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Editors: Asmah Haji Omar
        Susan Needham
        Nathan Hill
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Foreword

Dear Authors, Participants, Contributors, and Esteemed Readers,

The GLOCAL Conference 2020, in Asia, The Conference on Asian Linguistic Anthropology 2020, in Sarawak, Malaysia, February 5-8, 2020, hosted by the Universiti Putra Malaysia, with major publishing affiliate Taylor and Francis Publishing, and with major institutional affiliate SOAS, University of London, was an immense success, despite the prevalence of the COVID-19.

The GLOCAL has now developed and sustains a strong tradition of localized Linguistic Anthropology for Asia, and for the world. This effort has found support in its extensive global affiliate institutions, publishing companies, and its global sibling conferences (The COMELA, The MEALA, The AFALA, The COOLA, The SCAALA). As such, The GLOCAL 2020, and The larger GLOCAL as a whole, brought together researchers, academics, and professionals from the world over, who are experts in Asian Linguistic Anthropology, Language and Society, Sociolinguistics, Cultural Anthropology, Critical Studies, Music Anthropology, Gender Studies, Literary Studies, and related fields. The papers provided scientific knowledge within these pertinent fields, which this book is now publishing.

Themed Asian Text, Global Context, The GLOCAL 2020 saw the gathering of a global group of scholars who sought to engage in progressive discussion on a range of issues significant to the field of Asian Linguistic Anthropology. The scholarship from these interactions was no less than academically groundbreaking, and these contributions structured The GLOCAL 2020 Conference in Asia to become the outstanding event that it was. The GLOCAL 2020 Conference Central Committee are

Conference Chair: Dr. Hazlina Abdul Halim, Universiti Putra Malaysia

Program Committee: Dr. Maulana Magiman, Universiti Putra Malaysia
Dr. Muhd Zulkifli bin Ismail, Universiti Putra Malaysia
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Nhan Huynh, The GLOCAL, SOAS, University of London

In addition to the contributed papers, the five invited keynote speakers were Professor Asmah Haji Omar of The University of Malaya, Professor Hans Henrich Hock of The University of Illinois, Dr. Nathan Hill of The School of Oriental and African Studies University of London, Professor Susan Needham of The California State University, and Professor Li Wei of The University College London.

We thank all authors and participants for their significant contributions.

The GLOCAL Conference, in Asia 2020, The Conference on Asian Linguistic Anthropology 2020, in Asia
Plenary and Keynote Speeches
To Osu or Not to Osu: A Translanguaging Approach to Language Learning as Embodied Cultural Translation

Li Wei*

*Institute of Education, University College London, U.K.

Abstract

In this talk, I will discuss how language and culture are taught and learned through physical exercise in a multilingual karate club in an ethnically diverse area in East London. I will outline a theoretical perspective on researching this transformative, multilingual process, namely, Translanguaging, and discuss the idea of learning as embodied resemiotization. Translanguaging builds on the notion of Language and emphasizes the creative and critical capacities of multilingual language users. The karate club is led by a 6th dan coach of Polish Roma origin who speaks primarily Polish and Romani and who started learning Karate in Poland in his teens, then moving to London as an adult. The participants are local school children who speak a range of named languages including Polish, Russian, Lithuanian and varieties of English.

Using data collected through a three-month linguistic ethnography, I found that there is an intersectional layer of cultures which are referenced, reiterated, ritualised or revered in coaching and learning practices. These include karate culture, a culture of learning, and a culture of practice, as well as their associated values such as respect, hierarchical social order, competitiveness, learning through modelling, repetition and whole-body pragmatics and self-discipline. There is also a certain level of subjectivity in the perceived ownership and origins of these cultures. The connection with Japaneseness (the origins to which karate is often attributed) may be lost in translation. Multiple languages and embodied pragmatic cues are used in coaching but for different purposes: although certain Japanese language competence is required, the use of Japanese is limited to performativity and rituals, as a technical code, as command, and occasionally as an indicator of one’s professional expertise. In contrast, Polish, English and other linguistic, semiotic and physical acts are performed collaboratively as languages of instruction, elaboration, disciplines or information. Theoretical and methodological implications of the study for language learning research will be discussed.
KEYNOTE PRESENTATION 2

Language and Speaker Movement in the Malay World: As Told in Folk Narratives

Asmah Haji Omar

Faculty of Languages and Linguistics, University of Malaya, Malaysia

Abstract

In communities where events are recorded only in the memories of their speakers, folk narratives function as a device to retain various kinds of information which the people concerned deem important, and among these are rules of ethics and etiquette as part of their belief system, various aspects of culture, and tales which are not just for family entertainment but also act as education of the community’s history. In the last mentioned category come stories of origin, i.e. stories of migration and settling down of peoples in their present localities. In Malaysia, most indigenous languages are still languages of memory, except for Malay and a few others which already have a writing system, where there have been efforts in recording and publishing folk narratives. The narratives provide information on the first settlers of a particular region and its growth into a multilingual one. Some describe regions already with multiethnic populations.

Stories of origin are accounts of movements of speakers with their languages, the routes taken, the reasons for migration, the topography, flora and fauna along the way, and the meeting with people of different ethnolinguistic groups, some of which no longer exist. All this information must have come from observation and experience, not just imagination. In certain stories there are events belonging to the world of the mythical whose relevance is for the researcher to decide.

Sarawak and Sabah languages in Malaysia are Austronesian; the Malay Peninsula ones are Austronesian and Austroasiatic. Certain groups claim to have always been where they are, e.g. Kadazandusun and Murut in Sabah; Penan and smaller groups in Sarawak; Orang Asli and Malays in the Peninsula. Others claim that they were from other regions within the Malay Archipelago: Kalimantan, the Malay Peninsula, Sumatera and Brunei (for Sarawak peoples); Brunei, the Malay Peninsula, and the Philippine islands (for Sabahans). Settlers from Sumatera, Java, Sulawesi and other islands arrived much later.

Hence, in the memory of these peoples and their ancestors, there was no migration from outside the Malay world. Stories from Sumatera, Java, and Kalimantan paint the same picture. Internal migration within the Malay world continues to this day, transporting languages from region to region. There have been push and pull factors, and in the old days there was also the ethos of ‘opening’ a new ‘country.’ These narratives support the homeland theory proposed by Oppenheimer (1998) known as ‘Stay at home theory’ against other theories which postulate the homeland to be China, Taiwan, and New Guinea.

Within their geographical contexts certain languages have a high degree of diversity (e.g. Bidayuh, Punan) which coincides with their sedentary lifestyle. Others with traditions of sea-faring, wanderlust and nomadism are more mobile and their languages show lesser diversity (e.g. Malay, Iban, Penan). This is
supported by lexicostatistic tests on languages in Sarawak (Asmah and Norazuna, 2020), and the Malay Peninsula (Asmah et al., 2018).

Visitors had arrived from outside of the Malay world in ancient times. In the Kedah epic, *Hikayat Merong Mahawangsa*, a ruling dynasty was established by Merong Mahawangsa, from the court of Byzantine. It describes the geological setting that was Kedah, e.g. the present Gunung Jerai (Kedah Peak), Gunung Keriang and Bukit Tunjang were still islands - Pulau Sera, Pulau Keriang and Pulau Tunjang. The *Malay Annals (Sejarah Melayu)* tells of the arrival of Sang Sapurba in Palembang, from India, who, with Demang Lebar Daun, set up rules of governance in the area.

Javanese narratives (*Kepustakaan Djawâ*) tell of the earliest outsiders from India who came with the purpose of spreading Hinduism; they married Javanese women and their children were brought up as Javanese. The *Hikayat Banjar* tells of the founding of Banjarmasin by a scion of the first foreigner in Southern Kalimantan, Ampu Djamaka, from Kalinga. There are other stories of foreigners coming to the archipelago for various purposes, but they never established their own ethnolinguistic communities here.

References


KEYNOTE PRESENTATION 3

The Steppes, Anatolia, India? Migration, Archaeology, Genomes, and Indo-European

Hans Henrich Hock

"Department of Linguistics, University of Illinois, U.S.A.

Abstract

Around 1000 BC, Indo-European languages were distributed over a wide area, ranging from Xinjiang and India to Ireland and Anatolia. This widespread distribution has generally been considered to result from migrations. Early hypotheses, which placed the original home in South or Central Asia, were largely based on preconceived notions, such as the idea that Sanskrit was the ancestor of the other Indo-European languages. From the mid 19th century, racial considerations led to a shift farther west, which culminated in the ‘Nordic’ homeland proposed by people like Penka, Kossinna and Childe.

The association of the ‘Nordic’ homeland hypothesis with Nazi ideology was a factor in anthropologists’ questioning migration accounts in general, and some archaeologists have proposed that languages can spread through stimulus diffusus, just like various artifacts. However, migrations are well attested in history (e.g. the Roman Empire), and must be accepted for all stages of human experience. Moreover, I argue, languages are not just words but are complex structural systems that cannot ‘move’ without people also moving.

Against this background I show that linguistic palaeontology clearly argues for a 4th-millennium BC Indo-European homeland in the Eurasian Steppes, at or near the area where horses were domesticated, and where two-wheeled horse-drawn chariots and horse burials originated. This requires the assumption of centrifugal migrations from the Steppes to the areas in which the languages are first found. I demonstrate that the ‘Steppe Hypothesis’ is superior to its most recent rival, the ‘Anatolian Hypothesis,’ according to which the Indo-European homeland was in 7th-millennium BC Anatolia. Moreover, I argue that the evidence of linguistic palaeontology raises serious questions about Indian Nationalist attempts to locate the homeland in South Asia.

In the final part of the presentation, I examine the most recent genomic findings, especially research based on Ancient DNA. These findings are compatible with the ‘Steppe Hypothesis,’ as regards both Europe and India/South Asia, but questions remain. Perhaps the most important among these is whether the postulated migrations out of the Eurasian Steppes were, as assumed by genomic researchers, limited to speakers of Indo-European languages, or whether they may have involved speakers of other languages, including the ancestor of Basque.

I conclude that the evidence for the “Steppe Hypothesis” provides cold comfort to “Nordic supremacists” as well as to Indian Nationalists – “A theory that does not satisfy various nationalist or ideological movements can’t be all bad...”
Khmer Brahmanist Ritual Practices: Social and Linguistic Mediation of (Super)natural Encounters

Susan Needham*

*Department of Anthropology, California State University, U.S.A.

Abstract

As an exercise in semiotic connections, this session will feature the enactment of a Khmer Brahmanist ritual called, *sompeah kruu* (honoring the teacher / guardian spirits). Through the *sompeah kruu* ceremony, individuals honor and show gratitude for the knowledge and protection imparted to them from their teachers, their guardian spirit, the Buddha, and Hindu and Khmer deities. At the center of the ritual is a multi-stepped altar, called *asanah* (seat of power) upon which are placed familiar ritual offerings such as incense, candles, water, flowers, special foods and an assortment of objects considered to be spiritually powerful. However, the defining sacred objects for the Khmer *asanah* are the multi-level cylindrical objects known as *baaysei*, which provide a place for the spirits to inhabit.

Until the 1970s, *asanah* were a central part of a wide range of Cambodian occupations and trades, including carpenters, wrestlers, midwives, spiritual healers and artists, such as dancers and musicians. The little research that has been done on these rituals has focused on their role in healing practices in modern Cambodia, making it appear as that the rituals are limited to this one domain. However, the practice is quite widespread, and a variety of individuals in Cambodia and throughout the diaspora have altars in their homes where they regularly conduct less formal variations of the *sompeah kruu* ceremony for local spirits as well as for ancestor and guardian spirits.

The presentation will begin with a brief discussion of the performative and semiotic aspects of the ritual that connect several areas of experience including the past and present, the living and the non-living, the ‘natural’ and the ‘supernatural.’ The ritual will be officiated by Mr. Sakphan Keam, a Khmer-American ritual specialist from Long Beach, California.
Technology and Language Documentation in the Global Era

Nathan Hill

Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures, SOAS University of London, U.K.

Abstract

Many of the world’s languages are unstudied and on the verge of disappearance. A few linguists strive to address this problem, but compared to Indo-European languages, there is much more work to be accomplished, with only a fraction of the manpower and with immense time pressure. Over the last two decades, the field of ‘documentary linguistics’ has attempted to address this situation, but with successes that can be said to be partial at best.

After considering some of the obstacles to language documentation, this talk takes a fresh look at the technical side of linguistic fieldwork. It does this from the perspective of recent technological innovations, and examines the workflows and approaches to data management in particular. I conduct two case studies, the methods through which, may hold great promise in helping communities that speak understudied languages, namely autocompletion software for mobile phones and the automatic phonetic transcription of spoken languages using neural networks.
Social Psychology of Language
Social Evaluations of Accented Englishes: An Indian Perspective

Roshni Raheja

*Symbiosis School for Liberal Arts, Symbiosis International Deemed University, India

Abstract

Research in the field of Language Attitudes and Social Perceptions has evidenced the associations between a speaker’s accent and a listener’s perceptions of various aspects of their identity — intelligence, socio-economic background, race, region of origin, friendliness, etc. This process of ‘profiling’ results in discrimination and issues faced in various social institutions where verbal communication is of great importance, such as education environments, or even during employee recruitment. This study uses a mixed-methods approach, employing a sequential explanatory design to investigate the social evaluation process of native and non-native accents on status and solidarity parameters by students from a multicultural university located in Pune, India. The findings are consistent with research in the field of language attitudes, demonstrating preference for Indian and Western accents as compared to other Asian accents. Semi-structured interviews revealed factors such as education, colonial history, globalization and media consumption to be key in influencing these evaluations. The themes are explored in the context of the World Englishes framework, and the socio-economic history of the English language in India.

**Keywords**: Accent, social evaluation, language attitudes, globalization, world Englishes, verbal communication.

Introduction

As of 2020, English is spoken by about a quarter of the world’s population. This includes speakers from each and every part of the world, and not just individuals who are native speakers of the language. English is described by theorists as having a Darwinian quality of adaptability, which has enabled it to spread the way it has, with the power it carries. The use of the English language cannot be understood without the context of cultural politics, and ideological forces. (Pennycook, 2017). It has been established that language and language forms are markers of social identity, which are often rooted in inequality of social and cultural capital. (Foucault, 1980; Bourdieu, 1979). Language comprises of a variety of features which enable this process of identity ‘profiling.’ When it comes to spoken forms of language, these extend to speed, volume, emphasis, and prosody, among others, which create variables such as lexical characteristics, fluency, coherence, comprehensibility, and accent.

In Sociolinguistics, an accent is defined as a loose bundle of prosodic and segmental features distributed over geographic and/or social space (Lippi-Green 1997). Accents therefore encompass different forms of a language spoken by sub-groups, which can be differentiated from one another based on features that are phonological in nature, including prosody, rhythm, pitch, etc (Holmes 1992). Based on the origin of an accent, it can be classified as native or non-native, with reference to the speaker’s first language. Accents can be further categorized based on region, social class or ethnicity, given a deviation from other spoken
forms. Most importantly, an accent serves as a metonym for a larger cultural group, and the characteristics associated with it. This means that attitudes towards particular groups, whether positive or negative, inclusive or discriminatory, can be activated by the response to an accent.

With globalization and strengthened mobility, there has been an increase in the frequency of contact between people from different social categories based on geography, social and economic backgrounds, in the context of business, academic and leisure settings (Cheng 1999). With increased access to diverse patterns of language and speech variation, it is expected that attitudes and perceptions will subsequently (and continuously) change with increased cross-cultural communication.

This research paper seeks to delve further into the processes of language attitude and accent perception formation, to better understand the various socio-cultural factors that influence ways in which English is perceived in different contexts around the world. While studies of this nature have been carried out extensively over the last four decades, this question will continue to remain relevant as the English language spreads and adapts to cultures across borders beyond anglophone regions. The paper seeks to bridge gaps between qualitative and quantitative methods of study, so as to obtain data-based conclusions, along with cultural and contextual information, thus exploring the various factors that contribute to accent formation, accommodation and perception. These factors hold relevance across a wide range of social spaces, particularly those that promote diversity and inclusive practices.

Review of Literature

Studies of accents and how they are perceived have given rise to a range of terminologies and theoretical paradigms. One of the most relevant types of study in this domain is that of Language Attitudes. Language attitudes refer to individuals’ evaluations and beliefs about the status of a language or its speakers. Attitudes towards one’s own and other languages differ, the field of research seeking to describe the magnitude and implications of this difference. Social Identity Theory, as proposed by Henri Tajfel and John Turner explains inter-group behaviour as dependent on one’s own group identity. Tajfel and Turner proposed three stages of mental processing of individuals as in-group / out-group members, where people evaluate others as ‘us’ or ‘them.’ These stages are:

- Categorization – A classification of environmental elements for the purpose of understanding and identification, defining appropriate behaviour in respective situations and group contexts.
- Social identification – that part of individuals’ self-concept which emanates from knowledge of membership of a social group together with values and emotional significance attached to membership is established.
- Social comparison – To maintain self-esteem, the group needs to compare favourably with other groups.

An accent is a linguistic indicator of group membership, and an individual’s response to an accent is therefore representative of conceptions towards both their own linguistic group and the speaker’s group. The Language Subordination Model conceptualized by Lippi-Green traces the outcomes of positive or negative evaluations of a speaker, suggesting that groups with greater power and dominance are able to influence lower status groups to cooperate with their ideas of standard language ideologies. This is accomplished through the process of forced assimilation of non-standard into standard forms – in schools where students are taught to ‘speak properly,’ or in corporate environments where client-facing employees are trained to speak the same way (Lippi-Green 1997).
Elements included in the social evaluation of an individual include prestige, status and power, which are based on group membership. These were accessed through the findings of the experiments discussed earlier, in practical situations, which led to the design of laboratory experiments, where variables could be rethought and altered. These experiments sought to evaluate Standard and Non-Standard varieties of accents based on different traits that could be attributed to the speakers. The two broad categories that researchers followed were Solidarity (Social attractiveness) and Status (Competence), each of which then included further variables. Numerous language attitude studies have been conducted in Australia, Britain, Canada and the USA, to investigate native and non-native listeners’ attitudes toward standard and non-standard speakers of English in relation to the different traits mentioned (Ahmed, Abdullah and Heng 2013). Generally, the results from these show that listeners evaluate standard accents more favourably than non-standard accents on status-related traits, whereas non-standard accents are rated more favourably than the standard accents with regard to solidarity traits (Hiraga 2005; Giles 1984; Cargile et al, 1994). These findings persisted even with informants who spoke with non-standard accents (Ryan et al, 1984).

Language as a phenomenon is highly context dependent. A given context will activate an enhanced awareness of specific aspects of social identity. In professional settings, interpersonal interaction, where evaluations are involved, happens at multiple levels, from employment interviews to relations between hierarchically differing employees. Studies that investigate the role of accents in job interviews conclude that the more similar an individual’s accent is to the standard variety, the higher become their chances of selection for a prestigious job, as opposed to non-standard speakers, who are often favoured for jobs which are less desirable (Cargile 2000). Within academic institutions, it is possible to observe accent-related behaviours and perceptions. Scholarship has found that students with greater exposure to multicultural groups are more liberal in their judgements. Within the specific context of English language learners in non-anglophone countries, studies have shown that students of the language prefer teachers with a ‘native’ accent—generally British or American. Given the status of these countries and the model of ‘ideal English’ taught, students tend to adopt these accents as the most preferred model of pronunciation for their learning. The desire to speak a western form of the language is associated with the ability to participate in a global conversation, and to access greater economic opportunity (Butler 2003). Rivers suggests that these findings demonstrate a quasi-ingroup status being assigned to the native English speakers, positioning non-native speakers within a distant outgroup.

In laboratory experiments conducted in the United States, Lippi-Green noted that negative reactions tended to be elicited not in response to all foreign accents, but specifically to those associated with ‘non-whiteness’ or third-world origins (Lippi-Green 1997). She considers factors such as immigration patterns that influence group identity and prejudice in multicultural geographies. The speech of non-stigmatized groups was rated as more ‘correct’ than that of stigmatized groups, even when both were definitely foreign. The stigmatized groups included Mexican, Japanese, Chinese and Indian speakers, whereas non-stigmatized classifications referred to speakers from European nations such as France and Germany. These Western European nations have had positive relationships with the United States (Lippi-Green 1997). Lindemann looked into the nature of stigmatized groups in the US and was able to identify these as separate from Asian countries, Eastern Europe or the Middle East. An American citizen’s exposure to members of these groups result from immigration, but more importantly from political context, where citizens from these countries experience unfavourable relationships with the United States throughout life (Lindemann 2003). However, a study conducted at BYU with students as respondents in 2007 that sought to evaluate same accents did not conclusively show the same results. Despite the political climate of 2007 with the war in the Middle East and legislation on illegal immigrants from Latin America, strong evidence of prejudice was not found. The researchers suggest that with greater exposure to foreigners through
interaction and media as a result of globalization, it is possible that negative stereotypes are beginning to dissolve amongst the youth of the United States, which though requires much work still (Anderson et al, 2007).

Research

Sample Studied

In India specifically, English has a rich cultural history. As per the 2001 census, it is spoken by approximately 100 million people in the country (European Commission 2013). First used for leverage by the British colonial empire, it rapidly became a language of political discourse and administration, as well as of nationalism and revolution, by the 19th century (Hohenthal 2004). Since then, it has expanded to become the language of science, technology and development. The major drivers for this have been transformations within the education systems, increased access to education, and socio-economic conditions that favour English speaking-individuals, from employment to geographical and social mobility (Graddol 2010). In this context, it offers a wealth of insights for work in the disciplines of Accent Perception and Language Attitudes.

Methodology

It is impossible to study accent perception without analysing the social status and history of both the speaker and the listener, as well as the groups they come from. The paradigms used in Social Psychology involve experimentation, and do not address the root causes or surrounding beliefs in situations where evaluations of speakers are to be made. (Lindemann, 2003). Some researchers have begun to employ mixed-methods research techniques, but while they do present a more well-rounded picture of respondents’ attitudes, they fail to include factors beyond those that immediately affect a respondent in the way that, perhaps, an anthropologist or sociolinguist would. Ethnographic research used in Language Ideology studies provides insight into beliefs and formation of language attitudes, but as it is highly qualitative in nature, it does not easily allow comparisons with quantitative approaches. Lindemann proposes that the only way to bridge this gap would be through the construction of a verbal guise study that also addresses listeners’ beliefs about which groups the speakers belong to, which is discussed ahead as a way for the approaches of ethnography and experimental methods to inform each other.

This study seeks to understand listeners’ attitudes and perceptions of speakers with different speech accents, as well as to gain insight into the cultural context and factors that inform perceptions of these factors. Having evaluated the validity of existing methods in the cultural context of this study, this research project proposes the use of mixed methods – to enable analysis of both ethnographic and experimental data. The design is that of sequential explanation – with both a quantitative and qualitative methods.

The chosen subjects for this study were ten undergraduate students between the ages of 18 and 22, enrolled in an undergraduate degree program at an international private university in Pune city. Each participant speaks English with native or bilingual proficiency, having completed at least their secondary education in English. Each participant is at least a second-generation English speaker, as well as a second-generation college student. The speech samples were collected from men and women 20-28 years of age with comparable educational backgrounds (at least second-generation college students and second/third-generation English speakers), based in the concerned regions – North India (Delhi, Lucknow), South India (Coimbatore, Chennai), the United States (New York, San Francisco), England (London, Bournemouth)
and South East Asia (Singapore). Speakers from big cities were chosen as they are most likely to speak with the standard accents of the language in that area, (Lippi-Green, 1991) to be associated with greater prestige, with which the researcher wanted to maintain consistency. These regions were chosen as they were representative of either ‘foreign’ or ‘regional’ accents which residents of India are likely to have already interacted with, or will interact with at some point in their lives, given the social, economic and political relevance of the regions. Each accent sample contained both formal and informal speech, delivered (alternatingly) by both male and female speakers to account for variations in responses based on gender of the speaker as well as the content of the speech.

In the experiment, two tasks were involved – an identification task, in which listeners were asked to identify a speaker’s place of origin from their speech, and a rating task in which listeners were to rate the speech of each speaker over the two dimensions of status and solidarity through Likert scaling. The voice recordings made of five accented speeches (10 speakers, two from each accent) were judged by 10 listeners. Participants were then given the rating questionnaire, which included the identification of the country/region of origin question as well as ratings on the following parameters: ‘Educated,’ ‘Intelligent,’ ‘Successful’ (Status variables), ‘Friendly,’ ‘Kind’ and ‘Responsible’ (solidarity variables). This is accomplished through responses on a 5-point scale (e.g. 1- unsuccessful, 3-moderately successful, 5-extremely successful). Once all five samples were played and responded to, the researcher interviewed the participant about their answers, touching upon the themes educational background, past experience with particular accents, exposure through media and travel, and so forth, to understand motives for the ratings given. They were also asked to describe their own accent and to identify the accent sample which they perceive to be most similar to theirs. After the experiment was conducted, the data was be analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively. For qualitative data, theming, chunking and coding of the interview transcriptions was be undertaken. The quantitative data, obtained through the rating scales, was analysed using IBM’s Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS), to run descriptive statistics on the values. Measures of frequencies, mean, range, etc. are used to describe the responses, as well as relationships between particular variables.

Results

In accordance with the sequential explanatory format of mixed methods research, the findings from the questionnaire, the quantitative part of the study, are described first, followed by a description of the corresponding themes which emerged from the semi-structured interviews, the subsequently employed qualitative measure.

Quantitative findings

Comparison between accents: Frequency tables for scores on both parameters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accent-Wise Status Ratings</th>
<th>North Indian</th>
<th>British</th>
<th>Singaporean</th>
<th>American</th>
<th>South Indian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>N</strong></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Valid</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Missing</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mean</strong></td>
<td>3.70</td>
<td>3.53</td>
<td>3.37</td>
<td>3.37</td>
<td>3.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Variance</strong></td>
<td>.355</td>
<td>.464</td>
<td>.378</td>
<td>.378</td>
<td>.530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Minimum</strong></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Maximum | 5 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 5

Table 1: Accent-Wise Status Ratings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N</th>
<th>North Indian</th>
<th>British</th>
<th>Singaporean</th>
<th>American</th>
<th>South Indian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>3.50</td>
<td>3.53</td>
<td>3.20</td>
<td>3.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variance</td>
<td>.506</td>
<td>.466</td>
<td>.533</td>
<td>.372</td>
<td>.420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minimum</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maximum</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Accent-Wise Solidarity Ratings

As evidenced in the data presented in the tables and graphs, Indian and British accents were rated highest on status (intelligence, education and success), followed by American and Singaporean accents. However, for solidarity variables (friendliness, kindness, responsibility), the Singaporean accent had the highest ratings, followed by the remaining accents, which did not have markedly different ratings.
Distance Rankings

After the ratings task, respondents were asked to rank the accents in terms of ‘closeness’ to the language style they themselves spoke. While individual variations were present, each respondent ranked the accent samples in the following general categorical order:

- Rank 1: Indian accent
- Rank 2: Indian accent
- Rank 3: Western accent
- Rank 4: Western accent
- Rank 5: South East Asian accent

These results effectively present that after accents from their own country, listeners related most to prosodic features of Western speakers than other English speakers.

