeria-Biafra civil war that raged from 1967 to 1970. The novel also aims to show how war affects and traumatises people, irrespective of gender, age, race and social standards. Thus, the analysis of the two concepts of acting out and working through will be conducted based on the trauma experienced by these two main characters chosen from all the characters in the novel by Adichie.

EXPLORING ODENIGBO'S TRAUMA

In *Half of a Yellow Sun*, Odenigbo, in the first part of the novel set in the early 1960s, is depicted as a man of valour who believes

strongly in his ideologies; he is a man who is fearless in upholding his beliefs; one instance of this is when he says , "[Y] ou miserable ignoramus! You see a white person and he looks better than your own people? You must apologize to everybody in this queue! Right now!" (Adichie, 2007, p.29). It is clear from this excerpt that Odenigbo will not tolerate injustice, demonstrated here in the attitude of a ticket-seller in a university theatre who allowed a Western man to jump queue to the front of the queue. Odenigbo is disgusted with this obvious unrighteous favouritism and seeks to make the situation right, as he feels that all people should be treated equally, despite differences in their social status and, in this case, skin colour. As described in the excerpt above, Odenigbo is a man who oozes self-confidence, as evidenced when he sends Olanna to the airport and is walking away as "[h]e threw his legs out with an aggressive confidence: the gait of a person who would not ask for directions but remained sure that he would somehow get there" (Adichie, 2007, p.27).

Odenigbo's refined personality can be credited to his educational background. He is an academician who was educated at a good university. His routine includes friends who visit his home on a weekly basis to discuss education and recent affairs in Nigeria, which has moulded him into a knowledgeable and capable man, as described by Chimamanda:

> *Nor did he entirely understand the conversations of Master and his friends but listened anyway and heard that the world had to do more about the black people killed in Sharpeville, that the spy plane shot down in Russia served the Americans right, that De Gaulle was being clumsy in Algeria, that the United Nations would never get rid of Tshombe in Katanga.* (Adichie, 2007, p.17)

It is evident that Odenigbo and his circle of friends conduct intellectual discussions on Nigerian politics and foreign affairs. This keeps them updated on current affairs and, at the same time, instills a sense of solidarity among them. Odenigbo's status as a man, who is strong-willed, well versed and frank is challenged when he becomes involved in the civil war between the federal government and Biafra. Being patriotic, Odenigbo dedicates every part of his being to seeking justice for Biafra as a free nation.

Despite the horrors and mayhem of civil war, Odenigbo remains positive and is an important figure in his small community at the university. This can be seen clearly from the excerpt below:

> *Odenigbo climbed up to the podium waving his Biafran flag: swaths of red, black, and green and, at the centre, a luminous half of a yellow sun. 'Biafra is born! We will lead Black Africa! We will live in security! Nobody will ever again attack us! Never again!'* (Adichie, 2007, p.163)

With life getting harder by the day, any sliver of hope is vital as a means to survive. Odenigbo, being the head of his family, renews his family's faith and hope in the birth of a new beginning:

> *'This is our beginning,' Odenigbo said. That false softness had left his voice and he sounded normal again, bracing and sonorous. He took his glasses off and grabbed Baby's little hands and began to dance around in circles with her.* (Adichie, 2007, p.162)

The excerpt above signifies the replenishment of strength and hope in Odenigbo's household. Although he is deemed a person who will not easily break due to circumstances, there is one particular event that manages to penetrate his psyche. This is when his close friends fall victim to war and he has to evacuate his home. The event that has the most impact and which traumatises Odenigbo is the reception of the news of his mother's murder. Consider the excerpt below:

> *Your master's mother is dead…His cousin sent a message…They shot her in Abba.* (Adichie, 2007, p.299)

Odenigbo's mother had been his pillar of strength, despite the fact that she had not treated his partner Olanna well. He is so deeply devastated by the news of his mother's passing that, thereafter, he is a completely changed person. The excerpt below describes Odenigbo's changed personality as he begins not to take work seriously and spends more time in bars, rather than at home with his family. The man of valour has clearly gone:

> *But she had not seen that smile since his mother died, since he tried to go to Abba and came back clutching a shadow, since he began to leave for work too early and to stop at Tanzania Bar on his way home.* (Adichie, 2007, p.321)

Losing the pillar in his life, his mother, losing his friends and having his world turned upside down leaves him inconsolable and traumatised. His mother refused to follow him to a safer place, and as a result, she was shot dead, at home, by a soldier. He feels guilty over his mother's death because he had been unable to convince her to leave her home, and also because he had listened to Olanna who had told him to leave his mother behind because she believed that she would not come to any harm. This, however, is proven to be tragically wrong when his mother is killed.

The trauma he endures as a result of these life-changing events causes a drastic change in his personality. Odenigbo changes into a different person; he becomes withdrawn, a recluse. He stops going to social events, mainly because of the war, but more so because of the fact that he has lost all interest in life:

> *When he came back, long after midnight, with his shoes covered in*

> *mud, she knew he would not be the same again.* (Adichie, 2007, p.322)

The excerpt above expresses Olanna's realisation that Odenigbo is no longer the man she fell in love with, the man who swept her off her feet with his strong demeanour and conviction in just causes. An example can be seen from the time Odenigbo fought for liberation, for the Republic of Biafra. It is as if the passion that once raged within him died the moment he lost his mother. These complete changes in Odenigbo's character can be identified as acting out, a process that a person goes through after experiencing trauma. The following excerpt illustrates the change in Odenigbo:

> *But he no longer went into the interior with the Agitator Corps, no longer returned with lit-up eyes.* (Adichie, 2007, p.322)

It is evident that Odenigbo has lost the will to live and to love. He has become a broken man who keeps to himself and avoids talking to the people around him. In the early 1960s he was a man who was passionate towards his partner; however, after experiencing these traumatic events, he becomes withdrawn and avoids being intimate with Olanna, especially during the first days after his mother's passing. According to LaCapra, "one may never entirely transcend an attachment to a lost other, or even some kind of identification with a lost other" (LaCapra, 1998, p.6). Odenigbo's behavior can be seen as a sign of acting out, withdrawing from people in his need to withdraw and face his grief alone:

> *Master came home from work earlier than usual and did not go to Tanzania Bar; Ugwu hoped that their absence had pulled him out of the ditch he sunk into when his mother died.* (Adichie, 2007, p.353)

Odenigbo's loyal servant, Ugwu, is also affected by the changes in his master as he feels that Odenigbo is no more the person he once looked up to. Indeed, Odenigbo, driven by grief and guilt, buries himself in work, almost as if he is imposing some form of punishment upon himself:

> *When the other men cracked jokes and laughed, he did not. He spoke only about the work.* (Adichie, 2007, p.332)

Odenigbo feels lost without his mother, which LaCapra defined thus:

> *When loss is converted into (or encrypted in an indiscriminately generalized rhetoric of) absence, one faces the impasse of endless melancholy, impossible mourning, and interminable aporia in which any process of working through the past and its historical losses is foreclosed or prematurely aborted.* (LaCapra, 1999, p.698)

Odenigbo tries hard to forget his painful past and works through his pain by busying

himself in his work. When a person makes an effort to distance themselves from their past and come to terms with their pain in order to move on, it can be regarded as a state of working-through trauma. This process of working through is necessary in order to break free from the clasp of trauma that haunts a person's life. In the novel, Odenigbo's behaviour demonstrates his struggle to deal with his past, from which he makes some positive recovery. LaCapra surmised that:

> *In the working through, the person tries to gain critical distance on a problem, to be able to distinguish between past, present and future. For the victim, this means his ability to say to himself, "Yes, that happened to me back then. It was distressing, overwhelming, perhaps I can't entirely disengage myself from it, but I'm existing here and now, and this is different from back then." There may be other possibilities, but it's via the working-through that one acquires the possibility of being an ethical agent.* (LaCapra, 1998, pp.2-3)

Odenigbo rejoins society and, once more, assumes responsibility as head of his household. By this time, the war is almost at its end and he is able to visit his deceased mother's home and grave as "his cousin had buried her; near the guava tree…Odenigbo knelt down there and pulled out a tuft of grass and held it in his hand" (Adichie, 2007, p.415). It can be seen from this excerpt that Odenigbo finally feels a sense of release and calm when he was able to go back to his deceased mother's home.

As discussed earlier, Odenigbo's sense of guilt over his mother's brutal murder by the federal soldier has weighed heavily on him, thus affecting his life and relationship with his family. Therefore, when he is able to set foot in his mother's home and visit her grave, he manages to exorcise his demons and absolve himself of guilt. He has finally come to terms with his loss and can make peace with himself. LaCapra explained his definition of working-through as "the person tries to gain critical distance on a problem, to be able to distinguish between past, present and future" (LaCapra, 1998). This is evident during the post-war period when, in coming to terms with his past, Odenigbo heals himself of the trauma that has so haunted him.

EXPLORATION OF OLANNA'S TRAUMA

The second character chosen for analysis in this paper is a woman called Olanna, who is the life partner of the character Odenigbo, discussed above. Olanna is described in the novel, during the early 1960s, as an intelligent woman who hails from a distinguished and well-off family. She was educated in England and works as a lecturer at a university, like her partner, Odenigbo. Olanna is portrayed as a beautiful modern woman with a mind of her own. This can be seen in the excerpt that reveals Ugwu's first impression of his master's partner:

It was this woman's fault, this woman that Master considered too special even for him to cook for. Just come back from London, indeed. (Adichie, 2007, p. 22)

It is evident that Ugwu is informed by Odenigbo of Olanna's status and that Odenigbo's affections for her are strong. Consider the excerpt below regarding the moment Ugwu meets Olanna in person:

Her Igbo words were softer than her English, and he was disappointed at how easily they came out. He wished she would stumble her Igbo; he had not expected English that perfect to sit beside equally perfect Igbo. (Adichie, 2007, p.23)

It can be seen from this excerpt that Ugwu thinks little of Olanna and begrudges her hold over his master. However, one cannot help but notice his sense of awe upon hearing her spoken English, which seems better than his master's. In the early 1960s, she was easily befriended by Odenigbo's friends and loved by Ugwu. She is also a woman full of life, with a vibrant personality that easily attracts people. However, everything changes when civil war breaks out. During the late sixties, at the height of the war, she witnesses atrocities and carnage: the mutilated bodies of her relatives, as can be seen in the following excerpt:

Then she noticed Aunty Ifeka's kiosk, or what remained of it…She stopped when she saw the bodies. Uncle Mbaezi lay facedown in an ungainly twist, legs splayed. Something creamy white oozed through the large gash on the back of his head. Aunty Ifeka lay on the veranda. The cuts on her naked body were smaller, dotting her arms and legs like slightly parted red lips. (Adichie, 2007, p.147)

Olanna was close to the relatives brutally murdered, and this event leaves her deeply traumatised. The brutal massacre was done by a family friend in the name of religion and was "rationalized within the context of 'war'" (Ojinmah, 2012, p.5). After witnessing this grisly scene, she narrowly escapes a dangerous situation herself. As she is fleeing to safety, Olanna witnesses a woman carrying the head of her child in a calabash. It is an image that will further haunt and traumatise her, haunt her into trauma:

She saw the little girl's head with the ashen-grey skin and the plaited hair and rolled-back eyes and open mouth. (Adichie, 2007, p.149)

The trauma that she experiences is so profound that it affects her physically and psychologically. These experiences and images so traumatise her that they lead to deterioration of her health. Caruth stated that modern neurobiologists indicate that "repetition of the traumatic experience in the flashback can itself be retraumatising; if

not life-threatening, it is at least threatening to the chemical structure of the brain and can ultimately lead to deterioration" (p.63). Olanna's health deteriorates to such an extent that she loses her voice and is unable to walk. The following excerpt explains her situation:

> *She wanted him to stop being ridiculous, but her lips were heavy. Speaking was a labour. When her parents and Kainene visited, she did not say much; it was Odenigbo who told them what she had seen.* (Adichie, 2007, p.157)

The moment that Olanna loses her ability to walk, as seen in the excerpt, "Olanna's Dark Swoops began the day she came back from Kano, the day her legs failed" (Adichie, 2007, p.156), she began the process of acting out, which is the first concept in the theory of trauma. As described by Caruth, acting out is a repetitive account of traumatic experiences. Olanna is seen to have recurring nightmares about her painful past events, as described above. The dark depths that she plumbs can be described as symptoms and evidence of acting out, an obvious side-effect of deep trauma. This is parallel to LaCapra's theory that a traumatic event is repressed before it revisits a person in compulsive repetition (LaCapra, 1994).

Another important event that contributes to Olanna's trauma is when her twin sister Kainene does not return from her quest to find food for her family. Kainene's British partner, Richard, confirms her absence, acknowledging that "she was not back when he returned from Ahiara in the evening" (Adichie, 2007, p.405). The pain that Olanna feels at losing her twin sister is devastating and only serves to intensify her trauma. Consider the excerpt below:

> *Olanna's moments of solid hope, when she was certain that Kainene would come back, were followed by stretches of raw pain, and then a surge of faith would make her hum under her breath, until the downward slide came and she would be crumpled on the floor, weeping and weeping.* (Adichie, 2007, p.431)

Undoubtedly, Olanna is going through the process of acting out, for she is unable to process the news of her sister's disappearance and possible death. As Caruth mentioned in her book regarding Freud's early work on trauma, "the confrontation with death takes place too soon, too suddenly, too unexpectedly, to be fully grasped by consciousness" (Caruth, 1996, p.101). Therefore, Olanna is going through a phase in which her consciousness is neither able to accept the news of Kainene's disappearance nor bear the extra pain that she has been suffering from her accumulated traumas.

After several failed attempts to locate Kainene, Olanna remarks, "Our people say that we all reincarnate, don't they? ...When I come back in my next life, Kainene will

be my sister. She had started to cry softly" (Adichie, 2007, p.433). It can be seen from the excerpt that Olanna eventually comes to terms with her loss and is willing to work through her fears, pain and suffering and move on from her traumatic past. Olanna's willingness to overcome her pain and let go of her past is considered an act of working through her trauma. As LaCapra, in his book *Holocaust: History, Theory, Trauma*, mentioned, "trauma and an insistence that there is no alternative to symptomatic acting-out and the repetition compulsion other than imaginary…hope for totalization, full closure, and redemptive meaning" (LaCapra, 1994). The war has brought upon them untold grief, stripped them of their comfort and security, changed them and left them scarred for life. There are those who may not be able to work through their trauma and will forever be haunted by their past. It is a very difficult and painful task to undertake and not everyone is likely to deal with their trauma, thus failing to achieve working through (Schick, 2011).

When one studies works of war literature, one cannot ignore the mournful force that these types of works impart. One will undoubtedly feel the chill and intense horror of the violence and gruesome deaths so vividly described by the authors. The recurring themes that can be found in these types of novels are violence, pain, trauma and death. Violence and trauma are the main themes highlighted in this novel by Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, and she depicts events almost as if she has experienced the horrors of civil war first-hand. For Ojinmah, "*Half of a Yellow Sun*, is not just a story of the horrors of Nigeria's civil war; Adicie refreshingly explores some thematic concerns through which the harrowing experiences of the war are highlighted" (2012, p.4).

CONCLUSION

The novel *Half of a Yellow Sun* centres on the war-torn country of Nigeria and the ensuing trauma that affects its main characters in its aftermath. Trauma in a person can be triggered by any given number of events, and its severity depends on the catastrophe that has befallen them. A traumatised person is unable to get past the painful memories of the tragedy that has befallen him or her, and this shatters the individual's sense of security and peace.

From the novel *Half of a Yellow Sun*, the two main characters chosen for analysis in this paper are forced to vacate their homes and move to an unfamiliar place of meagre means where food is scarce and life difficult. The daily struggle for survival amid death and destruction takes an indelible psychological and physical toll on them. Under these circumstances, their lives are changed forever. It is apparent that the characters discussed here experience horrors of war that change their lives. They go through the process of acting out and eventually work through their trauma to move on from their troubled past. Although they manage to move on in their lives, they are unable to forget the past. Trauma is a malaise that is difficult to overcome without

the process of working through, and this requires great effort and willpower to do.

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Grammaticality Judgement Test: Do Item Formats Affect Test Performance?

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ABSTRACT

A grammaticality judgement test (GJT) is one of the many ways to measure language proficiency and knowledge of grammar. It was introduced to second language research in the mid 70s. GJT is premised on the assumption that being proficient in a language means having two types of language knowledge: receptive knowledge or language competence; and productive knowledge or language performance. GJT is meant to measure the former. In the test, learners judge and decide if a given item, usually taken out of context, is grammatical or not. Over the years, GJT has been used by researchers to collect data about specific grammatical features in testing hypotheses, and data collected by a GJT are said to be more representative of a learner's language competence than naturally occurring data. Collecting such data also allows the collection of negative evidence (ungrammatical samples) to be compared with production problems such as slips and incomplete sentences. Despite the usefulness of GJT, its application is riddled with controversies. Other than reliability issues, it has been debated that certain item formats are more reliable than others. Therefore, the present study seeks to determine if two different item formats correlate with the English language proficiency of 100 ESL undergraduates.

Keywords: Grammar, grammaticality judgment, grammaticality judgment test, item format, language competence, language performance

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INTRODUCTION

A grammaticality judgement test (GJT) is one of many instruments used to measure language proficiency and knowledge of grammar. It was introduced to second language research in the mid 70s. According to Rimmer (2006), GJTs are "a

standard method of determining whether a construction is well-formed … where subjects make an intuitive pronouncement on the accuracy of form and structure in individual decontextualised sentences" (p.246). GJT is premised on the assumption that language proficiency comprises two types of language knowledge: receptive knowledge or language competence (i.e. knowing the grammar or metalinguistic awareness) and productive knowledge or language performance (i.e. using the language). Such tests are useful for the investigation of L2 learners' competence (abstract knowledge), not their performance (actual use of language in context) (Gass, 1994). Hence, GJT data reflect what the learners know and not what they do. In a GJT test, learners judge and decide if a given item, usually taken out of context, is grammatical or not.

Over the years, GJT has been used by researchers to collect data about specific grammatical features in testing hypotheses, and data collected by a GJT is said to be more representative of a learner's language competence than naturally occurring data (Davies & Kaplan, 1998). It also allows the collection of negative evidence (ungrammatical samples) to be compared with production problems such as slips and incomplete sentences (Schütze, 1996).

Despite the above mentioned usefulness of GJT, its application is riddled with controversies. Several studies found GJTs reliable measures of learners' language competence (e.g. Leong *et al*., 2012; Rahimy & Moradkhani, 2012), while almost the same number found otherwise (e.g. Ellis, 2005; Tabatabaei & Dehghani, 2011). Aside from reliability issues, it has been debated that certain item formats of GJT are more reliable than others. The controversies related to GJT format can be related to, for example, selected versus constructed response, dichotomous versus multiple choice, ordinal versus Likert scale and timed versus untimed testing.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The present study aims to determine if two different item formats correlate with the English language proficiency of 100 ESL undergraduates. The item formats tested were (1) sentence grammaticality: to judge if a given sentence is grammatical or ungrammatical by choosing from two options of *correct* or *incorrect*; and (2) gap-filling: to fill in blanks in a short paragraph by choosing from three options provided. The objectives of the research study were (1) to determine which of the two formats produced a higher mean score, and (2) to determine if there was any relationship between each of the item formats and the English language proficiency of the undergraduate subjects in the study as measured by the Malaysia University English Test (MUET).

REVIEW OF RELATED STUDIES

Related studies in the area of grammaticality judgment tests are reviewed below with respect to the issues of applications, reliability, item and response formats and new development.

Applications of Grammaticality Judgement Tests

Grammaticality judgement tests (GJT) are one of the established data-collection tools utilised to elicit information on grammatical competence, metalinguistic awareness and linguistic knowledge (Masny & D'Anglejan, 1985; Hsia, 1991; Andonova, *et al*, 2005). In L1 acquisition studies, GJT is conventionally used to determine if given structures are grammatical or ungrammatical in that language (Mandell, 1999), and in SLA research, they are employed to elicit data about the grammatical competence of students regarding a specific universal grammar (UG) principle or grammatical structure. This is "because it can provide crucial information about grammatical competence that elicited production tasks and naturalistic data collection cannot offer" (Tremblay, 2005, p.159).

Mackey and Gass (2005) described the GJT as a list of an approximately equal number of grammatical and ungrammatical sentences as stimuli on a target grammatical structure to which test-takers should respond as either correct or incorrect. In cases marked as incorrect, the correction should also be provided. They additionally recommended that the number of sentences not exceed 50, otherwise it may cause boredom. It is essential to include some fillers or distractors along with target sentences so that test-takers cannot easily speculate on the focus of the test.

The application of GJT, however, is not merely confined to grammatical competence. Hsia (1991), for instance, found that the ability to judge grammaticality is critical to reading for information and text interpretation. This was revealed through four tasks administered to 86 participants after reading a text. The first task embraced 10 true/false statements to measure their total comprehension; in this case, the test-takers were not allowed to look at the text again. The second task required the test-takers to reply to 10 multiple-choice comprehension questions, and the third was a GJT to test their ability to differentiate between deviant structures. The last one required them to fill in the missing parts of sentences based on their comprehension of the text; this task tapped into their metalinguistic competence of cohesion and discourse. The results displayed significant correlations between GJT and reading comprehension tasks and also dealing with cohesion and discourse, which was a metalinguistic type of task.

Tapping into metalinguistic awareness is another target of GJT; as Masny and D'Anglejan (1985) put it, "the operational definition of metalinguistic awareness is the grammaticality judgment test…it implies the ability to manipulate consciously various aspects of language knowledge" (p.179). In their study they explored the relationship between L2 learners' abilities to locate syntactically deviant structures and their cognitive and linguistic variables. To this end, variables such as cognitive style, intelligence, L2 aptitude, L2 proficiency, L1 reading and metalinguistic awareness in L2 were chosen. A GJT comprising three syntactic categories i.e. pronoun, relative clause and concord was constructed for the

last variable. Among the results obtained in this study, statistical analyses showed that cloze tests, as a measure of integrative L2 proficiency, could reliably predict learners' ability to locate syntactic deviance. This suggests that "the ability to detect syntactic deviance can be considered a reliable correlate of second language competence" (Masny & D'Anglejan, 1985, p.186).

In addition to studies on metalinguistic awareness or knowledge, GJTs have been employed in research about individuals suffering from language impairment. Lely, Jones and Marshall (2011), for instance, employed a GJT to examine whether Grammatical-Specific Language Impairment children's errors in respect to wh-questions are caused by impairment in syntactic dependencies at the clause level or some other processes irrelevant to the syntactic system.

Eigsti and Bennetto (2009) utilised GJT to conduct research on children with autism to explore whether the way these children acquire the structures in their mother language differs from that of normal children, taking their developmental delay in the acquisition process into consideration. They argued that because GJT used in this study only necessitated judging heard sentences by the verbal response of yes/ no, it was a sensitively insightful device to evaluate structural knowledge of these participants.

Reliability of Grammaticality Judgement Tests

The reliability of the grammaticality judgment test (GJT) in second language acquisition research has been a matter of concern for many researchers. Ellis (1991) is one of the first who employed a test-retest research design in his study to address the reliability of grammaticality judgments in second language acquisition. His study had two phases with a one week interval between them. In both phases of the experiment, advanced ESL Chinese students were asked to make judgments about sentences involving dative alternation in English. In the second phase, some of the participants were also asked to perform a think-aloud task. Based on the considerable inconsistency observed in his participants' grammaticality judgements, Ellis suggested that "learners' judgments can be inconsistent, and therefore unreliable, when they are unsure" (Ellis, 1991, p.181). He maintained that beginners are not suitable subjects for examining the reliability of GJT because their judgment data are not validated by data from other types of tasks (e.g. oral production).

In another study, Mandell (1999) compared data from GJTs with data from Dehydrated Sentence Tests (DSTs) (a slash-sentence test that is commonly used in the L2 classroom to examine L2 learners' knowledge about word order) in order to investigate the reliability of GJTs. Data were collected from three levels (second, fourth and sixth semesters) of adult L2 learners of Spanish. The results from the comparison of the two tests indicated that "a definite relationship existed between the standard GJT and the DST" and "the grammaticality judgments of L2 learners, although indeterminate, were consistent." (Mandell, 1999, p.93). Therefore, Mandell

concluded that GJTs were reliable measures of L2 learners' linguistic competence.

Unlike Ellis' (1991) study, the study conducted by Tabatabaei and Dehghani (2012) involved advanced learners who were selected using the Oxford Placement Test (OPT). The researchers implemented GJT with a test-retest design that was divided into two categories: timed GJT, where the learners needed to answer the test in a given period, and delayed GJT where they were given flexible answering time. Participants were asked to make judgments about 34 sentences included in a computerised GJT. The grammatical structure chosen for this study was verb complements. The results of the test-retest analysis and internal consistency reliability revealed that the GJT used in this study had a low level of reliability. Moreover, the analysis of response patterns showed that participants were not stable in their judgments and also, they were reluctant to use the "not sure" response when they were uncertain. Therefore, their judgements did not exactly reflect their grammatical knowledge. Finally, the relationship between timed GJT and delayed GJT was weak, which indicated that participants may have used different types of knowledge under different test administration conditions. The results of this study suggest that the GJT used in this study was not a reliable measure of EFL learners' knowledge about verb complements, and researchers should use this kind of test with caution.

Schütze (1996) identified the measurement scale, instructions and subject-related factors as the linguistic and non-linguistic factors that might influence judgement behaviour and, hence, engender instability and unreliability. The researcher suggested that the measurement scale (including nominal, ordinal and interval scales) used for judgement elicitation is crucial as it determines what type of data is obtained and which mathematical (statistical) operations can be carried out on the data. The instructions used in judgement elicitation have considerable influence on the outcomes of experiments. In most experiments, the speakers who function as subjects are naive and, hence, likely to be unfamiliar with the linguistic concepts that they are supposed to apply in rating the stimuli. If no definitions for grammaticality are provided, each subject will use his or her own interpretation of these concepts, and the resulting data are likely to be very noisy .

Item and Response Format of Grammaticality Judgement Tests

Hohensinn and Kubinger (2011) stated that there are two classes of item formats. First is the constructed response formats, which are also called "open-ended" or sometimes "free response formats," that demand the examinee or test-taker to create and write down the solution ranging from single words up to a few sentences. For this format, the examinee has to generate his or her ideas on a particular theme and compose a longer text passage. The second format is the multiple-choice format. It requires the examinee (test-taker) to choose the right answer(s) from several given answer options. Conventional multiple-choice formats offer a single correct answer option

and one or two to seven distractors. Other multiple-choice formats contain more than a single solution that the examinee has to mark. This latter multiple-mark format has already been recommended by Cronbach (1941) and Pomplun and Omar (1997) as a feasible alternative to conventional multiple-choice items.

Haladyna, Downing and Rodriguez (2002) divided the multiple-choice (MC) format into seven categories: conventional MC, alternate-choice, matching, true-false, multiple true-false (MTF), context-dependent items, including the item set and complex MC. The researchers indicated that conventional MC, true-false and matching are three formats that have scored 100% for frequency of citation in 27 textbooks on educational testing, and the results of 27 research studies and reviews published since 1990.

Shizuka *et al.* (2006) investigated the effects of three- and four-option items on test performance within the context of an L2 English reading test used as a university entrance exam in Japan. They changed an original four-option reading test to a three-option test by discarding the least-chosen option from a previous administration of the test. One hundred and ninety-two Japanese English-language learners who had not taken the original test took the revised test. Just like the outcomes from educational measurement research, their results indicated that the average item facility and average item discrimination between the four-option-item test and the three-option-item test were not significantly different. Also, test reliability was not significantly different across test formats. Furthermore, in their analysis of distractors, they found that the average number of actual plausible distractors was less than two, regardless of the number of options the items had. Thus, the researchers claimed that items with three options are optimal, considering three- and four-option items had relatively equal item facility and item discrimination.

Currie and Chiramanee (2010) conducted a study in the context of L2 testing that investigated how multiple-choice items differ from open-ended items in measuring L2 English grammar. Relevant to research investigating the optional number of options in multiple-choice items, they included three versions of the multiple-choice test in their investigation: three-, four- and five-option versions. They found three-option items were easier for the learners in their study (L2 English learners in Thailand), but there were no significant differences in item facility between the four- and five-option items. They noted that multiple-choice testing is widespread in ESL and EFL contexts worldwide; thus, it is important, they wrote, that researchers come to understand how L2 learning outcomes are shaped by the type of L2 tests learners take (2010, p.488).

The effect of test response formats was investigated by Salaehi and Sanjareh (2013). Their study compared two pairs of test items: multiple-choice GJT (MCGJT) versus dichotomous GJT (DGJT) and ordinal GJT (OGJT) versus Likert GJT (LGJT). The results showed that subjects performed better in DGJT and LGJT. The

researchers did not discuss the outcomes very much. They only highlighted how distinct response formats can influence subjects' performance. They even supported their findings with the study conducted by Rodriguez (2005), who concluded that the number of options in multiple-choice tests affects reliability, item difficulty and item discrimination. Analysing 27 studies that dealt with different response formats of MCQ, he asserted that three-option multiple choice tests are optimal. Having investigated a varied range of reductions i.e. reduction of options from 5 to 4, 3 and 2, and also the decrease of 4-option items to 3- and 2-option items, he found that 3-option items are optimal since shifting from 4- to 3-option items raises reliability slightly by .02 and item discrimination by .03.

Development of New Grammaticality Judgement Tests

One of the most commonly used Grammaticality Judgment Tests (GJT) is multiple-choice questions, better known as MCQs. The standard multiple-choice format has remained relatively unchanged for nearly 100 years, even over the past 25 years when multiple-choice tests became computerised. A psychologist, psychometrician and recognised luminary in the measurement industry, David Foster, is credited with introducing computerised adaptive testing (CAT) and simulation-based performance testing as part of Novell's IT pioneering certification programme in the early 1990s.

The newly developed CAT is called discrete-option multiple-choice or DOMC. The DOMC item format uses the basic elements of the traditional multiple-choice or Trad-MC (Foster & Miller, 2009), format stem and answer options. The essential difference lies in randomly presenting the options one at a time on the screen and asking the test-taker to decide if the option that appears is the correct one or not. The item is considered to be completed when the test-taker demonstrates that she or he has answered the item correctly or incorrectly.

An example of a DOMC item using the content of a mathematical question that was given by Foster and Miller (2009) is shown below. In this example, the answer option shown (number 29) is the correct answer and was randomly selected for presentation on the screen.

Q. Is this number a prime number?

29

Yes No

With the DOMC format, there is only one way for a test-taker to answer an item correctly, which is to choose Yes when the correct option is displayed. There are two ways for a test-taker to answer a question incorrectly: (a) Choose Yes when an incorrect option (or distractor) is displayed, or (b) choose No when the correct option is displayed. The item continues and provides another answer option if the test-taker chooses No when an incorrect option is displayed. In the study conducted by Foster and Miller (2009), five answer options were used. This means the test-taker needed to

provide either a 'yes' or 'no' response to the remaining four answer options before s/he could proceed to the next question.

Foster stated that the computerised version of the multiple-choice format mainly emphasises the aspect of security. In DOMC, the answer options are displayed randomly, which indicates that each test-taker will get different sequences of answer options. For instance, in order to answer a question, test-taker A will have to answer either Yes or No to option 1 followed by the other four options i.e. option 2, option 3, option 4 and option 5. Test-taker B may encounter the options in this sequence: option 5, option 3, option 1, option 2 and option 4.

Since each answer option is presented separately in DOMC, unlike the traditional multiple-choice (Trad-MC) which exposes all the options at once, the test items are unlikely to be memorised or captured through technology and shared with others. Foster and Miller (2014) stated that Trad-MC items are prone to being stolen and later re-used. Braindump sites, that is, websites where stolen test content is sold, proliferate. Test items are often discussed openly on Web forums and in chatrooms. Moreover, in psychometric parlance, DOMC is a way to prevent the occurrence of construct irrelevant variance (CIV) elements, which are test-taking skills (test-wiseness) and cheating. The prevention of CIV elements is acknowledged to be helpful in neutralising the unfair stigma that has been associated with Trad-MC.

Despite the improvements offered by DOMC, there are still inconveniences that need to be considered. Because not all of the answer options are presented in DOMC or because they are only presented one at a time, either of these situations may result in shorter or longer amounts of time to complete each item. This is because each person has a unique style i.e. the intellectual functioning as well as personality type that pertain to a person as an individual that makes the individual different from others (Brown, 2007). Brain hemisphere dominance and reflectivity and impulsivity are two qualities of styles. Style is seen as an important issue to be taken into account when dealing with DOMC. A resolution needs to be figured out so that the items format is universal and applicable to all groups of test-taker.

In order to meet needs that include computers and maintenance, the DOMC software, which is apparently costly, and training for teachers could require a large budget to cover expenses. Plus, getting used to the new DOMC assessment system could, of course, demand an extension of time since the Malaysian education system has been engaged with 'paper and pencil' examination systems since its inception.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The participants involved in the study were 100 undergraduates from two on-going classes majoring in English language in a local public university. They were in the third year of their university studies.

The instrument was a self-designed GJT modelled after Gass (1994) and Salehi and Sanjareh (2013). The GJT comprised two sections. The first section on sentence grammaticality had 15 items with two response options each and the second section on gap-filling also had 15 items with a three-response option format each. An example of each item format is as follows:

Section A:
Sentence Grammaticality

Example 1: The increasing number of abandoned newborn babies is a serious social concern as a large number of mothers who dump their babies are underage and unmarried.

Correct [ ]
Incorrect [ ]

Section B: Gap-Filling

Example 1: Alzheimer's is a progressive disease, where dementia symptoms gradually ____(1)____ over time.

1. a) worsens [ ]
   b) worsening [ ]
   c) worsen [ ]

The GJT was conducted in class during a tutorial. The participants were told to write down their test start time and completion time on the test paper. On average, they took between 15 to 25 minutes to complete the test. These data were collected to determine if there was any relationship between test performance and time spent on the test. As such results are not within the scope of this paper, they will be reported in another paper.

When the test papers were marked, it was found that eight participants left some items unanswered. To ensure better reliability of the results, the scores of the incomplete tests were not included in the calculation.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Overall, the participants' performance on Section B Gap-Filling with three-response options was better than their performance on Section A Sentence Grammaticality with two-response options. The results show that the mean score for Section B was 9.8 compared to 8.43 for Section A (Table 1).

TABLE 1
Descriptive Statistics for Two- and Three-Option Formats (n = 92)

	Two-Option	Three-Option
Mean	**8.43**	**9.80**
Median	8.00	10.00
Mode	7.00	11.00
Std. Deviation	1.97	2.50
Minimum	3.00	3.00
Maximum	12.00	14.00

The higher mean score in the third column of Table 1 shows that the gap-filling three-option response format was less difficult than the sentence grammaticality two-option response format. This is supported by the literature, which seems to suggest that a three-option response format is more reliable than a four- or five-option response format (see, for example, Rodriguez, 2005). According to Rodriguez (2005), three options are the optimal response format since shifting from 4- to

3-option items raises reliability slightly by .02 and item discrimination by .03. Studies conducted by Shizuka, Takeguchi, Yashima and Yoshizawa (2006) as well as Currie and Chiramanee (2010) also obtained the same finding.

Although logically the two-option format has a higher percentage of getting a correct answer by chance alone (50% compared to about 33% for three options, 25% for four options and 20% for five options), according to Fagan (2001), a two-option response format has lower reliability and less discrimination than response formats, possibility of bias with regards to test-wiseness, response-style and guessing, and is often only suitable for factual information.