Accent Identification Task

Indian Accents: All respondents were able to place both of the Indian accents as originating from within India. Very few respondents specified particular cities or regions within the country, and the three respondents that did specify this, listed names of major metropolitan cities in India that did not match the actual sources.

Western Accents: Each respondent labelled the Western accents as American or European, with a 75% success rate on specific location.

South-East Asian Accent: Of the ten respondents, six stated that they were unable to identify the origin. Two respondents answered wrongly, with the answers provided as “African country” or “United Kingdom.” One respondent correctly identified the accent location as “South East Asian” but could not pinpoint a country or region. The last respondent answered “Thailand,” which is regionally correct, but locally wrong, given that the speakers were from Singapore.

Qualitative findings

Once the quantitative results were obtained, semi-structured interviews were conducted with the intention of exploring the various reasons and qualitative factors that influenced the respondents’ ratings provided in the first part of the experiment. The interviews were transcribed, and then chunked and coded, enabling the researcher to categorize the responses under the following themes:

1. Thought process during the rating task – self-reflection
2. Process of identification - Familiarity with different accents
3. Role of Media
4. Cultural Factors
5. Personal education history
6. Own-accent identification

Though Process and Self-reflection

Each participant, when prompted to answer how they went about rating different speakers on the given parameters, took a few minutes to consolidate their thoughts. After reflecting on their answers, many of them explained that they had no real grounds for rating any of the speakers in the way that they did – as
the speech content was the same for all five samples, and the interviewees did not believe they knew the speakers well enough to comment on these variables, based on speech alone. When asked how they chose to go about it, most of them expressed that they made decisions based on ‘tone’ and ‘confidence’ of the speakers, or generally ‘how they sounded.’ Some respondents hypothesized that their rankings could be predicated on factors such as speed or volume of the speech, but were unable to quantify these, or compare two accents against each other on these parameters. The quantitative results are in line with this, as they do not provide any clear majority, no single accent has scored significantly higher or lower than the average response.

Accent Identification Process

When the respondents read out their answers, and informed about what the correct answers were for the accent identification task, their reactions were observed. All the respondents who had incorrectly identified the Singaporean accent were surprised by the answer, but also admitted that they would not have been able to guess the correct region of origin, as they had not heard adequate levels of speech in this accent prior to this point. Following from this, when asked why some accents were easier to identify than others, all of the respondents cited familiarity as the primary reason. For all respondents, the Indian accents were the easiest to identify, even if they could not pinpoint a city or state. When told later, however, that the accents were sourced from North and South India, many of the respondents expressed surprise, saying that they did not think the accents “sounded like the stereotypes” associated with the regions they were from. When asked about the Western accents, all of the ten respondents stated that they felt that these accents sounded ‘familiar’ and were similar to their own, and therefore easy to understand and identify. About half of the respondents said that they had travelled to western countries before, or had friends or relatives located in these places, which is how they were familiar with the accent. All of the respondents said that they regularly consumed media produced in the west, which was a strong factor in this familiarity they described.

Role of Media

All respondents reported consuming Indian-origin media through Bollywood, television, online content, music, advertisements, radio and various streaming services, in the mediums of English, Hindi and regional languages. The international media consumed was in the form of film, television shows and music, primarily through Internet-based streaming services such as Netflix, Amazon Prime, Spotify, etc. All ten respondents said that within the category of international media, western content was consumed the most. While two of the respondents mentioned that they engaged with Northeast Asian media, the rest all said that they did not consume any Asian media that was not Indian, or South Asian (including Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka).

Cultural factors

Each participant described themselves as especially fluent and proficient in English, with eight of the ten respondents calling it their first language, and the language they were most comfortable using. The other two respondents stated that their proficiency in English and their mother tongue are about the same, and that they were comfortable using either of the two. All of the respondents reported being fluent in at least two languages, with a few respondents speaking up to three languages fluently. The respondents all described, through the use of varying vocabulary, that there was, in fact, a “correct” way to speak English, which was a factor in how they rated the speakers.
Personal Education History

The ideation of the ‘correct’ English was primarily based on their school experiences. Of the ten respondents, five reported having attended ‘International’ schools – educational institutes that design curriculums and classroom environments based on internationally accepted teaching methods. These environments, as described by the respondents, also allow for greater exposure to diversity, which students and faculty from both within and outside the country attended or in which they were employed respectively. All of the respondents who had attended these schools were able to correctly identify at least four out of the five accents played. However, they did not differentiate between the Indian accents, simply categorizing them both as “Indian.” The other five respondents reported having attended either traditional or ‘convent’ schools, both of which were described as ‘conservative,’ with an emphasis on discipline. These respondents generally had trouble identifying more than three of the five accents played and were unable to distinguish between accents from the Western Accents category – British and American. However, they were able to guess locations for the Indian accents, even if the answers were wrong. They all located the speakers within metropolitan, multicultural cities, including Mumbai, Pune and Delhi. All of these respondents were themselves also from metropolitan cities, or they had completed their education in such places.

Own-accent identification

Each respondent confidently described their own speech accent as “Indian.” When prompted to be more specific, all said that they were uncertain about labelling the accent specific to any region, stating that they did not think they fit into any “stereotypical” categories that would be obvious to identify. One respondent specifically described this accent as “from Mumbai,” whereas another respondent described their accent as “vaguely South Indian.” A third respondent explained that they had lived in different parts of the country, and therefore their accent could be identified as “from any big city.” All of the respondents strongly felt that their voices did not match the accent stereotypically associated with the region from which they came, even if they could not clearly describe or demonstrate what exactly that stereotype sounded like, or how it could be characterized.

Discussion

Both the quantitative and qualitative results indicate a preference among the respondents for two categories of accents – those of native English speakers, and those non-native speakers specific to India. This can be explained by Tajfel and Turner’s Social Identity Theory, as respondents prefer members of their own in-group (own-accent bias) and are likely to negatively evaluate out-groups. As the interview results clearly suggest, the in-group here includes other Indian-origin speakers, and extends to speakers of English from the anglophone world. The inclusion of Western Countries into the in-group comes from familiarity built up through exposure to these accents through the media, and an understanding of the agency that these accents have globally – leading to a level of esteem granted to them, similar to River’s description of the ‘quasi-in-group’ in the minds of Japanese students. These accents were rated positively on status dimensions accordingly. The Singaporean accent, although difficult for nearly all of the respondents to identify, received the highest ratings on the solidarity parameters. While this initially seems surprising, it corresponds with other studies conducted using unfamiliar non-native accents. All studies on accent perception have shown that non-standard accents tend to be seen as more friendly (i.e. higher on solidarity parameters) and ‘common’ as they do not match the high-status accent features. In the Indian context,
other Asian accents are categorized as non-standard. Much like Lindemann’s study with South Korean accents in the United States, this accent could not be associated with any of the stereotypes generally typical of Asians as hardworking or intelligent, as respondents were unable to identify it as belonging to that category at all (Lindemann 2003).

The experience of an accent is highly subjective. Firstly, an individual may not perceive someone from their in-group as ‘accented’ at all, something which was expressed in the part of the interview where respondents were asked to identify their own accent. Secondly, when asked to explain their rating responses, the respondents seemed unsure, and gave a wide range of vague answers to explain their responses. This was especially prominent in their justifications for the solidarity variable ratings, where each respondent drew from personal experience, attraction and background, and used words such as ‘tone,’ ‘volume,’ ‘how they said something,’ ‘just how they sounded,’ etc. These responses suggest that beliefs and ideologies cannot be measured quantitatively, especially given the innate heterogeneity of any sample, regardless of control.

It is interesting to note that while each respondent did have different rationales for their ratings, the responses were the same as previous studies have demonstrated – with in-group and high prestige accents scoring high on status and out-group non-standard accents scoring high on status. It seems that the social conditioning that leads to these outcomes is overarching, and therefore the respondents themselves may evaluate the speakers and assign ratings unconsciously and use their own creativity to come up with justifications afterwards, once prompted to do so. To address this question, then, it makes more sense to study those answers which provide insight into the socio-cultural structures which create these implicit biases and opinions, rather than directly ask “why” certain choices were made. Following from this conclusion, three specific areas should be investigated – Colonial History, Globalization, Education and the Role of the Media – as they are interrelated and adequately encompass the factors that lead up to an individual’s perceptions of an accent, within the context of this study.

India was under colonial rule for nearly two centuries, during which the English language was imposed, as it was used as a language of administration and political discourse. In the 1830s, Macaulay and Bentinck officially introduced standardized English education across the country. Interestingly, English grew to become the only lingua franca of the nation by the 20th century, because of the multiple culturally and linguistically diverse regional divisions that existed. These differences acted as a barrier to a unified resistance against the colonial rule, which could then be overcome, ironically, through the adoption of English, which people incorporated into their regular language use, overlapping and coexisting with regional languages, building up the dialect of ‘Indian English’ (Shridhar 1986). English continued to play an important role in Indian socio-cultural spaces even after Independence, and therefore the manner in which Indian society views it as a sociolinguistic phenomenon has also evolved. The respondents live in a time where the aftereffects of colonialism are juxtaposed with the present situation of rapid development and globalization.

Aside from the benefits of speaking it within anglophone regions, studies have shown that English language proficiency has direct economic advantages globally. In India, it was found that hourly wages are on average 34 per cent higher for men who speak fluent English and 13 per cent higher for men who speak a little English, relative to men who do not speak English (British Council 2009; 2013). This is fuelled by governments’ desires to increase inward investment by multinational organizations and reduce unemployment, which leads to an association of English skills with the idea of development. (Euromonitor International 2010).
The demand for English, and the quality of life associated with it is clearly mirrored in government education systems, as well as private education systems which receive government support. The respondents in this study mentioned both the ‘Convent’ school and the ‘International’ school, while very different in terms of culture and ideology, the emphasis placed on the English language is the same. Both the Language Subordination Theory and the Language Prestige Theory are applicable in these social phenomena, as is the circle model from Kachru’s World Englishes framework. The Convent school is a relic of colonialism (Outer Circle), which remains popular for the enabling students to speak a standard language form and to gain prestige, despite a growing push for ethnolinguistic vitality and home-grown education systems and languages. Alternately, the International School is more prevalent in Expanding Circle countries, where there is high instrumental motivation to adopt a globally accepted language, in its most powerful form. At present, this is the American English, which explains why the respondents in this study who have studied in such institutions fared better on the identification task, and also expressed a preference for the American accents over the British one.

The growth of English, and the emergence of the internet as a global communication channel, are mutually reinforcing trends (British Council 2013). When the respondents of this study describe familiarity with Western accents due to media exposure, they are primarily referring to media spread over the internet, through streaming services and social media, and not through traditional means such as print media, radio, television or local cinema. While English has historically played a dominant role in Indian media, the internet, with its far-reaching influence, adopts languages and dialects beyond Indian English, for wide usage, and accessible tools for learning – essentially, language forms with attractive attributes (British Council 2013).

The ‘connectedness’ afforded by English as a lingua franca is prioritized by the youth generation of the present day, from which the sample for this study was drawn. This generation actively creates and consumes content and ideas in commerce, politics, entertainment and other cultural spaces, and therefore actively drives the processes of globalization and glocalization. There is a clear bias towards Western entertainment media, despite the rising popularity of Nnortheast Asian drama and music. There are no explicit economic benefits to exposure or fluency in other Asian languages for a resident of India, for one, nor is there easy access to content from these regions. A quick run through of the offerings on television channels or even streaming services is enough to understand that despite the rich amount of media produced in say, the Philippines, Malaysia or even Thailand, none of it reaches the general Indian public.

We know from studies in the field that familiarity and increased exposure leads to more favourable rankings of languages and accents (Cargile 2001; Yamamoto 1995), but if there are barriers to access, even geographically close regions are not given the opportunity to be familiar in the absence of physical contact. Research in social psychology shows that exposure to out-groups makes dealing with them easier and reduces prejudice. It is therefore the job of regulatory bodies to facilitate this access if reduction of discrimination is to be achieved. These bodies include the education system, political powers, and the media.

Limitations

The primary, and most important limitation of this study is its lack of context. Language does not exist within isolation and involves the engagement and interaction with socio-cultural spaces (Lindemann 2003). While the integration of methods of social psychology and anthropology seeks to bridge this gap, the findings are specific to the given sample and context and cannot be generalized. A listener’s response
to an audio clip will differ greatly from their response to persons speaking to them in real time, with or without visual cues. Impressions and perceptions are dynamic in nature, and can change with the progression of a conversation, and therefore a one-sided speech reaction will not adequately encompass an individual’s complete perceptions and though processes.

Additionally, the experiment relies on self-reported opinions, rather than context where real-time reaction behaviours can be observed. The Hawthorne Effect (Landsberger 1932) as well as the Observer’s Paradox (Labov 1962) will operate, where individuals filter their responses or do not express an ‘authentic’ reaction if they are aware that they are being watched and studied. This arises from a fear of negative responses to the expression of unconventional or potentially unfavourable and discriminatory ideas.

Another area where this study is lacking is in the choice of accents used. Two from each general region – Western Anglophone and India – were selected, except for South East Asia, from which only one was selected. The rationale for this selection was to contrast factors such as geographical and cultural proximity against those of power and global prestige. However, there are many other accents that could have been represented to gain a deeper understanding of the possible different responses, such as Eastern European, Middle-Eastern or Chinese. If this study had included a greater number of accents, differences between treatment of unfamiliar accents could have also been studied. Within the accents selected, there was no standardization of degree of accented-ness – the researcher sought to informally address this by using speakers from the same socio-economic class and education level. In doing so, this study excluded variables of class (and in India, caste) and fluency in English. A difference in the latter variable would perhaps have led to any of the accents being rated more negatively, as ‘broken’ language is perceived as low-status.

The sample chosen was extremely narrow, in that it was too small (n=10) to draw statistical conclusions, and only included college students from a particular socio-economic background and education level. This in particular leads to certain status and solidarity implications, given the role of English in the Indian context, as previously elucidated. For a non-English speaker, even ‘broken’ English is likely to be evaluated positively owing to its economic consequences, whereas for a fluent speaker, we know that ‘broken’ language is a non-standard and stigmatized variant. However, studying this hierarchy would require much deeper and detailed research, which is both ethnographic and experimental in nature.

Recommendations for Further Research

This study has served as an exploration into factors that impact accent and language perceptions for upper-middle class Indian youth. The findings do not lend themselves to any conclusions or answers, but the use of the selected methodology helps to identify general factors and areas that are relevant to an impactful degree. As pointed out in the limitations, language exists within specific contexts, and therefore even within the same sample demographic, there is immense scope for this study to focus on specific contexts. The rudimentary findings presented in this paper have potential implications in a variety of domains, including linguistic representation in entertainment media, the role of education systems and standardized curriculums, further study of discrimination for specific accents and populations, and the potential for construction of cognitive models to predict language attitudes.

References

Shifting the Semangat: Parallelism in the Central Indonesian Mantra

Michael Hadzantonis
Independent Scholar

Abstract

The Javanese mantra, is a communicative act, and a spiritual dialogue. During the mantra ritual, the shaman Orang Pinter and supplicant receiving the intervention select become equal agents, as they intervene for change in the cultural and spiritual disposition of the supplicant. But in this paper.

The presentation discusses ethnographic work over 10 years during which over 1500 mantras were documented throughout central to east Java, Indonesia. To effect the documentation process, I engaged with a range of communities and individuals throughout Java, that is, Yogyakarta, Solo, Surabaya, Alas Purwo, Salatiga, Bali, and other localities. Spiritual interventions were witnessed, and we suggest religious affiliation tells only part of the story. Drawing on frameworks of symbolic interactionism, and phenomenological nominalism, the synopsis discusses how a poetic discourse analysis of mantras can describe a system employed by these shamans and the supplicants to discursively facilitate the spiritual process, by altering the dissociative state of the supplicant.

The talk concludes by presenting a model for the mantra in Java, and possibly in other global regions. Within this model, several overlapping processes mediate the drawing on cultural symbolisms, and overlap in strategic designs, to effect change in the supplicant. The paper draws on work by Rebecca Seligman, who has conducted similar ethnographic and theoretical work in the South American context.

Keywords: Asia, Linguistic Cultural Anthropology, East, West, Symbolism

Discussion

Most mantra parallelisms contain formula that are quite standard to the genre, yet are complex and specifically designed to obtain the required perlocutionary effects desired by both OP and supplicant, that is, to shift the semangat. A great majority of the mantras I encountered when speaking to OPs and when attending or participating in rituals were structured on a prescribed skeletal formula comprising the following:

a) an opening statement (e.g., the phrase *Niyat ingsun amatek* (‘I intend to permanently’) referencing the speaker and the intention.

b) accompanying content structured by a complex poetic design, patently signifying the initial statement (a).
c) shifting (uneven) rhythms and prosodic intervals that alter the otherwise expected arrangement of the poetic forms and the placement of elements in the parallelism, to thus create fluctuating poetic tensions.

d) alternatives to the above.

Central, then, is the dissociation and looping facet of the mantra and ritual. Seligman and Kirmaye (2008) articulate two approaches to understanding dissociation, the ‘psychiatric-adaptive’ and the ‘anthropological-discursive,’ the latter of which frames dissociation as a discursive (textual-symbolic) and social (interactive) phenomenon. Here, participants act to spatialize performance and to categorize experiences in relation to specific cultural contexts, where the stance and role of the agent are continuous and mutually reinforcing, yet not a dualism. Seligman and Kirmaye note that individuals associate satisfying or significant personal experiences with positive dissociation (c.f., Butler and Palesh 2004), but which may also assist in overcoming negative experiences, both of which may thus constitute a defense mechanism. Exemplifying this, one Balinese OP with whom I interacted, other than exhibiting great showmanship as an entertainer (and with a handful of English clichés under his belt), focused heavily on the dissociative experience. His clients would line up awaiting exorcisms, healings, or other changes to their spiritual environments, through touch, energy transfer, or the spoken mantra. After being convinced of their ailment, and the need for salvation through his spiritual work, usually through being brought to tears, the supplicants would repeat appropriate simple mantras until feeling a change in their semangat. Most supplicants attending the intervention were either emotionally disturbed, physically ill, or had convinced themselves of some possession. In my visits to this OP, I documented the treatments of approximately 100 individuals. The OP will pinch (strongly) the supplicant, following which the supplicant will either cry or react in some other way. According to the OP, crying firmly evidences demonic possession. Significantly, the mantra did gradually appease the supplicants, which, by mediating a dissociative experience, altered both the perception by the supplicant and by others toward the supplicant.

**Mantra – Niyate Adus Murih Tegur Ayuning Badan**

The second mantra I present, *Niyate Adus Murih Tegur Ayuning Badan*, was given to me by an OP in Yogyakarta, in 2017, and which then appeared, in another form, amidst old scripts that I found in a back shelf in an old manuscript repository in Yogyakarta. The mantra is also common in rituals, and is applied to clear the body of negative spiritual presences, thus contributing to the exorcism process. The mantra is a 7-line piece, and as with the first mantra, is also structured with the following elements: poetic anticipation/prolongation and acceleration, ellipsis, inculcation, and parallelism.

[1] Niyat ingsun adus *(I have an intention to shower)*
[2] ngedusi sadulurku papat *(cleansing my 4th element)*
[3] kalima badan *(5th is the physical body)*
[4] kanem oyawa *(6th is the soul)*
[5] kapitu bumi *(7th is the earth)*
[6] sali jaba mulya rejo teguh ayu dadi banyu *(enhancing the dignity/prosperity/wellbeing to embrace beauty characteristics like water)*
[7] muliha rriaring aku *(return to me)*
As with mantra 1, this mantra also contains an odd number of lines, thus adding to the complexity of its poetics. As with Mantra 1, the potency of this mantra appears to be in the strategic arrangement of parallelisms, through processes such as poetic anticipation and release.

Phonetic Parallelism

Phonetic parallelism, as a formula, is scattered and highly multilayered throughout this mantra, producing a complex pattern. As in Mantra 1, and a large majority of the mantras documented, the first pattern begins with the first part of a phonetic couplet, and is interrupted by another phonetic couplet, thus prolonging the arrival of the second part of the phonetic couplet in a process of poetic delay. In Mantra 1, this occurs over four lines. In Mantra 2, however, this occurs over only two lines, where line 1 contains (a)[at], (b)[un], (f)[adus], and then line 2 contains (f)[edusi], (b)[u], (b)[u], (a)[at], as below (see figure 3 for key). Owing to the fact that the ‘n’ is easily absorbed by the ‘u,’ I equate ‘ingsun’ with both ‘sadu’ and ‘lurku,’ in terms of their coda syllables.

[1] Niyat ingsun adus
   (a)          (b)  (f)

[2] ngedusi sadulurku papat
   (f)          (b)  (b)  (a)

Through a separation of (a) ‘niyat’ in line 1 and (a) ‘papat’ in line 2, by (b) (ingsun) and (f) (adus) in line 1 and (b) (sadu) and (b) (lurku) in line 2, which are mutually adjacent, yet over two lines, and which thus develop expectations of this immediate adjacency, the phonetic reference to, and expectation of a couplet to, the first precedent [a], is prolonged and dragged. This effect creates the same void as in Mantra 1, but now over two lines rather than over four, to again strengthen the semantic potential of the phonetic couple (a). This dragging effect continues throughout the mantra, as it does in Mantra 1, and in most mantras documented. This effect is also produced with (e), which represents phonetic cluster, as follows:

[1] Niyat ingsun adus
   (e1)          (e2)

[2] ngedusi sadulurku papat
   (e1)          (e2)

[6] sali jaba mulya rejo teguh ayu dari banyu
   (e1)          (e2)

[7] muliha rriaring aki
   (b)          (b)  (b)

and with [b] as follows

[1] Niyat ingsun adus
   (f)

[2] ngedusi sadulurku papat
   (f)          (b)  (b)

[6] sali jaba mulya rejo teguh ayu dari banyu
   (b)          (b)  (b)

[7] muliha rriaring aki
   (b)          (b)

Here, again, the phonetic couplets begin with the precedent, consecutively in lines 1 and 2, to intensify the precedent, which is absent in lines 3, 4, 5, to create a void and thus the realization of this absence. The couple to the precedent then reemerges in lines 6 and 7 to effect the simultaneous signification of [b]
components. As in Mantra 1, this pattern produces a drag effect, which is intensified by the emergence of other rhythms, which further intensifies the effect of the couplet, as in the following excerpt 6 with (c):

Excerpt 6

[3] kalima badan

[4] kanem oyawa

[5] kapitu bumi

These parallelisms are then satisfied in lines 6 and 7, at times repeatedly within one line (line 6), to thus invoke the delayed anticipation outcome.

[6] sali jaba mulya rejo teguh ayu dadi banyu

[7] muliha rriaring aku

This formula is repeated in various permutations throughout the mantra, such as in lines 6 and 7, as in the excerpt 8 below, where the formula is repeated at the end of line 6, in intensified fashion, and then again presented in line 7, to produce an accumulated complement to the precedent at the start of the mantra.

Excerpt 7

[6] sali jaba mulya rejo teguh ayu dadi banyu

[7] muliha rriaring aku

Here, the formula reiterates and extends on the pattern in lines 1 and 2. This is also the case with [g], which complements the [g] precedent at the start of the mantra. The presence of these formulae at the start, their absence in the middle, and the subsequent yet asymmetric intensification of these formulae at the end serve to create a strong awareness of the precedent of these formula at the start, that is, at the subject line.

To further intensify this anticipation, other ‘interrupting’ couplets are introduced throughout, as in lines 3 and 4, to delay the parallelism, as in excerpt 8 below:

Excerpt 8

[3] kalima badan

[4] kanem oyawa

Prosodic Parallelism

Mantra 2 is similar to Mantra 1, in that, throughout the mantra, various combinations appear at the suprasegmental level, so as to structure and convey the intentions of the mantra. To unpack notions of prosody in the Javanese mantra, I discuss word count, as the word count is quite significant in Javanese
poetics and language, when considering prosody. The word count per line is as follows: 3, 3, 2, 2, 2, 8, 3. The first two lines construct an expectation of a three-word system. The word count in the third line then drops to a two-word system, breaking the three word per line congruence, thus interrupting the expected prosodic flow, and thus reflexively intensifying the anticipated three word per line rhythm. Line 6, however, houses eight words, immediately prior to line 7, which returns to three words. The void emerging throughout the mantra consequent to the originally inculcated three-word line, that is, after line 2, and before line 7, constructs the presence-absence-absence-presence macro-parallelism. The extended lexical count in line 8 suggests an over-intensification, a strategy which strengthens the expectation of the returning three-word line, that is, a circular effect. The presence of this formula well emphasizes the presence of the first line, the subject of the mantra. The reduction in word count, and hence the dropping prosody, again reminds of the OP’s comment above, that lowering the number of words per line is “kanggo nanamke kesaduran pemohon pas ora ono utawa pas ilang iramane,” thus increasing in the target an awareness of the significance of both local and macro syncopation. This strategy also complies with the comment by several other OPs that anane dadi saiki tanpa ana anane dadi saiki tanpa ana or anane dadi saiki ora ana, (presence [of parallelism] becomes present in absence). This decreasing syncopation strengthens the awareness in both supplicant and audiences of the significance of syncopation in the first (and second) line, a signification reiterated as the same word count re appears in the last line.

The presence-absence-absence-presence pattern is again intensified by the syllable pattern throughout the mantra. Here, the coda pattern develops as 2, 2, 2, 3, 2, 2, 2, that is, presence of two syllables, absence of two syllables, presence of two syllables, as in excerpt 9 below:

Excerpt 9
1. …a-dus (2)
2. …pa-pat (2)
3. …Ba-dan (2)
4. …o-ya-wa (3)
5. …bu-mi (2)
6. …ba-nyu (2)
7. …a-ku (2)

As in Mantra 1, the suggestion by the OP again has relevance, in that the number of syllables in the final word is significant, as it impresses upon the target-suppliant the completion of a prosodic parallelism, and hence, a sense of finality.