With regards to whether there is any relationship between each of the two test formats and the participants' English language proficiency based on MUET, the results (see Table 2) show that there is no relationship between test format and MUET. For this computation, the sample size dropped to 83 because only 83 out of the 92 participants stated their MUET scores.

TABLE 2
Correlation between Test Format and MUET (n=83)

	Pearson Correlation Index
MUET	
Sentence Grammaticality Two-Option	0.164
Gap-Filling Three-Option	0.238

Several reasons may account for the lack of a significant relationship between the test formats and MUET in the sample. Firstly, MUET is meant to test mostly integrated skills of language production in various formats. Only a very small part of MUET is designed to measure grammatical competence. Therefore, the comparison is incompatible. Secondly, the participants were in their final year of the undergraduate programme. They sat for MUET over three years previously, and hence, the MUET score may not have accurately represented their proficiency level at the time of the study.

CONCLUSION

In hindsight, the GJT should have been more carefully designed. The research meant to investigate whether GJT test formats affect test performance and whether there is any relationship between each test format and MUET test scores. Although no relationship was found in the latter, there is a positive answer in that participants performed better in the gap-filling three-option format. However, it should be pointed out that in the present study, two aspects of the GJT were tested: the item format and the response format. Hence, the results cannot be confidently attributed to the test format alone.

Future research could standardise the response format to strictly focus on the item format. For example, the response options should be of the same number and the discrete grammatical items being tested should also be the same to produce more confident results and findings.

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Pragmatic Competence in Requests of Thai Learners of Spanish

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ABSTRACT

This present study aims to analyse the pragmatic competence in requests of Thai learners of Spanish by comparing the pragmatic competence performed by Thai learners of Spanish and Spanish native speakers. A multiple-choice discourse completion test (MDCT) in Spanish in different situations was employed to collect data from two groups of participants. The first group consisted of 30 fourth-year Thai students of Khon Kaen University majoring in Spanish while the second group had 30 Spanish native speakers. Making a request is one of the speech acts frequently used in everyday life. Requests are face-threatening acts because a speaker wants to convince a hearer to do something that is beneficial to the speaker. Different request strategies are employed in different cultures. In some cultures, performing a request increases the level of indirectness to protect a speaker's face while in others, speakers need to reduce the level of indirectness to save the hearer's face or to show a close relationship between the speaker and hearer. Despite many differences between Thai and Spanish cultures, no study about pragmatic competence in requests focusing on Thai learners of Spanish has been conducted. It is necessary for Thai learners of Spanish to have pragmatic competence by learning the appropriate politeness strategies in Spanish to avoid communication failures or misunderstanding. The findings of this study suggest that in formal situations, requests performed by Thai learners of Spanish significantly differ from requests performed by native Spanish speakers. On the contrary, requests performed by two groups of participants are rather similar in informal situations. The results of this study can show cultural differences between the Thai and Spanish languages.

Keywords: Politeness strategies, requests, Thai learners of Spanish, pragmatic competence

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INTRODUCTION

To have intercultural communicative competence, L2 learners have to be aware of the variety of cultural aspects that affect communication and be able to use appropriate ways to maintain a good relationship with people in different cultures. One of the social principles used to please other people in communication is politeness. Politeness is a part of pragmatics that plays a significant role when people from different cultures have to interact. Thai learners of Spanish have difficulty communicating with native Spanish speakers and encounter misunderstandings in the Spanish conversation classroom because they tend to use, on many occasions, politeness strategies of Thai or their second language, in this case, English, more often than those of Spanish.

This present research was conducted to investigate the grammatical use of politeness strategies that Thai students of Spanish tend to use whether they have learnt to use appropriate or native-like politeness strategies or not.

Studies of Politeness

Politeness has been a widely studied subject for decades. A large number of theories of politeness have been proposed. In this section, we will review some of the theories of politeness.

Leech (1983) suggested that there is a set of maxims of politeness, which consists of tact, generosity, approbation, modesty, agreement and sympathy. For Leech (1983), being polite meant avoiding imposition, giving options and being friendly. Differing from Leech's (1983) concept of politeness, Brown and Levinson (1987) focused on the term of face, which means the public image a person wishes to display in society. People are concerned about their image when they interact with others; they expect to be respected and admired.

Brown and Levinson (1987) explained that when a speaker says something that can threaten another, it is called a face threatening act (FTA). On the other hand, when a speaker says something that tends to improve the image of another, it is called a face flattering act (FFA). When a FTA is performed, it is necessary to use politeness strategies to soften a threat or to reduce an imposition, which is described as negative politeness while positive politeness represents politeness which is used to satisfy the speaker's need of approval and the image of another.

Politeness in Spanish Culture

Politeness strategies vary from one culture to another in spite of their universal validity. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), there are two principle aspects of politeness: negative politeness, which explains the situations where the speaker avoids using an FTA (Face Threatening Act) and positive politeness, which consists of situations where the speaker uses an FFA (Face Flattering Act). Sifianou (1992) compared different aspects between English culture and Greek culture and concluded in his

work that in English culture, people tended to have negative politeness whereas Greek people generally employ positive politeness.

Similar to Greek culture, the characteristics of positive politeness appear in Spanish culture (Sifianou, 1992; Haverkate, 2004; Barros, 2008). Moreover, Bravo (2004), discussing two main concepts of politeness, autonomy and affiliation, proposed that the second concept was commonly found in Spanish culture since it is considered as confidence, proximity and familiarity, which not only satisfy one's own image, but also shows a positive image of both speaker and hearer (Hernández, 2004).

In accordance with Bravo (2004), Haverkate (2004) pointed out that solidarity is significant in Spanish culture, which can be found in these outstanding examples of speech acts. Firstly, *auto-repetition* of the speaker when he/she wants to accept an invitation: "Yes, yes, of course". Secondly, *the use of the imperative* to make a request is a commonly used strategy, particularly when the interlocutor relationship is close, although this seems to be impolite in some cultures. Lastly, *flattery* plays an important role in making the image of the hearer better in Spanish culture and, at the same time, it makes the speaker seem more considerate.

L2 Studies of Request

Making a request is one of the speech acts frequently used in everyday life. Requests are face-threatening acts because a speaker wants to convince a hearer to do something that is beneficial to the speaker. Different request strategies are employed in different cultures. In some cultures, to perform a request, one has to increase the level of indirectness to protect a speaker's face while, in other cultures, they need to reduce the level of indirectness to save a hearer's face or to show a close relationship between speaker and hearer. Since there are many differences between the Thai and Spanish cultures, it is necessary for Thai learners of Spanish to learn the appropriate grammatical use of politeness strategies in Spanish to avoid communication failures or misunderstanding.

Several investigations about politeness strategies in requests by L2 learners were conducted. In this section, some of the relevant studies will be summarised.

Tanaka and Kawade (1982) compared politeness strategies used by native speakers of English and Japanese ESL learners, using a multiple-choice questionnaire discourse completion test (MDCT). The findings showed that the strategies used by Japanese learners did not differ significantly from those used by native speakers.

Another study was conducted by Suh (1999), investigating whether there was any difference between native speakers of English and Korean ESL learners. Similarly to Tanaka and Kawade's (1982) study, an MDCT was employed. It was revealed that Korean ESL learners differed in their use of politeness strategies compared to native speakers of English.

Chiravate (2011), investigating to what extent Thai EFL learners differ from native speakers of English in the use of politeness strategies and whether there was evidence

of L1 influence on the learners' use of politeness strategies, conducted a study of 60 Thai EFL learners and 30 native speakers of English. Employing an MDCT, it was found that Thai EFL learners were not able to use politeness strategies similarly to the native speakers of English. They tended to use fewer polite strategies, which showed that cultural differences between L1 and L2 were found to play a significant role in the use of politeness strategies.

As previously mentioned, a number of L2 studies of EFL and ESL learners were conducted; however, there has been no study focusing on the use of politeness strategies in requests made by Thai learners of Spanish. Therefore, it would be interesting to investigate whether Thai learners of Spanish would be able to perform a request in the same way as native Spanish speakers would.

Request Strategies in Thai

In the Thai language, the use of final particles (FP) has an important role in measuring politeness levels when making requests. Khahua (2003), whose study was about the speech act patterns of requests in Thai society, pointed out that request strategies in Thai are classified into two main syntactic structures. The first structure, which consists of a verb phrase (VP) and a final phrase (FP), is perceived as a direct request, as in the following examples:

(a) *phu:t di: di: si?*
speak good good FP
"Speak nicely."
(Khahua, 2003, p.49)

(b) *pɔh diəw phruɯmi pluk pɔk ti:ha khrɯɤ naʔ*
Dad moment tomorrow wake me 5 and a half FP
"Dad, tomorrow wake me up at 5 o'clock."
(Khahua, 2003, p.45)

(c) *maa maa kep toʔ khaw ba:n haj phi: puu: nɔ j*
Come come get table enter house give sister me FP
"Come on, move the table into the house for me"
(Khahua, 2003, p.52)

According to Khahua, in a direct request or imperative, the final particles *siʔ*, *naʔ* and *nɔ j* are usually added to make an order sound softer or more polite. To be more specific, *nɔ j* which means "a little bit" shows the highest politeness level, compared to the other particles.

As in many cultures, a direct request, as shown in (a), (b) and (c), is made when the relationship between the requester and the requestee is close; for example, they may be friends or members of the same family. It is also used when the requester is older than the requestee or when the requester holds a higher social status.

The second syntactic structure of requests mentioned in Khahua's study was an indirect request, which is in interrogative form. This structure consists of a verb phrase (VP), a final particle (FP) and a question marker (QM), as in (d) and (e). In addition, Thai people usually add status particles (SP)

khrap (for men) and *kha* (for women) to increase the politeness level in the indirect request, while in the direct request they are not frequently found.

(d) *chuej tho: ha: khun pran :m haj nɔj da:j maj kha*
help call Khun Pranom give FP QM SP
"Can you call Khun Pranom for me please?"
(Khahua, 2003, p.74)

(e) *chuej jip mine:re haj nɔ j da:j maj kha*
help bring mineral water give FP QM SP
"Can you hand me a bottle of mineral water, please?"
(Khahua, 2003, p.75)

As shown in (d) and (e), the level of imposition is reduced by using the question marker *da:j maj* or "can you?". Contrary to a direct request, an indirect request is usually used in more formal situations or when the requester and the requestee are strangers. However, it is possible to use an indirect request with friends or family members if politeness is required in that situation.

METHODOLOGY

Aims and Research Questions

Similarly to Tanaka and Kawade (1982) and Chiravate's (2011) studies which focused on comparing the use of politeness strategies between English native speakers and EFL learners, the present study aims to analyse Thai SFL (Spanish as a Foreign Language) learners' pragmatic competence focusing on politeness strategies in making requests by responding to the following research questions:

1. To what extent do Thai learners of Spanish differ from native speakers of Spanish in the use of politeness strategies when they perform a request?
2. Is there pragmatic transfer of L1 when Thai learners make requests in Spanish?

Participants

Participants in this empirical study were divided into two groups; the first one consisted of 30 Thai fourth-year university students, studying Spanish Major or Spanish Philology at Khon Kaen University. Of the 30 participants, five were male. Most of them had just learned Spanish in the university. The second group consisted of 30 native Spanish speakers. All of them had already graduated from the university and now live in Spain. The age of the participants varied from 20 to 35 years.

Instruments and Procedures

This study was carried out through a multiple-choice questionnaire discourse completion test (MDCT), which consisted of six items that represented three social statuses: higher (+), equal (=) and lower (-). In addition, the familiarity between the requester and the requestee shown as more (+) or less (-) and the reference of requestees' age, for instance, younger (-), same age (=) or older (+), were included since for Thai

people these two factors are significant for requesters to choose appropriate politeness strategies. The situation in each item had three main variables, as in the following:

Item 1:
Social (–) Familiarity (–)
Age of requestee (–)

Item 2:
Social (–) Familiarity (–)
Age of requestee (+)

Item 3:
Social (+) Familiarity (–)
Age of requestee (+/-)[1]

Item 4:
Social (–) Familiarity (–)
Age of requestee (+/-)

Item 5:
Social (=) Familiarity (+)
Age of requestee (+)

Item 6:
Social (=) Familiarity (+)
Age of requestee (=)

Each item had seven politeness strategies modified from Tanaka and Kawade's (1982) and Suh's (1999) studies. All the participants were asked to choose only one politeness strategy that seemed the most appropriate for them in a given situation, as in the following examples.

[1] The symbol (+/-) for item 3 and 4 means that the age is not mentioned in the situation; the requestee could be younger or older than the requester as it is not a factor we want to focus on.

Politeness strategies in Spanish	**Politeness strategies in English**
(a) Imperativo	(a) Imperative
(b) Forma interrogativa de Presente de Indicativo	(b) Will you …?
(c) ¿Puedes …?	(c) Can you…?
(d) ¿Podrías …?	(d) Could you…?
(e) Si eres tan amable/ no te importa, ¿podrías…?	(e) If you would be so kind/ you don't mind, could you give…?
(f) Quiero …	(f) I want...
(g) Querría …	(g) I would like…

In Spanish, the interrogative form of the present simple, as shown in (b), is used to make a request, for example, "Do you give me a cup of coffee?" When translated into English, this sentence is not normally used in the same context; therefore, it is translated into *Will you?*, which could be equivalent to the Spanish version. Additionally, the conditional form of the verb "want", which is equivalent to "would like" in English, is used as one of the politeness strategies in Spanish, as in (g).

All participants were asked to choose only one politeness strategy, which seemed the most appropriate for them in a given situation, as in the following example.

Item 1 (in Spanish).
Si quieres pedir una coca cola en un bar, quieres pedírsela al camarero que es menor que tú. ¿Cuál de estas opciones elegirías en esta situación?

a. Ponme una coca cola.
b. ¿Me pones una coca cola?
c. ¿Me puedes poner una coca cola?
d. ¿Me podrías poner una coca cola?

e. Si eres tan amable, ¿me podrías poner una coca cola?
f. Quiero una coca cola.
g. Querría una coca cola.

Item 1 (translated into English).
You would like to have a coca cola in a cafeteria and you are placing your order with a waiter who is younger than you. Which of the following forms would you use in this situation?

a. Give me a can of coca cola.
b. Will you give me a can of coca cola?
c. Can you give me a can of coca cola?
d. Could you give me a can of coca cola?
e. If you would be so kind, could you give me a can of coca cola?
f. I want a can of coca cola.
g. I would like a can of coca cola.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Here we present the results related to the research questions.

Research Question 1:

The first research question was: To what extent do Thai learners of Spanish differ from native speakers of Spanish in the use of politeness strategies when they perform a request?

The results showed that the SFL (Spanish as a Foreign Language) learners' use of politeness strategies in some situations differed from the NS (native speaker) group, as shown in Table 1.

For item 1, it was found that *I would like…* was the most chosen strategy by the SFL group, at a rate of 30%, followed by *Can you…?* at 23.33% while the NS group preferred to use *Can you…?* at 36.67%, followed by *I want…* at 23.33%. For item 2, the SFL learners also preferred to use *I would like…* with the highest frequency (40%), followed by *Could you…?* at 36.67%. Differing from the SFL group, the most chosen strategy by the NS group was *I want…,* at the rate of 40%, followed by *Can you…?* at the rate of 20%.

For item 3*,* the most chosen strategy by the SFL and the NS groups was similar, which was the *Could you…?* at the rate of 43.33% and 46.67%, respectively, followed by *If you would…, could you…?* (23.33% and 20%, respectively). On the contrary, it was found that, for item 4, the two groups chose different strategies. In the SFL group, the *I want…* strategy was used with the highest frequency, followed by *I would like…* (33.33% and 23.33%, respectively) while, in the NS group, more politeness strategies were used, which were *Could you…?* and *If you would…, could you…?*, at the rate of 30% and 23.33%, respectively).

However, same preference of both the SFL and the NS groups was exhibited again for items 5 and 6. For item 5, the two groups chose the *imperative* strategy with the highest frequency (36.67% and 40%, respectively), followed by the *Will you…?* strategy (23.33% and 36.67%, respectively). Similar to item 5, for item

6, both SFL and NS groups used the *Can you…?* strategy most of the time (30% and 43.33%, respectively), followed by the *imperative* strategy, at the rate of 26.67% for both groups. The three most frequent politeness strategies chosen by the two groups are shown in Table 2.

Research question 2:

The second research question was: Is there pragmatic transfer of L1 when Thai learners make requests in Spanish*?*

According to the data, in the situations where the requester holds higher social status, as for item 1, 2 and 4, Thai students tended to use the strategies *I would like…* and *I want…,* which are considered to be direct requests, compared to other cultures in which these strategies are not commonly used. As the results of Chiravate (2011) showed, English native speakers did not use the *I want to…* strategy in most situations, particularly where the requester-requestee relationship is distant. However, these strategies are not included in Thai politeness

TABLE 1
Percentage of the Use of Politeness Strategies in Making a Request

Item	Politeness Strategies						
	Imperative	*Will you…?*	*Can you…?*	*Could you…?*	*If you would…, could you…?*	*I want…*	*I would like…*
No.1							
SFL	3.33%	10%	23.33%	13.33%	0%	20%	30%
NS	3.33%	16.67%	36.67%	16.67%	0%	23.33%	3.33%
No.2							
SFL	0%	3.3%	6.67%	36.67%	3.33%	10%	40%
NS	3.33%	3.33%	20%	13.33%	6.67%	40%	13.33%
No.3							
SFL	3.33%	0%	10%	43.33%	30%	3.33%	10%
NS	0%	3.33%	16.67%	46.67%	30%	0%	3.33%
No.4							
SFL	6.67%	0%	10%	20%	6.67%	33.33%	23.33%
NS	0%	3.33%	16.67%	30%	23.33%	10%	16.67%
No.5							
SFL	36.67%	23.33%	20%	13.33%	6.67%	0%	0%
NS	40%	36.67%	13.33%	3.33%	3.33%	0%	3.33%
No.6							
SFL	26.67%	20%	30%	10%	3.33%	10%	0%
NS	26.67%	6.67%	43.33%	20%	3.33%	0%	0%

strategies as mentioned in Khahua (2003). It is assumed that the students had learned to use them from Spanish classes since it is one of the most frequently used strategies in Spanish culture in situations where the requester perceives himself/herself in a higher position (Vidal Alba, 1994).

On the contrary, where the requester holds lower social status, evidence of L1 was found. The students used *Could you…?*, which can be equivalent to an indirect request in Thai (VP + FP + QM + SP), a politeness strategy used when the requester and the requestee have a distant relationship.

In informal situations, where the requester-requestee relationship is close and both hold the same social status, as was the case for item 5 and 6, the *imperative* and *Can you…?* were frequently used. These two strategies are equivalent to politeness strategies used by Thai people, as previously discussed in Khahua's (2003) study.

In addition, in Spanish culture, these two strategies are also commonly used due to the characteristic of politeness in Spanish (Haverkate, 2004). In this case, the similarity between L1 and L2 results in a positive pragmatic transfer in the field of request making.

TABLE 2
The Three Most Frequently Used Politeness Strategies

Item	Order of Politeness Strategies Used by Thai Learners of Spanish		
	1	**2**	**3**
No.1			
SFL	I would like… (30%)	*Can you…? (23.4%)*	*I want… (20%)*
NS	Can you…? (36.67%)	*I want… (23.33%)*	*Will you…? (16.67%)*
No.2			
SFL	*I would like… (40%)*	*Could you…? (36.67%*	*I want… (10%)*
NS	*I want… (40%)*	*Can you…? (20%)*	*Could you…? (13.33%)*
No.3			
SFL	*Could you…? (43.33%)*	*If you would…, could you…? (23.33%)*	*I would like…* and *Can you…? (10%)*
NS	*Could you…? (46.67%)*	*If you would…, could you…? (30.33%)*	*Can you…? (16.67%)*
No.4			
SFL	*I want… (33.33%)*	*I would like… (23.33%)*	*Could you…? (20%)*
NS	*Could you…? (30%)*	*If you would…, could you…? (23.33%)*	*I would like…* and *Can you…? (16.67%)*
No.5			
SFL	*Imperative (36.67%)*	*Will you…? (23.33%)*	*Can you…? (20%)*
NS	*Imperative (40%)*	*Will you…? (36.7%)*	*Can you…? (13.3%)*
No.6			
SFL	*Can you…?(30%)*	*Imperative (26.67%)*	Will you…?(20%)
NS	*Can you…?(43.33%)*	*Imperative (26.67%)*	Could you…?(20%)

CONCLUSION

From my study, the SFL learners' use of the politeness strategy was not always similar to the native speakers. In the situations where both requester and requestee have a close relationship and equal social status and where the requestee has higher social status than the requester, the SFL learners used politeness strategies that were similar to the NS group. However, in the situations where the requestee has lower social status, it can be concluded that SFL learners may not have sufficient pragmatic competence because the use of politeness strategies of the two groups were different. The SFL group tended to use more politeness strategies than the SFL group.

Moreover, the result of item 2 reveals that the age of requestee is an important factor for SFL learners to choose appropriate politeness strategies. In this item, the requestee has lower social status than the resquester but the requestee is older than the requester. Most of SFL learners used the *Could you…?* or the *I would like…* strategies while less polite strategies were chosen by the NS group. On the contrary, for item 4, which has the same conditions as item 2 except that age of the requestee is not mentioned, the SFL group tended to use a less polite strategy, which is the *I want…* strategy.

According to pragmatic transfer of L1, it can be seen that there was no evidence of L1 influence on Thai Spanish learners' use of politeness strategies in the situations where the requestee has lower social status, as where the *I would like…* and *I want…* strategies were used for item 1, 2 and 4. On the other hand, pragmatic transfer of L1 appeared when both requester and requestee have a close relationship since the participants used the strategies *imperative* and *Can you…?*, which can be considered politeness strategies used by Thai people to make a request.

The results of this study suggest that the teaching of pragmatics should be more focused in the classroom to avoid communication breakdown when learners use the language in their real life. Moreover, cross-cultural contexts should not be ignored in the language classroom.

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Speech Accommodation Strategies in the Selling of Life Insurance

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the oral communication behaviour of speakers involved in life insurance sales meetings. It is often argued that speakers adjust their speech to "accommodate" the person they are addressing. This situation may be more prominent in sales talk, which is acknowledged as goal-orientated interaction with a specific structure, roles and patterns of language use. Using the communication accommodation theory (CAT), the authors attempt to show that the sellers (life insurance agents) and buyers (also known as prospects) of life insurance will use different accommodation strategies to ensure a sale or to reject a sale. Analysis of data from sales meetings provides some insights into the discourse of life insurance sales meeting conversations and management, including employment of accommodation strategies in the sales meetings. This paper addresses the role of speech accommodation by sellers and buyers of life insurance as seen in two life insurance sales meetings conducted in a specific region of Malaysia. The participants of the meetings were bilingual speakers of Malay, English and Chinese, and the competency level of spoken English differed from one participant to the other. The paper discusses the extent to which the participants used convergent and divergent strategies throughout the meetings to accommodate linguistic differences and difficulties, including the extent to which both the sellers and buyers of the life insurance were aware of the need to adjust their language according to the needs of their listeners in order to achieve the communicative purpose.

Keywords: Communication accommodation, convergence, divergence, sales talk, insurance agents, buyers

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INTRODUCTION

Sellers and buyers in sales talk or communication may alter their communication in certain modes of communication depending on the context

of the situation. Often interlocutors involved in sales talk use different strategies to either make a sale or to reject a sale, including overcoming objections (Gross & Peterson, 1980; Campbell & Davis, 2006). The way sales representatives employ strategies in overcoming objections have an effect on their ability to close a sale (Campbell & Davis, 2006, p.47).

Life insurance sales talk, in particular, involves talking about sensitive matters, such as probable illness and death, that may be taboo for some and, thus, may require the sellers and buyers or prospects to adjust their speech in order to address such sensitivities. In such a context, the life insurance agents and prospective buyers use different accommodation strategies to ensure a sale or to reject a sale. The degree of accommodation depends not only on the context of the interaction but also on similarities and differences between the interactants.

The phenomenon of accommodation has been studied by researchers since the 1970s. Most of these studies focused on the use of accommodation strategies in business discourse such as intercultural business negotiations (Sweeney & Hua, 2010) and haggling at meat stalls (Ayoola, 2009), among other contextual situations.

Sweeney and Hua (2010) studied how native speakers (NS) of English accommodate their non-native counterparts in intercultural business negotiations. According to Sweeny and Hua, NS employed a wider variety of linguistic devices than non-native speakers (NNS). The native speakers in their study attempted to accommodate NNS, but there was significant disparity in the way individual participants selected their strategies and managed accommodation processes. Furthermore, there appeared to be a disparity in the native speakers' comprehension of matters related to intercultural communication and their failure to successfully accommodate non-native speakers. Du-Babcock (1999) investigated communication behaviour among Hong Kong Cantonese bilingual speakers who used both the first and second language in decision-making meetings. A study by Lin (2005) on linguistic realisations of politeness strategies showed how speakers are influenced by contextual factors in persuasive discourse in Chinese. Lin's findings revealed that salespersons employed a variety of politeness strategies and that negative politeness was used more frequently than positive politeness strategies.

Among the few studies on accommodation in business settings are those of Du-Babcock (1999) and Lin (2005). Rogerson-Revell (2010, pp.440-442), in her study, found that participants in international business meetings were aware of the need to adjust their language to suit the needs of a diverse international audience and to accommodate, where necessary, linguistic differences, difficulties and complexities.

According to the accommodation communication theory (Giles *et al.*, 1991), people tend to accommodate their speech style according to the communicative purpose. This phenomenon can also be seen

in sales talk where the speakers adjust their communication to another's speech style in face-to-face communication.

There is substantial evidence that, in the oral communication context, speakers often adjust their speech to "accommodate" the person they are addressing (Sweeney & Hua, 2011). This situation may occur frequently and be perceived as more important in sales talk. In the selling of life insurance, the sales talk is recognised as goal-orientated interaction with a specific stru ure, roles and patterns of language use.

The sellers and buyers of life insurance employ different accommodation strategies to ensure a sale or to decline a sale, apart from adjusting their speech when talking about sensitive matters. Thus, how these participants speak to one another in the sales meetings matters because how the sellers, buyers or customers pursue their goals using language becomes extremely important. Hence, this paper addresses the role of speech accommodation by sellers and buyers of life insurance in a number of life insurance sales meetings conducted and observed in the northern region of Malaysia.

In this study, the authors applied the framework of the Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) based on the works of Gallois, Franklyn-Stokes, Giles and Coupland (1988), Giles (1973) and Giles and Powesland (1975) to examine the processes involved in the production and employment of accommodation strategies in life insurance sales meetings.

CAT employs a social psychological framework to describe the cognitive and affective processes underlying alterations to speakers' communicative behaviour (Gallois *et al.*, 2005). Therefore, CAT can be seen to explain the motivations underlying individuals' behaviour. It can be assumed that CAT does not only explain referential information during conversations but also how speakers address their interpersonal and intergroup relationships (Giles & Ogay, 2006). CAT suggests that interlocutors within a communication exchange are motivated to employ different communication strategies that permit them to shape or maintain their personal or social identities (Gallois *et al.,* 2005). When speakers communicate, distinct identities may appear more prominent for individuals at different times, and this affects an interaction where it can be interpreted as more intergroup or more interpersonal (Watson & Gallois, 2007).

CAT postulates that speakers may engage in the use of different communication strategies to lower or increase social distance. Gallois *et al.* (2005) stated that some of the communication strategies that speakers may use are approximation, interpretability, emotional expression, face-related strategies, discourse management and interpersonal control strategies. Gallois *et al.* (2005) explained that approximation strategy is used to describe changes in verbal or non-verbal behaviour to become more or less like the other interactant. They went on to state that this strategy is employed to lower or emphasise social distance. According to Gallois *et al.* (2005), interpretability is used to explain the way speakers adapt their behaviour to make it

more understandable to other speakers. In the context of life insurance sales talk, this could include how technical language of insurance is employed and the extent to which understanding of the potential buyers' intent is examined.

Discourse management is about how interaction is shared and the degree to which speakers smooth the progress of their interlocutors' contribution to the communication through sharing topic selection and turn taking (McEwen & Coupland, 2000). Interpersonal control on the other hand, concerns the roles that speakers are able to perform in an interaction. Therefore, insurance agents may act or manage their discourse in a way that keep themselves and the buyers in a particular role, such as seller and buyer, or they may choose to establish a common role as users of insurance products or make the conversation more interpersonal by finding topics that both parties are familiar with while at the same time maintaining face and keeping emotional expressions in check. Face is about the public self-image of people, and it has two features: positive face and negative face (Brown & Levinson, 1987). According to Gallois *et al.* 2005, positive face considers a speaker's need to be liked and have their needs understood and appreciated while on the other hand, negative face considers a speaker's need for independence or freedom from obligation (Hamilton, 1991). Lastly, emotional expression is about the speaker replying to the emotional or relational needs of the other speaker, and this includes expressions of reassurance (Gallois *et al.*, 2005).

CAT employs the term accommodative stance to explain the process where speakers utilise the strategies to adapt their communicative behaviour in order to correctly move towards or respond to the needs of the other speaker (accommodating) or inappropriately move towards the needs of their speech partner (non-accommodating) (Gallois *et al.*, 2005). Non-accommodation comprises under-accommodation, which is when an interlocutor maintains or accentuates differences in his or her own behaviour and discourse with less than sufficient movement towards the behaviour or communication needs of others (Giles & Powesland, 1975). Next, over-accommodation is the situation in which an interlocutor goes beyond the style needed with condescending or flattering moves, stereotypically of the other person's group (Gallois *et al.*, 1995). For example, an insurance agent may oversimplify his or her own speech when explaining certain life insurance products.

In general, accommodation is valued more positively than non-accommodation (Gallois *et al.*, 2005). In addition, it is ranked as more effective in an organisational context (Gardner & Jones, 1999). Therefore, it is predicted that potential buyers would describe effective communication as being accommodative and ineffective communication as non-accommodative.

Communication Accommodation Theory

Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) investigates the attitudes, motives

and communication strategies that form communicative interaction. In the beginning, the theory was developed to explain the cognitive and affective processes primarily for speech convergence and divergence (Giles, 1973; Giles & Powesland, 1975). CAT suggests that when interlocutors interact they interact at either the interpersonal and or intergroup level depending on the goals they wish to achieve. These goals are preset by every interlocutor's preference towards, for example, fixing a meeting between groups that have previously communicated with one another before (Watson & Gallois, 1998). The present communication in this study between parties was shaped by these preferences, attitudes, culture and views. In a more specific context, interlocutors' perceptions, speech behaviours, language use and responses change as they negotiate meaning for the duration of a communication. The participants can choose to adapt to their interlocutor's language use by applying similar language structure, speech rate, dialect, accent and lexical diversity as their counterparts with the aim of gaining acceptance or approval (Coupland *et al.*, 1988; Gallois *et al.*, 2005; Coupland, 1980).

In CAT, "convergence" is defined as a strategy whereby individuals adapt to each other's communicative behaviours in terms of a wide range of linguistic-prosodic-nonverbal features including speech rate, pausal phenomena and utterance length, phonological variants, smiling and gazing (Coupland, 1980). CAT proposes that speech convergence reflects a speaker or a group's needs for social integration or identification with another while speech "divergence" in CAT, on the other hand, is the term used to refer to the way speakers accentuate speech and use non-verbal differences between themselves and others (Giles & Coupland, 1991, p.18).

CAT acknowledges the possibility that convergence of some features will be matched by simultaneous divergence of others (Giles & Coupland, 1991). According to CAT, the three key goals underlying speech accommodation are to meet the interlocutors' desire for social approval (convergence), to promote communicative efficiency between the interlocutors (convergence) and to maintain a positive social identity (divergence) (Giles & Coupland, 1991).

CAT centres on the function of talk in human communication. It must be noted that the theory is still popular among sociolinguistics and communication scholars; thus, it has been employed in a number of different studies. Previous studies which investigated convergence in communication found that convergence can assist in improving the speakers' attractiveness, predictability and interpersonal involvement with their interlocutors (Bourhis *et al*., 2012; Jenkins, 2000; Giles *et al.*, 1987).

Burgoon *et al.* (1993) raised a question on the convergence-divergence frame proposed by Giles. They opined that conversations are too multifaceted to be compacted only to these processes. In addition, they also disputed the notion that people's accommodation can be described

by just these two practices. Further, the inconsistent terminologies employed to refer to its principles and assumptions were criticised because these terminologies often deviate from and complicate the original propositions (Gallois *et al*., 2005). In spite of these criticisms, CAT remains relevant as a means of explaining how speakers adjust their language to meet the needs of different audiences during interpersonal or intergroup interactions.

Background to the Study

This study forms part of a larger investigation into the use of language in life insurance sales meetings. The study builds on an initial analysis and observation, which examined the extent to which the participants used convergent and divergent strategies during the sales meetings to accommodate linguistic differences and difficulties encountered. In addition, it sought to examine whether both the sellers and buyers of life insurance were aware of the need to alter their language according to the needs of their listeners in order to achieve the communicative purpose.

METHODOLOGY

This study is a non-experimental, descriptive study, which used the discourse analysis approach for data collection and analysis. The study aimed to:

1. Identify the extent to which the participants in the insurance sales talk used convergent and divergent strategies when confronted with linguistic differences and difficulties.
2. Examine whether both the sellers and buyers of life insurance were aware of the need to adjust their language during the sales meetings to achieve the communicative purpose.

Data were collected from three life insurance personal selling meetings at three different locations agreed upon by the participants in the northern state of Kedah in Malaysia.

Participants

The participants in this study consisted of life insurance agents and potential buyers. Details of the participants are as follows.

Insurance Agent 1 was a female agent who worked for a local insurance company. She sells both conventional and *takaful* insurance products. Her linguistic repertoire included Toechew, which is a Chinese dialect, Malay and English as a second language. Insurance Agent 2, also female, worked for a multinational insurance company that was also involved in *takaful* insurance. Similar to Insurance Agent 1, this agent also sold both conventional and *takaful* insurance products. Insurance Agent 2 spoke Malay as her mother tongue and English as a second language.

The potential buyers are referred to as Potential Buyer 1 and Potential Buyer 2. Potential Buyer 1 was an academic at a local university, and she was looking for an education plan for her daughter. Potential Buyer 1 was proficient in both Malay and English. Potential Buyer 2 was an engineer with a multinational company specialising in producing ICT hardware components. As

a mother, Potential Buyer 2 was interested in buying a medical card for her baby. She spoke Malay and English proficiently.

Data Collection and Analysis

The data were collected from two sales meetings held between the sellers and the buyers. The insurance agents would inform the researcher of the meeting in advance when dates for the meetings were confirmed.

The participants of Sales Meeting 1 involved Insurance Agent 1 and Potential Buyer 1 and in Sales Meeting 2, the participants involved were Insurance Agent 1 and Potential Buyer 2.

One of the authors was present during all three sales meetings as a non-participating observer. The meetings were conducted at locations preferred by the potential buyers. An audio recorder was used to record the meetings. Each meeting took between 30 to 50 minutes.

All participants involved in the study were informed in advance of the presence of the researcher as a non-participant observer and signed a consent form to allow the meetings to be recorded once the purpose of the recordings was explained.

The audio samples were transcribed word for word, coded and analysed using Jefferson's (1984) transcription conventions and discourse analysis coding method. The data was analysed qualitatively. The qualitative analysis was carried out by matching the dialogues and the three key goals of speech accommodation (Giles *et al.*, 1991), which are i) to evoke the addressee's social approval, ii) to promote communicative efficiency between speakers and iii) to maintain positive social identity. The transcription convention and coding method used are illustrated in Tables 1 and 2. Table 1 provides the transcription conventions used and Table 2 provides a summary of the participants, duration of the meetings, location of the meetings and type of life insurance talk.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The analysis is based on six transcripts from two sales talks involving one insurance agent (IA1) and two different prospects or potential buyers (PR1 and PR2, respectively).