Semantic Parallelism

Semantic structure and parallelism in Mantra 2 is, as in Mantra 1, predicated on the semantic precedent in the first line, ‘Niyat ingsun adus’ (I want to shower/cleanse). The whole body of the mantra then becomes a semantic predicate to this first-line initial agent. Unlike Mantra 1, Mantra 2 does not blatantly present a second semantic agent at the centre of the mantra, and hence avoids the additional level of semantic agent-predicate contained in Mantra 1. All declaratives, nominal groupings, ergatives, and so forth, semantically complement the notion of the ‘I’ as needing to be cleansed, in semantic (and phonetic and suprasegmental) parallelism. Here, the speaker cultivates a perlocutionary strengthening of the semangat, and in the process, seeks to rid the semangat of all ‘dirt,’ that is, to remove all ill intention toward
and within self and society. For example, lines 3, 4, and 5, deictically index the intention of cleaning the badan (physical body), the oyawa (soul), and the bumi (earth). However, these lines omit the subject of the intention, which is the ngedusi (showering), to firmly couple with line 2, which does contain ngedusi, and which then couples with the first line, semantically (cleanse) and phonetically.

In lines 3, 4, and 5, the exclusion of the agentified ngedusi (cleansing) semantically further shifts agency toward the first-person speaker as supplicant and as mediator of the change in the body, soul, and the earth. Line 6 then reveals a semantic strategy that couples with the buildup throughout lines 3, 4, and 5, and hence one which responds to the allusion in these lines, the motive for this ngedusi, which is sali jaba mulya (to enhance the righteousness of goodness of the person through cleansing). As such, the latter part of the mantra responds to the earlier part in semantic parallelism, where both the early and latter parts symbiotically index each other, that is, a simultaneous signification of all parts of the parallelism, to comply with the semantic intention of the mantra formulae.

As with Mantra 1, this mantra evolves through a framework of complex semantic coupling; each line or segment (phonetically, prosodically, semantically) signifies other adjacent or nonadjacent precedents. This process is layered, where couplets emerge and semantically couple with or signify previous or overarching couplets. The couplets then combine as a quartet to signify compliance with larger structures, and then finally with line 1 as the mantra’s leading agent. This is again a multilayered process of increasing and continuous reversion toward the agent. For example, lines 3, 4 and 5 form a semantic parallelism across three lines, where each line deictically references the unmentioned process of cleansing, and mirrors each other, to construct a strong extended semantic parallelism. Here, all nodes appear in a process of simultaneous signification. The absence of the agent ngedusi (cleansing) is semantically not only identically absent in each line, but so is the predicate in ergative form also identical in each line. This intensified semantic parallelism then strengthens the signification of line 2, the precedent of the sequence describing the cleansing, the papat (siblinghood) and the actual agent, ngedusi. In turn, this four-line system summons attention to the intention of line 1, the subject of the mantra as a whole. On a broader scale, lines [3, 4, 5] act in concert to semantically address line 2 and hence 6, which then all collate to become a 5-line system [2, 3, 4, 5, 6] that operates as a prolonging device to delay the emergence of line 7, the couplet-successor to the first line, thus intensifying the line 1-line 7 parallelism. I present then that all lines within this mantra operate in concert to create an overall system of parallelism that ultimately points to line 1 as the subject.
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General Sociolinguistics
Metaphors of Turtle Dove Physical Characteristics in a Javanese Community: A Preliminary Study

I Dewa Putu Wijana

Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia

Abstract

The Turtle dove (Javanese: perkutut) is one of most popular pets of the Javanese people. Here, they aim to have high quality turtle doves, either in the way that it chirps or in the luck that it may bring. The selection process is quite complex and extensive, one method of which is to carefully observe the physical characteristics of the bird. Accordingly, the community of turtle dove fans and experts has become enriched with a variety of turtle dove registers (words, phrases, idioms, etc.), many of which are metaphorical.

This paper intends to study the metaphorical expressions used by the Javanese to compare the body characteristics of turtle doves with various natural and mythical realities surrounding the doves. The study will focus on how Javanese people associate the shapes of turtle dove body parts (the target domain) and natural objects used as a comparison (the source domain) for yielding metaphorical names of the turtle dove, either for obtaining a high quality sound or magical powers that the animal can bring to its owner.

Keywords: Turtle dove, metaphor, source domain, target domain, Java

Introduction

Most traditional Javanese people in the past believed in four precious entities during life: Wisma (house), Turangga (horse), Curiga (weapon) and Kukila (bird). In the current era, two of these four concepts, Turangga and Kukila, have been associatively changed to ‘vehicle’ and ‘radio or television.’ However, many modern Javanese people still raise turtle doves. For turtle dove lovers, this bird does not only entertain the owner with beautiful songs, but believe that its magical power can bring luck, wealth, and peace to its owners. Therefore, it is not surprising that turtle dove associations proliferate in many places in Java, and periodically hold turtle dove competitions, offering trophies and large sums of money as prizes. Turtle dove raising practices have a large associated vocabulary (words, idioms, expressions) which are connected to pet selection, in order to find high quality turtle doves.

This paper aims at describing the metaphorical expressions usually employed by the Javanese turtle dove communities for determining or predicting the quality of the turtle dove’s singing and the magical powers the bird may bring to its owners. These traditional metaphorical language elements have been known by turtle dove lovers for a long time, but have not yet inspired scholarly work. The study of these metaphors is highly significant in the Anthropological study of Java, and reveals important aspects of Javanese thought patterns within Javanese people’s heritage.
Despite that the Javanese language contains many sytilistic categories, such as *paribasan* (proverbs), *pepindhan* (metaphors), *sanepa* (oracle discourse), and *wangsalan* (rhyming metaphors), little if any serious scholarshop has emerged on these language elements. The sparse studies emerging on the subject until the present date include those on Javanese idioms (Sujono 2003), *pepindhan* (Setyari 2007) which is rather a study on Javanese metaphors comparing the beauty of Javanese woman body part with source domains such as animals, plants, fruits, and weight scaling instrument, *wangsalan* (Wijana 2015) and proverbs (Hendrokumoro 2017). Much more work has been conducted on Indonesian contexts and metaphors. Wahab (1990: 5), for example, studied various types of metaphorical expressions and perception spaces, as well as their role in tracing human ecology. He found that the terms ‘human’ and ‘being’ are respectively the most and least common terms among perception spaces used to construct metaphorical expressions. Wijana discusses metaphors in relation to colors (2015: 3-13), plant names (2016: 56-67), animal names (2018), and slang expressions (2016: 1-8).

However, this paper will focus on the use of metaphorical expressions relevant to the Javanese turtle dove with regards to the quality of its singning and how its magical powers may bring luck, wealth or misfortune to pet owners.

**Theoretical Framework**

Social and linguistic structures and practice can and frequently do influence one another (Wardaugh 1986: 10-11). Kovecse (2006: 374) notes that metaphorical expression consist of three basic elements; target domain of thet speaker, source domain that the speaker uses to compare objects of talk), and grounding, that is, a similarity between the source target domains. This conceptual framework of this paper includes that human speakers are influenced by their cultural surrounding when searching for source domains during their use of metaphorical expressions.

**Method**

All data in this paper is drawn from *Katuranggan Perkutut*, that is, turtle dove physical characteristics, from the source aryabf. blogspot.com. Additional data is taken from interviews with turtle dove fans (*Kungmania*), sellers and farmers. The data is first classified into two categories, physical characteristics related to sound quality and physical characteristics related to magical power. Metaphorical expressions found in each category are classified based on physical characteristics or turtle dove body parts (the target domain) and compared to natural realities (the source domain), where the two are regarded as having similarities. Orthographical transcription is used for presenting the metaphorical data, with the exception of the maintence of o for representing [ɔ] in order to avoid confusion with several dialectal elements.

**Research findings**

*Metaphors in Relation to Sound Quality*

Javanese people believe in the close relationship between the physical shape of turtle doves and the nicety of sound the bird will have. The physical characteristics include the shape of beak, head, body and tail. However, only three of these, that is, the beak, head and body shapes are often compared with natural phenomena so as to construct metaphorical expressions. As traditional Java was an agricultural society, its language was replete with terms referring to farming activities, land preparation, plant, crops and so forth.
A careful investigation of data collected evidences that source domains of the metaphorical expressions for turtle dove physical characteristics emanate from crops and house utensils. There are several types of source domain connected to beak shapes. Metaphors (1) to (5) refer to beak shapes of the turtle dove, whereas all metaphorical source domains refer to plants.

1. Kepel + N > Ngcepel ‘beak shape like burahol fruit’
2. Gabah + N > Nggaabah ‘beak shape like unhulled rice’
3. Papah Gedang > Mapah Gedang ‘beak shape like stem of banana leave’
4. Lombok Gedec > Ngelombok Gedec ‘beak shape like big chilly’
5. Lombok Rawit > Nglobok Rawit ‘beakshape like small chilly’

Turtle dove body shape metaphors also mostly signify plants, as in (6), (7) and (8), whereas (9) signifies a house utensil.

6. Nongko Saglundung ‘body shape like a roll of jack fruit’
7. Bluluk + N > Mbluluk ‘body shape like a small coconut fruit’
8. Jagung Klobot + N > Njagung Nklobot ‘body shape like husked corn’
9. Wungkal Gerang + N > Mungkal Gerang ‘body shape like a worn-down whetstone’

It is not different from the beak and body, source domains of metaphorical expressions regarding the pet head are also taken from agricultural properties. See (11) to (15):

10. Jambe nom + N > Njambe nom ‘head shape like a young areca nut’
11. Beton nongko + N > Mbeton nongko ‘head shape like a jack fruit seed’
12. Gobok + N > Nggobok ‘head shape like a coin’
13. Bungkul Bawang + N > Mbungkul Bawang ‘head shape like an onion tuber’
14. Takir kwalik + N > Nakir Kwalik ‘head shape like an up side down banana leaf container’

**Metaphors in Relation to Magical Power**

For many Javanese turtle dove owners and growers, the bird is believed to posses magical powers that bring luck, wealth and peace to the owners. For these purposes, the Javanese language provides many metaphorical expressions which uniquely compare turtle dove physical characteristics to extralingual facets that resemble these characteristics. The metaphorical calls are classified into two categories; metaphorical items that relate to causing goodness and metaphorical items that relate to causing badness. Significant becomes the substantial difference between the source domains of metaphorical expressions related to sound quality and those related to magical power. Metaphors related to sound quality mostly compare the physical characteristics with plants and house utensils, but those related to magical power mostly compare the characteristics to humans and Hindu Gods, important people, luxurious buildings, puppet characters, and so forth. The physical characteristics which are usually compared are feathers, beaks, crests and claw color, as well as living and singing habits, rather than beak shapes, heads, bodies, and tails.

**Metaphorical Items for the Agent of Goodness**

There are several items which are metaphorical regarding the character of turtle doves believed to bring goodness, such as luck, health, charisma, and so forth. Some of these items together with physical characteristics and life habits are as follows:
(15) Sri Mangepel: ‘United beauty.’ All claws are white. This type of bird is good to raise as it can bring luck.
(16) Wisnu Wicitra: ‘Skillful Wisnu.’ Wisnu is one of the three powerful gods in Hindu religion whose task is to look after the life. This god is symbolized by black. As such, this type of bird is characterized by its black colored beak and legs. This bird is believed to ensure the owner’s health.
(17) Wisnumangenu: ‘Walking wisnu.’ This bird is covered in black skin, thus assigning the owners extremely good luck.

Metaphorical Calls for the Agent of Badness

Several types of turtle dove are believed by the Javanese people to bring bad luck for owners. These must be avoided. There are at least eight metaphorical citems for these avoidable bird types:

(18) Durga Ngwuuh: ‘The Littering Durga.’ Durga is the god of death in Hindu religious myth. The bird likes to sing at midnight. Owners will experience much disturbance, such as sickness, family trouble and lack of wealth.
(19) Durga Ngerik: ‘The singing Durga.’ The bird sings continuously night and day. This bird will remove the owner’s luck, and their family will quarrel continuously.
(20) Wisnu Tinundung: ‘The driven out Wisnu.’ The bird has uneven blackish feathers. The owners will be reach their desires and goals with great difficulty.

Conclusion

Many Javanese traditional communities have significant interest in raising turtle doves. These farmers have two motives: To obtain fortune, and to negotiate magical power. To achieve these goals, Javanese turtle dove admirers and experts generally recognize linguistic expressions that are mostly metaphorical signifiers of characters of the birds, and that enable the farmers to select specific types of turtle dove. There are significant differences in metaphorical expressions concerning the target and source domains between those birds that have beautiful sound quality and those that bring magical power. The target and source domains for turtle dove quality of sound signify a corelative relation between beaks, heads, bodies and tail shapes and agricultural crops and household utensils. For seeking and avoiding magical power, the Javanese community compares similarities of the bird’s physical characteristics (feather color, legs, singing and life habits, eye shapes, etc.) with Hindu Gods, community leaders, knights, buildings, traditional weapons, and so forth.

References


Conceptualising Doctoral Supervision in Malaysia as a Small Culture

Rafidah Sahar
Kulliyyah of Languages and Management, IIUM, Malaysia

Nur Nabilah Abdullah
Kulliyyah of Languages and Management, IIUM, Malaysia

Abstract

Research on doctoral supervision in the field of Intercultural Communication has traditionally been applied to cross-cultural comparison, particularly across national systems and cultural boundaries. However, recent years have witnessed that such comparison is being challenged and re-analysed in light of potential risk of over generalisation and stereotyping in its observation. In this research, we consider the relevance of small cultures (Holliday 1994, 1999) as an alternative approach to conceptualise doctoral supervisory practice as a dynamic on-going group process through which its members make sense of and operate purposefully within particular contexts and shared behaviours. Narrative-based qualitative research was designed to generate and analyse the data. The participants were a purposive sample of six recently graduated PhD students at a Malaysian public university. One-on-one narrative interviews were conducted with the students to gather their supervisory narratives. Analyses of the students’ transcripts were completed using a holistic-content approach (Lieblich et al. 2008). Findings reveal a distinct set of behaviours and understandings that constitute the cultures of supervisory practice in the Malaysian university context. Through the notion of small cultures, this research proposes that cultures of PhD supervision can be best understood through an analysis of shared norms, behaviours and values between students and supervisors during supervisory practice. This research hopes that the move from a focus on large culture (i.e. Malaysianess per se) to a focus on the meaning-making process between students and supervisors from different backgrounds can assist education practitioners such as PhD supervisors to avoid stereotyping and overgeneralising.

Keywords: PhD supervision, small cultures, meaning-making process, intercultural communication

Introduction

Over the last 35 years, studies on the subject of doctoral supervision have been undertaken by various scholars, mainly in countries such as England, Australia, Canada and the US. Many of those studies have cited the link between good supervisory practice, low attrition rate and timely completion of a PhD program (Golde 2000; Marsh et al. 2002; McAlpine and Norton 2006). Recognising the importance of doctoral supervision for doctoral students’ success, many of the studies on doctoral supervision have focused on mechanisms for supervisor training and development, such as supervisory styles (Acker et al.
1994; Hockey 1996; Deuchar 2008), the theoretical models of the different aspects of the supervisory process (Wisker et al. 2003; Mackinnon 2004; Grant 2005; Gatfield 2005), the guidance for thesis writing or data analysis (Manathunga 2005), developing students’ research skills, attitudes and thesis (Ives and Rowley 2005; Heath 2002; Kiley 2009), or supervision as apprenticeship for teaching and research (Pearson and Brew 2002).

Some studies also established that doctoral supervision is a complex phenomenon. Grant and Manathunga (2011: 351) viewed supervision as “a place of puzzling and confronting complexity.” Some scholars have also noted that the complexities of supervision are influenced by many aspects and are not necessarily connected to national differences. For example, supervision is a space where doctoral students face the challenges of becoming accustomed to the departmental, disciplinary and institutional cultures (Acker 2011), where there is high possibility of mismatched expectations in supervision since the students’ experiences are “individual, complex, personal and contextually mediated (McCormack 2004: 321).

In this paper, we consider the relevance of utilising the notion of Small Cultures (Holliday 1994, 1999) as an alternative approach to understanding doctoral supervision phenomena in a Malaysian higher institution context.

Theoretical Background

Holliday (1999) proposed the notion of Small Cultures as an alternative means so as to understand people’s behaviours, regardless of their ethnicity, nationality or international differences. In general, Holliday (1999) distinguishes culture as of two types: ‘Large’ culture refers to cultures that are characterised by geographical places such as countries and regions (e.g. British, Chinese); ‘small’ culture refers to social groupings such as families and classrooms. The term small cultures is also used to refer to culture as “a dynamic, ongoing process to enable group members to make sense of and operate meaningfully within those circumstances” (Holliday 2011: 205). In essence, Small Culture enables an understanding of cohesive behaviours of social groupings by investigating how culture operates at its basic level.

According to Holliday (1999), the formation of Small Cultures involves four elements: The need for group cohesion or social continuity; cultural residues and influences, such as family or education, from which people draw but in which they do not necessarily confine their thoughts or behaviours; social construction processes such as routinisation, naturalisation or institutionalisation as part of the building of cohesive behavioural norms; products of small cultures such as cultural practices, values and statements of culture.

Several studies have utilised the small cultures model to understand the experiences of supervision between supervisors and students from different background; Davcheva et al. (2011) studied the experiences of four supervisors in two UK universities and found that supervision could be seen as an emergent, dynamic, fluid space of meaning making and negotiation between doctoral students and their supervisors (128). Magyar and Robinson-Pant (2013: 667) in their study of international doctoral students’ experiences in UK universities regarded supervision as a potential space for intercultural learning. Sahar (2018) found evidence of elements of small cultures within supervision, where the supervisors and students engaged in shared norms and behaviours, with recognisable conventions in order to complete the supervisory tasks successfully and meaningfully.
In our study, we extend the existing studies by conceptualising doctoral supervision as a social space whereby student and supervisor participate in a set of behaviours, share similar values and operate within recognisable rules in order to achieve agreed goals.

Methodology and Data

Our research aim is to understand the small cultures of doctoral supervision by exploring PhD students’ experiences when interacting with their supervisors and participating in the completion of supervisory tasks. To achieve this aim, we conducted narrative-based qualitative research to generate and analyse data. In the study, we conducted one-on-one interviews with six local and international PhD graduates from one public university in Malaysia. The interviews were transcribed and analysed using a Holistic-Content approach (Lieblich et al. 2008). The emerging key themes were then interpreted and discussed in light of the theoretical framework and research objective.

Findings

The results of the study reveal key characteristics of small culture formation within supervision.

1. **Group cohesion or social continuity**: The needs for group cohesion vary from guidance to validation:
   a. Striving for guidance
   b. Pursuing mentorship
   c. Seeking knowledge
   d. achieving graduation on time
   e. requesting validation of knowledge and skills

2. **Cultural residues and influences**: The students’ meaning making process during their supervision is shaped by micro and macro cultural contexts:
   Micro
   a. Personal: values and beliefs
   b. Family: emotional and financial
   c. Prior education: academic and research skills
   d. Professional/ career background
   e. Peers/ colleagues
   Macro
   f. Postgraduate research environment: Administrative and support
   g. The university policy and regulations
   h. Ministry of Higher Education policy
   i. Internationalisation of Higher Education

3. **Social construction** process involves routinisation and institutionalisation that contributes to cohesive behavioural norms:
   a. Completing Postgraduate coursework
   b. Supervisory meeting
   c. Receiving Feedback
   d. Learning Process

55
e. Managing the writing process

4. Cultural products can be categorised into visible and invisible goals and statements of cultures:
   a. Visible goals: thesis submission, graduation on time, awards, publication, conferences
   b. Invisible goals: discipline, satisfaction, friendships, becoming scholarly, responsibility, promotion
   c. Statement of cultures: multifaceted roles of supervisors, supervision continuum, mismatched supervisory expectations

Concluding Remarks

In this paper, we presented the relevance and significance of the notion of Small Cultures in understanding the complexity of supervision practices between students and supervisors from diverse backgrounds. Within this notion, supervision is seen as a dynamic space where supervisor and student meet, interact and participate within a set of established routines and rules. The students’ meaning-making process is enhanced by drawing on their micro and macro cultural contexts in order to complete the supervisory tasks and achieve shared goals.

References


Language Contact and Change
Language Vitality, Attitude and Endangerment: Understandings from Field Work among Lodha Speakers

Shuvam Dutta*
*Jadavpur University, India

Abstract

Lodhas are marginalized scheduled tribe groups in West Bengal, India. They were labeled as criminal tribes until the revocation of the Criminal Tribes’ Act of 1952. Lodha is an Indo-Aryan language, spoken by Lodhas in some villages in West Bengal, India.

This paper has four objectives. First, this paper discusses the effect of dominant languages. Here we attempt to study the impact of Bangla on the Lodha language. This paper discusses the language attitude of Lodha community. To develop their economy, these communities attempt to interact with the non-tribal Indo-Aryan populations and thus attempt to forget their own language. The paper then discusses in detail the Lodha language attitude, thus landscaping the present condition of Lodha. We then discuss the socio-economic condition of Lodha, and how this condition creates a barrier for these people. Finally, this paper aims to assess the nature and degree of language endangerment of Lodha based on UNESCO’s Language Vitality and Endangerment framework.

Keywords: Lodha, endangerment, socio-economic, attitude.

Introduction

Lodha is a language spoken in the Jhargram and Medinipur districts of West Bengal. The language is also spoken in the Mayurbhanj and Baleswar districts of Orissa. Some accounts (e.g. Gordon 2005) suggest that the Lodha (or Lodhi) language is related to Sabar[a], an Austroasiatic language. However, Das Gupta (1978) suggests that the Lodha language appears to be an Indo-Aryan variety, and not an undocumented member of the Munda language family (c.f. Anderson 2008). The language mainly resides in the Jhargram district in a multi-ethnic environment with Santals, Kheria, Oraon, Bhumij, Mahalis, Mahtas and Sdgops.

The paper describes the present situation of the people of the Lodha speech community and their struggle for existence. The paper also describes the mixed language attitudes of Lodha speakers towards their native language. This paper presents a descriptive and analytical framework, where interviews were used to collect primary data, as were preliminary surveys, observations and inquiries. The data collection occurred in August of 2018.
The Lodha Tribes

The Lodhas are a set of marginalized scheduled tribal groups in West Bengal. They were labeled as criminal tribes until the revocation of the Criminal Tribes’ Act of 1952. In the Census of 1951, Lodhas were considered as a caste along with Savaras. The Census of 1961 tentatively classified them under the Austric family of language. However, in the Census of 1971, the Lodhas were merged with Savara and Kheria tribal communities so as to dilute their identity (Ghatak 2013). As such, the total population of Lodha, Kheria and Savar, according to the Census 2011, was 84,966.

Lodha speakers are also fluent in Mahta, Adibasi, Bangla and Hindi, and live near the fringes of forests. As such, they are a group of food gatherers and mainly subsist on the collection of wild roots, tubers and edible leaves from the jungle. They hunt birds, lizards and alligators for food. Traditionally, they are forest dwellers, but have now begun to cultivate crops, either as owners of land or as agriculture labourers.

Socio-economic Status and its Projection on Life and Language

British colonial rule affected the freedom of living of many communities in India through the introduction of ‘permanent settlement’ and other land related measures, in order to increase social revenue. The forest or village in which Lodhas lived had been encroached into by a agricultural communities such as the Santals, the Mahtas and the Sadgops. Lodhas had weaker agricultural operations than these other groups, and rather, had preference in collecting jungle vegetation and food for subsistence, through picking, hunting and trapping of animals. The denigration of the situation of the Lodhas was such that the government had shown preference toward cultivated classes, who funded the Government. As such, Lodha communities were prohibited from free access into the forest, and thus pushed to develop agriculture. The communities faced government and other oppression, labeling the community as dacoit, thieves and as criminal activists. In 1900 there were many criminal cases committed by members of these communities, where, eventually, they were categorized and declared to be a criminal tribe in 1916 under the Government notification No 7022-23 of 20th May, 1916.

As such, Lodhas were given status as a criminal tribe until the repeal of the Criminal Tribes Act of 1952. From 1956, the Lodhas were recognized as a Scheduled Tribe and later categorized as a Primitive Tribal group in 1982, that is, a special weaker section of the tribal community in need of special care by the Government of India. Despite being formally de-criminalized by a post-independence Indian state, Lodhas are still socially excluded, marginalized and face varying degrees of oppression. Lodha communities symbolize low economic income groups, and depend on collections of minor forest products, fishing and hunting. However, people in these communities have begun to seek employment as wage laborers, medicinal plant gatherers and so forth. For this reason, they are economically below the poverty line. With relation to housing, they reside in huts with little furniture and utensils. As such, village living conditions are low, with malnutrition ranking high among ailments of these communities.

Effects of Dominant Languages

Lodha speakers also largely speak Lodha, Bangla, Odia, Adibasi, Mahta and Hindi. Adjacent communities use Santali, Mahta/Kurmarli Mahali, Bangla (in higher castes). As such, Lodha speakers speak those languages according in various contexts. In one primary school in the village, only Lodha people are able to study. However, in high schools, ethnic mixing is allowed. The Indian government has built schools with hostel facilities, particularly for Lodha children, and for which, the government has employed Santals or
Bangali teachers. The schools in these communities use Bangla (and English) as a medium of study. Lodha children begin to learn Bangla from the age of three, at which time, they begin school. As such, the Lodha lexicon is largely affected by Bangla and other languages.

Lodha is mostly used in the home, where Bangla is used mostly in schools, markets and so forth. Lodha speakers have replaced several terms in the Lodha language, including names of birds, animals, kinship terms and body parts, where the replacing words are borrowed from Bangla or Oriya, both with and without phonological alterations. In our collection and analysis of the Lodha language corpus, we observed that the Lodha language is heavily influenced by Bangla. Lodha do have their own unique lexicon, though as shown below, many words are borrowed from Bangla.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Lodha in IPA</th>
<th>Bangla in IPA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Corn</td>
<td>jōnar</td>
<td>b'utra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange</td>
<td>jāmir</td>
<td>kōmila lebu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papaya</td>
<td>pīpa</td>
<td>pepe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pumpkin</td>
<td>b'ovital</td>
<td>kumro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garlic</td>
<td>rosun</td>
<td>rosun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrot</td>
<td>gajor</td>
<td>gajor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ginger</td>
<td>ada</td>
<td>ada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cauliflower</td>
<td>p'ul kopi</td>
<td>p'ul kopi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Though the speakers were able to recall some body part terms such as rāja (eyeball), jōna (nostril) and mahu (lips), for some terms they borrowed words from Bangla such as kan (ear), atjul (finger) (atjul in Bangla) and cutah (palm) (çetoh in Bangla). Borrowing is also found in animal and bird names. However, some animals and birds were refrred to in Lodha, such as gede (duck), cirna (eagle), kukra (hen), ciru (squirrel), p'îrij (deer), and so forth. Here, many other animals were addressed in Bangla. These included cil (kite), lîja (parrot), idur (mouse), and cita (panther).