TABLE 1
Transcription Conventions Adapted from Jefferson (1984)

Symbol	Meaning	Example	
.	Pause between tone groups	IA:	then second benefit is in terms of the flexibility.
||	Double slashes on successive lines indicate the beginning of overlapping speech.	IA1:	a: up to you. which one you
		PR:	I have either american ||
		IA1:	|| amex we cannot
::	Each colon indicates further lengthening of a sound.	PR:	the maximum a::
		IA1:	means the kids is twenty five years old right now because a:: she is 2011

TABLE 1 (*continue*)

?	Rising intonation	IA:	okay then how much is your yearly income?
hhh	Laughter unit	PR:	I just delivered what hhh I was sixty something

TABLE 2
A Summary of the Participants in the 2 Different Sales Talks

Life Insurance Sales Meeting	Insurance Agents	Potential Buyers	Location and Duration	Type of Life Insurance Discussed
Meeting 1	Insurance Agent 1 (IA1) Female, Chinese, bilingual	Potential Buyer 1 Female (PR1) An academic with a Malaysian university	Local franchise coffee shop 30 minutes, 6 seconds	Education plan
Meeting 2	Insurance Agent 1 (IA1) Female, Chinese, bilingual	Potential Buyer 2 Female (PR2) An engineer attached to a multinational company	Office cafeteria 49 minutes, 7 seconds	Medical card

Excerpts 1, 2, 3 and 4 show the convergent linguistic strategies used by both parties, while Excerpts 5 and 6 show the divergent linguistic strategies employed by the speakers in the sales meetings.

Accommodation Strategies in Sales Talk

In this section, excerpts of dialogues involving insurance agents and potential buyers are presented and discussed. The excerpts highlight instances of how, in convergent situations, interlocutors promote communicative efficiency in a number of ways.

Excerpt 1, below, involves Insurance Agent 1 and Prospect 1 discussing the product's name and features. The product is an education plan.

Excerpt 1:

1. PR1 : The plan you just mentioned is called persona plan?
2. IA1 : Persona education plan
3. PR1 : Persona education plan?
4. IA1 : **Persona education. ya**
5. PR1 : The maximum is twenty four?
6. IA1 : **Sorry?** Maximum?
7. PR1 : The maximum a::
8. IA1 : Means the kids is twenty-five years old right now because a:: she is 2011 so for us we is counted one one years plus so we counted one years old so one years old till twenty five years is counted twenty four years

In Excerpt 1, convergent strategies of repetition and lengthy explanations were used to promote communicative efficiency between the interlocutors. Prospect 1 sought clarification about the insurance product name from the insurance agent. Excerpt 1 shows the insurance agent clarifying the product name in Turn 2 and repeating it again in Turn 4. In Turn 5 the PR1 asked IA1 a question. The insurance agent appeared not to have registered the question and responded by apologising. The act of apologising was not to actually register an apology; it was, rather, a convergent strategy to seek clarification, which PR1 provided in Turn 7. Insurance Agent 1 then provided a lengthy explanation in Turn 8. The conversation between the two appeared to run smoothly. In Turns 1 to 4 convergent strategies of repetition were used for the purpose of promoting communicative efficiency. Next, in Turns 6 to 8, IA1 made an effort to understand the prospect's question and proceeded to provide a clear explanation on how to calculate the maturity period of the insurance policy. The motivation behind the convergent strategy of repetition was to clarify the name of the insurance product, thus again promoting communicative efficiency. This is consistent with Coupland's (1980) current version of the theory, where the aim is to explain the motivations underlying the speech. This finding concurs with that of Marzaiyan *et al*. (2010).

In Excerpt 2, Insurance Agent 1 and Prospect 1's discussion focuses on the topic of income. This is in relation to a response to one of the questions posed in the insurance questionnaire.

Excerpt 2:

1.	IA1	:	Okay then how much is your yearly income?
2.	PR1	:	a::
3.	IA1	:	Monthly also can okay
4.	PR1	:	**a::*dekat* (near) monthly a? Monthly seven. Monthly seven so seven times twelve lah**

Excerpt 2 reveals that volunteering information can help to promote understanding, and it also shows that one has the upper hand in controlling the flow of discussion. This shows how IA1 sought information about PR1's annual income. In Turn 2, PR1 appears to be hesitant in responding to the agent. The agent noted and understood the hesitation. Thus, in Turn 3, we see IA1 suggesting to PR1 to only provide an estimate of the monthly income. In Turn 4, PR1 voluntarily provided her monthly income and even explained further that, to get her annual income, they should multiply her monthly income by 12. Having understood Turn 4, it can be assumed that, in Turn 2, PR1 was not hesitant to provide the information needed, but she was actually trying to calculate the required figure. It is evident here that both the insurance agent and the potential buyer made an effort to accommodate one another's speech and sensitivities, and again both parties tried their best to promote communicative efficiency. The insurance agent utilised her experience well to understand the difficulty in answering the question on annual income that she posed. Therefore, instead of waiting

for the response, she suggested that the prospect provide only the monthly income instead. Communication was made more efficient by rephrasing the question to make it easier for the listener to understand and respond. Thus, the complexities of the communication process was made less complex since both had a common purpose, and that was to make sure that the payment of the insurance premium was carried out promptly.

In Excerpt 3, we see IA1 explaining the benefits of the product to PR1. There was use of repetition in this conversation to highlight product features.

Excerpt 3:

1.	IA1	:	Then second benefit is in terms of the *flexibility*. Because right now I would say like you are talking housing loan, you also want something *flexi*. So it goes the same to education because nobody know when I need money.
2.	PR1	:	Uhumm.
3.	IA1	:	So you can have the *flexibility* in terms of withdrawal.
4.	PR1	:	Okay.
5.	IA1	:	Then second *flexi* is the contribution part, lorr. Let say right now I save every month two fifty, after that I want to increase I got maybe like duitrayake (Eidmoney maybe)…
6.	PR1	:	errr…
7.	IA1	:	I got extra bonus, then you can put it in.
8.	PR1	:	Okay.

Excerpt 3 shows IA1 using the convergent strategy of repetition to send the message across. IA1's intention was to highlight the benefits of her insurance product, and she repeatedly used the word 'flexibility.' In Excerpt 3, the word 'flexibility' is italicised to indicate that it was used repeatedly.

Excerpt 4, we see IA1 providing PR1 with a lengthy explanation about an insurance term.

Excerpt 4:

1.	IA1	:	So the different feature in between here is usually this one cannot add any coverage but the good part is in term of cash the value there.
2.	PR1	:	Will be more la?
3.	IA1	:	Will be more, then the other thing they always lock in the highest price.
4.	PR1	:	What do you mean the highest price?
5.	IA1	:	Okay example err okay, like when I invest in trust fund or shares market. Let say right now is one ringgit. I buy the price one ringgit. So after that maybe market go up, become one twenty. Okay? Then if I sell at this point I I sell to one twenty la, but if after that market down become eighty cent, I sell is eighty cent. But for this account they always lock in the highest price even the market down.
6.	PR1	:	Okay.
7.	IA1	:	Ha, so the the the best part is when comes to my withdrawal part or the year of cash out, because I can choose okay which are the year I plan to cash out one.
8.	PR1	:	Okay.

Excerpt 4 shows IA1 using the convergent strategy of a lengthy explanation to explain the advantages of the product she was selling; in this case, the advantage was having a "lock-in system". Thus, we see

IA1 using lengthy explanation as a means of simplifying a complex piece of information.

Excerpt 5 illustrates how IA1 elicited information on the preferred method of payment as a way of evoking social approval from Prospect 2.

Excerpt 5:

1.	IA1	:	Okay can I have your credit cards details?
2.	PR2	:	This one is for the that to be used to
3.	IA1	:	Ya
4.	PR2	:	Which one will you prefer ha?
5.	IA1	:	a: up to you. which one you
6.	PR2	:	I have either American
7.	IA1	:	|| Amex we cannot
8.	PR2	:	Okay
9.	IA1	:	Only master or visa

Excerpt 5 presents a dialogue which sees the insurance agent seeking out the preferred method of payment from her buyer. She directly asked for the buyer's credit card information so that the relevant data could be included in the proposal form, thus assuming that the buyer would want to pay by credit card. In Turn 2, the buyer sought clarification on the relevance of the credit card, and, in Turn 3, IA1 quickly clarified that it was payment for the insurance premium. In Turns 4 and 8, it was the buyer who sought clarification on the type of credit card preferred by the insurance company, and this can be interpreted as 'evoking social approval,' where she volunteered information on the type of credit card accepted. The insurance agent responded by giving her the options of using two types of credit card. These findings are consistent with that of Berg (1985), who studied code switching in commercial settings in Taiwan and noted that salespersons converged more to agree with customers.

Excerpt 6 shows Insurance Agent 1 informing Prospect 2 of the product limitation using the repetition strategy.

Excerpt 6:

1.	PR2	:	Ok. So…for this one everything else like what you mention just now, is the same except for this portion la?
2.	IA1	:	This plan cannot add
3.	PR2	:	Add on only lah
4.	IA1	:	a:: cannot add on any coverage. Right now currently.
5.	PR2	:	Right now la.
6.	IA1	:	Currently we don't have the features

Excerpt 6 reveals a snippet of the conversation on product limitation. PR2 sought clarification on the product features and limitations. In Turn 2, IA1 stated that one of the current limitations of the product was that the buyer could not add any additional coverage to product. In Turn 3, PR2 commented that the product allowed its policy holder to buy extra coverage. IA1 clarified in Turn 4 that the product did not allow a buyer to buy extra coverage, and this discussion continued to Turn 6. IA1 was engaged in this conversation, and she tried her best to explain the product features. This act can be considered as promoting communicative efficiency.

The findings in Excerpts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 are also consistent with Welkowitz *et al*. (1972), who pointed out that dyadic

participants saw themselves as similar converged vocal intensity more than informants who were randomly paired . In this case, the insurance agent and her clients saw themselves as having a similar goal, which was to find a suitable life insurance product, and ultimately to sell (for the insurance agent) and to buy (for the buyer) the insurance product. The analysis suggests that insurance agents accommodate more to their buyers' vocal intensity. This is because status wise, insurance agents view their buyers as people of a higher status who hold the key to a successful sale. In Excerpt 5, Turn 5, rather than stating directly the company policy regarding the preferred credit card, the insurance agent allowed the buyer to decide on the type of credit card to be used as a means of paying the monthly insurance premium. This provided the buyer with options to choose her preferred credit card. In addition, IA2 tried her best to find a product that met the needs of her client i.e. a product with a specific price, and she apologised for not being able to find such a product. The analysis shows that insurance agents will avoid disagreement and confrontation and will always attempt to find ways to accommodate the customer's requirements. Giles and Coupland (1991, p. 73) stated that "speakers scoring higher on a trait measure of need for social approval converged more to their partner's vocal intensity and pause length than speakers who scored lower." In addition, social status of the buyer plays a very important role, and Pittam (1994, p. 140) maintained that voice convergence is strategically imposed and implemented through accommodation in the power of status domain. Therefore, those who believed themselves to be similarly coordinated influenced one another's speech patterns and timing more than other dyads, presumably because perceived similarity encourages a more positive orientation and a relatively high level of interpersonal certainty and this can be seen in all the excerpts presented.

The findings from the above excerpts are consistent with the findings of Yum (1988), who maintained that East Asian communication is far more receiver-centred than the more sender-orientated communication of the West. In Excerpts 3 and 4, the insurance agent put in a lot of effort to explain the features of life insurance in terms of flexibility and "lock-in price". East Asian communicators (such as insurance agents) understand that receivers usually do not ask questions since they are fearful that questions might be interpreted negatively, or the askers are afraid of being ridiculed for asking questions. Since it is anticipated that receivers will not ask questions, insurance agents are trained to provide explanations and to anticipate questions that they think the receivers may ask. The finding suggests that senders (the insurance agents) are willing to accommodate receivers (the potential buyers) and to ensure that potential buyers understand requests and explanations.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this paper was to discuss the extent to which the participants used convergent and divergent strategies

throughout insurance sales meetings to accommodate linguistic differences and difficulties. This paper also discussed how both the insurance agents and buyers of life insurance adjusted their language according to the needs of their listeners and in order to achieve the communicative purpose. The findings suggest that insurance agents and buyers engaged in a series of convergent and divergent strategies in their conversations. The findings highlighted three communication accommodation strategies commonly found in the conversations: evoking addressee's social approval (convergence), promoting communicative efficiency between interlocutors (convergence) and maintaining a positive social identity (divergence).

Finally, our findings highlighted a pertinent aspect in face-to-face communication, which is that conversation is not a series of disconnected comments but mutual cooperation between participants with common purposes, or at least, a mutually acknowledged goal.

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Yang-May Ooi's *The Flame Tree* and The Politics of Environment in Malaysia

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ABSTRACT

The question of "Who has the power?" is often central in environmental politics, since power serves as a crucial mediation through which conflicts related to environmental problems are resolved (or not resolved). In this paper, the author analyses how power relations are unpacked in Yang-May Ooi's *The Flame Tree* (1998) and what effects these relations have on land that is threatened by an environmentally-destructive project. Environmental politics within a society is usually carried out based on the political system that exists. In the case of Malaysia, it is within a semi-democracy that environmental politics takes place, which is characterised by liberal democracy (such as competitive elections, citizen participation and civil liberties) as well as authoritarian rule (dominant political ruling parties and strong interventionist states). This analysis compares and contrasts the novel with the Marxist theory of power, which is referred to in this paper as "power over" or the various ways that power is wielded in order to maintain the status quo. The author argues that although Ooi seems to subscribe to this traditional concept of power, representing the state, the capitalists and their ideologies as "having" power, she also undermines that "having" by constructing notions of "power to" – power that refers to an individual and/or a social group's sense of worth, values, knowledge and potential to shape the course of actions and decisions related to the land – in order to create more equitable relations and structures of power. Ooi also presents this notion of "power to" as "problematic": demonstrating how "power to" is often constricted by the forces of "power over", as well as how the realisation of "power to" essentially hinges on paying more attention to ideological rather than coercive domination.

Keywords: Environmental politics, power, Malaysia, Yang-May Ooi, *The Flame Tree*

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INTRODUCTION

The growing importance of environmental issues and their connection to political change points to the politics of environment. The question of "Who has the power?" is often central in environmental politics, since power serves as a crucial mediation through which conflicts related to environmental problems are resolved (or not resolved). This also points to the nature of power – that it is generally exercised and practised through human interactions and thought of in terms of relationships. These relationships usually result in unequal power relations, which would have a bearing on the outcome of environmental conflicts and activisms.

In this paper, the author analyses how power relations are unpacked in Yang-May Ooi's *The Flame Tree* (1998) and what effects these relations have on land that is threatened by an environmentally-destructive project. The struggle for power within a society is usually carried out based on the political system that exists. British colonial rule in Malaya was based on the divide-and-rule policy, whereby the economic and political needs of the colonial government were placed before all else, leaving the different races to fend for themselves. In the case of post-independence Malaysia, the struggle for power is usually carried out within what Neher (1994) has termed a semi-democracy, characterised by liberal democracy (such as competitive elections, citizen participation and civil liberties) as well as authoritarian rule (dominant political ruling parties and strong interventionist states) (p.949). In Malaysia, a general election is held every five years, out of which a government is formed based on the majority political party in Parliament. *Barisan Nasional* (National Front), a coalition predominantly made up of UMNO (United Malays National Organisation), MCA (Malaysian Chinese Association) and MIC (Malaysian Indian Congress), has been Malaysia's ruling political party since independence. Over the years, the government (henceforth, the state) has been criticised for its authoritarian rule, under which it has become a problem to question or criticise its policies, decisions and accountability.

The author's analysis compares and contrasts the novel with Marxist theory of power, which scholars usually classify as "power over", or the various ways that power is wielded in order to maintain the status quo, often involving coercion, control, oppression and domination. "Power over" in this sense is distributed among the top stratum of society, especially the capitalists and the state. In environmental politics, this form of power often plays a role in denying, curtailing or discouraging people from exercising their rights to participate in or resolve environmental conflicts. The author argues that although Ooi seems to subscribe to this traditional concept/form of power, representing the state, the capitalists and their ideologies as "having" power, she also undermines that "having" by constructing "power to" in order to create more equitable relations and structures of power. This form of power counters "power over" in light of these three arguments:

i) that capitalists and workers are not the only classes or social relations in capitalist societies; ii) that landowners are one social class that make up Malaysian society (and often susceptible to environmental injustice and coercion); and iii) that Malaysian civil society (the social sphere separate from the state and the market, comprised of non-governmental organisations, mass-based movements, religious and social groups, trade unions, public intellectuals and other unaffiliated activists and alternative media) has expanded since the 80s (Weiss, 2009, p.742). In this study "power to" is taken to mean the form of power that refers to an individual and/or a social group's potential to shape the course of actions and decisions related to the land. This form of power is central to understanding the private sphere of power (as opposed to the public sphere), which this author suspects is often overlooked in the nation's narrow political outlook that sees politics as a practice associated solely with the public sphere and the state. Ooi also presents this notion of "power to" as "problematic": demonstrating how "power to" is often constricted by the forces of "power over", as well as how the realisation of "power to" essentially hinges on paying more attention to ideological rather than coercive domination.

A Marxist approach to environmental politics is concerned with debates related to materialism, justice and nature in capitalist societies, with the aim to attain a fairer distribution of rights and resources. In their conceptualisation of power, Marx and Engels used the concepts of "economic power", "social power" and "material power" interchangeably to refer to power (1848). In Marxism, power is generally thought of in terms of class relations, determined by property. According to Poulantzas, power is derived from "the capacity of a social class to realise its specific objective interests" (as cited in Sandbach, 1980, p.108). In this context, the capitalist class is the most able to realise its own objective interest considering economic interests and technology often works to their advantage. Unlike the capitalist who holds economic power, the state holds political power – providing, implementing and enforcing sets of standards, codes of conduct and law, as well as policies. Nevertheless, it is common to see the ruling class using the state as an instrument for the domination of society. The capitalists, by virtue of their economic power, can have a direct political influence on the state to ensure that class power is maintained (Newman, 2004, p.141). Thus, economic power could also lead to political power. In the same context, the state is often thought to reflect the interests and power of the dominant economic class.