Language Attitudes

Language attitudes are of key importance in assessing the revitalization of endangered languages (Sallabank 2013). Positive attitudes of the speaker towards their mother tongue signal language retention tendencies and negative attitudes signal language shift tendencies. In the case of Lodha, it has been seen that there is positive change in the attitude of the speakers towards their language, despite that their economic and social situations do not encourage these communities to speak Lodha. Lodha is neither taught in schools nor does anyone outside their community use the language. Members of the communities are forced to learn and speak Bangla. Although the literate younger members feel that they should not abandon their language, they believe that their forefathers ignored their language. Consequently, they do not grasp that the loss of their language will lead to loss of identity.

There are mainly three reasons for attitude shifting:

1. Lodha speakers are less in number; they desire to become the larger group which is the dominant community of the area.
2. The Lodha community faces oppression of language and identity from neighboring communities.
3. Bangla is a ‘Prestigious’ language and one of the scheduled languages of the India. They think if they shift into Bangla language they can remove their ‘criminal’ identity.
Prestige is one of the most important issues in the Lodha language. Lodhas speak Mahali when communicating with Mahali speakers, and Bangla when communicating with Bangla speakers, yet only use Lodha within their own community. A large number of Lodha speakers are not conscious of their identity. They do not ignore that they are Lodha, but believe that losing the language has led them to their present economical and social identities.

Understanding Language Vitality through the UNESCO Scale

Language endangerment has been a concern of linguists from the mid to late twentieth century. A language becomes endangered when its use discontinues. Endangerment and vitality are elements of gradation, and are inversely proportional to each other. A higher rate of vitality indicates a lower rate of endangerment and a lower rate of vitality points to a higher rate of endangerment. There are several methods with which to measure language vitality. However, to assess the nature and degree of the language endangerment of Lodha, we draw on UNESCO's language vitality and endangerment framework.

No single factor can be used to assess a language’s vitality or its need for documentation. There are nine factors in UNESCO’s Vitality scale; six factors to evaluate vitality and state of endangerment, two factors to assess language attitudes, and several factors to measure the urgency for documentation. These nine factors assist to identify the overall socio-linguistic situation of Lodha:

**Intergenerational Language Transmission**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree of Endangerment</th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Speaker Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>The language is used by all ages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unsafe</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>The language is used by some children in all domains; it is used by all children in limited domains.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definitely Endangered</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>The language is used mostly by the parental generation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Severely Endangered</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>The language is used mostly by the grandparental generation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critically Endangered</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>The language is used mostly by very few speakers, of the great-grandparental generation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extinct</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>There exist no speakers.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: UNESCO (2013)*

Lodha is mostly spoken by the parental generation. The youngest speakers of Lodha use their language for interaction with parents. As such, Lodha is classified as ‘definitely endangered’ (Grade 3) with regard to factor 1.

**Absolute Number of Speakers through Integration**

A small language group may also merge with a neighboring group, losing its own language and culture. This is also the case for the Lodha language. Lodha is a small community socially and economically more backward than other neighboring communities. As such, Lodha communities have a tendency to merge with other communities in order to effecy social and economic upward mobility.

**Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree of Endangerment</th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Proportion of Speakers within the Total Reference Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>All speak the language.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unsafe</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Nearly all speak the language.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definitely Endangered</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>A majority speak the language.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Severe Endangered</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>A minority speak the language.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critically Endangered</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Very few speak the language.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extinct</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>None speak the language.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** UNESCO (2013)

The number of speakers in relation to the total population of a language community is a significant indicator for measuring language vitality. The Lodha language and culture frequently merges with neighboring Bengali or other communities. As such, Lodhas lose their language, where little of the population currently speaks pure Lodha, but rather, engages in language mixing.

**Trends in Existing Language Domains**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree of Endangerment</th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Domains and Functions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Universal safe</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>The language is used in all domains and for all functions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multilingual parity</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Two or more languages may be used in most social domains and for most function.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dwindling domains</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>The language is in home domains and for many functions, but the dominant language begins to penetrate even home domains.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limited or formal domains</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>The language is used in limited social domains and for several functions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highly limited domains</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>The language is used only in a very restricted domains and for a very few function.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extinct</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>The language is not used in any domain and for any function.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** UNESCO (2003)

Lodha is mainly used in home domain. The older generation or the younger speakers become semi speaker of their own language. Lodha is used at festivals or at ceremonial occasions. The Lodha have adopted the deities of neighboring Bangali Hindu communities, and celebrate Hindu religious festivals e.g. Kali Puja, Durga Puja. To perform these religious rituals, they draw on Lodha mantras.

**Response to New Domains and Media**

Some language communities do succeed in expanding their own language into new domains, but this is not the case with Lodha communities. Lodha is not introduced in schools, and there are no media channels broadcasting in Lodha.

**Materials for Language Education and Literacy**

Education in a language is essential for language vitality. However, in the case of Lodha, there is no established orthography, literacy tradition with grammars, dictionaries, texts and everyday media. Writing in Lodha is not used in administration or education.

**Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes and Policies, Including Official Status and Use**

There are no books written in the Lodha Language. As such, teaching Lodha in schools is difficult. Lodha speakers are also not significantly aware of aspects of their language, and are not active in their appeal to the Indian government to vitalize the language. Following from that many projects on Tribal languages are in effect, the Indian government is taking steps to document the language. This type of
documentation creates awareness of the present conditions of Lodha. However, this is an extremely slow process.

*Community Member's Attitudes toward their Language*

Despite that Lodha commuieis have little awarness of aspect of their language, they do not see the language as significant enough or essential enough for the community so as to promote the language.

*Amount and Quantity of Documentation*

There are no grammars nor dictionaries in Lodha. Similarly, there are no written texts, literature nor audio or video records.

Conclusion

With the death of a language, we witness the death of the community's history, culture, ethno linguistic practices and the overall identity of the community. This is becoming the case with Lodha and its ethnic community. The struggle of this community has always been for existence. Yet, the Lodhas wish to remove their identity, their language, as this identity has created barriers. The Lodha continue to exert little effort into saving both Lodha language and community, but the efforts are waning.

References

Topicality of the ‘Copula’ form Shi in Santa Mongolian

Aoi Geka* *

*Kyoto University, Japan
*Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, Japan

Abstract

Santa (Dunxian) Mongolian contains a form called shi emanating from the copula ‘是 (shì)’ of Chinese. In previous research, this form is known as a borrowed form that can occur with the indigenous copula wa., However, shi has been variously described as a ‘copula’ (刘 1981; Kim 2003; Napoli 2004), ‘copula verb’ (Field 1997), and a ‘postposition to show presentation’ (布和等编1986). As yet, there has not been a unified description of the actual function of shi.

In this presentation, I pay attention to topicality after having analyzed the environment and the meaning of shi. First, regarding the environment, I pay attention to the elements preceding shi. From the analysis of the type of noun phrases that appear before shi and noun phrases that do not appear, I show that more definite noun phrases such as personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns do appear, while less definite noun phrases such as interrogatives do not appear. Secondly, regarding the meaning function, I pay attention to examples frequently using shi. From the analysis of these examples, I show that shi has functions such as presenting a condition. Finally, regarding topicality, I contrast the topicality of Santa Mongolian shi with that of the Chinese 是, the original language of borrowing, and the Japanese wa, which is known as a topic marker. With this in mind, I conclude that the shi from Santa Mongolian should be analyzed as a topic marker and not as a copula.

Keywords: Santa (Dunxian) Mongolian, topic, copula, language contact

Introduction

In this presentation, I aim to clarify the topicality of the ‘copula’ form shi in Santa Mongolian. Santa (Dunxian) Mongolian has a form called shi stemming from the copula 是 (shì) of Chinese. In previous research, this is known as a borrowed form that can occur with the indigenous copula wa., but shi has been variously described as a ‘copula’ (刘 1981; Kim 2003; Napoli 2004), ‘copula verb’ (Field 1997), and ‘postposition to show the presentation’ (布和等编 1986). As yet, no unified description regarding the actual function of shi has been attempted. I pay attention to topicality and add an analysis, after having analyzed environments and the meaning of shi. In light of this, I then attempt to analyze the form shi in Santa Mongolian as a topic marker, concluding that shi can be said to be a topic marker, although this marker may not be a typical topic marker as is the Japanese wa.
Santa Mongolian is a Mongolic language spoken by the Santa people who mainly live in the Dongxiang Autonomous County in the Linxia Hui Autonomous Prefecture, a province in Gansu, of the People’s Republic of China. Santa Mongolian is also known as the Dunxian Mongolian. Santa people follow Islam, and have a national population of approximately 620,000 (Government of China 2010 census). However, the native speaker population count is not precise. Santa Mongolian is one of the endangered languages listed by UNESCO, and as such, to describe and to preserve Santa Mongolian has significance. In this presentation, the examples with inverted commas are based on existing literature, and others with no inverted commas are based on the presenter’s data.

Based on previous studies and the presenter’s fieldwork data, copula sentences of Santa Mongolian have four types, such as in example (1). (1a) has only the indigenous copula wo, (1b) has only the indigenous copula wo and the borrowed copula shi co-occur, (1c) has only the copula shi, and (1d) has no copula.

(1) a. bi dunxian kun wo.
   1SG Dunxian (another name of Santa) person to be
   ‘I’m a Santa person.’

b. bi shi dunxian kun wo.
   1SG shi Dunxian (another name of Santa) person to be
   ‘I’m a Santa person.’

c. bi shi dunxian kun.
   1SG shi Dunxian (another name of Santa) person
   ‘I’m a Santa person.’

d. bi dunxian kun.
   1SG Dunxian (another name of Santa) person
   ‘I’m a Santa person.’

The four sentences in example (1) convey the same meaning ‘I’m a Santa person.’ However, the frequency of these sentences changes. As one consultant to the data collection commented, “These four sentences have no difference in meaning, these are all comprehended and spoken. But, I don’t think (1c) is an original sentence. These days, the younger people are more likely to use type (1c).” Regarding type (1d), he comments, “(1d) is also not grammatically incorrect,” though sentences of type (1d) are rarely seen in actual conversation and in previous materials. This point is also mentioned in Field (1997: 356-357).

The Environment of Shi

In this section, I will analyze environments in which shi occurs. I focus on the elements preceding shi, namely, which types of noun phrases that can and cannot appear.

Noun Phrases Appearing before Shi

Regarding noun phrases preceding shi, I provide examples (1) to (3). In (1b) and (1c), bi signifies that ‘I’ is preceding shi. As such, personal pronouns can appear before shi. In addition, demonstrative pronouns can also appear, such as with ene, which signifies ‘this’ in (2). In the case of pronoun phrases such as ene kielien, which signifies ‘this story’ in (3), shi is often positioned after the pronoun phrase.
Noun Phrases not Appearing before Shi

Interrogative pronoun such as kien ‘who,’ jan ‘what’ can appear after shi, but do not appear before shi in (4) and (5).

(4) be nie kun shi kien wi-ne? / kien shi be nie kun wi-ne?  
that one person shi who to.be-IPFV  
‘Who is (s)he?’

(5) he shi jan wo? / jan shi he wo?  
that shi what to.be  
‘What is that?’

Through this section, we can see that personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns do appear, however interrogative pronouns do not appear, before shi. That is, more definite noun phrases do appear, while less definite noun phrases do not appear.

The Meaning Function of Shī

In this section, regarding the meaning function, I pay attention to examples frequently using shi. Prior to giving examples in which the form shi appears, I exemplify in which form shi does not appear. Focusing on the predicative contents of sentences, we see that the form shi does not appear in an event-predicative sentence (事項描述文) as in (6) and in an event-report sentence (事項報告文) as in (7). In addition, the form shi does not appear in a ‘discovery’ sentence (発見文) that expresses exactly the same contents as perception, as in (8) and in sentences that grasp the resulting situation and that emerge objectively as in (9).

(6) tere fuzhugudu wula-de ech-wo.  
(s)he yesterday mountain-DAT to.go-PFV  
‘He went to the mountain yesterday.’
(7) baogu nie edu nie edu-se bolu-wo.
corn one day one day-COND to.become-PFV
'The corn have ripened day by day.'

(8) sara saihang-ni wo.
moon beautiful-GEN to.be
'The moon is beautiful.'

(9) wazi nie nuduruo chuera-wo.
sock one hole be.vacated-PFV
'There is a hole in the sock.'

I now examine examples in which the form shi appears, and analyze the meaning function of shi. To begin, I draw on example (1b). This is the most typical sentence using shi, namely, the typical use of shi is not to create a predicate of a property.

(1b) bi shi dunxian kun wo.
1SG shi Dunxian (another name of Santa) person to.be
'I'm a Santa person.'

Next, we see examples in which the form shi is used in order to present conditions. In example (10), the part preceding shi is a conditional. The speaker in (10) does not know if the listener is married. In example (11), the speaker is 46 years old and will be 47 after next Thursday. In example (12), the speaker recommends that the listener eat more.

(10) qimade bieri ui shi bieri dangla-je.
2SG.DAT wife not.to.be shi wife to.become-VOL
'If you don't have wife, then I will become your wife.' 布和等編(1987:230)

(11) pese nie eingwis shi mini natsung shishidi sishixi olu-ne.
next one thursday shi 1SG.GEN age completed forty seven to.become-IPFV
'Next Thursday I will become 47 years old.' 布和等編(1987:12)

(12) nie jiwa shi gao u wo, gwa jiwa shi gao wo.
one bowl shi good NEG to.be two bowl shi good to.be
'One bowl is not good, two bowls is good.'

Furthermore, the form shi is used to express contrast. In example (13), the speaker compares Tokyo and Beijing, and states that both of these cities deserve being the center of each nation. In example (14), the speaker answers the question, "How many hours of sleep do you need every day? 5 hours or 6 hours?" The speaker compares six and seven hours, stating that they need at least seven hours of sleep.

(13) tokyo shi qimini riben-ni zhuge wo,
Tokyo shi 2.PL.GEN Japan-GEN center to.be
beijing shi mani zhongguo-ni zhuge wo.
Beijing shi 1PL.GEN China-GEN center to.be
'Tokyo is the center of your Japan, Beijing is the center of our China.'
(14) zhikong zhuntou shi ye wulie ku-ne, dolong zhuntou shi olu-ne.
   six hour shi also NEG enough-IPFV seven hour shi to.become-IPFV
   ‘Six hours are not enough either, seven hours, that’s enough.’

In addition, the form shi is used in a kind of emphatic sentence such as (3). We can guess the intention of example (3), for example “You did talk not that story but this story, really?”

(3) ene kielien shi tsi kielie-san wo nu?
   this story shi 2SG to.talk-IPFV to.be QUE
   ‘Is this the story you related?’

(布和编 1986: 162, glossing added and some characters replaced by the presenter)

Shi is also used when the subject is long, such as in (15) and (16). In these cases, the form shi functions to clarify the context of the sentence by separating the front part from a long sentence.

(15) mini kidedu-la ede musi-san shi dziung, sadani, wiwalung.
   1SG.GEN family-PL now to.wear-IPFV shi terylene gabardine corduroy
   mubidzi, didzi dzi musi-zhi wo.
   serge damask et.cetera to.wear-ADVZ to.be
   ‘My family are now wearing terylene, gabardine, corduroy, serge, damask and so on.’

(布和等編(1987:352)

(16) .......... ene gharang moudolo ogin-la banyesang-enji yimeqie yara ire-zho
   this three naughty girl-pl late.night-ADVZ so.early why come-IPF
   shi lie mejie-no.
   shi NEG know-NPFV
   ‘These three naughty girls, why coming late in the night, so early, is (something that I) do not know.’

(Napoli 2014: 122:27, some parts replaced by the presenter)

Analysis through Topicality

In this section, I analyze the form shi in connection with topicality. In order to analyze the form shi in Santa Mongolian, I draw on previous studies on topicality. First, I overview the ‘是’ in Chinese, in this case the original language of borrowing, and the Japanese ‘わ,’ known as a topic marker. Secondly, I mention the form shi as appearing in two neighboring Mongolic languages. Taking the topicality of languages mentioned above into account, I consider the topicality of shi in Santa Mongolian.

Overview of Topic Markers in Chinese and Japanese

There are many studies regarding Chinese 是. Through these previous studies, is is generally viewed as a copular verb, as Li and Thompson (1981) have argued. However, Chinese, as a topic-prominent language, has been studied frequently regarding the topic from the perspective of contrast with the Japanese ‘わ.’ Han and John (2013) and 張 (2010) have argued that the ‘是’ of the Wu dialect of Chinese represents a topic marker.
The Japanese language is replete with topic markers. This Japanese topic marker has attracted interest among many linguists. 日本語記述文法研究会編 (2009: 179-182) and 益岡ほか編 (1997) have argued that there are many kinds of topic markers in Japanese, which include not only the most typical topic marker wa, but also nara, nanka and so forth. It is well known that the typical topic marker wa has another function that expresses contrast, while this marker has a basic function that expresses the topic of sentence. As Haiman (1978) has pointed out, topics are closely related to conditionals, and until now, much work has indicated that there is a relationship between topics and conditionals. This is significant as the Japanese nara functions both as topic and as conditional.

The Form Shi in Neighboring Mongolic Languages

In this section, I examine the form shi in the neighboring Mongolic languages Bonan and Mangghuer. Bonan Mongolian is a language spoken in the provinces of Gansu, Qinghai, of the People’s Republic of China. Mangghuer is a language spoken in the province of Qinghai, of the People’s Republic of China. These are also considered endangered languages by UNESCO.

The Form Shi in Bonan Mongolian

布和, 刘 (1982: 65) comments that shi in Bonan Mongolian is borrowed from the Chinese 是, and is used to clarify the subject. They also explain that this phenomenon of borrowing is often observed in young people's conversations. 佐藤 (2011: 37, 46, 79) exemplifies shi (there written as śi), as in (17), (18) and (19). The element preceding shi is a pronoun phrase in (17) and a noun clause in (18). Shi appears twice in example (19). While the second shi can be interpreted as a marker that clarifies the subject, it is difficult to say that the first shi expresses the subject. Therefore there is a strong possibility that the first shi marks the topic.

(17) əŋ gəŋ śi həl-so rə-dzi go-so ribən-so
this steel shi where-ABL come-SF.CONT:SUBJ say-SC Japan-ABL
rə-səŋ-əŋ.
come-AV.PFV-NML:COP:OBJ
‘Where does this steel come from? It is Japan that this steel comes from.’

(18) “ə muətəŋ wi bonəŋ dorə-gu muətəŋ śi daści moələ səŋ o be.
oh carpenter 2SG Bonan in-of carpenter shi maestro very good COP:OBJ PAR
‘Oh, carpenter! You are one of the [best] carpenters in Bonan and are a master, so excellent’

(19) nədə məcci śi lə bədənə dənə-əŋ śi da ałən-əŋ
today tomorrow shi PAR we:EXC:GEN youth-PL shi now gold-ACC
vər-lə dəz-dəzə.
take-PC go-SF.CONT:OBJ
‘Speaking of these days, our young people are going to take gold now.’

佐藤 (2011:46, translated in English by the presenter)
The Form \textit{Shi} in Mangghuer Mongolian

As in \cite{Nomura2019b}, there is a possibility that the form \textit{shi} in Mangghuer Mongolian is also a topic marker, as \textit{shi} is used not only in an attribute predicate sentence (属性叙述文) and a pseudo-cleft sentence (擬似分裂文) but also in sentences that express estimation (評価), conditionality and comparison, while \textit{shi} is not used in an event-predicate sentence (事象叙述文), an event-report sentence (事象報告文) or a discovery sentence (発見文). I stated that the form \textit{shi} in Mangghuer has many similarities to Japanese \textit{wa}, suggesting that the form \textit{shi} is a topic marker.

The Form \textit{Shi} in Santa Mongolian

\cite{Nomura2019a} suggests that the process of derivation of the form \textit{shi} in Santa Mongolian is from copula to conditional marker. The process is summarized in (20):

(20) The process of derivation of grammatical function of \textit{shi}

1. copula
2. to separate the element preceding \textit{shi} from the element following \textit{shi}
3. to clarify subject
4. pragmatic interpretation
5. to present condition

While \cite{Nomura2019a} proposes a process of derivation for the grammatical function of \textit{shi}, she does not declare that the form \textit{shi} is a topic marker. However, through this presentation, the relationship between condition and topic has become more evident. Furthermore, based on the statements in 4.1 and 4.2, the form \textit{shi} in Santa Mongolian displays many similarities with neighboring languages, although it may not be identical.

Conclusion

It would be best to regard the form \textit{shi} in Santa Mongolian as a topic marker, due to features of the elements preceding \textit{shi}, such as the appearance of more definite noun phrases. Regarding the meaning function, the form \textit{shi} can be used to express a condition and contrast and to clarify the meaning of a long sentence. Regarding topicality, in previous studies, I presented the relationship between 被 and topic, between topic and condition, and also the situation of neighboring Mongolic languages. With this in mind, I conclude that the \textit{shi} of Santa Mongolian should be analyzed as a topic marker and not a copula.

Acknowledgements

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Abbreviations

1: 1st person 2: 2nd person  ABL: ablative  ACC: accusative
ADVZ: adverblize  AV: adjectival verb  COND: conditional  CONT: continuation
COP: copula  DAT: dative  EXC: exclusive  GEN: genitive
IPF/IPFV: imperfective  NEG: negation  NML: nominalize  NPFV: non-perfective
OBJ: objective  PAR: particle  PC: purpose convert  PFV: perfective
PL: plural  QUE: question  SC: supposition convert  SF: sentence-final form
SG: singular  SUBJ: subjective  VOL: volitive

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Rise and Decline of Languages: A Struggle for Survival

Sai Chandra Mouli Timi

"Osmania University, India"

Abstract

Shifts in language presence are often predicated on the political and economic power of its users, where power level correlates with the longevity of the language. Further, during language contact, any resistance between the communities may lead to political and social conflict. The dominant language usually prevails, subjugating the weaker speech communities to the point where they adapt in various ways, processes which effect hegemonies. Language contact also motivates bilingualism, which takes effect over years.

This paper suggests that, observing colonization through certain Asian countries, and centrally India, phonological influences have become conspicuous. Postcolonial contexts have selected language identities to assert local linguistic and sociocultural identities through specifying phonetic uniqueness. The study notes that economic trends alter this process, as do political factors. The study investigates how the role of English as an official language and lingua franca in India predicates the selection of certain phonetic patterns so as to legitimize identities of language communities. As such, Indian Englishes have developed their own unique varieties of language, through this process.

Keywords: Language, contact, conflict, lingua franca, multilingualism

Introduction

Monolingualism hastens the decline and extinction of a language, where the limits of a language reflect the limits of one's own world, thus curtailing the longevity of the community and its speech system. Mobility is manifest in diverse contexts. Conflict assists to extend one's domain and control over larger masses, where trade and commerce assist in the spread of a language and in the acquisition of new speech systems.

The introduction of a language as a medium of instruction becomes the first step in efforts to strengthen and impose a language. Resistance frequently appears initially, to which, people gradually become accustomed and hence the language gradually entrenches itself in a society. In newly liberated colonies, the struggle for linguistic supremacy is central, after which, a lingua franca eases tensions and restores normalcy. In order to acquire lingua franca status, a language must transcend its ethnic base, and must appeal to third-party listeners. The process of transcending must occur through trepidation. Elitism distances people from the spoken version of their speech system. This, in turn, adversely impacts use and purpose of a language. Adaptation, accommodation, flexibility in usage as well as augmenting vocabulary all immensely enrich a language. English is an example showcasing the suppleness with which a language can function. Elitism offers a weak point in the profile of a language. Regional and National fervours make
or mar a language and impact its significance. Diglossia is also an interesting aspect in the study of a language which helps in assessment of socio-economic-cultural back grounds of the speakers.

Lingua Francas of the Past

**Latent:** 550–150 BC. [More than four centuries]
Persian is represented through document written in other languages [Elamite, Aramaic].
Monumental inscriptions are in real language. There is rapid change in the substance of the language.

**Emergent:** 150 BC–AD650. [More than eight centuries]
A period of transition from Aramic to explicit Persian in writing. Dominant in Iran and spread as lingua franca in the Indian Ocean.

**Islamised:** 650–1000. [More than three centuries]
Arabic replaces Persian in literary works and administrative usage. Borrowing from Arabic heavily, Persian becomes the cultural language of Iran.

**Resurgent:** 1000–1250. [More than two centuries]
Turkish dynasties adopt Persian for administration purposes, which spread through West, Central and Southern Asia.

**Cultural:** 1250–1850. [Six centuries]
Post Mongol conquest, Persian continues as a language of culture through its traditional zones.

**National:** 1850—Present. [Two Centuries]
Persian was displaced in Turkey and India, but continues as the official language in Afghanistan, Iran and Tajikistan. Along with Pashto, there is a diglossia in Afghanistan and Russian in much of Central Asia.”

(Ostler 2011: 68)

In postcolonial contexts, European languages continue to be in use, though there is much resistance in many countries. In Brunei, Malay is medium of instruction in school education, but English is medium of study of Maths, Science and Engineering. In Malaysia, Malay [Bahasa] is the official language though English, Chinese and Tamil enjoy patronage from people and the government. In Malaysia people state that “Bahasa jiwa Bangsa” [Language is the soul of the Nation], yet the language has its roots in Sanskrit. As per Sanskrit origin: Bhasha Jiwanam Vamsah [Language ---Life---Stock/Society]. Though the Philippines was a Spanish colony, English is its official language along with Tagalog. Singapore adopted English to neutralize Chinese, which faces resistance from Tamil and Malay.

In India, English is an associate language. Hindi is the Raj Bhasha [Official Language]. Many scheduled languages are used as official languages in different states. The three language formula is adhered to within the country. Indian English is a variety of English, a number of factors contribute to the growth and its present status in India. The poet Kamala Das, in ‘An Introduction,’ presents the status of English in India:

The language I speak becomes mine,
Its distortions, its queerness all mine,
It is half English, half Indian, funny perhaps, but it is honest.
Raja Rao, a pioneer of Indian Writing in English, discusses the same idea of Indianisation in the Preface to his novel, *Kanthapura*.

English is not really an alien language to us. It is the language of our intellectual make-up – like Sanskrit or Persian was before – .... We are all instinctively bilingual, many of us in our own language and in English. We cannot write like the English. We should not. We can only write as Indians (...).

Indianisation of English is perceived at several levels, that is, domains, relationships, choice of address terms, greetings and language of self-humbling. Choice of address terms become predicated on power semantics, social stratification, age, context, kinship and target person or group. Indian writing in English celebrates the catholicity of the language in all its hues. Its peculiar usage, essentially in India, lends a rare aura to expression. Arundathi Roy’s *The God of Small Things* abounds in telescoped words to reflect localized forms of English among the not so educated people of the place she is narrating:

Please:ommetyou, Finethankyou and Bluegreybloue.

Anita Rau Badami’s narrative style in her maiden novel *Tamarind Mem* is marked by use of words from different languages as under:

**Telugu words:**
Dandakaranya forest; petti[boxes]; juttu [tuft of hair];

**Tamil words:**
Kanman, Kattamarans; Shikakai; Kannaadi face [sporting glasses].

**Kannada words:**
Ajji; putti; Cobri mithai; Padri for fadari, Pujari, Soopa, Akshathey,
Pretha, Yo-yo-Rama-deva, Shani, Payasa, Hucchi, Rakshasi, Dhoti, Deva–deva.

**Hindi words:**
Kishmish, Gad-bad, Pallav, Lehenga, Angrezi, Hubshi(black); in Arabic= ugly. [Habshiguda in Hyderabad.], Pakodas, Billey, Besharam, Khusur-phusur, Dhubhi, Khaini, Pooja, Dal, Sooji-halwah,
Puri-aloo dum, Phulkas, Pakora, Cheer, Samosa, Tikkas, Jamoon, Choorodar, Darbar hall, Begum, Hai Ram, Burkha, Salwar-kameez, Dupatta, Choli, Neem, Bhooth.

**Compound words:**
Raddhi-man [old newspaper buyer], Jing-bhang lor[all and sundry], Badmash–girl, Sabji-wali-gully.

**Reduplication:**
[so common in Indian languages] Rama-Rama, Baap–re–Baap, Boring old bak-bak, Ting-tong bells, Big-big, Oh! No-no. Deva–deva.

**Diglossia:**
[English spoken by Lynda ayah, the Anglo-Indian, is different from educated Englishman’s language] *Sooparb* for superb, Africka for Africa.
“come on, Baby –missy, my kannani, don’t you want to grow big-big?” Linda says.
“She thinks I am magician. Make puri, make aloo-dum! All in ten minutes if you please!” Linda grumbles.
“Oil gave it (halwa) a shop taste.”

Social aspects:
“Aparna my son’s daughter” [preference for male child and his children]
Lizard on the wall going tchuk-tchuk-tchuk. [assertion or to say it will happen]
Dadda gives a rupee to the girl and says, “Give that rupee to the river. She will be pleased with you.”
[General practice of offerings made to rivers while crossing them]

General ideas about Anglos
“Anglo women were spiders who waited to trap decent Hindu boys unto marriage. They were shameless things, showing their legs in their little frocks. They might as well walk around naked and save money on clothes!” (96)

Place names
Guntoor, Sanghli, Ranchi, Waltair station, Mandya [near Mysore], Kalka, Howrah.

Autobiographical Elements
“Bengali in this place, Assamese there, Gujarati somewhere?...You want them to go crazy or what?” Maa says. [About frequent transfers of Rly officials]
“They won’t go crazy.” Insisted Dadda. “They will be true Indians”
The desire to remain true Indian, though settled abroad is an inherent, secret desire of all Diaspora writers.
Mother questions father why he did not take entire family when he went on line.
Father says it is againstrules. Mother taunts” Satya Harishchandra! Talking of always rule, rules, rules.”
[General complaints of wives]
Hindi melodies from Mukhesh movies streamed out of bathroom. [Nostalgia]
“Railway memsaheb’s order. Phata-phat.” [Shows how officers’ wives bossed over others.]
The club reaffirmed the identity of the officers. They could relax here, be among peers, talk politics etc.” [The club has been the hub of all activities of the Railway officials and their wives during the Raj and now also]
“At the club, the officers could call the shop-floor workers ‘idiot’ or ‘silly buggers’
“you bloody very well shut up!” [“Bloody” is a common word used with utmost ease.]

It is true that English in India became a ‘network of varieties’ resulting from an extraordinary and complex linguistic situation in the country. The net work comprises regional and occupation dialects of English. Social English is a kind of English spoken in all states of India. People with diverse mother tongues managed and manipulated English to suit their convenience. Hence, widely recognized varieties are there, such as:

Hinglish ... Spoken in Hindi dominated areas
Binglish ..., English with Bengali accent, words
Kinglish ... Used in spoken in Kannada dominated areas.
Pinglish ... Impact of Punjabi on English noticeable.
With passage of time some varieties in expression emerged, such as:
Rubber — Eraser
Flat — Apartment
Out of station – Out of Head Quarters
Carrying – In family way
Stepney – Spare tyre
Cover – Envelope
Hold on – Stop
Keep – Concubine
Family – Wife
Sound – Volume, wealthy
Solid – Impressive
Would – Fiancé/ Fiancée
Prepone – Advance
Marketing – Shopping
Compulsory – Definitely
Surf – Any washing powder
Xerox – Photocopy
Hotel – Any eatery, a restaurant
Where is your family – Where is your wife/husband?
Godman – Religious guru
Gone case – Something (a person, more often) that cannot be salvaged
Catch – Hold
Settlement – Compensation/ Resolution in most parts of India
Personality – Physique
Tension – Annoyance
Posh – Hip
Fresher – Novice

Apart from the examples cited above, the use of some expressions among others lend flavour to Indian English. These do not appear as strange or different ways of communicating in English to Indians. Indians comprehend the meaning of a variety of communicative English. Further, the impact of primary disourses becomes so conspicuous in the pronunciation of some words, that regional variants leave their mark emphatically. The use of English in expressions as shown below renders Indian English unique and adorable to Indians.

What is your good name?
Revert back to me
Do the needful
Updation
Boarding/lodging
Cousin sister/brother
Co-brother

The Contribution of Indian languages

Indian languages have contributed to enrichment of vocabulary of English.

Eg: Mulligatawny Soup [Tamil Miligu tanni i.e, Pepper water ...Rasam]
Curry [Tamil... curry] from this Curry leaves.
Bandicoot [Telugu... ‘Pandikokku’]
Hindi: Rajah, Nawab, Coolie, Tahsildar, Zamindar, Subedar, Havaladar.
[suffix ‘dar’ means ‘holder’ came into English via Urdu through Persian from Turkic]

References

A New French-Based Register in Japan? An Analysis of Commercial Naming in Public Space in Japan

Tsuyoshi Kida

*Dokkyo University, Japan*

Abstract

This paper focuses on the influence of French language on the naming of shops and commercial products that are found in public spaces in Japan. The contemporary urban environment promotes linguistic signs, which themselves designate the names of shops or products on storefronts and packages and constitute the ‘text’ of an urban space. As Barthes (1970) observed, Japanese modern life is a remarkable source generating a multiplicity of signs. However, in the current globalization, such a process gives rise to a massive presence of foreign languages in public space, such as French in Japan. Data collected through fieldwork is analysed to show features specific to Japanese society and/or language (e.g. word coinages, affection of Japanese words, a primary form of creolization). Although these linguistic signs contain regularities and variations as a device of ‘hypocorrection,’ the paper argues that French is becoming a specific register in Japan, and that people have begun to assimilate its formal part, in enriching their lexicon with a certain epilinguistic dimension. The motivation and identity of stakeholders behind such a process will be also discussed.

*Keywords:* Public space, language contact, hypocorrection, register, french, Japan

Introduction

We live in the production of stories, talks, murmurs, and everyday conversations in our habitats of living, working and socializing. As a result, our cities contain texts, not only as mental representations, but also visual representations that appear in concrete physical spaces. Urban anthropologists and urban sociologists convened to draw on verbal data from residents to analyse dynamics of cities to improve living conditions. Some theoreticians-urbanists, particularly architects of post-modern movements in the 1970s and 1980s, used the concept of cities metaphorically as a book, where buildings and urban furniture were considered as meaningful elements or words of urban literature. However, contemporary cities effectively contain words and sentences in the form of shop names, advertisements, bulletin boards, public notices, billboards, publicities, posters and so on. They do not yet constitute a text, but analysing these linguistic signs, we may find a hidden ‘text’ of which citizens are mindful, and hence, develop rules or ‘a grammar.’

Scholars (e.g. Shohamy et al. 2009; Blommaert 2013) have spoken on Linguistic Landscapes (Landry and Bourhis 1997). As an architect, I myself was trained to observe and analyse public spaces from a semiotic and anthropological perspectives. I pursued this interest in studies in linguistics, with focus on sociolinguistics, language contact, appropriation and multimodality.
The use of French words on names of stores and commercial items in Japan has surprisingly increased over the past 25 years ago. For instance, an advertisement in which *le dimanche*, a French word with an article suggesting ‘Every Sunday,’ appears in *katakana* to indicate the day a shopping centre in Tokyo opens early. A similar phenomenon is now occurring in Japanese common vernacular.

The following questions, then, become pertinent: To what extent do Japanese people know or understand these French words? What are specific features of French observed in public spaces in Japan? Are there specific rules governing French signage in cities or districts in Japan? How have French words influenced the Japanese language? Can we locate systematic linguistic features (semantic, syntactic, orthographic, phonological, discourse)? What is the motivation for such language vitality? These questions have grounded the larger analysis of this paper.

The Ethnolinguistic Vitality of French in Japan

The Japanese lexicon incorporates loanwords easily due to its multimodal writing system (the *katakana* for words originating from foreign languages). The number of such words in Japanese is significant. Approximately 20% of entries in a popular dictionary (Koji-en) stem from foreign languages other than Chinese. Conducted by the Japanese National Language Research Institute in 1964 (Loveday 2000: 48), a survey on loanwords in the Japanese lexicon (*Gaikaiigo*) showed that about 10% of the Japanese lexicon was of non-Chinese origin (English=7.29%, French=0.55%, German=0.31%, Italian=0.15%, Portuguese/Spanish=0.14%, Dutch=0.13%, Russian=0.08%, Others=0.52%). Although English was the most penetrating foreign European language for the Japanese lexicon, it is worthy to note that French was already in second position over 50 years ago.

More recent statistics support the idea of relative vitality of the French language in Japan. Conducted by a private company (CM Databank, personal communication), the survey indicates a language choice in TV commercials broadcasted in the Tokyo area between 2012 and 2019. TV commercials must be informative, and most are naturally delivered in Japanese (99.6%). But among foreign languages used in this medium, French is ranked second after English. This survey suggests that French maintains a status of relative vitality in the Japanese society.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Foreign Language</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>65.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>16.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>408</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CM Databank (Co. Tokyo Kikaku): 2012/1/1-2019/4/30, 5 local private TV companies in Tokyo

Table 1: Use of Foreign Languages on TV in Japan

In public space, French is used for names of shops in Japan. French producers, including those of luxury bands, are present on the Japanese market. This phenomenon can be observed in other big cities in
Asia. However, these producers arrived in Japan early on (e.g. Hermès in the 1960s, L’Oréal in 1963, Dior in 1964, Fauchon in 1972, Louis Vuitton in 1978). Many Japanese companies have developed names of stores, brands and/or companies from French. These include a sportswear retailer Descente in 1957, an outdoor products retailer Mont-bell in 1975, a bakery chain Vie de France in 1983, a coffee shop chain CAFÉ de CRÉ in 1994, and a coffee shop chain Aux Bacchanales in 1995. These samples are relevant for the purpose of my research. In addition, names of small local shops and everyday products appear in French. This data offers relevant samples with which to approach the ethnolinguistic vitality of French in Japan.

Public Space and Landscapes constituting a Linguistic Anthropology

Public space can be defined as space in which the users of that space (residents, workers and visitors) develop a collective life, characterised by local culture and multiple elements: Space design, ambiance, colours, street accessories, and elements related to economic or collective activities (market, itinerant business, events, etc.). Public space is typically designated as outdoor spaces (e.g. roads, squares and parks), but usually encompasses some indoor spaces destined for public usage (e.g. stations). We can typically see public notices, road directions, advertisements, and store names in these spaces.

Formally speaking, public space is distinct from private space, which is delimited by a border—such as a door or an entrance—and to which access is given through crossing the border. There are two types of private space, depending on whether users’ anonymity must be defined (e.g. a home, company, institution) or maintained (e.g. restaurants, cafes, theatres, culture or shopping centres). Borders between public and private spaces have become ambiguous with regard to space practices (cf. Lefèbvre 1997), as commercial spaces have private status for public usage (Paquot 2009; Périgord and Donadieu 2012). Elements resulting from private economic activities are visible in public space. Linguistic signs are similarly found in commercial public space.

I will therefore use the term ‘public space’ in the sense of a space accessible or visible to the public, which may be outdoor or indoor. I include commercial spaces (such as shopping malls), trains and buses for my data collection, since they contain linguistic signs similar to those in public spaces. For the purpose of my study, therefore, I collect data from public spaces as well as indoor commercial spaces, usually categorised as private space. These spaces are indeed accessible to people who typically use them on a day-to-day basis for daily activities of urban life. Urban anthropology considers commercial space (supermarkets, malls) as a field of investigation; names of products and shops, commercial items containing a message (similar to people’s clothes), people’s clothes, which are relevant data.

For my current research, I integrate sociolinguistics, urban anthropology, and semiotics. I focus on morphophonological features in analysing sound patterns and choice of writing system. I limit my scope to lexicological dimension to observe the variation of lexicon of the speech community in Japan. I also consider marketing semiotics to extend data to names of commercial products. In fact, such a discipline takes into account sociological differences of the effect on consumers and such a view can partially be close to the variationist perspective of sociolinguistics. Urban anthropology provides another insight: data are collected in a given space by field observation and then it tries to find out identity markers left by those who live in or are implied in that space through data analysis in order to infer their identity. So-called linguistic landscape, analysis of linguistic signs and texts in public space, is a field where I collect main data to constitute my corpus, with a field methodology used commonly in urban anthropology and urban sociolinguistics.
### Table 2: Research Frameworks of Public Space

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eye</th>
<th>Field</th>
<th>Research topic</th>
<th>Target data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Architect-urbanist</td>
<td>Urban anthropology</td>
<td>Space and landscape design</td>
<td>Forms-colours, vegetation, void spaces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer</td>
<td>Public signage design</td>
<td>Urban signs</td>
<td>AD design, signage, logo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linguist 1</td>
<td>Morphophonology</td>
<td>Phonemic, writing</td>
<td>Text and words in AD/public notices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociolinguist</td>
<td>Urban sociolinguistics</td>
<td>Appropriation, language contact</td>
<td>Variation of Japanese lexicon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semiotician</td>
<td>Marketing semiotics</td>
<td>Product naming</td>
<td>Product names</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linguist 2</td>
<td>Discourse analysis</td>
<td>Discourse in public space</td>
<td>Multimodal text, discourse markers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marketer</td>
<td>Market analysis</td>
<td>Branding</td>
<td>Sociological types of consumers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Data Collection and Analysis

The data collection process spanned several years in different cities in Japan, also drawn in online sources. Geographical limitations in collecting data (cf. Backhaus 2007) are not considered in the current research. Names of stores and products circulate beyond restricted physical spaces, by conveying the appropriation of the lexicon of a given speech community (Landry and Bourhis 1997). Forty samples were randomly selected from my whole corpus (of some one thousand occurrences), in order to develop a preliminary analysis, and which aimed to thus lead to the next stage of my research.

I divide the data analysis into two parts: Linguistic facts (phonemic, pronunciation, spelling, other features specific to code-mixing) and sociological facts (types of items and sectors, demographic features of target consumers).

Below I present the alphabetically ordered transcriptions (symbolized by round brackets if unavailable), IPA transcriptions of Japanese pronunciation, Japanese transcriptions, and what these expressions refer to.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nb</th>
<th>Alphabetic transcription</th>
<th>IPA (in Japanese)</th>
<th>Japanese (Katakana)</th>
<th>Product/shop</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>La Core d’Azur/Azur</td>
<td>ほうとう だずる</td>
<td>コートダジュール</td>
<td>Cake shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Louvre</td>
<td>りゅうれ</td>
<td>ルーブル</td>
<td>Coffee shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Foucher</td>
<td>ふおふ</td>
<td>フーシェ</td>
<td>Confectionery shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>FLO PRESTIGE</td>
<td>ふろすいぷれすし</td>
<td>フロプレスティージュ</td>
<td>Cake shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>SourCil</td>
<td>じゅるけし</td>
<td>シュールシル</td>
<td>Eyelashes salon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Joli Bisco</td>
<td>ジョビソ</td>
<td>ジョリピズ</td>
<td>Ladies clothes shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>(Café de Parfum)</td>
<td>かふでパルファム</td>
<td>カフェド・パルファン</td>
<td>Coffee shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Queue Charmante</td>
<td>くウェンカーマン</td>
<td>クーチャルマン</td>
<td>Pet grooming salon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Heureux Heure</td>
<td>ひゅーユヘューユ</td>
<td>ウルウェール</td>
<td>Bakery shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>gelato pique</td>
<td>ジェラトピケ</td>
<td>ジェラートピケ</td>
<td>Ladies clothes shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>(EAUDE MUGE)</td>
<td>えうデミューゲ</td>
<td>オードムーゲ</td>
<td>Cosmetic product</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>PienAge</td>
<td>ぴえあじ</td>
<td>ピエナージュ</td>
<td>Cosmetic product</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>elleair</td>
<td>にれ</td>
<td>エリエール</td>
<td>Hygienic paper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>liee</td>
<td>りーゼ</td>
<td>リーゼ</td>
<td>Hairdressing product</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>LUCIDO</td>
<td>ルシド</td>
<td>ルシド</td>
<td>Hairdressing product</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>épur</td>
<td>えぷる</td>
<td>エピュール</td>
<td>Bathing powder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>(jasmin mariage)</td>
<td>ジャスミンマリアージュ</td>
<td>ジャスミンマリアージュ</td>
<td>Fragrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Clair PARIS</td>
<td>クリアパリ</td>
<td>クレールパリ</td>
<td>Laundry detergent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>MAQUILLAGE</td>
<td>マキアージュ</td>
<td>マキアージュ</td>
<td>Cosmetic brand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Botanifique</td>
<td>ボタニフィク</td>
<td>ボタニフィク</td>
<td>Shampoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>PRIOR</td>
<td>プリオール</td>
<td>プリオール</td>
<td>Cosmetic brand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>(Fine Fragrance) Beauté</td>
<td>ぼれ</td>
<td>ボーテ</td>
<td>Laundry fragrance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3: Forty French Expressions in Urban Public Space in Japan

A general observation, drawn from the corpus as a whole, becomes that the use of French is much more frequent when products or shops specifically address female consumers. Concretely, French is used to name various types of fragrance products, sweet confectionery, bakery shops or products, retail shops for clothes and/or accessories, and so forth.

The observations specific to public space in Japan are several. First, some linguistic features specific to French are observable. For instance, diacritic accents on letters (é is the most recurrent but also è, è, ç, à), word final descensions (-que), functional words such as prepositions and definite articles (le, la, l’, de, à, au, aux) appear remarkably at the orthographic level. Yet, these facts do not yet explain the vitality of French in Japan, as they appear if French is used in any signs. But observing the Japanese pronunciation of the samples, we see a preference for French. For instance, -ge (in mariage, prestige, maquillage) is pronounced /zu/ (alveolo-palatal fricative), which sounds like a French manner /ʒ/ (postalveolar) rather than the English one /s/ (palato-alveolar). Such a difference appears at the level of Japanese writing (-ジュ vs. -ジ). Likewise, the letter -r (or -re) are pronounced /ru/ in a French way (e.g. in clair, prior) /ɻ/ (voiced uvular fricative) rather than in English /ə/ (schwa).

Some word coinages that are French-based violate the standard norms. For instance, words are created with the omission of the apostrophe (lobjet) or there appear contractions of functional words (cafedé). Phenomena emerge beyond the word level, and even in complete utterances (e.g. je l’aime) for naming (nominalization of utterance). The last instance is rare in the naming of products or shops, even at times when these instances do not violate linguistic norms.

I propose a detailed analysis of samples employing the letter é and the phoneme /-ɛ/. Some occurrences are French words (e.g. beauté, café, congé), but many others are not: épur is built from é plus the French word pur (pure); bené is the Italian word bene (well) plus the French diacritic accent; beautéye is a contraction of the French word beauté (beauty) and the English word eye; rasucré is a contraction of the English word rask and the French word sucré (sweetened). The phenomenon of adding the diacritic accent is seen in some French words for which, such an accent is not usually required (e.g. laisser-passer > レセ
The next sample contains a more complex process: A word, created from a contraction of two English words, loses the final syllable (apocope) and here, the French diacritic accent is added on the new final /-ɛ/.

body + maintenance > bodymaintenance > bodymainte/ボディメンテ > BODYMAINTÉ

A coffee shop Café de Crié, for which no French native speaker can understand the meaning, comes from the same process: a transformation of English, pronounced in a Japanese way and with an omission of the last syllables, into a seeming French with a diacritic addition (Creation /kriɛʒɔn/ > クリエーション > クリエ > Crié).

The association between the phoneme /ɛ/ and the diacritic accent is not always systematic. Some examples are pronounced /ɛl/ for the e in the name of the nation without a diacritic accent (e.g. boulangerie Française, FRANCE, both /bɔlɑ̃ʒɛ, fʁɑ̃s/; Porte /pɔʁte/, Raffin /ʁafɛ̃/; Charlotte /ʃarɔt/; Beaumache /bo maʃ/). These are simply considered as an omission of accent. The others are examples with the e containing another diacritic accent (ê, in enchanté, which is not normative), even if their pronunciation is the same. I have also located a case in which the phoneme /el/ is without e, ê, è, ê (e.g. “t” of caférant, which is pronounced /te/). However, the use of the diacritic accent sometimes appears ad hoc, without a corresponding phoneme, and without a motive for its use.

LUCIDO and HOME COORDY with a diacritic accent

Discussion

The French diacritic accents (ê) (accent aigu) widely appear in public space in Japan. It is often associated with the phoneme /ɛl/ in Japanese, and used not only in French words, but also in the Latin notation of Japanese (the roma-ji), and even in Japanese as a lettering design. From these facts, one can assume that, with high probability, the French diacritic accent has already entered the Japanese lexicon, and that most Japanese people can recognize and read it, despite that it does not belong to the Japanese writing system.
Jointly, I suppose, such a phenomenon summons an increase of occurrences of /el/ (and /je/) ending words in Japanese society. Yet, the orthographic rule of French in Japan seems not to be fixed, and we see several variations: At time, other diacritics, and at times no diacritic. Moreover, the diacritic accent is applied to a letter that is not to be read /el/. Such phenomena cast a doubt on the normativity of the diacritic accent and the phoneme /el/.

It can be assumed that despite literacy in French by Japanese people, other types of use of the diacritic may be indices of ‘hypocorrection,’ an opposite concept of ‘hypercorrection’ formulated by Labov (1972). Non-standard use of language can appear in two forms: Hypercorrection when the use aims to conform to the prestige standard, and hypocorrection when it is far from such a standard, for instance, due to lack of attention. As seen in the statistics of Japanese loanwords and the survey on use of foreign languages on TV mentioned above, French is more present in Japanese society than in other foreign languages, and occupies a specific status. Presumably, French is perceived as a high-prestige language among people (especially female consumers) who are attracted by that language, and where using some French is considered a sign of prestige. Nevertheless, a variation of norms around French, reflecting a ‘linguistic insecurity,’ suggests that a new register has been established. The same phenomenon can happen for any other foreign languages, but influenced by its longstanding status in Japan, such a process can more easily take place with French.

The factors influencing such a language choice for naming in public space in Japan include that French is a Western language which is not English, where French has been of the most popular foreign languages available in higher education in Japan during the 20th century. By choosing French and not English nor Japanese, stakeholders of commercial signage seek differentiation, in using the high-prestige of French. Even if Japanese consumers do not require French names for the products they buy, some are attracted by difference and some by high-prestige. Shopping for products is not simply an act of consuming or owning products, but also an effort to ‘consume’ an epilingualic representation (feelings, concepts, other connotations) that the names of products and shops imply. Signs appear “as the result of a process with several participants,” such as sign-owners, sign-makers, sign-readers and authorities in language and/or sign policy (Spolsky 2009: 31). In the case of language signs in public spaces with an urban and commercial nature, the desire in consumers’ minds establishes a dialectic relationship with a mercantile strategy that the sign-owners implement by naming a product or shop.

Another question is to what degree of appropriation of language do these speech communities in Japan aspire? To respond, it will be necessary to conduct surveys of the linguistic knowledge of French by Japanese, which must present a variation of such knowledge according to demographic cohorts, geographic areas in which informants live, and/or literacy of the language in question. These criteria play an important role in the issues of appropriation (Kida 2014). It will be also insightful to analyse an effect of French naming on the feelings of people, so as to understand their epilingualic representations. In shedding light on such a perlocutionary effect of that specific register, we can better see the direction of the process of appropriation of French in Japanese society.

Conclusion

Public space in Japan contains relatively many linguistic signs in French, such as names of shops, restaurants, and commercial products, suggesting an ethnolinguisic vitality of that language, as it can be also seen in media and the vocabulary of loanwords to Japanese. These signs are made by shopkeepers, markers, advertisers and other stakeholders who use them as a marketing strategy to differentiate their
shops and products in a country where Japanese and English are dominant. Analysed closely, these signs show some regularities but also variations, which are possibly interpretable as a sign of creolization. This hypothesis is, nevertheless to be verified through methods other than observation.

References


Lower and Upper Baram Sub-Groups: A Study of Linguistic Affiliation

Asmah Haji Omar a
 aUniversity of Malaya, Malaysia

Norazuna Norahim b
 bUniversity Malaysia Sarawak, Malaysia

Abstract

It is not possible to determine the exact number of indigenous languages of Sarawak, one reason being the dialect-language dichotomy, as some isolec has not been ascertained. Ethnic labels may not reflect a linguistically homogenous group. That is to say that the language varieties spoken by an ethnic group may have a dialectal relationship with one another, or they may be heterogeneous, which means they are mutually unintelligible.

This paper reports on the results of a lexicostatistic study that examines linguistic affiliation of a group of languages found along the Tinjar-Baram river basin, namely Berawan, Bakong, Narom, Kiput, Dali, and Miriek, and also their links with Kenyah Long Terawan, Lepo’ Tau and Belait in nearby Brunei. The paper also traces their historical past and describes how languages spoken by these ethnolinguistic groups have become affiliated to each other. For some reason or another, e.g. migration in search of greener pastures, internal rivalry or conversion to modern religions, these indigenous communities are forced to move away from their original speech communities, and they call themselves by different names in their new localities, usually after the name of a river or a mountain. These factors and categorisation on the basis of similar cultural attributes have caused misinterpretation of the identity of the indigenous groups in the past. The paper will clarify some of the misconceptions regarding the ethnolinguistic groups in the region.