Control over the economy and the state is not the only source of power for the capitalists. Another equally important source is control over ideas, or ideology. Marx's own corpus of works such as "The German Ideology", "Capital" and "Grundrisse" have touched on ideology, particularly in the context of class struggle. Central to class struggle are the forms of consciousness or the ideas and beliefs of the different social classes. These ideas and beliefs

are dependent on the material conditions in which they live and thus support the economic structure of a society. Marxist thinking about ideology and consciousness was extended significantly by Louis Althusser and Antonio Gramsci. Althusser defined ideology as a "system (possessing its logic and proper rigour) of representations (images, myths, ideas or concepts according to the case) endowed with an existence and an historical role at the heart of a given society" (as cited in Goldstein, 1990, p.23). Althusser demonstrated the workings of ideology through a useful distinction of state power and state control. State power is backed by repressive structures such as the law courts, the police and the army. State control, on the other hand, is supported by ideological structures or state ideological apparatuses such as political parties, schools, media, religious institutions, family and art (including literature). These institutions serve to secure an ideology that would side with the state and the political status quo. This, however, does not mean that other ideologies cannot exist side by side with the ruling ideology: they can, indeed, without being adopted or internalised by the rest of society.

Gramsci's theory of hegemony is closely related to Althusser's distinction of state power and state control. Drawing on Marx's basic division of society into a base and a superstructure, Gramsci further divided the superstructure into the state or political society (coercive institutions) and civil society (all other non-coercive institutions). The state, which comprises public institutions such as the government, police, armed forces and the legal system, asserts political control through rule (direct political control) and hegemony (subtle political control). Hegemony in this sense serves as an organising principle or ideology, which is not based on force and coercion, but on the subordination of the rest of society through their own consent. Through means such as ideology and false consciousness, hegemony is diffused by the state and the ruling class to obtain and maintain their power. The rest of society adopts as well as internalises these through the usual process of socialisation or culture.

The Marxist concept of power, however, has been challenged seriously by critics, who argue that Marxist deliberation on power is restricted to "all spheres of social life penetrated by a single, productivist logic, which privileges economy and identifies class relations as key to the structure of domination and the forms of resistance" (Peet & Watts, 1996, p.29). Therefore, the plurality of relations and struggles in society, and the exercise of power by diverse, socially situated agents, precipitated by the rise of "new social movements" such as social justice, civil rights, environmental and feminist are undermined (Isaac, 1987, p.220; Cohen as cited in Peets & Watts, 1996, p.29; Peet & Watts, 1996, p.30). In this light, post-Marxist theory has foregrounded production as not the only arena for collective resistance. In the words of Poulantzas:

> *A concrete society [a social formation] involves more than two classes, in so far as it is composed*

> *of various modes of production. No social information involves only two classes, but the two fundamental classes of any social formation are those of the dominant mode of production in that formation* (as cited in Isaac, 1987, pp.116-117).

This implies that capitalists and workers, although the most important classes, are not the only classes or social relations in capitalist societies. In light of this argument, Marxist theory of power appears to centre too much on structure, and on how power is distributed among the top stratum of society, mainly the capitalists. Groups other than the working class and the state are also important sources of power for they illuminate the active processes of a variety of human agencies, or actors, involved in environmental interaction. As Isaac (1987) has noted, these new social movements signal an autonomous discourse and exemplify the attempts of these groups to advance their own environmental interests, as well as highlight the importance of non-class relations (p.208).

"POWER OVER" AND "POWER TO" IN *THE FLAME TREE*

Set in the late 90s, when Malaysia was on the cusp of the new millennium, Yang-May Ooi's *The Flame Tree* (henceforth, *TFT*) revolves around the construction of Titiwangsa University, set to be the grandest, most visionary mega project in Asia. Bill Jordan is determined to bid for the construction of the new university town in Malaysia. Luke, an environmental consultant, on the other hand, is determined to prove how Jordan's design of the new university town would be damaging to the environment and the people of Kampong Tanah. Caught between her career as a lawyer and the people she had left behind, Jasmine Lian struggles to take the right course of action.

Ooi's *TFT* incorporates most of the events that occurred in Malaysia in the 90s – rapid economic transformation, the globalisation phenomenon, the propagation of Asian values, national tragedies and mega projects to delineate the politics of the environment in Malaysia. Marked by robust economic growth, this period saw the evolution of Malaysia from an agriculture-based economy into a modern, increasingly industrialised, export-orientated economy. Throughout this evolution, poverty and income inequality declined remarkably. Employment rates, life expectancy, level of literacy and education, public facilities and infrastructure all improved. Indeed, by the 1990s, Malaysia had experienced rapid and tremendous economic growth, epitomising the "miracle thesis", "paragon of development" and "newly industrialising country" that had been associated with other nation-states in Southeast Asia (Rigg, 1997, p.3; Dixon & Smith, 1997, p.1).

The 90s was the era when the word globalisation took up public consciousness all over the world. Malaysia was no exception. Malaysia responded to globalisation in many ways, one of which was through the propagation of Asian values (Starrs, 2002,

p.7). Rejection of the hegemonic political, social and cultural norms viewed as Western and the promotion of other equally good alternative norms considered Asian, was at the core of the Asian values argument. Dr Mahathir Mohamad's (then Prime Minister) Asian values for example, centred around four areas: emulation of East Asian values and work ethics and resentment against liberal democracy, corrupting influence of Western values and the West's continuing exploitation of the developing world (Barr, 2002, pp.41-45). It is usually argued that the propagation of Asian values serves to undermine and dismiss public opinions and criticisms, traits usually associated with Western democracy (Barr, p.178). Loh (2002) argued that in Malaysia in the 90s, Asian values was a manipulation on the part of the state "to legitimise their authoritarian developmental states and downplay demands for liberal democracy" (p.50).

The 90s was also marked by much local and international criticism, especially concerning the destruction of the natural environment at the expense of environmental sustainability (Rigg, 1997, pp.35-36). A large number of these criticisms were focused on the rapid growth of oil palm plantations, logging, hill development projects and the persistent engagement with mega projects, all of which entailed the destruction of rainforests, the loss of biodiversity and the displacement of people from their traditional lands. To add to these concerns, the 90s were also marred by 'national tragedies' caused by hill-land developments such as the Highland Towers Tragedy in Kuala Lumpur in 1993, the Genting Highland landslide tragedy in 1995 and the North-South Highway landslide near Gua Tempurung in 1996. These tragedies claimed many lives, caused considerable damage to property and the environment and gave rise to public uproar. They demanded explanations, compelling the state to carry out investigations.

The 90s in Malaysia is also known as the era of mega projects. Many multi-billion dollar mega projects were launched during this era, mostly for functional, symbolic or ideological reasons. These projects attest to the integration of the Malaysian local market to the global finance market, and symbolise "the shift from Third to First World status, from cultural periphery to creator of cultural symbols for global consumption and regime maintenance based on legitimisation through internationalisation" (Douglass, 2000, p.2322).

The Titiwangsa University in *TFT* represents the craze that surrounded most mega projects in Malaysia in the 90s. It is envisioned that Titiwangsa University will be the first Asian university to rival the reputations of Oxford in England and the Ivy League universities in the USA. The site for the university is located up in the hills of the Titiwangsa Range. Two towns will be directly affected by the project: Ranjing in the foothills and Kampung Tanah, up on the slopes. Ooi could not have picked a better setting as the Titiwangsa range forms the backbone of the Peninsula, extending for about 500 kilometres from the Malaysia-

Thai border in the north to Negeri Sembilan in the south. A biodiversity hotspot, the Titiwangsa Range is covered with forests and is home to a wealth of endemic and endangered species. Many rivers of the Peninsula have their headwaters in the range, and a large population of Orang Asli also resides in the lower slopes of the Titiwangsa Range. Many of the protected areas in the Peninsula such as Taman Negara and Royal Belum State Park also cover vast areas in the range. With so many things at stake, the proposed Titiwangsa University town becomes a perfect site of power struggle.

On the one hand, there is Bill Jordan, owner of Jordan Cardale PLC, a construction and property management firm in the UK, which boasts projects involving hotel complexes, office buildings, shopping malls and condominiums in most parts of Asia. One of the six firms to bid for the construction of the new university town, Jordan represents neo-liberal business corporations from the West, pressured to move to Asia "just as the building industry collapsed at home" (p.77), tapping into and riding on its booming market. Having tried in vain to secure large-scale high-profile projects in Malaysia, Jordan is determined to win the bid: "'The university project is our ace,' Jordan said. 'Anything it takes to win, we'll do it. This is the gateway to the big time. No one is going to stand in my way.'" (pp.77-78). Jordan's past and present business deals, coupled with his wealth, affect his attitude towards the way he perceives the Titiwangsa project. Riding on the Malaysian state's mega-project craze, Jordan tailors a project that would give Malaysia and its people the prestige it would need to compete and stand out internationally, as well as a project that can be easily won with the 'right' kind of "offerings" and "control". To this end, Jordan offers the Titiwangsa Tower, part of the overall proposed design for the university town, which would be the tallest tower built on the highest site in the world. It would, according to Jordan, win him the bid as well as give Malaysia back its national prestige after the Petronas Twin Towers lost the record of tallest building in the world to the Shanghai World Financial Centre (p.78). Acting upon his hunger for the Titiwangsa project, Jordan is resolute to "... conquer the jungle for the next millennium. The Empire might be dead but we Brits can still thrash 'em all. We'll civilise the wilderness, like we've been doing for centuries" (p.80).

Jordan is well aware of the risks involved in the Titiwangsa tower design – that the foundations of the tower would pierce into the limestone which would eventually result in a major landslide – but his determination to capitalise on the land immunises him to the probable catastrophe. He knows that unless the design is manipulated to blind the authorities to the impending disaster, his bid will not be accepted. The geophysical data that come together with his design are therefore manipulated to obscure the flaws and the impending catastrophe. To this end, he pays his accomplices extravagantly: Scott, the architect; Tsui, the mainland Chinese geophysicist who provides the

graphic logs showing the multi-layered soil and rock embedded below the site; and Zain, the project manager and surveyor. Using his financial power to make them beholden to him, Jordan is confident that these men will not "[bite] the hand that fed them" (p.230). Scott, besides being paid handsomely, is well aware of the international contacts Jordan's project would bring him. Tsui "had no morals and no god but money" (p.230). Zain, "a weak, cowardly man, who'd grown accustomed to the wealth and status that working for Jordan had brought him", proves to be easy prey (p.230).

Jordan's equally important accomplices are Tan and his brother, Kidd. Tan owns a security business in Malaysia offering personal and property protection, surveillance equipment and profile investigation. He thrives on the business, which is helmed with the objective of ensuring the success of the associate's enterprise, often using intimidation and threats. In Kampung Tanah's case, Jordan sets out to control the thinking of the people of Kampung Tanah, making them embrace the idea that the Titiwangsa project is needed to develop and bring wealth to the small town, in line with the state ideology of modernisation, development and urbanity. Tan and his brother set out to approach some of the businessmen in Kampung Tanah. One of them is Wong, a businessman in Kampung Tanah who runs a general goods shop. In one of their earlier meetings, Tan briefs Wong on the kind of development the project would bring. He also 'shares' with Wong the sentiment of progress-and-development, which has long become the nation's overriding priority and ideology, implemented mainly through economic and political measures determined by the state:

> *University – top class. New life into this dead place, heh, what do you think? Businesses will follow, tourists will come to see this new wonder of Asia. There'll be condos and country clubs, restaurants and malls, casino, even, maybe – bright beautiful lights flashing up the night, big fancy freeways zooming us all up and down to KL, to Kuantan, anywhere you want, everything you want* (p.12).

The 'picture' painted by Tan above echoes with the picture of post-colonial Malaysia, which aspires to pursue wealth and economic growth. He then gives money to Wong and intimidates him into becoming the "representative" of the Kampung Tanah Development Committee, a committee set up by Jordan, which would be given the task of networking and persuading the town people to embrace the rewards of progress and the rich prospects that Jordan's proposed development project would bring. Jordan also establishes the International Development Foundation, with Tan as the Vice President, to 'disseminate' funds to all eight members of the Kampung Tanah Development Committee, on the pretext that it does not care who wins the project but believes that "the local community and international business interests can build

a successful local economy if we all work together" (p.172). Enticed by money, the Committee members network throughout the town, feeding the townspeople progress-and-rich-prospects propaganda, until it "became received knowledge" (p.173), or, in the Gramscian terms, "consent". This "consent" affirms the active role of subordinates themselves in reinforcing the hegemony of the ruling stratum of society. In Kampung Tanah, this "consent" also plays a definite role in drowning other concerns, especially suggestions made by Dr Kenneth Chan, the town's doctor, that the townspeople should make submissions to protest the impending environmental impact and the relocation of the people to New Kampung Tanah. In *TFT*, Ooi illuminates "power over" through Jordan's devious machinations, exercised through control, coercion and manipulation.

Dr Chan and Luke McAllister both try to counter "power over", which acts to control the people of Kampung Tanah. Luke McAllister is the environmental consultant who is hired by Dr Chan to look into the technical side of the proposed designs and their subsequent environmental impact. Of American and British parentage, Luke was born and raised in Malaysia. His parents have long left for America. Having majored in Environmental Sciences and Development, Luke chooses to stay in Malaysia and regards the country as his home (p.51). Attached to a local university, Luke has been commissioned countless times to give environmental recommendations to government bodies and Third World development agencies. His life is often threatened as a result. Luke uses his knowledge and expertise as a key resource to do preliminary investigations, which eventually reveal that Jordan's proposed design has disastrous environmental consequences. First, the people of Kampong Tanah would have to be relocated at the proposed New Kampung Tanah, 10 miles away from the university town. This means they would not be involved in the economy of the new town. Access to this new location would also only be available through a circuitous detour from the new proposed highway. Second, the design of the university tower would be damaging to the environment. Luke finds that the height and the style of the building are not compatible with the slopes and the natural environment surrounding it, which could result in "a major landslide of colossal proportions" and wipe out New Kampung Tanah (p.203).

Using his knowledge and expertise, Luke instils awareness in the people of Kampung Tanah of what is in store for them when the proposed development project is approved. Embodying "power to", Luke talks about "how development and local concerns could work together" (p.116). He highlights the significance of the land to the people – how it has provided them with food, water and spiritual life. He draws their attention to how everyone should be involved in the development project, that they do not want progress at any cost. "Local skills, local knowledge of the land, local labour. Everyone has a stake, no one is alienated" (p.117). He also underscores

the importance of proper planning and management of the land – how the hilly terrain and the impending soil erosion and air pollution would need to be addressed.

Luke's awareness campaign however, falls on deaf ears as more and more people in Kampung Tanah are 'bought over', intimidated and threatened by Tan. Dr Chan decides to leak part of Luke's report to the media, in the hope that it will alert the authorities and subsequently make the authorities reconsider Jordan's proposed design and its environmental impact. Consequently, Tan intensifies his intimidation by kidnapping Wong's son and threatening Sarojaya and Ibrahim, members of the Kampung Tanah Committee. Luke's office on campus is also burnt down, destroying the data he had gathered for Jordan's proposed design. Dr Chan is killed in a car accident staged by Tan.

Because of publicity by the media, Jordan's proposed project receives its fair share of criticism. Ooi demonstrates that capitalist hegemony over Malaysian society is never totally complete and that the degrees of consent (and dissent) vary. To silence dissent, Jordan is forced to suppress these criticisms, especially those made by Luke, who holds the key to his flawed design. Taking advantage of Luke's 'white' background, Jordan launches a 'smear campaign' against Luke, playing on the locals' dislike and distrust of outsiders, especially whites. At a time when globalisation is often equated by Asian nations to Western political, social and cultural hegemony, Jordan's 'smear campaign' has to be geared to reinforce the cautious feeling the locals have towards any foreign interference in local affairs.

Thus, at a press conference, Jasmine, as Jordan's lawyer, questions Luke's alleged link with the radical Green Action Direct, an ENGO based in the West. She also lists "all the development projects he has hampered, curtailed, destroyed, brought down across Asia", making Luke appear as a Western leftie green campaigner with an agenda, and a troublemaker whose consultancy has had a hand in curtailing some projects in Asia (pp.195-196). Jasmine plays out the sentiments of dislike towards Western hegemony, knowing that "The Asians have always been deeply suspicious of whites with 'we know what's good for you' attitudes" (p.195). These sentiments, according to Beeson, often find a receptive audience in Malaysia (p.339). As noted by Wagner, the smear campaign against Luke is Ooi's tactic to dismantle the typecasting usually involved in anti-globalisation campaigns (p.171). Such campaigns reflect the distrust of developing nations towards the environmental movement, which has traditionally been dismissed as another alien first world-"ism" and a ploy to retard the pace of development in the former colonies (McDowell, 1989, pp.308-309). This distrust and resentment were also part of the outcome of millennium anxieties that swept the world in the 90s, when globalisation meant the continuation of imperialism and colonialism to Asians and ex-Western colonies (Starrs, 2002, p.4). This distrust and resentment has been propagated by

some Asian nations to dismiss attempts by outsiders to meddle in any 'internal' issues or conflicts, in the name of 'national interests'. Since Luke is not a typical Malay, Chinese or Indian Malaysian, and given his foreign, mixed American and British parentage, the distrust and dislike towards him become almost automatic. To a large extent, this distrust also plays a major part in curtailing Luke's effort to stop Jordan's destructive project as it gives the local people and the authorities the impression that he is trying to meddle in matters and events that an outsider would not understand. Lam, the police officer in charge of interrogating Luke, personifies the anti-Western dislike:

> *I don't like you Whites, your kind sucked Asia dry in the past and you're still trying to get what you can out of us. You people are proud and weak. None of your tricks are going to fool me. ...You Whites like to make trouble where you don't belong. That may work in the West but not here* (p.236).