Keywords: Language contact, lexicostatistics, linguistic affiliation, Borneo.

Introduction

The Baram-Tinjar area is one of the linguistically diverse areas in the northern part of Sarawak. Besides Kayan and Kenyah, it is home to a relatively large number of ethnolinguistic communities where most of the languages have not been researched on. There are two main groups to be considered here, and these are the Upper Baram and the Lower Baram.

The Upper Baram group of languages is located in the Tinjar-Tutoh area, and is also known as the Berawan group, where the languages show evidence that they are related to one another. Berawan is one of these. The languages under the label Berawan include languages spoken by communities in Long Terawan, Batu Belah, Long Teru and Long Jegan. Lower Baram consists of a number of languages which
show similarities with those in Upper Baram, plus the fact that their speakers claim to have their origin in the Upper Baram region. Members of this group are Narom, Miriek, Dali, Kiput and Bakong. Two languages in nearby Brunei, i.e. Tutong and Belait, are said to be in close affinity to these languages. Our informants claim that they have living relatives in Tutong and Belait. According to the Lower Baram groups of speakers, their ancestors were from the Upper Baram region who were originally Kenyah people.

Lexical cognate percentage studies conducted on these languages previously (Blust 1974, 1977; Hudson 1978) provide some evidence, although no conclusion has been made as to where these languages stand in their relationship with one another (See also Kroeger 1998). This paper reports on the lexicostatistic results of the Lower and Upper Baram sub-grouping. A more comprehensive discussion on linguistic affiliation between languages in the Baram-Tinjar region can also be found in our upcoming book entitled Indigenous Communities and Languages of Sarawak. Map 1 gives the localities of the said languages, taken from Metcalf (1976: 26).

Map 1: Indigenous Languages in Baram and Tinjar River Basin

Other than Blust (1974, 1977) and Hudson (1978), there has not been much linguistic research conducted on the Lower Baram group. Blust and Hudson have indicated close linguistic affiliation between members of the group, but little is known of their historical past and how these languages have come to be affiliated to each other. Furthermore, the grouping of Sarawakian indigenous communities on the basis of shared cultural attributes often causes confusion as to their linguistic identities and affiliation (Asmah 1983). This paper will partly clarify misconceptions through a lexicostatistic comparison and by tracing their past histories. The Baram-Tinjar ethno-linguistic communities are not listed in Sarawak population census. Their languages remain under-described. With the exception of Berawan and Kiput, these languages are in a critical state of endangerment (Asmah and Norazuna 2020). In a couple of generations, the languages may suffer the same fate as already extinct languages of Sarawak, namely Lelak and Seru (Lewis 2009).
A Note on Methodology

This paper examines historical relationships between the languages in the Baram-Tinjar region. Lexicostatistics is employed to arrive at a historical relationship between the languages in this study. The lexicostatistic tests applied in this study use the Swadesh 100-wordlist (Dyen 1975), and the items in the list (originally in English) are given their correspondences in the languages.

Results and Discussion

The lexicostatistic results presented in this section shows a pre-historic connection between the said languages in the Tinjar-Baram region. On the whole, linguistically, the languages share a common source, i.e. *Proto-Kayan-Kenyah. This proto language branched off to *Proto-Kayan and *Proto-Kenyah.

**Lexicostatistics Results of Kenyah Languages**

Compared with Kayan, Kenyah appears to be much diversified. This is the impression researchers in the field get when visiting tributaries of the Upper Baram. We have obtained vocabulary lists from informants who call themselves Kenyah, but belong to groups who are known as Lepo’ Tau, Kenyah Long Terawan and Berawan. There are also groups who claim to have roots in Kenyah, such as the Narom and the Kiput. This has motivated us into including the latter two as well as Bakong in the cognate counts, to see where they stand in their relationship with one another. The results are as given in Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>Berawan</th>
<th>Lepo’ Tau</th>
<th>Kiput</th>
<th>Narom</th>
<th>Bakong</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kenyah L. Teraw</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berawan</td>
<td></td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lepo’ Tau</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiput</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>70</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narom</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Cognate Counts for the Determination of Kenyah Related Languages

The table contains the following information:

1. There appear to be two subfamilies consisting of: (i) Kenyah of Long Terawan - Berawan (71%); (ii) Kiput – Narum – Bakong (Kip – Nar 70%; Nar – Bak 80%; Kip – Bak 65%).
2. Lepo’ Tau does not have any pairing above 38%. The percentage it scores with Kayan, which is 49%, is much higher; this means it is more related to Kayan than to Kenyah. Its connection with Kenyah could have been through a parent language that connects Kayan and Kenyah, i.e. *Proto-Kayan-Kenyah (Diagram 1).
3. Kiput, Bakong and Narum show higher percentages with Kenyah of Long Terawan than they do with Berawan or Lepo’ Tau.

Pending more information from further research, we propose the following schema (Diagram 1) to show the connection from pre-historical times between these languages.
Lower Baram Kenyah (Narom-Kiput) Subfamily

Our corpus contains data from six languages. These are Narum, Dalik, Bakong, Kiput, Miriek and Belait. Table 2 gives the cognate percentages of the Lower Baram languages. Looking at the percentage scores between these six languages, there is the possibility of subgrouping them into two sub-subfamilies, which may be labelled as Narum subfamily and Kiput subfamily. These sub-groupings can be further affiliated at a higher level categorisation i.e. Narom-Kiput subfamily.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>Dalik</th>
<th>Miriek</th>
<th>Belait</th>
<th>Kiput</th>
<th>Bakong</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Narum</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalik</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miriek</td>
<td></td>
<td>60</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belait</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>74</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiput</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Cognate Counts between Languages of the Lower Baram

The subdivision is based on the scores obtained in the lexicostatistic comparison, i.e. by taking 70% as the cut-off point between the high and the low scores, e.g. Narum has four scores above 70%, and only one below. Dalik and Bakong have three of the higher scores, and two of the lower ones. The other three languages – Miriek, Belait and Kiput – all have two of the higher scores and three of the lower ones. The subgrouping is shown in Diagram 2.

Diagram 2: Subgroups of the Lower Baram Kenyah Subfamily
The communities in both subgroups are all Muslim, but this happens to be a coincidence, and religion has never been a criterion for the grouping or subgrouping. Kiput is an exception as its members comprise non-Muslims as well. The informants claim that they originated from Upper Baram, and they became Muslim out of their intermingling with Malays. Most say that they were originally from the Kenyah tribe. But the informant for Bakong said that his people were originally nomadic Penan from Tinjar who moved to Sungai Bakong and finally settled in Beluru, their present habitat, and this migration took place before the Second World War. According to the informant, there are Bakong people in Kuala Belait, Niah and Bekenu as well. Of their conversion to Islam hence have become Malays, the narrative seems to echo what Benedict Sandin has said of the fact of the matter in his writings. All those people in these two subgroups who have become Muslims are considered Malays. This explains why they do not appear with their inherited labels in the list of the national or state population census. Table 3 provides a sample of vocabulary items showing cognates and non-cognates appearing in the comparison of the different lists.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Narom</th>
<th>Dalik</th>
<th>Bakong</th>
<th>Miriek</th>
<th>Belait</th>
<th>Kiput</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>big</td>
<td>ajaʔ</td>
<td>ajak</td>
<td>ajaw?</td>
<td>ajaʔ</td>
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<td>dəteim</td>
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<td>dəflim, dərsai</td>
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Table 3: Examples of Corresponding Lexical items in Narum-Kiput Subfamily

**Linguistic affiliation – Evidence from the Historical Past**

This section traces the historical past of the Baram-Tinjar languages, and describes how the ethnolinguistic groups have become affiliated to each other. Narum, Dalik and Miriek are Muslim communities whereas among the Bakong and Kiput there are Christians as well as Muslims. The informants also recall that their languages are similar to the one spoken in Kuala Belait, a border district between Miri and Brunei. According to our Narom informants, upon conversion to Islam, the speech communities of the Lower Baram moved out from their original tribal groups, and adopted their group name after the name of the new place or river where they formed their new settlement. Their ancestors in the original tribe were said to have intermarried with the Kenyah. In the case of the Dalik, they were from Belait, and they moved out to Sibuti in search of greener pastures. Our Dalik and Miriek informants said that they still had living relatives in Belait. Martin (1992, cited in Kroeber, 1988: 30) reports that the term ‘Belait’ is actually another label for the Lementing language, which is already extinct.

The anthropologist Metcalf (1976: 26) has provided a historical account of the migration of Baram-Tinjar communities in the second half of the 19th century. In tracing the history of the groups, Metcalf states that
during the second half of the 19th century, the Baram was extremely unsettled with large war parties of interior folk often coming downriver to attack the coastal people. During this time, the Kayan and the Kenyah were actively raiding the people along the coast. The Berawan were also raiding on the coasts of Brunei in the 1870s but avoided the Kayan and the Kenyah. The chaotic violence came under control towards the end of the century. Smaller communities then moved to the coastal areas under the protection of Brunei administration, and eventually were assimilated into the Malay culture. This explains the existence of the Baram-Tinjar language group along present-day coastal areas of Miri and Brunei, i.e. the Dalik in Sibuti, the Miriek in Pujut (Miri) and in Bakam and Luak Bay area, the Narom in the coastal town of Marudi, and the Bakong further inland in Beluru. The Lelak, the original settlers of Long Teru, have intermarried with and been assimilated into the Berawan community. The Lelak language has also become extinct, as a consequence.

There are also historical accounts which explain the connection between these groups and the Belait as well as the Tutong in Brunei. Metcalf also shows how the Berawan varieties spoken in Upper Baram and Tinjar have become related (although quite distantly) to Punan Ba and the smaller languages in Upper Rejang and Balui river basins. The Berawan community in Long Jegan built their longhouses in Long Trusan, and thus was in contact with the Punan Ba in the Jelalong River basin, in the Upper Kemen River, and who also came into contact with the Punan Ba when they were in the Balui River in Belaga. Access to Belaga subsequently led to contact with other speech communities in the area, namely those of the Kajang language group.

From his study of secondary treatment of the dead, Metcalf (1978) suggests a link in the form of an arc stretching from the Melanau-Kajang through Punan Ba to Kenyah-Berawan-Lower Baram. He also claims that communities in the Baram area which traditionally practised secondary treatment of the dead represent a cultural substratum which predates the arrival of the Kayan and the Kenyah in the area. He suggests a chain of linguistic connections (between languages in the Baram basin) extending in an arc across northern Sarawak, which he calls the ‘nudang arc’ (56). This arc stretches from Belaga, curving north through the inner Baram into the Limbang and Trusan, and ending in the Kelabit Highlands (57). This also indicates that they may have existed long before the arrival of the Kayan and the Kenyah.

Asmah (2017) also reports that the Narum were originally from Madien in Central Baram, an area of concentration of the Kayan and the Kenyah. However, according to the Narum, they were part of the larger Kenyah group. Theirs was a splinter group which migrated downstream to the Lower Baram when they converted to Islam. Since then, they had lived the Malay way of life, dwelling in Malay-type houses and practicing Malay-Muslim customs in birth, marriage and death. Asmah uses a lexico-grammatical approach in her investigation of the linguistic affiliation between Narum and Kenyah. She reckons that while the lexicostatistic comparison is confined to words and their meanings, a lexico-grammatical one which encompasses their morphologies, systems and structures is also important to show a close genetic relationship between the languages. This to some extent supports the claim made by the Narum that they were originally Kenyah. From the data, it can be inferred that the Narum people could have broken away from the Kenyah long before they were converted to Islam. This inference is made after looking at history, which shows that Islam came to the Baram region not too long ago, whereas the divergence between the two as shown by the adverbs, common everyday verbs, human nouns and words referring to the topography of the area, must have occurred long before that (73).
Concluding remarks

Lexicostatistic comparison of the Baram-Tinjar languages suggests the existence of Lower Baram and Upper Baram subgroups whose proto-language may originate from *Proto Kenyah. Generally, the Lepo’ Tau community of upper Baram, is referred to as Kenyah. However, linguistically their language is closer to the Kayan. Although Miriek is placed together in a subgroup with Kiput, it is also very closely related to the Narum subgroup. More data (on lexicogrammar and structures) is needed before any conclusive claims can be made on the Miriek. The study shows that, in terms of culture, the lower Baram people has assimilated with the Malays while the upper Baram speakers have assimilated with Berawan.

Endnote

1. We were not able to obtain data for Tutong, hence it is not included in the lexicostatistic comparison. The same label i.e. ‘Tutong,’ is used to refer to different languages, i.e. a Bisaya dialect, and a Baram-Tinjar dialect most closely related to Lemeting and Kiput (Martin 1992, cited in Kroeger, 1998: 29).

2. We have also conducted a lexicostatistic comparison of Kayan related languages.

Acknowledgement

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References


On the Progress of Phonemic Analysis of Chinese Word Syllables

Wang Qing

*Beijing Normal University, China*

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Abstract

Sound notation of sinographs has been a problem since the sinographs were in use. For a long time there was no appropriate method to indicate the pronunciation of sinographs to learners. With the design of different methods of sinograph sound notation, such as Direct Notation, Fan-qie, the National Sound Notation Alphabet, the Scheme of the Chinese Phonemic Alphabet, the analysis of the Chinese word syllable has developed, with an increasingly delicate segmentation in the Chinese syllable. The latter three methods, which cut the Chinese word syllable into two, three and four parts respectively, have been designed under the influence of foreign linguistics scholarship. Communications between China and India and European countries have been an impetus for the progress in Chinese syllabic analysis.

**Keywords:** Sinographs, sound notation, phonemic analysis, syllables

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Introduction

It is well known that the Chinese writing system is composed of logographs which are usually called sinographs. Each character most frequently corresponds to one individual word, which is accidentally monosyllabic in most cases, especially in archaic Chinese. If a student in primary school learns to read and write the written Chinese language, he is only expected to correlate the sinograph with the word which he has already acquired before he is old enough to go to school. The pronunciation of the word naturally goes on to the sound of the sinograph. The method to learn the uttering of a sinograph is to imitate the pronunciation of the teacher. If a student wants to show somebody else the sound of the sinograph, he has no better way than to directly utter the pronunciation of the corresponding word. This type of relation between the sinographs and the words in Chinese language gives no impetus to make further phonemic subdivision of the word syllable. The word is the most natural unit which can be perceived by the ordinary language speakers psychologically. Any further analysis below the word syllabic level, such as the level of phoneme, is the task of the professional linguists.  

It has been proposed that further structural analysis below the level of word is a hard but rewardless job. There are occasionally some words composed of two or more than two syllables, and these words are rendered in two or more sinographs, such as ‘Kedou’ written as 蝌蚪 (tadpole). The correspondence between one syllable and one sinograph is firmly impressed in the minds of the Chinese literates. Further analysis beyond the syllable is rarely found in traditional schools. A result is the blurred phonemic impression below the level of the word syllable. Wang Li (2006: 101).

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1 In ancient Greece, the word is also the smallest unit of grammatical analysis. Priscian defines the word as the minimal unit of sentence structure. “Priscian’s grammatical model is word and paradigm, and he expressly denied any linguistic significance to divisions, in what would now be called morphemic analysis, below the word” (Robins 2001: 70).
has named the first stage of Chinese Language Studies which span until the Han dynasty "The Period Mainly on Exegesis," and has insisted that Han dynasty scholars could not analyze the syllable by phoneme. Malmqvist (1994: 2) has noticed the following: "The lack of interest on the part of traditional Chinese linguists in systematic research into the internal structure of words and the functions of words in the sentence is no doubt conditioned by the logographic nature of the script which gives no clue to the internal analysis of the word." We would do well to say that the design features of sinographs as logographs must have delayed the further analysis below the word syllable level. The use of the alphabet to record the spoken language would make the analysis of syllabic structure a prerequisite. Robins (2001: 17) has observed that "the devising of an alphabet for the segmental phonemes of Greek depended on an unconscious phonemic analysis of the language (or of its individual dialects)."

In its long history, China has been involved in intensive cultural communication with its neighboring cultures, as well as with distant European countries. Chinese language studies have been much accelerated by mainly two foreign linguistic impetuses, one is from India accompanied with the flow of Buddhism in China, the other is from modern European countries with the coming of Christianity. In the process of cultural exchange with India following the spread of Buddhism and with Europea in the coming of Christian missionaries, the alphabets of Sanskrit and European languages have given the Chinese scholars the notion of dividing the syllable up into two or more parts. Several sound notation schemes of sinographs have been devised hence. The methods of sound notation of sinographs have demonstrated progress in the analysis of Chinese syllable in an increasingly delicate way. The process of Chinese phonemic analysis has generally undergone four phases. I begin with the first device to indicate the sound of sinograph prior to the advent of foreign influence.

The Direct Sound Notation (in Sinographs as ‘直音’) in Occasional Use

An optimum approach is to designate the pronunciation of sinographs, as the majority of the sinographs appear without sound notification. Only occasionally some hard sinographs are provided with sound reference in Direct Sound Notation, which is the case in the first Chinese Dictionary of Shuo-Wen jie-Zi. The Direct Sound Notation requires to demonstrate the pronunciation of a sinograph with a homophone, or with a proximate if there is no homophone. An example emerges in Sea of Words, '耗 · 形 形.' The pronunciation of 耗 has been given in two different ways: One is in ’Pin-yin,’ the Scheme of Chinese Phonemic Alphabet, the other is in Direct Sound Notation, with its homophone 形. We can see that the pronunciation of 耗 is ‘xíng’ in the Chinese Phonemic Alphabet, and we also find its pronunciation with its homophone 形 (sounding ‘xíng’; assuming that the reader knows the sound). The method of Direct Sound Notation is quite direct and convenient for persons who know the homophones. As such, the method is still observed in today’s grand dictionaries, such as the Sea of Words. However, there are several problems with the Direct Sound Notation method, for example, at times when homophones do not exist, or when the homophone sinograph is rarely used. When no homophone can be found, another approach has been developed in which the approximate pronunciation is made up with the patterns of 'Du-ruo' or ‘Du-ru,’ that is, ‘sounds like.’ As a result, Direct Sound Notation is alternatively named as the Du-ruo Method. Occasionally, some modification of the homophone is also practiced when the tone is

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2 Other examples such as ‘艸, luó 络,’ ‘栻, shì 式,’ ‘柳, chēn 柳,’ ‘勳, xù 序’ in Sea of Words.
not the same as the annotated one. For example, ‘琛’ should be pronounced as ‘琛’ in the first tone, though many read it as ‘琛’ (Wang Li 1980: 411).

School teaching began in the Zhou dynasty, 3000 years ago, according to record preserved in the Zhou Rites. However, there was no mention of the sound notation method for sinographs at that time, though pupils were taught sinographs by the teacher, the Baoshi. The normal practice for showing the pronunciation of the sinograph was to follow the pronunciation of teachers. Teaching the pronunciation of sinographs to the student required repetition of the teacher’s pronunciation. This model of teaching was still observed in many parts of China before the Scheme of the Chinese Phonemic Alphabet was officially issued in 1958. As Henderson Smith (2012: 61) observed in his Village Life in China, when the pupils of seven or eight years old were seated in the classroom for the first time, they did not know Chinese Characters, nor their pronunciation nor meaning. The start of teaching was to follow the reading of the teacher’s from one word to another. The repetition would continue until the students mastered pronunciation of the sinographs. In this rigid practice, students learned to build a correlation between the word pronunciation and the sinograph. The teacher’s pronunciation would be the standard for the students, with no other standard available.

At present, we are still able to find textbooks from the Han dynasty which list sinographs in a rhyming manner, such as Ji-jiu Zhang, but with no indication of the sound. From approximately 100 AD, during the Han dynasty, the specific sound notation practice emerged in the form of the dictionary book, Shuo-Wen Jie-Zi. The oldest extant dictionary of Chinese sinographs Shuo-Wen Jie-Zi, which was compiled in 100 AD, contains method which are currently ineffective in indicating the pronunciation of sinographs. It does not offer the pronunciation for each sinograph generally, but rather, only occasionally, noting the sound or the approximate pronunciation with a homophone or a proximate for some difficult or rarely used sinographs. There are 9353 sinographs recorded in the book, and only approximately six hundred sinographs or so being annotated with a homophone (Lu Zong-da 2015: 37). It seems that the compiler has assumed that most sinograph pronunciations are known to ordinary speakers. We find examples in Shuo-Wen Jie-Zi, with sound notation in the Du-ruo Method, ‘元’, 始也。从一从兀。‘ (Yuan,’ signifies ‘begin,’ and is composed with radicals of 一 and 兀). As Yuan (元) is a common word, there is no indication of the pronunciation. For ‘元’ (wu), the explanation is, ‘兀，高而上平也。从一在上，读若夐。茂陵有兀桑里。’ (‘Wu’ signifies “high with a flat top,” and is formed with “one stroke” at the top of a “man,” sounding like Xiong. Wusangli in Maoling contains the sinograph 元). The pronunciation is indicated as “Sounding like Xiong,” where for Wu (兀) this is not a common word, though it is simpler in form.

This method is convenient in that it provides the pronunciation directly, but lacks in accuracy. The inclusion of homophones is beneficial, but the omission of which requires a proximate pronunciations. The direct notation of sound with a homophone would fail in the absence of a homophone. There is also the case that a homophone may present itself as more difficult than the word to be annotated. For instance, ‘ffset’ should be pronounced as ‘醬’ but many read it as ‘律’. Owing to the fact that China is a large country with much diversity in dialects, people from different regions read the same sinograph through different models and in local accents, despite that the sinograph has a common form and meaning, and hence the sound difference is not a serious consideration. There are also other deficiencies with Direct Sound Notation. It can also generate misunderstanding. In Fangyan (Dialect) by Yang Xiong in Han dynasty, one item reads “Ying, also Yang in East Qi Kingdom.” The annotator of Fangyan, Guo Pu in the Jin dynasty, noted that Yang is
a dialectal variant of Ying, if written as 羊 as a sound notation, this would consequently cause confusion as the annotation literally reads as “Flies, they are called Sheep in the east part of Qi Kingdom.” That confusion would be due to the sound notation by the character 羊, for there is no other way to show the exact sound of the dialectal variant. Pu Zhi-zhen (2013: 103) has pointed out that many sinographs in Fangyan were only used as sound notation characters. Wang Li (2006: 24) comments that there was no phonemic alphabet then, and it had to be accomplished in this way. This means of sound notation is not so effective as the sinograph cannot display immediate intricate differences of the regional variants. As such, in this period, prior to the Han dynasty, no segmentation below the word syllabic level was practiced. The impression of the word syllable to Chinese people was thus wholly as one entirety, not segmented.

The Fan-qie Method in Philology

The Fan-qie method is a specific device with which to demonstrate the pronunciation of a sinograph with two other sinographs standing by, as is the case in 东·德·红切.’ If we refer to 东 (Dōng) as A, and 德 (Dè) as B₁ and 红 (hóng) as B₂, then A and B₁ both have the same initial consonant, and A and B₂ both have the same rhyme element. This device uses the first sinograph (B₁) and the second sinograph (B₂) to represent the consonant and the rhyme element of A (东) respectively. The standing together of two sinographs indicates the compounding of consonant and rhyme elements in a syllable. This device of sound notation aims to split the word syllable into two elements: Consonant and rhyme. This method of sound notation constituted progress in Chinese phonemic analysis in that it cut the syllable into two elements. The invention of this method emanated from the influence of the Sanskrit language, not from natural evolution.

With the spread of Buddhism in China, towards the end of the West Han dynasty, the Buddhists first encountered the Sanskrit language and its writing, followed by the scholars with an intimate relationship with the Buddhists or those who were engaged in translating Buddhist sutras into Chinese. A striking difference easily found when comparing Chinese and Sanskrit is in their writings: One is a logography, the unit of which corresponds to words or morphemes, the other is the Siddham (and Devanagari) alphabet, where letters correspond to individual sounds in syllables. In comparison with about 5,000 or so individual characters in Chinese writing which were extremely complex to master, the Sanskrit writing system only consists of 14 vowels and 34 consonant letters, and as such Sanskrit could be easily recorded. The Sanskrit alphabet employs a small number of letters to generate endless words by compounding the letters. The generating characteristics of Brahmi’s letters impressed the Chinese so much that it was emphasized repeatedly in philological works. They called the letters the ‘Mother of words.’ The Sanskrit learners in China thus gladly introduced the mechanism of the Siddham alphabet into Chinese. With the inspiration of the Sanskrit spelling technique, by which compounding a consonant and a vowel constitutes the basic structure of the syllable, Chinese scholars devised the method of Fan-qie to note down the pronunciation of a sinograph. Mythology indicates that Sun Yan first introduced Fan-qie in Chinese, but was probably practiced prior by others.

Though the Fan-qie method can produce the pronunciation of a sinograph more accurately than Direct Sound Notation, it is also clumsy and is not so accepted by the general public. More so, the sounds of sinographs in Fan-qie can change over time, thus not offering a precise indication of a sinograph through a Fan-qie instance 1000 prior. Scholars throughout the ages would differ in their use of different pairs of sinographs to represent consonant and rhyming parts. If scholars in later periods were to conform to the same pair of sinographs used
in earlier periods, problems would emerge owing to diachronic sound change and regional sound variation. Historical documents assist to confirm this.

Another problem emerges with the Fan-qie Method. The syllabic structure of the Chinese language differs to that of Sanskrit. There are many cases in the Chinese language with more than two vowels. A medial vowel usually follows the preceding consonant which preceds the central vowel. While occasionally there is a consonant at the end of syllable, as in 'vid,' the normal Sanskrit syllable is of the CVVC type. Despite mismatches in syllabic structure between the two languages, Chinese scholars have chosen to rigidly cut Chinese word syllables into two parts. The first part, which is usually termed as Sound (initial consonant), is simple, with only one consonant, while the second part, which is often termed as Rhyme, is complex, some with only one vowel (nucleus), some with one vowel and a consonant (coda), some with two vowels and a consonant. This two-part division of the Chinese syllable structure is complex and is only applied in some philological work.

Tang Lan (2011: 13) suggests the Fan-qie method as the most important invention in Chinese linguistics. This method is indeed important for the recording of Chinese word sounds. However, the method emerges as a primitive rigid copy of the mechanism of Sanskrit spelling. The method was first used by Buddhists, and then appreciated and absorbed by philologists. As such, the invention of Fan-qie was a tentative start for the phonemic analysis of Chinese word syllables. Later, more delicate segmentation of the syllable into consonant, tone and rhyme was to develop. Graded Rhyme Charts offer another scheme with which to display the whole possible syllable in Chinese, offering opportunities for progress in perceiving sound segmentation in the Graded Rhyme Charts, in comparison with the Fan-qie method.