Jordan's machinations prove to work for him when the planning review approves his tender and no protest submission is made on behalf of the local residents. The smear campaign against Luke has also harmed Luke's career, resulting in cancelled contracts and lecture series. These machinations serve to illustrate the "power over" that capitalists have. Through coercive and ideological domination, Kampung Tanah, and Malaysia, by extension, is easily subjugated to serve Jordan's vicious needs.

"Power to", as exemplified by Luke's and Dr Chan's efforts to stop the destructive project, is pitted against "power over" in *TFT*. These antagonistic relations imply that the capacity of grassroots movements depends in part on their capacity to counter the power of capitalists. In *TFT*, Luke and his friends are not able to stop the environmentally-damaging project. A year after construction begins, the university tower that is being built collapses, causing a massive landslide that "skidded and flowed down the full length of the slope, taking with it the new town, tracts of forest, cleared ground and any car, float, surprised resident and costumed child in its path" (p.304). In Kampung Tanah's case, Luke's awareness campaign fails to persuade the people to contest Jordan's proposed project. Dr Chan's attempts to let the public and the authorities know about the flaws of Jordan's design are also easily countered, backed by the ideology that any 'interference' by those representing a first world country or first world environmental movement is encroaching on the rights of Malaysians to enjoy the benefits of progress. This ideology, coupled with the ideology of progress-and-development, which has been propagated by the state and internalised by the rest of society for many decades, comes in handy for the capitalists to advance their interests. In *TFT*, Ooi seems to emphasise the need to focus on ideological rather than coercive domination.

In addition, Ooi seems to suggest that global and local capitalism is the name of the

power structure that dominates Malaysian politics and its environment. It is a system based on social and ecological exploitation for the profit of the capitalists, backed by the involvement of capitalising foreign corporations, the inability of the state to exercise environmental governance and the incapability of civil society to express their opinion, gain information or participate in and influence decision making. *TFT* demonstrates this power structure – Jordan's devious material power, facilitated by the involvement of capitalist local cronies, far outweighs the "power to" that Luke holds in his capacity as an environmental consultant. In *TFT*, "power to" becomes a problem when efforts to reveal the 'truth' about Jordan's flawed design are constantly countered with material and ideological dominance and coercion. Consequently, the people of Kampung Tanah are deprived of their right to information, right to participate in decision-making and right to justice.

CONCLUSION

Overall, Ooi juxtaposes the notions of "power over" with "power to" to drive the green agenda into the nation's political consciousness. Understanding these forms of power compels us to be cautious about how we view power and its relationship to environmental politics in Malaysia. These notions of power are found in the ways power is expressed, described, enacted and legitimated in the private and public spheres in the novel. In *TFT*, "power over" seems to be a damning indictment of environmental struggles. This suggests that whilst Ooi continues to subscribe to the strongly entrenched tradition of "power over", which often involves coercion, control, oppression and domination, she also constructs notions of "power to" in order to create and also suggest more equitable relations and structures of power. "Power over", exercised through direct political and economic control, stifles the exercise of human rights – particularly freedom of expression, right to information, participation in decision-making and right to justice. "Power to", on the other hand, becomes problematic when ideological dominance and coercion are constantly manufactured by the state and the capitalists to stifle public opinion and participation in issues related to environmentally-destructive projects.

In a semi-democratic country like Malaysia, these forms of power – "power over" and "power to" – play a role in dictating the outcomes of environmental conflicts. The notions of "power over" and "power to" also expose the difficulty of balancing ecological and human considerations in a semi-democratic country, where governance and decisions related to the land continue to be defined and constrained by the dominance of the state, the capitalists and the ideology propagated by both, and limited space is provided for civil society participation. These notions of power too, seem to convey Ooi's attitude towards the political culture in Malaysia, that it needs civil society to be more knowledgeable and "proactive" rather than "submissive" through the exercise of individual and collective agencies to

promote and advocate environmental activism. In addition, Ooi also warns against the subordination of society through ideological coercion, which often prevails through their own consent.

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Schematic Structural Analysis of Newspaper Editorials: A Comparative Study of the New York Times and the New Straits Times

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ABSTRACT

This study compares the rhetorical characteristics of editorials of two different newspapers: The New York Times (NYT) and the New Straits Times (NST) in terms of the functions and occurrences of their rhetorical moves and steps. To realise the objectives, 240 selected editorials (NYT: n=120; NST: n=120) were subjected to content analysis. The analysis was conducted based on a composite framework of Bhatia's (1993), Gunesekar's (1989), Ansary and Babaii's (2005), and So's (2005) models. The analysis showed a typical rhetorical structure for editorials that includes obligatory and optional moves and steps. Variations in the use of the moves and their steps were also observed in both newspapers. Additionally, based on the functions of the moves, it was found that NYT and NST editorials have differing writing stances. To conclude, findings of this study may heighten the awareness of ESP learners on the importance of using appropriate rhetorical moves in achieving a persuasive stance in the writing of editorials. Furthermore, the results of the study may also be an invaluable resource for ESP instructors to tap into for their teaching of successful editorial writing.

Keywords: Genre analysis, rhetorical structure, newspaper editorial, contrastive analysis

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INTRODUCTION

The communicative expectation of a discourse community has been a catalyst for the establishment of distinct rhetorical structures in varied discourses. Therefore, an effective means to help writers cope with the challenges of writing might be to sensitise them to the communicative

purpose of a text type and how a particular genre is constructed. A text type, as defined by Swales (1990, p. 58), refers to a set of "communicative events" with shared communicative purposes, as well as "form, style, content, structure and intended audience." Editorials, therefore, like the texts of any other genre, have their unique rhetorical structures. Through these rhetorical structures, editorials, which are considered as part of the prestigious journalistic genre, position their arguments by displaying competently the newspaper's political and ideological beliefs (Maddalena & Belmonte, 2011). Van Dijk (1992) claimed that editorials have a powerful role in the public domain, particularly in sequencing their arguments in response to conflicting viewpoints.

Despite their powerful position in the news media, the investigation of newspaper editorials, particularly their rhetorical structures and role in conveying communicative purposes, have not been fully explored in applied linguistics studies. To date, only a few linguists, such as Ansary and Babaii (2005), Bhatia (1993), Bolivar (1994), Bonyadi (2010) and Van Dijk (1993), have conducted studies on the rhetorical structure of editorials, but their focus was mainly on the macro structures (move levels) of the editorials. Bhatia (1993) proposed a model for the editorial's structure, which involves moves such as Presenting the case, Discussing the alternatives, Reaching a verdict and Recommending action. In the same vein, Van Dijk (1993) and Katajamaki and Koskelain (2006) also offered a similar framework of rhetorical moves for investigating editorials of English, Swedish and Finnish business newspapers. They found that the editorials had three distinct moves: introductory, intermediate and closing moves. In contrast, Bolivar (1994), by analysing The Guardian, discovered that English editorials had three moves: Situation, Development and Recommendation. However, under each move, there were three steps, which he termed as a triad. This triad consists of Lead, Follow and Valuate. Although it can be seen that Bolivar (1994) did try to provide a more in-depth analysis, the framework could not be adopted in the current study as it was seen to be limiting for the data of this study which had indicated more complex rhetorical moves. Finally, Ansary and Babaii's (2005) analysis of the rhetorical structures of Washington Times editorials found the following moves: Run-on Headline, Addressing an Issue, Argumentation and Articulating a Position. Although the moves were clearly defined, they did not clarify how they had used linguistic and contextual elements to establish the structures of the editorials. In short, while all these studies are revealing enough for highlighting the significant features of the editorial genre, some of the categories provided in these models are seen to be too general to provide an in-depth understanding of the rhetorical moves of editorial writings.

From the above discussion, it may be concluded that studies on rhetorical moves of editorials have so far concentrated on the move levels, and they have been

based mostly on English and European newspapers. Studies on editorials of Malaysian newspapers are quite scarce. Only a few researchers like Azlan et al. (2012), Idris (2012) and Stef and Yuen (2014) have investigated Malaysian newspapers. However, their studies concentrated mainly on the ideologies and writing styles of Malaysian news reports. So far, only Fartusi (2012) has investigated the rhetorical moves in the editorials of Malaysian newspapers. Therefore, this paper attempts to scrutinise the generic structure and its function in the editorials of both the NST and NYT by uncovering not only the frequency of use of the rhetorical moves (macro level), but also the steps (micro level) under each move and the functions they play in the editorials.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology of the present study employed a mixed-method approach in which the quantitative analysis sought to investigate the percentage of occurrences of the moves and steps in the sampled editorials. According to Kanoksilapatham (2005), moves which have above 60% occurrences are considered obligatory, while those which have less than 60% of occurrences are considered optional. Apart from the move analysis, a content analysis was carried out to determine the functions of the rhetorical moves and steps employed in the editorials of the NST and NYT.

Samples

To achieve the objectives of the study, a compilation of 240 editorials; 120 from The New York Times and 120 from New Straits Times were culled from the newspapers' websites, www.nytimes.com and www.nst.com.my, respectively. These two newspapers were selected because they are influential English newspapers in their own societies. The samples were randomly collected from a period of 12 months (January to December of 2013) in order to have a corpus of texts written about various social issues. Although editorials cover a myriad of issues from politics and economics to social issues, only editorials on social issues were selected for analysis.

Analytical Framework of Rhetorical Moves and Steps: Pilot Study

To determine a reliable framework of analysis that is suited to the data of the study, a pilot study was conducted on 60 editorials. The findings showed that generally both editorials, NYT and NST had a total of four moves and 12 steps (see Table 1). As different writers have provided different labels to the moves, this study adopted a synthesised model as the basis on which moves that were not found in the editorials of the current study were deleted (e.g. Lead, Follow and Discussing alternatives), while new moves or steps which were not found in earlier frameworks, but found in the current study, were added. For example, Elaborating issue and Comparing and contrasting were added to Move 2 while Expressing opinion, Expressing expectation and Expressing prediction were added to Move 4. Furthermore, as the terminology of a move may vary from

study to study, this paper chose to adopt a terminology that would convey a clearer communicative intent of the moves. For instance, Addressing an issue was chosen over the term Situation, and instead of argument or analysis, Justifying or refuting events was selected. In order for this effort to be done in a reliable manner, a qualified rater who possessed a PhD and who was an experienced language instructor with more than 30 years of teaching experience in the field of English was engaged to check the analysis of the pilot study. Where there was any discrepancy in the analysis, a consensus was reached between the rater and the researchers. Below is the composite framework of the moves and steps of editorials.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The General Rhetorical Organisation of NYT and NST Newspaper Editorials

Overall, the data demonstrated that editorials from both the NYT and NST exhibited the same number of moves and steps. In total, there were four moves and 12 steps (see Table 2).

The moves were Headline (M1), Presenting the case (M2), Justifying or refuting the events (M3), and Articulating the position (M4). Since they occurred in 100% of the sampled articles, they were concluded to be obligatory moves in the editorial structure of both types of editorials. This finding affirms Ansary and Babaii's view (2005) that the editorial genre is unified, or in Bhatia's (1999, p. 22) words, editorials have a "generic integrity."

Although the frequency of use of the macro structure of the American and Malaysian editorials is similar, at the step level, some evidence of disparity in their frequency of occurrence is apparent. The findings are in line with Bhatia's (1993) argument that cultural conventions do not have a significant effect on the structure of a genre at the move level, but they do influence the strategies (steps) taken within a move.

Frequencies and Functions of Moves and Steps

In this section, a comparison of the frequencies and functions of each individual move and their accompanying steps in the editorials of the NST and NYT are discussed in detail.

Move 1: Headline. Headlines, which occur in 100% of the editorials in the NYT and NST, is considered an obligatory move for both newspapers. The headline determines the focus of the editorial. This is in line with Ansary and Babaii's (2005) and Gunesekar's (1989) findings in which they found "Headline" as an obligatory element in the structure of editorials. The findings of this study revealed that editors in both the NYT and NST preferred to write the headlines mostly in punchy and short phrases. However, the headlines in the NYT were mostly longer and informative (see example 1, below), while the NST preferred the attention-getting function (see example 2, below). The function of the headlines that the NST displayed reflected Ifantidou's (2009) notion that newspaper

TABLE 1
Composite Framework of Moves and Steps of Editorials

MOVES AND STEPS	FUNCTION
M1: Headline (H)	Establishes a theme around which the editorial is centered
M2: Presenting the case (PC)	Expresses the existent issue that must be debated
S1:Addressing an issue/problem (AI)	States the issue or problem
S2: Elaborating an issue (EI)	Provides supplementary information about the issue
S3: Providing background information (BI)	Gives background on the issue
S4: Presenting standpoint (SP)	Presents the writer's claim and point of view about the presented issue
M3: Justifying or refuting events (J/RE)	Uses language to justify or refute an event or standpoint, with the aim of securing agreement
S1: Explaining (E)	Explains the issue in detail, its causes and effects and makes analysis
S2: Contextualising argumentation (CA)	Provides evidence for argument by use of examples, attribution or reference
S3: Comparing and contrasting (C)	Compares the issue in one context with the other or one person with the other
M4: Articulating a position (AP)	Describes the angle from which the editorial looks at the issue
S1: Expressing opinion (EO)	Presents the newspaper's feeling or belief about the situation, person or events
S2: Evaluation (EV)	Evaluates the situation or the stated solutions and indicates approval or disapproval of something or someone
S3: Raising suggestions (RS)	Recommends some actions to deal with issue
S4: Expressing prediction (EP)	Shows the newspaper's point of view about the possible outcomes of the issue in future

TABLE 2
Frequency of Moves and Steps in NYT and NST Editorials

Moves & Steps	NYT%	NST%	Moves & Steps	NYT%	NST%
Move 1	100%	100%	Move 3 Step 2	72.5%	42.5%
Move 2	100%	100%	Move 3 Step 3	5%	23.33%
Move 2 Step 1	100%	100%	Move 4	100%	100%
Move 2 Step 2	60%	69.16%	Move 4 Step 1	65%	65%
Move 2 Step 3	25%	19.16%	Move 4 Step 2	63.33%	50.83%
Move 2 Step 4	80%	50%	Move 4 Step 3	71.66%	54.16%
Move 3	100%	100%	Move 4 Step 4	10.83%	9.16%
Move 3 Step 1	91.66%	86.66%	Move 4 Step 5	50%	29.16%

headlines function as an "attention-getting rather than information-providing device" as headlines normally do not accurately represent the articles they introduce (p. 97). The main function of the headline is to attract the attention of the readers so that they will read the content of the editorials. However, the finding that the headlines in the editorials of the NYT are more informative further confirms the findings of Chana and Tangkiengsirisin (2012), whose study on the comparison of editorials among American, Iranian and Thai newspapers also yielded similar results.

1. Attacks on Muslims in Myanmar (NYT, May 30, 2013)
2. Worsening their Misery (NST, May 23, 2013)

This disparity (informative vs. attention-grabber headline) could possibly be due to the fact that American editorials have readers from around the world, and the topics of the editorials cover events that happened in various countries. Therefore, issues need to be elaborated in a manner that clarifies a particular news story so that readers will not have difficulty understanding the topics of the editorials. Conversely, NST editorials have to use a more creative means to grab the attention of their readers as their readership are mostly within Malaysia, and the readers may already be familiar with the issue discussed (Chana & Tangkiengsirisin, 2012).

Move 2: Presenting the case. Presenting the case is also an obligatory move (100%) in the editorials of both the NYT and NST. This move expresses the existent issue or problem about which the newspaper has decided to convey its position. It familiarises the reader with the details of the issue so as to prepare the readers to accept the arguments of the editorials. Editors accomplish this move by providing support with facts and background information in order to make the arguments plausible and reasonable. This communicative purpose is accomplished through the use of different steps, which are explained in the following sections.

Move 2 Step 1: Addressing an issue/ problem. Addressing an issue is the most dominant obligatory step of Move 2 (see Table 2) as it is present in 100% of the articles from both the NYT and NST. This step states the problem that is of interest to the newspaper. Addressing an issue presents the case raised in the editorials very briefly and makes the readers aware of what this article is going to discuss. This step indicates that there is a social issue that needs to be addressed and discussed in detail in order to empower the authorities or society to deal with the issue. Examples from the NYT and NST addressing issues are shown below. The step Addressing issues is given in context and it is highlighted in bold (see examples below).

1. **Nearly a million low-wage workers in 10 states will get a modest raise this year**. In Rhode Island, a new law has raised the state's minimum wage by 35 cents an hour, to $7.75, which will work out to an average annual raise of

$510 for 11,000 Rhode Islanders. (NYT, Jan 04, 2013)

2. **Contextually written of thirsty sailors lost at sea, the words would become relevant if the forecasted Selangor water woes come to pass in a few years' time. As it is, many Selangor residents have been hit by water shortages.** According to them, neither the sun nor rain is to blame. Rather, the problem is perennial and perceived as being caused by population pressure. (NST, Feb 02, 2013)

Move 2 Step 2: Elaborating an issue. Elaborating an issue is the second step in Move 2, and although its frequency is much lower than the first step in Move 2, its frequency of 60% and 69.19% in the NYT and NST, respectively, indicated that it is still an obligatory step in editorial writing. Move 2 Step 2 provides detailed information about the issue in order for the reader to have the required knowledge about the event. This is done by using facts, figures and examples. Elaborating enriches the editorials with adequate information, and this is an effective means for newspaper editorials to be recognised as an informed and well-placed authority to discuss issues at hand. In comparing the use of this step between the NST and NYT editorials, it was shown that NST editorials had a higher frequency. Employing more elaboration indicates that NST editorials attempt to be more informative. This informative strategy seems less threatening than stating one's position explicitly as is reflected in the editorials of NYT. The finding is congruent with the results of Bonyadi (2010), which showed that the introduction in the NYT editorials was more evaluative than factual as compared with the Tehran Times. The examples below show how editors of the NYT and NST employ facts and figures to elaborate issues.