The National Sound Notation Alphabet

The National Sound Notation Alphabet was issued in 1913 by the Chinese Ministry of Education, intended to improve on the Fan-qie Method. In comparison with Fan-qie, the National Sound Notation Alphabet did not use sinographs, but rather, a set of characters with fewer strokes but based on sinographs. The most striking progress was the distinction of the medial vowel sounds /i/, /u/, /ü/. This led to a tri-part segmentation of the Chinese syllable, that is, the initial consonant, the medial vowel and the rhyme. In the following, I examine the steps leading to the invention of the National Sound Notation Alphabet.

In the Fan-qie method, some scholars must have found delicate differences in the rhyme part in choosing the most appropriate pairs of sinographs. Only in the Graded Rhyme Chart can we find differences in rhyme parts in distinguishing the Four Grades which designate the difference of nucleus and medial vowels. The Chart demonstrates all possible syllables in the Chinese language, with 36 consonants in columns and rhyme elements. In the Chart, every rhyme is distinguished further into four Grades according to its medial vowel and the openness of the nucleus. The use of Grades in the Rhyme Chart exposes a delicate analysis of the rhyme element in Chinese syllables. However, the chart still uses sinograph pairs (the Fan-qie Method) to represent the pronunciation of the syllable, as there no alphabet can more clearly display the analysis of individual phonemes. Here, the Graded Rhyme Chart is simply a table of all Chinese syllables in the Fan-qie Method. There is no distinction between the medial vowel and the nucleus in written form. The Rhyme Chart terminology copied much from Sanskrit, for examples, Grades are named after the relation among simple vowels, Guta and Vṛddhi (Yu Min 1999: 277), where the grouping of consonants are divided into labial, dental, lingual, palatal and guttural, thus following the practice of Sanskrit.
Aside from Sanskrit influence, Chinese historical phonology also witnessed the impact of the Latin alphabet, introduced by Christian Missionaries at the beginning of the 17th century, the earliest extant Latin notation of Chinese sinographs being designed by Matteo Ricci. A Christian Missionary pamphlet, God’s Salvation was translated to Chinese as 天 (Tien) 佑 (chu) 佑 (kieu) 佑 (xi). The transliteration into the Latin alphabet was given alongside each sinograph, presenting the earliest record of sinograph and Latin alphabets presented side by side. Twenty years later, another missionary, Nicolas Trigault, published a revised version of Matteo Ricci’s design. The design of the missionaries patently inspired some scholars at the time. Fang Yi-zhi, Yang Xuan-qi and Liu Xian-ting all expressed their excitement at the use of the Latin alphabet. Liu Xian-ting designed his New Scheme of Chinese Rhyme, in which there were 22 consonants and 32 rhyming parts. Liu’s book and his New Scheme were however lost in history, thus obfuscating our knowledge of Liu Xian-ting’s design. With a break in communication between the Chinese government and the Catholic Church in Rome 1707, the use of Latin letters to annotate the sinograph became extinct.

Coming to the second half of 19th century, with collisions between European countries and the Chinese government, the idea of designing a convenient instrument to note the pronunciation of sinograph again arose in the minds of scholars. In comparison to the European writing system, an increasing amount of scholars came to realize that learning sinographs was arduous. To render learning facile, a new scheme had to be found. In 1892, Lu Zhuang-zhang designed his scheme using modified Latin letters, which was not welcomed by the majority of the Chinese people. In 1900, Wang Zhao designed his scheme using simple parts of sinographs, a form welcomed by a large part of China. Although many phoneticians in the 1900s could have identified the medial vowels, the usual practice was to assimilate medial vowels into preceding consonants, or to merge these into the following nucleus. Wang Zhao proposed a convenience in identifying two parts, thus assimilating the medial vowel with the preceding consonant as one character. In 1913, the National Sound Notation Alphabet was adopted by the Ministry of Education as the standard format, distinguishing the medial vowel in separate characters, thus advancing the analysis of the Chinese syllable structure.

The National Sound Notation Alphabet form style is of Chinese sinograph tradition, where all characters are taken from sinographs. The design of these characters was influenced by Japan, both in idea and content. In 1898, Wang Zhao went into exile in Japan and was inspired by its rapid growth and common literacy. The first task for compulsory education was to design an easy instrument to annotate the pronunciation of sinograph. The Japanese alphabet, the Kana, which borrows from standard sinographs, as well as their cursive style in order to designate the sounds of the Japanese language, has confirmed Wang Zhao’s motivation to develop a national form based on sinographs. The National Sound Notation Alphabet in 1913 was an improved program of Wang Zhao’s scheme.

**Chinese Roman Letters and the Scheme of the Chinese Phonemic Alphabet**

In the National Sound Notation Alphabet, the segmentation of Chinese syllable sounds is not complete, for there are still some sound chunks such as ☯ (an), ☯ (en), ☯ (ang) and ☯ (eng). There are also characters designating diphthongs, such as ☯ (ai), ☯ (ei), ☯ (ao) and ☯ (ou). These sound chunks are the result of the rhyming tradition and the convenience of teaching practices rather than an inability for further analysis. The majority of the general public became accustomed to the sinograph, and also to the conception of one sinograph corresponding to ‘one sound’ (one syllable). In daily discourse, people cared less about the subtle delicacy below the level of syllable, and tended to regard one syllable as equal to ‘one sound.’
In 1926, Liu Fu, Zhao Yuan-ren, Li Jin-xi, Qian Xuan-tong, Wang Yi, Lin Yu-tang et al. proposed a much thought out program using Roman letters in the notation of Chinese word syllables and the Chinese language (Li Jin-xi 2011: 198). This program, named Chinese Roman Letters, is a four-part division scheme, using an individual letter for each phoneme. The system shows the separation of the nucleus and the coda in the rhyme element. The four-part segmentation of the Chinese word syllable was thus reached, and the scheme of Chinese Roman Letters was now much more accurate in phonemic notation, but was still too clumsy and tedious to learn. This scheme was issued by the Ministry of Education in 1928, but was met with negligence in schools. At the same time, some scholars in Farest Russia developed a simpler design to aid the education of illiterate Chinese workers in the region. Their design was later introduced into North China and was labeled as the North Latin Design.

After the founding of the People’s Republic of China, various scholars with different designs of sound notation convened to design a more suitable and convenient system. The result was the scheme of the Chinese Phonemic Alphabet officially issued in 1958 by the new government. The new scheme kept the four-part division of the Chinese syllable yet with revisions, taking into consideration the drawbacks and inconveniences of Chinese Roman letters and the North Latin design. Since the most complicated syllables contain four parts: The initial (consonant), the medial vowel, the nucleus and the coda, the four-part segmentation is the optimum phonemic analysis for Chinese syllables.

Sound Segmentation and Foreign Linguistic Impetus

Though the scheme of the Chinese Phonemic Alphabet allows for analysis of the Chinese basic word syllable into phonemes, the general public are not aware of phonetic sensitivity. This stems from that the segmentation of the Chinese syllable is mainly the practice of scholars. The phonemic segmentation of Chinese language syllable below the level of word did not seen significant improvement in school teaching until very recently. Here, tradition is still observed. The rhyme element is taught and learned in chunks, including the nucleus and coda, eg, an en in un, in, ang, eng and ing, and not by compounding individual phonemes. These chunks stand as symbols and which designate certain sounds, not as combinations of two or three phonemes in a sequential line. This is also the case with Zhi, Chi, Shi, Ri, Zi, Ci, and Si.

The syllabic structure of the Chinese language witnessed a long development. The devising of a method to designate the pronunciation of the sinograph displayed the phonemic analysis of the syllable. Any development in the analysis of the Chinese syllable has been influenced by foreign linguistic practice. The Fan-qie Method, the two-part division of Chinese syllables, has been influenced by Sanskrit; the National Sound Notation alphabet was influenced by the Japanese Kana system. Chinese Roman letters and the Phonemic Alphabet was influenced by European phonetics. Scholars in China did not accept that progress was achieved under the impetus of foreign linguistics, but rather, insisted that Chinese scholars were able to independently articulate syllables into phonemes. We tend to be blinded by our heritage, thus hindering innovation. The encountering of foreign languages and writings often provide an initiative to experiment with new methods, thus resulting in progress in the perception of languages, well evidenced by the notation of sinographs.

References

Language, Community, Ethnicity
The Maintenance of Language and Identities of the Thai-Melayu Ethnic Group in Jaleh Village, Yarang District, Pattani, Thailand

Brohanah Tayeh
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Yala Rajabhat University, Thailand

Kamila Kaping
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Yala Rajabhat University, Thailand

Nadeehah Samae
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Yala Rajabhat University, Thailand

Varavejbhisis Yossiri
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Yala Rajabhat University, Thailand

Abstract

At the Thai-Malaysian border, a majority of the population comprises the Thai-Melayu ethnic group, as speakers of the Pattani-Malay dialect. Here, heritage language maintenance presents a salient factor. The ethnicity resides on both sides of the border.

This study aims to investigate the heritage language maintenance and identities of the Thai-Melayu ethnic group in Jaleh Village, Yarang District, Pattani, Thailand, and to examine their attitudes towards the language used in their community. The samples-set comprised 20 local respondents who were born and raised in the village. A questionnaire addressing the effects of the heritage language maintenance of the Thai-Melayu was employed as a tool of data collection. A descriptive analysis method was used for data analysis. The results of the study revealed ideological underpinnings of the ethnic group with regards to language, as well as demographic information that informs population and cultural studies. These factors include that the Pattani-Malay dialect constitutes a major language, where the Thai language in comparison has a minor usage in the community. The Pattani-Malay dialect is used in the family domain, with extended families, or with neighbors, and in ritualistic or religion domains. In contrast, Thai is used with strangers, in government and official domains, in the school domain, and in the domain of public health. Moreover, the results support that the dialect has not as yet become endangered, evidenced by that the samples prefer the Pattani-Malay dialect as the main language for daily life, and for passing on their ethnic language to younger generations, a process labeled as ‘accidental maintenance.’

Keywords: Language maintenance, identities, Pattani-Malay dialect, ethnic.

Introduction

Language shifts are inevitable, though this phenomenon is impeded by “language maintenance” (Prasitratthasinsin 1998), such as with indigenous languages. However, this occurs with or without human
intervention. Maintenance is critically important as it is salvages cultural identity, where Leeprecha (2004) noted that identity is about understanding and recognizing who we are depending social context and relations. By maintaining a language, thinking systems, knowledge systems, worldview and cultural and historical identities are preserved or at least sustained. Pongsapich (2006) suggested that the adaptation process of ethnic groups exhibits different characteristics due to context.

Independent for Reconciliation (2006) board stipulated that southern border provinces in Thailand maintain specific and clear patterns. The identity of the three southern border provinces is the Pattani-Malay dialect, defining Melayu ethnic culture and its religious symbolisms. The Pattani-Malay dialect houses its specific cultural values and the Malay Islamic heritage. Currently, the Pattani-Malay dialect still maintains an important role in the population in the Thai southern region as the main language for communication. The literacy in the Pattani-Malay dialect in children may be regressing, however, due to parents’ social status, their education, their jobs, and their need for language use. However, in general, local people above the age of 40 who spend most of their lives in the village still exhibit pride in their local language ability and the adaptation of their local language in daily life (Premsrirat 1998).

This study focuses on exploring how the Pattani-Malay communities maintain their dialect and cultural identity, thus reflecting the Muslim culture of the Ban Jaleh community, Yarang district, Pattani, Thailand. The data from the study of language landscapes the trends of Pattani-Malay language maintenance as most of the population employs the Pattani-Malay dialect as a mother tongue. However, anthropological and sociological factors may remain a driving force in maintaining the language, and in promoting the maintenance of the Pattani-Malay dialect.

Objective

1. To study the language and identity of the Ban Jaleh community, Yarang, Pattani
2. To study factors affecting the maintenance of the Pattani-Malay Dialect of the Thai-Melayu ethnic group in Jaleh village.

Methodology

Population and Samples

1. The population are people who are living in Ban Jaleh community, Yarang district, Pattani province.
2. The samples group used in the research was 20 people using a multi-stage random sampling method.
   The range of age is from 15 years to the age of 60.

Data collection

The data collection occurred during weekends (Saturday – Sunday) and public holidays. This was divided into four stages:

Phase 1: Surveying Ban Jaleh village in Yarang district, Pattani province owing to its Melayu ancient city and language use, with focus on issues related to the Thai-Malays ethnicity
Phase 2: Interviewing and recording of data
Phase 3: Questionnaires regarding the maintenance of language and identity
Phase 4: Analyzing the collected data
Research Tools
The questionnaires comprise of three main parts as follows;
Part 1: Personal data regarding basic information of the sample sets, such as gender, age, education level, ethnic origin, and mother tongue
Part 2: Language selection in different domains, such as in family, strangers, neighbors or relatives, government, rituals, school and public health.
Part 3: Language ability of the sample sets

Data Analysis
Statistical and descriptive methods are employed for the data analysis.

Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Data and percentage of samples</th>
<th>Amount (samples group)</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 20 years old</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29 years old</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39 years old</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49 years old</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59 years old</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 60 year old</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uneducated</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior high school</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor’s degree or higher</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marry</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widow</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father’s ethnic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thai</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malay</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother’s ethnic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thai</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malay</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse’s ethnic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thai</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malay</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Other (no spouse) & 6 & 30% \\
Sum & 20 & 100% \\
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First language spoken</th>
<th>Amount (samples)</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Thai & 1 & 5% \\
Pattani-Malay & 19 & 95% \\
Sum & 20 & 100% \\
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Second language spoken</th>
<th>Amount (samples)</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Thai & 14 & 70% \\
Pattani-Malay & 6 & 30% \\
Sum & 20 & 100% \\
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The most used language in the community</th>
<th>Amount (samples)</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Thai & 0 & 0% \\
Malay & 20 & 100% \\
Sum & 20 & 100% \\
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The second used language in the community</th>
<th>Amount (samples)</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Thai & 20 & 100% \\
Malay & 0 & 0% \\
Sum & 200 & 100% \\

Table 1: Personal information and language maintenance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spoken language</th>
<th>Amount of samples group population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Amount of population</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Pattani Malay dialect & 19 & 95% & 6 & 30% \\
Thai & 1 & 5% & 14 & 70% \\
Sum & 20 & 20 & 20 & 100% \\

Table 2: Percentage of samples who speaks first and second languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>Amount of samples group population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Most used language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Amount of population</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Pattani Malay dialect & 20 & 100% & 0 & 0% \\
Thai & 0 & 0% & 20 & 100% \\
Sum & 20 & 100% & 20 & 100% \\

Table 3: Percentage of the samples in choosing to use Pattani Malay and Thai languages the most and the second For communication within the community.

**Family domain**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain</th>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Conversation partner</th>
<th>Languages use</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Amount of population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Discussing about general topics such as livelihood, teaching, and training.</td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>Grandfather</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Grandmother</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Older</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4: This table shows the percentage of the participants in choosing to use Pattani and Thai dialects of Malay language in family domain

### Stranger Domain

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain</th>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Conversation partner</th>
<th>Languages use</th>
<th>Thai</th>
<th>Malay</th>
<th>Thai-Malay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stranger</td>
<td>Say hello or ask for help in</td>
<td>In the community</td>
<td>Elderly people</td>
<td>Amount of population</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Amount of population</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>front of an unknown person.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Adult</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Children</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Elderly people</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Adult</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Children</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: This table shows the percentage of the participants in choosing to use Pattani and Thai dialects of Malay language in unknown domain

### Neighborhood/relatives Domain

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain</th>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Conversation partner</th>
<th>Languages use</th>
<th>Thai</th>
<th>Malay</th>
<th>Thai-Malay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neighbor</td>
<td>Discuss general matters such as borrowing etc.</td>
<td>In the community</td>
<td>Elderly people</td>
<td>Amount of population</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Amount of population</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Adult</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Children</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: This table shows the percentage of the participants in choosing to use Pattani and Thai dialects of Malay language in neighborhood and relatives domain

### Government Domain

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain</th>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Conversation partner</th>
<th>Languages use</th>
<th>Thai</th>
<th>Malay</th>
<th>Thai-Malay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>Contact or service from government agencies</td>
<td>Municipal District Muang District Office</td>
<td>Authorities</td>
<td>Amount of population</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Amount of population</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: This table shows the percentage of the participants in choosing to use Pattani and Thai dialects of Malay language in government domain
**Ritual Domain**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain</th>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Conversation partner</th>
<th>Thai Languages use</th>
<th>Malay Languages use</th>
<th>Other Languages use</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rite</td>
<td>Weddings, funerals and etc.</td>
<td>In the community</td>
<td>Elderly people</td>
<td>Amount of population: 0</td>
<td>Percent: 0%</td>
<td>Amount of population: 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Adult</td>
<td>Amount of population: 1</td>
<td>Percent: 5%</td>
<td>Amount of population: 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Children</td>
<td>Amount of population: 2</td>
<td>Percent: 10%</td>
<td>Amount of population: 18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8: This table shows the percentage of the participants in choosing to use Pattani and Thai dialects of Malay language in ritual domain.

**School Domain**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain</th>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Conversation partner</th>
<th>Thai Languages use</th>
<th>Malay Languages use</th>
<th>Thai-Malay Languages use</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>Study or teach and do various activities</td>
<td>At school</td>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>Amount of population: 11</td>
<td>Percent: 55%</td>
<td>Amount of population: 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Parent</td>
<td>Amount of population: 6</td>
<td>Percent: 30%</td>
<td>Amount of population: 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Amount of population: 8</td>
<td>Percent: 40%</td>
<td>Amount of population: 8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9: This table shows the percentage of the participants in choosing to use Pattani and Thai dialects of Malay language in school domain.

**Public Health Domain**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain</th>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Conversation partner</th>
<th>Thai Languages use</th>
<th>Malay Languages use</th>
<th>Thai-Malay Languages use</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public health</td>
<td>Contact health services</td>
<td>Health Promoting Hospital of community</td>
<td>Healthcare Providers</td>
<td>Amount of population: 10</td>
<td>Percent: 50%</td>
<td>Amount of population: 7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10: This table shows the percentage of the participants in choosing to use Pattani and Thai dialects of Malay language in public health domain.

**Ability Levels**

1. The ability to listen to Pattani Malay dialect: 4.3
2. The ability to speak Pattani Malay dialect: 4.3

Table 11: Language ability

**Discussion**

The language used by the sample groups in Ban Jaleh community were the Pattani-Malay dialect and Thai. While Thai is the official language of Thailand, the Thai language is not chosen by these communities for communication. Pattani-Malay is used as the primary language, where Thai is used as the secondary language for communication. This aligns with the Royal Institute (2010) dictionary, which defines the maintaining of a
language as a combining of the efforts of bilingual communities to maintain a language by using this language in various domains. Also, it is preventing language dies in many different ways such as a campaign for people in the community to have a positive attitude towards their original language.

In choosing the language, the samples in their respective domains chose to use both Pattani-Malay and Thai in three forms. The first form is that only the Pattani-Malay dialect is used to communicate. The second form is that only the Thai language is used to communicate. The third form is that both Pattani Malay and Thai are used together to communicate within the family and stranger domains, both as informal languages. The majority of the sample set chose the Pattani-Malay dialect as their primary language of communication, whereas in government domains, the majority of the sample set chose to use Thai to communicate. Regarding the choice of language in various contexts, language users choose to comply with social linguistic norms. For example, language at home motivates the use of one language whereas language at school motivates the use of another language. A high language status requires the use of that language in formal situations and writing, whereas a lower status language requires the use of that language in informal conversations at home or other relevant domains. This corresponds to Prasithrathsint (1998) in that the majority of the samples chose to use the Pattani-Malay dialect in conversation with the Pattani-Malay ethnic group, both inside and outside of the community, whereas people chose to use Thai in government domains and in domains with Thai conversation partners. As such, the Pattani Malay ethnic communities are significantly bilingual.

Finally, we studied the attitudes of the villagers of Ban Jaleh village towards language maintenance within the community (see Holmes et al. 1993). The data exposes significant language maintenance in the community, and that social interaction positively affects the Pattani-Malay dialect in everyday interaction.

**Social and Anthropological Factors Affecting the Maintenance of Language and Identity**

**Social Interaction**

Melayu women usually purchase food, where during conversations, they use the Pattani-Malay dialect for communication, while Melayu men gather in tea shops to discuss general matters also using Pattani-Malay.

**Household Language**

Most of the respondents use the Pattani-Malay dialect, thus demonstrating the strength of the family system to use and maintain the Pattani-Malay dialect in conversation.

**Attitudes towards Language Use**

People in the community have positive attitudes towards their language and maintain positive feelings and value toward their ethnicity, while exhibiting pride in the Pattani-Malay dialect, and insisting on passing on the language to future generations.

**Building Houses in Connected Areas**

Building a new house after marriage is common in the community. Newly weds usually build large houses near their parents. In the evening, children and parents frequently gather socially.

**Marriage across Ethnicities**

Marriages crossing ethnicities occur in small numbers when compared to those within the same ethnic group.
School Support

There is no promotion of the use of Pattani-Malay in schools as the teaching and learning system use Thai as the primary language. Similarly, all students must use Thai for communication while at school. However, promotion of the use of Pattani-Malay does appear in Tadika School, in order not to salvage the Pattani-Malay dialect.

Religious Language

The majority of the population uses Pattani Malay owing to the community’s Islamic structure, resulting in the maintenance of the language in religious matters. As such, the community uses the Pattani Malay language to perform religious rituals.

Positive Perspectives

The majority of the population seems does not move to other provinces or abroad for work. However, some people study in other provinces or abroad, where they re build the community. Furthermore, those who do travel to study or work tend to return to Ban Jaleh.

Conclusion

In the Ban Jaleh community, two languages are typically used. The Pattani-Malay dialect is used in the family domain, with neighbors or relatives and in rituals. The Thai language is used for communication with strangers, in government, in school and in public health. The research findings indicate that the sample set choose to use the local Malay language so as to maintain the language in daily life. The dialect is maintained with great pride in order to salvage the Pattani-Malay dialect.

The results from this research will aid those interested in the linguistics and ethnic descent of these Malay communities, and will be useful in formulating policies and language preservation plans of various ethnic groups in Thailand. Therefore, we focus on studying the preservation of ethnic groups in Jaleh village so as to examine the condition of language usage and to analyze the trends of maintenance. The results support that the dialect has not as yet become endangered, evidenced by that the samples prefer the Pattani-Malay dialect as the main language for daily life, and for passing on their ethnic language to younger generations, a process labeled as ‘accidental maintenance.

References

The Indian Hakkas of Vienna

Ralf Vollmann
University of Graz, Austria

Tek Wooi Soon
University of Graz, Austria

Abstract

Hakka emigration has created many smaller communities worldwide; where some groups continued their migratory journey. One such example is the Hakkas, who first migrated to Calcutta and then moved on to Vienna and Toronto, clustering in a close-knit social network.

In various sessions, Viennese Hakkas of all age groups were interviewed for their lifestories and linguistic practices. (a) The linguistic competence of the migrants includes Hakka, English and Indian (Hindi, Bengali) but often rather little German; Hakka is important at the workplace (Chinese restaurants) and is transmitted in families; Indian helps establish professional relationships with Indian migrants. (b) The social network is rather closed to Hakka friends from Calcutta or from other places. All Hakkas closely cooperate and usually have only few outside contacts. They consider Calcutta as their old homeland to which they return for Chinese New Year. (c) The younger generation consists of weak speakers of Hakka who are fully integrated into Austrian culture, but also maintain contacts to Toronto and love to visit friends and family in India. To conclude, the Indian Hakkas of Vienna are an interesting example of a two-step migration which first converted some Chinese into Indians, and then planted this Indian subgroup into Europe.

Keywords: Hakka migration, Hakka language, Indian Hakkas

Background

Ethnic Chinese people, especially from Southern China, have continually emigrated to other countries (cf. Wang 1991), with South-East Asia being the main destination (Li and Li 2013; Leo 2015; Carstens 2018). Since the 18th century, a small group of Chinese also lived in Calcutta (Biswa 2017).

One group known for its high migratory mobility is the Hakkas (客家, lit. ‘guest people’; cf. Leo 2015) from the mountaineous region between Guangdong and Fujian, having moved there from the north in various migration waves (Cohen 1968; Mong 1980; Leong 1997), spreading out over Guangdong and other provinces. The traditional life of the Hakkas includes closed-group practices for marriage, etc., with great importance given to family ancestry. In migration, these groups continued these closed-group practices with clan associations (huiguan or tongxianghui), endogamous practices, and characteristic professions (cf., e.g., Zhang and Sen 2013; Biswas 2017). The Hakkas are known for often settling in the periphery of economic centres, adopting professions that are also marginal and which provide wealth.
During the politically turbulent 20th century, a group of Hakkas of several thousand, originating from Meizhou, tried to reach Nanyang (Malaya), but for various reasons ‘ended up’ in Calcutta, India. Many started leather processing (shoe making) and tanning, professions which were reserved for untouchables by Hindus (Oxfeld 1993; Oxfeld 1996; Liang 2007; Biswas 2017), and became wealthy (as ‘pariah capitalists’ cf. Weber 1992: 166; Chun 1989; for the Calcutta Hakkas, cf. Oxfeld 1985, 1992, 1993, 1996 [2007]). Another typical profession for Hakkas was restaurant owner and cook. The multiethnic Calcutta area is divided into “endogamous, occupationally demarcated and geographically clustered groups” (Oxfeld 1992: 268), which makes ‘assimilation’ for any group impossible (cf. Biswas 2017). Thus, the Hakkas of Bengal could easily maintain clearly defined social boundaries towards other ethnic groups (Oxfeld 1992: 268), with mainly intra-group marriage and Buddhist religious practices. In a climate of strong group solidarity, the Hakka language has been maintained throughout the generations.

However, after the Sino-Indian conflict of 1962, many Indian Chinese experienced the mistrust of the Indian authorities by internment, retraction of citizenship and deportation (Oxfeld 1992: 268; Biswas 2017). Furthermore, the Indian authorities enforced environmental protection, which made the polluting tanning business difficult for this group.

Through chain migration, many Hakkas from Calcutta emigrated mostly to Toronto and Vienna in the 1980s and 1990s, but also to a few other places. Group solidarity helped newcomers in the new places to find work and, subsequently a residence permit. In the new situation in Vienna, there was little choice but to open Chinese restaurants or to work in the kitchens of established ones.