1. Some 650,000 Syrians are now registered as refugees by the United Nations or awaiting registration, an increase of almost 100,000 in the past month alone. That includes about 155,000 in Turkey, 148,000 in Lebanon, 142,000 in Jordan, 73,000 in Iraq and 14,000 in Egypt. Thousands more are not registered. (NYT, Jan 20, 2013)
2. Whereas the policy initially intended to facilitate those earning RM3,000 per month and below for homes costing between RM100,000 and RM300,000, the new guidelines have raised the ceiling to include individuals earning RM5,000 and homes priced RM400,000. (NST, Jan 05, 2013)

Move 2 Step 4: Providing background information. In contrast to Addressing and Elaborating an issue, Providing background information is an optional step as it occurred in 25% and 19.16% of editorials from the sampled NYT and NST articles, respectively. This step in Move 2 mostly provides information about the related matters of the issue such as a specific place, or situation

fact about people or events. Both Ansary and Babaii (2005) and Fartusi (2012) also found Providing background information as an optional structural element in newspaper editorials.

The difference in the frequency of use of Providing background information by the NYT (25%) and NST (19.16%) could be attributed to the type of audience that the newspapers serve. The NYT is a newspaper with international readership. Interacting with a wide readership, the editors would have the responsibility to ensure that global readers clearly understand the context of the issue. This notion was noted by Chana and Tangkiengsirisin (2012), who stated that international newspapers provide news to a wider variety of audience who perhaps do not follow a localised news situation as often as readers of local newspapers. Thus, providing background information is necessary for NYT editorials so that the relevant context is provided for the readers. For this reason, background events could be found more frequently in NYT editorials than in the NST. The examples below illustrate Providing background information in both the NYT and NST, respectively.

1. Stationing police in schools, while common today, was virtually unknown during the 1970s. Things began to change with the surge of juvenile crime during the ’80s, followed by an overreaction among school officials. Then came the 1999 Columbine High School shooting outside Denver, which prompted a surge in financing for specially trained police. In the mid-1970s, police patrolled about 1 percent of schools. (NYT, April 18, 2013)
2. It all began in 1983 at the behest of then Prime Minister Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad. In partnership with major Japanese car manufacturer Mitsubishi, the first Proton Saga rolled off the production line in 1985. Marking Malaysia’s venture into heavy industry, Perusahaan Otomobil Nasional, Proton, developed the national automobile manufacturing industry to what it is today. (NST, Aug 19, 2013)

Move 2 Step 5: Presenting standpoint. This step presents the writer’s claim with respect to the issue raised. This finding is in line with Bonyadi’s (2010) study, which indicated that the first move, Introduction, which is similar to Move 2, Presenting the case, in this study, not only provides a summary of the news events, but also involves evaluative stance.

The findings shown in Table 2 reveal that Move 2 Step 5 is an obligatory step in the NYT (80%), but is an optional one in the NST (50%). The findings reveal that, unlike its American counterpart, which follows an argumentative style, Malaysian newspapers prefer a more explanatory stance. This dissimilarity between American and Malaysian editorials regarding evaluating or presenting standpoints corresponds with the findings of Bonyadi (2010). The study

reported that the Introduction section in the Tehran Times editorials, a non-native editorial, was less evaluative than that of The New York Times. The fact that Malaysian editors tend to take a neutral stance showed that they are more sensitive towards the impact of their writing on their readers. In contrast**,** this authoritative and bold position of the NYT in expressing its stance from the opening paragraph of an editorial could be due to its journalistic belief of reporting without fear or favour (see www.nytimes.com/1996/08/19/opinion/without-fear-or-favor.html). Examples of Presenting standpoint are shown below.

1. The bipartisan immigration bill that passed the Senate Judiciary Committee on Tuesday **has many serious hurdles ahead**. **It is the most serious and worthy attempt to fix immigration in a generation, but it cannot help reflecting the poisoned politics of today, with its heavy tilt toward needless border enforcement and a deficiency in equal rights.** (NYT, May 21, 2013)
2. The Election Commission (EC) promises the country a "best ever" general election (GE). Set for May 5, 2013, with April 20 nomination day, this will offer candidates the longest campaign period in recent elections. **As the EC chairman makes clear there is nothing the EC can do if political parties are bent on creating chaos.** (NST, April 12, 2013)

Move 3: Justifying or refuting events. This move is a progression from Move 2 to Move 4, and, therefore, tends to be argumentative. It uses language to justify or refute an event or standpoint, with the aim of securing readers' endorsement. It involves presentation of arguments with respect to the standpoint presented in Move 2 Step 5. It uses contextualisation and backing up of claims through the use of facts and figures to support the argument. The function and frequency of these steps are described in the following sections.

Move 3 Step 1: Explaining. Explaining is an obligatory step that follows Addressing an issue (M2S1), and it has the highest frequency among the various steps listed in the framework (see Table 2). They accounted for 91.6% and 86.6%, respectively in the NYT and NST articles. This step explains the issue in detail and the events. It attempts to present and elaborate different aspects of the stated issue and expresses differing viewpoints with specifics of the event (see example 1, below). It explains the advantages and disadvantages of some actions taken, and employing such a writing strategy assists the editor to support his or her point of view. This strategy can help strengthen the conditions for acceptance or rejection of a particular action by the readers (see example 2, below).

1. Putrajaya was planned and laid out to enhance government efficiency and productivity, with government quarters arranged in the middle ring of the city so that government workers would be able to get to

work easily within 15 minutes. The quarters are provided for the duration a civil servant serves in the area. Once that person retires or is posted elsewhere, the quarters then goes (sic) to an incoming civil servant. (NST, April 16, 2013)

2. Students who exercise have lower body fat, greater muscular strength, and better cardiovascular and mental health. Children who are more active are better able to focus their attention, are quicker to perform simple tasks, and have better working memories and problem solving skills than less-active children. They also perform better on standardized academic tests. Academic performance is influenced by factors like parental involvement and socioeconomic status. (NYT, May 24, 2013)

Move 3 Step 2: Contextualising argumentation. Facts and evidence play a pivotal role in supporting expressed opinions in argumentative discourse in order to make them plausible and acceptable. To realise this objective, newspaper editorials in both the NYT and NST use Move 3 Step 2, Contextualising argumentation. Interestingly, this step is obligatory in the NYT with a percentage of 74.5%, while it is only an optional step in the NST with only 42.5%. As stated above, evidence is considered as a basis for arguments and it helps to increase the editorial persuasive stance. Both Van Dijk (1993) and Katajamaki and Koskelain (2006) have identified evidence in their data. One plausible reason as to why the NYT has a higher frequency of occurrence of this step could be that being an outstanding international newspaper which serves a worldwide readership, the NYT has a great influence on the masses and the elite. So, to achieve this goal successfully, it provides readers with adequate evidence. Examples of such evidence are shown below.

1. **A study of 66 patients by a team at Ryerson University in Toronto found that the cognitive therapy for insomnia, a brief and less intense form of talk therapy than many psychiatric patients are accustomed to, worked surprisingly well. Some 87 percent of the patients whose insomnia was resolved in four treatment sessions also had their depression symptoms disappear, almost twice the rate of those whose insomnia was not cured**. (NYT, Nov 23, 2013)

2. Malaysia, **according to Prime Minister Datuk Seri Najib Razak**, is desirous of fostering a win-win relationship with Singapore. (NST, Feb 20, 2013)

Move 3 Step 3: Comparing and contrasting. The data revealed that Move 3 Step 3 was an optional step in both the NYT and NST. The frequency of occurrence in the NYT samples was marginal (5%) when compared with the NST (23.2%). The

function of Move 3 Step 3 is to compare and contrast between different situations and contexts of the addressed issue. Different from the findings of this study, Gunesekar (1989) found comparison as one of the dominant linguistic elements in the editorials of newspapers in Singapore, India and Sri Lanka.

The disparity in use of this step in the NYT and NST newspapers could be attributed to the political and economic positions of The United States and Malaysia in the world. It seems likely that being the newspaper of a super power, NYT attempts to convey its authority by not comparing the USA with other countries. On the other hand, the NST, as the official newspaper of the government, frequently compares Malaysia with other countries and attempts to showcase Malaysia as having social, economic and political standing that is better than other Asian or even American and European countries (see examples, below).

1. **There are considerably fewer homeless people on New York's streets than there were a decade ago**. But there are more than 52,000 people in homeless shelters, including about 22,000 children —both record highs. One of the tragedies behind those impersonal numbers was the focus of a five-part series, titled "Invisible Child". (NYT, Dec 13, 2013)
2. **Unlike China, for example, Malaysia does not impose restrictions on search engines such as Google and others**. The sense that the technology is useful and yet dangerous is not the informing philosophy here. Rather, there is a need to educate the public that as in every other area of life, ethics apply. (NST, June14, 2013)

Move 4: Articulating a position. This move determines the editor's position towards the issue discussed in previous moves. It specifies the angle from which the writer considers the case and attempts to sway the public to his or her point of view. The various steps under this move are discussed at length below.

Move 4 Step 1: Expressing opinion. This step involves the presentation of the editor's feelings or beliefs about the issue discussed. The editor, by stating his or her opinion, attempts to convince the reader to see consequences of an event the same way as the writer. However, this step does not assess the value of any action or situation, but merely presents the opinion of the editorial (see examples below). As is shown in Table 2, the frequency of use of Expressing opinion is 65% of the editorials in the two sets of newspaper samples. Among the steps under Move 4, this step has the highest frequency of occurrence in the NST. However, for the NYT, it is the second highest after Raising suggestions. This is not surprising because an editorial is a newspaper column designed specifically for editors to express their thoughts on the issue of the day. At 65%, the step is obligatory, and, therefore, it is reflective of the main function of an editorial.

1. **It is obvious that gun violence is a public health threat**. A letter this month to Vice President Joseph Biden Jr.'s gun violence commission from more than 100 researchers in public health and related fields pointed out that mortality rates from almost every major cause of death have declined drastically over the past half century. (NYT, Jan 26, 2013)
2. Analysts do not expect the convention to be broken at the next elections but believe this is something the electorate should start considering. **And, indeed, for a multicultural nation, as Indonesia is, it is certainly important for politics to be representative and inclusive.** (NST, Jan 17, 2013)

Move 4 Step 2: Evaluation. Evaluation is an obligatory step of Move 4 for the NYT as it is employed in 63.33% of the data, while it is optional for the NST (50.83%). The results revealed that editorials, in order to have a considerable influence on their readers, tend to have a more decisive and critical view towards issues raised. This comes in the form of judgments or evaluation of the issue. In other words, it evaluates the situation and indicates approval or disapproval of the issue in a more conclusive and decisive style of writing. The same rhetorical element has been found in Bhatia's (1993) and So's (2005) studies. Because of its global standing, the NYT editors are able to express their evaluation more explicitly. However, the NST, being part of the government's machinery, has the lowest frequency when it comes to passing judgments, especially towards the government.

1. President Obama will have to persuade Congressional leaders and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel that it is necessary and possible to reach a credible deal with Iran. **Sanctions were never supposed to be an end in themselves but a tool to facilitate a deal, and Mr. Obama has done a good job of ratcheting up the pressure**. (NYT, June 17, 2013)
2. **On these grounds Xenophon is, by our legal definition at least, an undesirable.** For, under section 8(3) of the Immigration Act 1955/1963 it says that any person who is a member of or affiliated with any organization entertaining or teaching disbelief in or opposition to established government as falling under a prohibited class category. **He is obviously not Malaysia friendly given his attempt to damage Malaysia's palm oil industry and his willingness to be party to the opposition's attempt to undermine a democratically established government**. (NST, Feb 18, 2013)

Move 4 Step 3: Raising suggestions. Move 4 Step 3, Raising suggestions, is one of the most explicit strategies in influencing readers as it directly addresses them and proposes that the readers take certain action to resolve the addressed issue (see examples below). Hulteng (1973) also believes in the persuasiveness of directives as they enable writers to engage readers in a direct manner.

As illustrated in Table 2, 71.66% of Move 4 Step 3 was found in the NYT corpus, and, therefore, it is an obligatory step for the American newspaper, while the NST had only 54.16%. As a result, this step is an optional strategy for the Malaysian counterpart. This finding corresponds with Bonyadi's (2010) study, which showed that Directives is the dominant rhetorical strategy in the NYT when compared with the Tehran Times as an Asian newspaper. In fact, this finding is in line with earlier findings of this study, which revealed yet again the authorial stance of NYT as compared with the NST.

1. This issue is not going away. The true supporters of background checks have promised another vote in the months to come. **Those who really want to keep guns out of the wrong hands will have to stand up and prove it**. (NYT, May 24, 2013)
2. Reports have it that the Genting tragedy bus driver was angry with another road user. If true, this is absolutely unacceptable, **which places another neglected proposal on the A-list of must do: a system to ensure that drivers are in good health and mentally suited to face the challenges of his route that must be put in place immediately**. (NST, Aug 26, 2013)

Move 4 Step 4: Expressing prediction. This step acts as a kind of forecast about possible consequences of any actions taken. Moreover, it sometimes expresses the newspaper's concerns or positive attitude towards actions that are going to be taken. Although the occurrence of Move 4 Step 5 is different in the NYT and NST, which is 50% and 29.16%, respectively, expressing prediction is similarly optional to both the American and Malaysian newspapers. However, the percentage of occurrence was much higher in the NYT than in the NST. The discrepancy in the results yet again confirmed previous findings about the authoritative stance of the NYT. It seems that the editors of the NYT are not afraid of predicting negative consequences of a particular action related to an issue. In contrast, the NST tends to avoid such comments so as to avoid creating concerns and tension in society, thereby assisting the government to stabilise the sociopolitical situation of the country.

1. The Fair Share Housing Center, noted that the proposal would free hostile municipalities to build "very few homes, or no homes at all." **This would turn back to (sic) the clock to a time when communities could openly discriminate against poor and working-class residents**. (NYT, Jan 28, 2013)

2. The gang rape should be of particular concern because it could signal the possible presence of a sports rape culture documented in other countries like the United States and Australia, in which gang rape is considered a bonding activity between team members. **If security is not taken seriously, the safety of participants and the interest of sports will be let down.** (NST, July 09, 2013)

CONCLUSION

To conclude, the overall rhetorical structure of editorials in NYT and NST are complex. Although at the macro level they are similar in terms of their frequency of use, at the micro level, disparity in the frequency of use is observed. The fact that they have a typical macro-structure further affirmed Bhatia's (1993, p. 68) view that the editorial is a "universally conventionalized" genre. Additionally, through the analysis of their functions, it could be deduced that the NST tended to adopt a more informative stance, while the NYT was more authoritative and persuasive through their frequent use of evaluative rhetorical moves. However, in terms of the steps used, there were disparities in their use. This could be due to contextual factors or the social issues addressed. In a way, using the authoritative stance seems to indicate the social status of the NYT as a paper that enjoys absolute freedom to express its opinion on the topics of discussion. This liberty allows the editors to employ appropriate rhetorical moves and steps to successfully engage the readers and "build bridges" between their points of view and their readers (Bartholomae, 1986).

In contrast, the NST tended to take less risks and had a more tentative stance with less usage of evaluation, presenting standpoint and directives. This style of writing could be related to the different types of audience that the NST addresses in Malaysia. As Malaysia has multiple ethnicities and religions, the editors have a social role to play in nation building. Therefore, they are more inclined to take a stance that would not cause any conflict in the society. Such sensitivity in journalistic reporting is affirmed by Pennock (2000), who stated that within the news media, the type of audience determines how its different sub-genres should be structured and its language should be selected. This could be the main reason why NST rarely criticises the government and usually attempts to justify the issues that the government is responsible for. Furthermore, government intervention could be another reason for the NST to take a less authoritative stance in its editorials. According to Manan (2001), government interventions come in the form of sending cautions or withdrawal of license warnings. According to the Malaysia Annual Report (Reporters without Borders, 2007), there is a regular check by the government on sensitive racial issues reported in the media, and this puts pressure on the media, which leads them to self-censor or withhold from voicing controversial issues. In a nutshell, analysing the rhetorical moves and steps together with their functions in

the NYT and NST editorials has provided an insight not only into the editors' stance towards the topic of discussion, but has also revealed the extent to which the editorials of the two newspapers have a universal rhetorical structure.

Additionally, the composite framework which was specifically drawn up for the study was capable of teasing out the various moves and steps in the NYT and NST editorials. As stated earlier, there are four macro moves and 12 steps. Although the comprehensive framework, which was data driven, seems suited for the analysis of the data of this study, it needs further confirmation by future researchers. As can be seen in the review of various models of rhetorical moves in the literature (see Bonyadi, 2010; Gunesekara, 1989; Van Dijk, 1993), the classification of moves and steps has never been watertight. Depending on the types of text under study, the best framework would normally be the one which is built from the data of the study.

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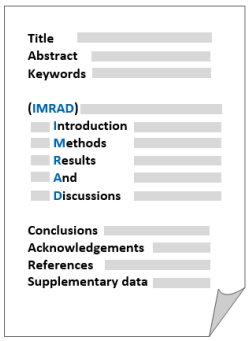

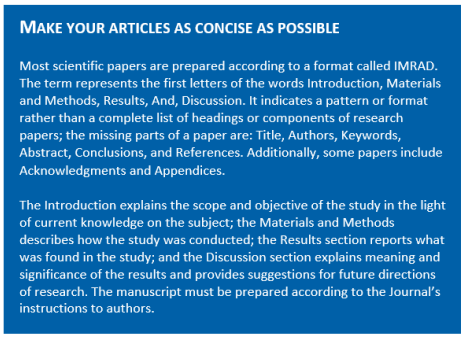

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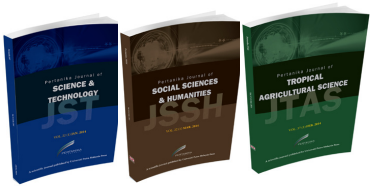

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