At some point, 4000 Indian Hakkas may have lived in Austria – mostly in Vienna. However, the restaurant business became increasingly competitive, and many had been closed. This led to another migration pattern of the Viennes Hakkas moving on to Toronto and other places. The remaining group may have been an estimated 1000 people. This high mobility of new Hakkas with work migration and education at foreign universities led to the arising of ‘astronaut families,’ where family members may have lived on different continents and may have traveled back and forth for business and family reunions (cf. Waters 2005; van Dongen and Liu 2018).

The Hakkas of Vienna have a few remarkable characteristics; due to their endogamous, closed-group lifestyle, they have preserved the Hakka language as their intra-group language, attend a Chinese temple, have a regular weekly meeting, and regularly return to India to visit relatives and friends; if possible, they also visit Meizhou, their ancestral home country.

Material and Method

The authors performed qualitative open interviews with Indian Hakkas in Vienna from all age groups on various occasions in 2018-2019, in Hakka, English, German and Chinese. The aims of this investigation are to observe the following: (a) Language maintenance and language loss of Hakka in the exile situation, (b) competence in German, (c) the socio-cultural circumstances of the Hakka migration in Austria. The following is a summary of the findings from discussions with the Hakka population.
Analysis

Linguistic Competence

Since the Hakkas of Calcutta left China prior to Putonghua, the modern Chinese standard language, was introduced (1956), they only speak Hakka and read Chinese with Hakka spelling. In Calcutta, they learned Indian languages and English. After arriving in Austria, they generally started working immediately, and none had the opportunity to formally learn German. Therefore, their competence in German is a pidgin version of German with Hakka substrate. Their Hakka, however, is not influenced by Putonghua (but they adopt Indian words).

As the families speak Hakka at home, the children understand and are able to use Hakka, but their best language is German. Back in Calcutta, where the group has also shrunk over time, Hakka is also in decline, usually replaced by English as the preferred language. Since many youth also renounced the idea of endogamous partner choice, to the chagrin of their parents, the Hakka language in Vienna may have met its last generation.

Socio-cultural Circumstances

While rich Hakkas in Calcutta see no need to migrate, young adventurous people in search of new opportunities possibly move to Vienna. Some manage to have their own restaurants, and to employ those who come later. People report adventurous journeys until they finally reach Austria, which is their destination as their friends or relatives have already established businesses. Upon arrival, they are immediately employed in restaurants. The German language is only acquired in the workplace; people do not seem to have many Austrian nor Chinese friends who are not Hakkas. One stated that one of their friends from the outside is a Malaysian Hakka who had to adapt linguistically to their dialect in order to be understood.

The German grammatical competence of the Hakkas in Austria is limited. Their language is based on Austrian German (dialectal forms), not standard German. One man from the group considered to be particularly gifted with languages had quickly been introduced to the non-Hakka investigator as an intermediary. This person speaks Austrian German quite well, and somewhat criticised the (low) level of linguistic competence of others who, in his view, were satisfied too quickly with a low level of linguistic competence. However, these migrants had worked all their lives in Hakka environments, and never used German beyond taking orders at their restaurants.

Social Networks

The group has strong internal solidarity. Most Hakka men are married to Hakka women, and report not having contact with other Hân (Chinese), as they usually do not understand other Chinese varieties; although they are becoming accustomed to Putonghua from Chinese TV, they generally do not resonate with China, and remain culturally rooted in India. In earlier years, Hakka men from Austria attempted to marry Indian Hakka women with the help of matchmakers; when this became increasingly difficult, some attempted to find a wife in Meizhou, which also does not seem to be a successful strategy. Some couples met in Austria at their ingroup workplaces.

While many Hakkas are either Christians or Buddhists regularly attending traditional religious events, recent conversion to certain Christian denominations has also somewhat weakened group solidarity.
The Indian Hakkas strive for Austrian citizenship and call Austria their new homeland, despite not having many outside contacts. When asked, the migrant generation frequently states that they are “already used to living here,” or that they have two home countries, India and Austria.

The Hakka restaurants serve all kinds of Asian foods, but can cook Indian Hakka style upon request. While Austria does not seem to be sensitive for such smaller cultural differences, Hakka-Indian cuisine seems to have become fashionable in English-speaking countries. Of course, the Austrian restaurant owners are frequently relatives or friends of their famous colleagues in London and Toronto.

**Intergenerational Aspects**

Families report being somewhat dissatisfied with their children being “culturally westerners,” and no longer caring for Hakka traditions, such as endogamy. The children, however, report having learned Hakka, as this is important for their parents. As for their lifeplan, they would not exclude marrying a European person, or moving to Toronto, which reflects their connection to other Indian Hakka groups in the world.

The children grew up with Hakka only until school, and then quickly switched to speaking German. Some are interested in the Hakka heritage, others are disinterested. Their competence in Hakka is limited, and while they are able to communicate, they seem to lack much Hakka vocabulary which they regularly replace by English or German loanwords. They are more comfortable with German than with Hakka. When asked about their identities, they feel like Austrians, with their family and cultural tradition being Indian; the young do not relate themselves to China.

**Conclusion**

The Indian Hakkas in Vienna are still a very enclosed migratory group identifying with a unique culture as Indian Hakkas. However, in modern times, global migration does no longer allow for the maintenance of such enclosed small-group practices. The younger generation may probably not continue the Hakka language and may not insist on endogamous marriage. As is the case with many groups, families are often spread over several continents. Religion can no longer provide unity. Finally, the specific ethnic profession of a restaurant owner is also maintained only by few families, whereas many of the remaining Hakkas are either retired or work in the food industry outside of traditional Hakka companies.

**References**


Migration, Language, Identity: The Journey of Meixian Hakkas from Calcutta to Vienna

Ralf Vollmann a
 aUniversity of Graz, Austria

Tek Wooi Soon b
 bUniversity of Graz, Austria

Abstract

Hakkas from Meizhou who migrated to Calcutta established successful businesses, and then, in the 1970s to the 1990s, moved on to settle in Vienna (and Toronto). Practicing a closed-group life both in Vienna and across continents, the Hakkas preserved their language and culture while adapting both to India and Austria in various ways.

In a series of open interviews with Vienna-based Hakkas, questions of identity and the preservation of a minority culture are raised. In dependence to age, the consultants have very different personal identities behind a shared social identity of being ‘Indian Hakkas,’ which is, however, mostly borne out of practical considerations of mutual support and certain cultural practices. As migrants, they can profit from close friendship and loyalty between group members, sharing the same professions, marrying inside the group, and speaking their own language. Questions of identity are mostly relevant for the younger generation which has to deal with a confusingly layered familial identity.

Keywords: Migration, identity, language and migration, Calcutta Hakkas, Austrian Hakkas

Background

Migration, Language and Identity

Identity emerges between the individual and society; identity types are elements of social reality (Berger and Luckmann 1991 [1967]: 195). An identity is a construct of the individual on the basis of self-perception under the impression of the perception of others, a self-categorisation through social comparison; it is displayed by the roles played in interaction with social norms. A social identity is a person’s knowledge that they belong to a social category or group (Hogg and Abrams 1988); people may experience (and construe) social identities, such as a racial identity (cf. Tajfel and Turner 1986) which has to do with inalienable physical characteristics on which similarity comparisons are based, or an ethnic identity1 which can be defined as representing a person’s sense of himself as a member of a particular ancestry (cf. Stets and Serpe 2013), or a religious identity, and so on.

1 For an extensive discussion of the concepts of ethnicity and race cf., e.g., Spencer 2006. This paper will use the term ‘ethnic’ for ‘cultural group,’ and ‘racial’ for the difference in physical appearance between Chinese, Indians and Austrians.
Identity creates congruence with an ingroup and difference with an outgroup. Inevitably, personal identities are complex and contradictory; for instance, a person may self-categorise as ‘member of an ethnic group’ (and subgroups), ‘speaker of a language,’ ‘family member,’ ‘citizen,’ ‘cook.’ Parts of sub-identities may conflict with each other, as the roles to be played for these identities may conflict or interfere with each other. Markers for self-categorisation and social comparison are race, ethnicity, language, customs, habits, preferences, etc.

In multiethnic societies, i.e., societies with more than one commonly shared social construction of reality, these complex interactions become more visible for the participants in their social interactions. Migration accentuates social identities by comparison of in-groups with out-groups.

**Chinese Migration**

Ethnic Chinese people, under population pressure, poverty and rebellions in their home country, and with an outlook for new opportunities abroad, have continually emigrated to other countries (cf. Wang 1991), stabilised since Zheng He’s travels (1405-1433), with South-East Asia (南方 Nán’áng, lit. ‘southern foreign countries’) being the main destination (Li and Li 2013; Leo 2015; Carstens 2018). There are different identities of overseas Chinese independence of the time and the circumstances of their settlement, such as the *peranakan*, or (sometimes powerful) associations of Chinese migrants. Under colonial rule (after 1850), Chinese merchants (Baba Nyonyas, Straits Chinese) as well as Chinese labourers, came to British-administrated places such as Malaya in even greater numbers. The migrants maintained contact with their homeland, and organised themselves in clan associations (huiguan or tongxianghui); their identification with China was strong prior to WW2. When the former colonies gained independence, a new nationalism of majority ethnic groups arose and often considered the minoritarian Chinese as second-class citizens, which over time created incentives for new migrations. South-East Asian ethnic Chinese employed study and work migration to Europe, Australia or North America, which led to the arising of families spread over different continents whose members would travel back and forth for business and family reunions (cf. van Dongen and Liu 2018). This new globalised migration and increased mobility poses entirely new questions of identity, as many of the social categories cannot be maintained.

**The Hakkas**

One of the groups known for their high migratory mobility are the Hakkas (客家, lit. ‘guest people’; cf. Leo 2015) from the mountainous regions between Guangdong and Fujian, i.e., in a peripheral area between the large geographic, economic and cultural centres (cf. Skinner 1997). While their origins are not known in detail, their ancestors seemed to have moved there from the north of China in various migration waves (Cohen 1968; Mong 1980; Leong 1997), settling in a region inhabited by the Shé (畬) minority which is also speaking the Hakka language today.² Apart from a possible partial mixing with Shé, the Hakkas are a cultural and linguistic subgroup of the Hán (汉) Chinese (cf. Zhang 2015: 2). Hakka women are known as hardworking in the fields,³ i.e., inside the confines of the property (cf. Leong 1997: 11),⁴ thereby liberating the men for work migration

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² Of ca. 709,000 Shé, only about 1000 still speak the 活聶 Huo Niu (Ch. huòniè) language (cf. Bradley 2007: 373).
³ The Hakka women did not bind their feet and were therefore able to work in the fields; this led to a characteristic gender-based division of labor which is maintained in the worldview of the older Vien-na Hakkas: 梅县个客家个妇人家做家，种田，男个人出外去赚钱，客家个风俗就恁样个[ge]来个[e]。’The Hakka women from Meixian manage their households well, work in the field, men go out [for work] to earn money, this is the Hakka’s cus-tom.’
⁴ And again from the interviews: 女孩子很勤劳[CH]，知无。做家。外边男孩子就出去[CH] ‘[Hakka] girls are diligent, understand? Manage the household well, the boys go outside.’
to urban centers, often occupying marginal economies, a strategy which often proved to be very successful. Inside of China, the Hakka spread all over Guangdong and further, and sometimes clashed with the Cantonese in ethnic conflicts. It was concluded that it was from these conflicts that the ethnic self-consciousness of the Hakka developed (Leong 1997). Their peculiar name 客家 Hakka (Ch. kéjiā; ‘guest families’) has either been formed in opposition to 本地 Punti (‘Cantonese’; cf. Maciver 1905: v) who occupied the southern areas earlier, or the term is an autonym characterising this culturally stable approach to be ‘guests’ in the places they are inhabiting (Leong 1997), perhaps also in relation to their migration into the Shé areas. Hakkas, having a self-image of guest people (i.e., migrants per se), constitute a substantial percentage of overseas Chinese around the world today.

Traditional life includes dosed-group practices for marriage and social relationships, with great importance assigned to family ancestry. During migration, these groups continued the closed-group practices with clan associations, endogamous practices, strong group solidarity and characteristic professions (cf., e.g., Zhang and Sen 2013; Biswas 2017). Hakka culture is not fundamentally different from that if other Chinese groups with their agnatic (patrilineal) family organisation where ethnicity is inherited from the father regardless of birthplace or language (cf. Leo 2015: 119), but these traits are considered to be Hakka values.

The Hakka language (Hashimoto 1973; Lai 2015; South Ooblin 2019) seems to relate more closely to Middle Chinese than the Northern varieties 北方话 Běifānghuà, Mandarin Chinese. The South Chinese languages (Cantonese, Hakka, Hokkien and smaller groups) are not mutually understandable with one another or with other varieties, but are traditionally considered to be dialects 方言 fāngyán of Chinese. Until the introduction of 普通话 Pǔtōnghuà (1956), spoken Chinese was represented in the form of dialects, while the written form was represented by ‘Classical/Written Chinese.’

Hakka migrants often followed previous migrants who provided information about the place and possible transport as well as job opportunities at the new place, a method which has been termed chain migration (cf. MacDonald and MacDonald 1964; for Hakka: Leo 2015; Carstens 2018). Family relationships and solidarity with friends or people from the same place of origin were thus important factors.

The so-called 水客 水客 served as (authorised) agents mediating between the overseas Chinese and their families back home, transporting money and letters (侨批 qiáo pi) back and forth. Bringing one’s family to the immigrant country was also possible only with the help of these agents who were Hakka from the same area with the same spoken language; Hakkas would not entrust their money and family members to an unknown person. This network of trust relied on a network of acquaintances and therefore required a close-knit social group.

Due to such closed-group practices, Hakka culture and the Hakka language were usually well-preserved in foreign countries. In some places, such as Sabah (East Malaysia) or Singkawang (Kalimantan, Indonesia), this level of cohesion and solidarity made the Hakkas very successful, and the Hakka language even became the lingua franca for other ethnic groups. As was then often the method, at first only Hakka men travelled to other countries, and then usually sent back money to their family, invited friends to come, and finally organised the transfer of their families, or returned home to find a wife who would then follow them back to the new homes in foreign lands.

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5 These letters were both private and approved, stating the amount of money sent and asking for acknowledgment of receipt.
The Hakkas of Calcutta

In South-East Asia, from the Philippines to Burma, many Chinese migrants settled down and created their own cultural environments; South Asia was not a primary goal of Chinese migration, migration was also restricted mostly to the port cities of Calcutta and Bombay. Chinese migration to Calcutta is first mentioned in documents with a Chinese by the name of Atchew (= Yang Dazhao), who received a land grant near Calcutta in 1778 where he established a sugar mill factory and invited workers from China (cf. Zhang and Sen 2013: 206; Zhang 2015; Biswas 2017: 49). The Chinese therefore settled either near Atchew’s place (Achipur) or in Calcutta city in the Bowbazar area. According to the Vienna-based Hakka, their ancestors took over the tanning business first, since Indians were reluctant to engage in this impure profession; when the tanneries were thriving, they also produced leather products and founded shoe/leather shops. The area where the tanneries were located is called Dhapa (and Tangra, a neighbouring district); both are inhabited by very poor people (from the chamar caste who are dalit); Dhapa is the garbage dumping place of the town, and Tangra is notorious for criminal activity, which relates to the wealthy Hakka’s justified fear of being robbed and murdered (cf., e.g., Oxfeld 2007: 423).

The multiethnic Calcutta area is socially divided into “endogamous, occupationally demarcated and geographically clustered groups” (Oxford 1992: 268), which makes ‘assimilation’ for any group impossible (cf. Biswas 2017). Therefore, each group focused on their own matters, thereby preserving their cultural habits and their respective languages, of course being influenced on all levels by the environment. The Chinese settlers established clan associations (会団 huiguān), temples, schools and newspapers. Thus, the Hakkas of Bengal could easily maintain clearly defined social boundaries towards other ethnic groups (Oxford 1992: 268). In this situation, each (Chinese) group focused on characteristic professions, with Cantonese being carpenters, Hubei being dentists and paper flower makers, Shandong people engaging in silk trade, and Hakkas being shoemakers and tanners (Liang 2007; Oxford 2007; Zhang and Sen 2013: 207f.; Biswas 2017: 49ff.).

Working with leather and tanning is considered impure in the Hindu faith, and was therefore reserved for untouchables (Oxford 1993; Oxford 1996; Liang 2007; Biswas 2017); however, this business made many Hakkas rather wealthy, which is why the sociological concept of pariah capitalists (Weber 1992: 166; Chun 1989) fits them both in its theoretical sense and literally. Another typical profession for Hakkas was restaurant ownership and cooking, especially since the mixture of Chinese and Indian cultural practices in their cooking style gives the Indian Hakkas a unique and new cultural identity. The Indian Hakkas cuisine, a special combination of Chinese and Indian cooking styles, is now world-famous.

The Hakkas in Calcutta are originally Buddhists, but many converted to Christian denominations, often from the experience of the attendance of Christian schools. The Meixian dialect of Hakkas is well-preserved in this group, however, it is lexically influenced by Indian and English loanwords.

After the Sino-Indian conflict of 1962 and the Defence of India Act (1963), many Indian Chinese experienced the mistrust of the Indian authorities by internment (in Rajasthan), retraction of citizenship, and deporta-

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6 The literature says that the Hakkas first opened shoe shops, and only later moved to the fringes of Calcutta for tanning.
7 A few occupations were not group-specific, such as laundry salons (cf. Zhang and Sen 2013: 211).
8 In North America and the UK — not in Austria, though.
9 Cf. also Biswas (2017: 52) for a somewhat different description including Islam.
10 We say ‘Indian,’ as this may refer to Hindi or Bengali words.
1. (Oxfeld 1992: 268; Zhang and Sen 2013; Biswas 2017). These events reduced the number of Hakka
in Calcutta from 20,000 (?) to 10,000 (?). Furthermore, the Indian authorities enforced environmental
protection measures, which made the tanning business in Dhapa difficult. Shoe production was also becoming
difficult, when international shoe producers took over the market. This decline in economic opportunities led
to a new migration of Indian Hakka to other continents which reduced their number considerably, to about
2,000 individuals.

Migration to Vienna

The Indian Hakka were able to establish crystallisation points for chain migration in Vienna and Toronto.
While Toronto is a well-known target for Chinese migration, Vienna might be considered a more unusual
destination. However, many Hakka from Calcutta emigrated to Vienna in the 1980s and 1990s, hence an
estimated number of 4,000 individuals\(^\text{13}\) were living in Austria at one point. Established migrants met regularly
and would convey job opportunities with other Hakka and newcomers. In the 1970s until 1990, it was not
difficult to get a work permit and residence visas as long as one managed to find an employer. Hakka-led and
Hakka-run Chinese restaurants spread out across Austria, with a large majority in Vienna. Almost all of the
Indian Hakka are or were working in gastronomy, as restaurant owners or as cooks and waiters. Although it is
a small group, the language was maintained also through the fact that a job in the kitchen required Hakka (or
sometimes Cantonese or Mandarin) as the working language.

As has been practised before, in most cases, young men migrated to Austria first, and only then went looking
for a wife in their home country, i.e., in Calcutta; when this became increasingly difficult, men even visited
their ancestral home country (Meizhou) in order to find a match. Second-generation Hakka couples sometimes
also met each other in Vienna. In any case, Hakka men were marrying Hakka women or sometimes stayed
single, as they could not find a Hakka wife.

Later, migration to Austria became more difficult due to the tightening of immigration policy. Moreover,
many restaurants were closed down due to the increasingly competitive restaurant market, only few successful
businesses are still active. The economic decline led to another migration pattern of Viennese Hakka, mainly
to Toronto. The remaining group consists of 1,000 people.\(^\text{14}\) The Hakka of Vienna have a few remarkable
characteristics; they have preserved the Hakka language as their intra-group language, they attend a Chinese as
well as a Japanese temple, maintain a regular weekly meeting, and regularly return to India (and also other places
such as Toronto) to visit relatives and friends; some have visited Meizhou, their ancestral home country.

Material and Method

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\(^{11}\) 3,000 Indian Chinese, because they had applied for Chinese citizenship (cf. Zhang and Sen 2013: 211), were deported to China where
they are called 印度歸僑 yindu guijiao ‘returned overseas Chinese from India’ (Zhang 2015); they kept their Indo-Chinese culture
in China.

\(^{12}\) There are different numbers in the literature; we were told by Hakka that they used to be more than 20,000 people, and now only
have 2,000 persons left in Calcutta. Oxfeld (2007) mentions ‘no more than 8,000’ Hakka in Calcutta. Zhang and Sen (2013) estimate
the maximum number of Chinese in South Asia to have been 50,000, and now only a few thousand. Zhang (2015) states that in the
1950s, the number of Chinese in Calcutta peaked at 15,000, with 10,000 more in other parts of the country, 10,000 Calcutta Chinese
moved to Toronto, according to Zhang (2015).

\(^{13}\) We cannot verify that number; it was estimated by some group members.

\(^{14}\) Due to estimates ranging from 500 to 1,500, we chose the average. It is difficult to verify the number, as the people scatter around
Vienna and other cities, and some may only keep close contact with certain people.
The authors performed qualitative open interviews and participant observation with various Indian Hakkas in Vienna from all age groups (old, middle-aged, young) on various occasions in 2018-2019. We were introduced by a Malaysia-born Austrian Hakka friend, whose elder sister is married to one of the Indian Hakkas. We met these people during their regular weekend meetings, and then met individuals for longer conversations, which were recorded and transcribed. This led to a corpus of conversations in Hakka, English and German language (with some Chinese and Cantonese).

The aims of this investigation are as follows: (a) the documentation of a small distinct Hakka group in the context of global Hakka studies, (b) an investigation of language maintenance and language loss of Hakkas in the ‘diaspora’ situation, (c) the competence of first- and second-generation migrants in German, (c) an analysis of the socio-cultural circumstances of the Hakka migration in Austria as well as questions of identity. In this paper, we will focus on sociocultural aspects of the migratory process of this group by documenting their own viewpoints.

In the following interview excerpts, I1 and I2 are the interviewers, I3 is a Malaysian Hakka. All other people (A, B, C, ...) are Indian Hakkas; (HK) indicates Hakka pronunciation, (CH) indicates Chinese pronunciation of words. The romanised transcription of Hakka follows Taiwanese conventions (but without tone marking), except where the pronunciation differs considerably from that standard.

Analysis

Migration from China to India

Meixian and Atchew

All Indian Hakkas came from the same area in China, from Meizhou, or Meixian (HK: moi yen) in a continuous stream of migrants. This migration route to Atchew’s place was known and an option for the Meixian Hakkas; in the words of the Viennese Hakkas: “There had always been people going to India. All (who went to India) went from Meixian,” meaning long before their own families were coming. Atchew, the first Hakka in Calcutta who brought many Hakkas to Calcutta, is a venerated figure to which people kept referring in the interviews. He is respectfully called tong rhan bag gung, somewhat similar to Malaysian Chinese would call the la duk gung (datuk gods, the local gods of the land), and there is a temple with his statue in Dhapa where people go to worship him, especially those who are returning from overseas. Worshipping Atchew gives a unique identity to the Indian Hakkas. In the following passage, an old man explains their spiritual relationship with Atchew: He is not a god, but a pioneer, he is worshipped like an ancestor.

(01)  A: 尊重佢。 [...] 来到印度开国个。
zun zung gi. [...] loi dau rhin tu koi gued e.
Respect him. [...] Pioneer who led the way.

I2: 敕佢在挨只祠堂还系么个？
fong gi coi ai zac cii tong han he mag gai?
Put him at the ancestor temple?

A: 有有有，麻祠堂有。麻墓，还爱做兜伯公庙。吾兜喊塘园[rhan]伯公。
rhiu rhiu rhiu, gia cii tong rhiu, gia mu, han o i zo deu bag gung miu. nga deu ham tong than bag gung.
Got, got, got; there is an ancestor’s temple of him. At the cemetery, (people) also built a temple, we call him tong yan bag gung.’

15 The families that we could interview all originated from a more recent migration in the middle of the 20th century.
16 The translations are given in Malaysian English to preserve the Chinese character of the utterances.
Motives for Arriving in India

Most interview partners did not show much interest in the history of their forefathers and their reasons for migrating to India. The answers to such questions were very general, such as “finding a better life,” “I don’t know,” “maybe there was a war,” “they were afraid” (e.g., of communism), etc.; it seemed like people were just repeating general historical knowledge. Back then, Chinese society had suffered since long before, culminating in civil war and even a famine in Guangdong (1941-1947). The motives for migration may have depended on many factors, but the aim was always the same: finding a better life in the spirit of Hakka/Chinese entrepreneurial ethic (cf. Oxfeld 2007). However, these earlier motivations are not important for the people today, as they are not connected to China.

If one wanted to migrate from Meixian, there is a town called Chung Keu (松口 Song Kou), which could be used to go to Teochew (Chaozhou) by water18 where one could catch a ship to Nanyang (South East Asia). Malaya may not have been the best place, but was known to those planning to emigrate. The Vienna Hakka could not explain why their ancestors actually went to India.

It is a recurring theme among the Hakka that one needs to become a proprietor and businessman, as has been described earlier as well (cf. Oxfeld 2007). An opportunity to achieve this goal is the driving force for their willingness to migrate.

17 The consultant uses the phrase 会共个时期, 会共个时期, which makes the word ‘communize,’ a verb which means ‘to communize.’

18 Travelling from other inland places to the ports was sometimes more difficult than this route.
Yes. But somehow they heard that life would be better if one went to India, after working, [one] could become a sole proprietor.

However, migration does have uncertainties, so that wives and children were left behind when entering new territory, and may have followed only later. Often, migration tore apart families, as seems to have been the case in this passage where a man would never see his family again and finally founded a new family abroad.

(07)  I2: 哦。若爸讨⑂老婆自家走喔。
o, nga ba tau hoi lau po qi ga ziu yo.
Your father left alone [i.e., without his wife] after marrying a wife.

A: 佢乜出去先看外头做得到钱无？然后正该个嘛。就毋曾够有。就核格个——
gi me cud hi kon ngoi teu zo ded do cien mo? then heu zang e ge ma. jiu m hen geu rhiu, jiu rhiu lai e—
He first went out to see if he could earn some money out there ... then only ... not even ... got son already——

I2: 怎样佢做到核么个又无带——出来？
an thong gi zo dau hoi zo mag gai rhiu mau dai—cud loi?
And when he was able to earn some money, why didn’t he bring them to come over?

A: 无出来，那知人生路不熟，走出去佢仰个。你两公婆带紧去几辛苦个啊。[... ] 无啊。结核婚佢——吾爸出来也无曾转过。四五十年正转过一摆梅县。
om cud loi, nai di ngin sen lu bud sug, zeu cud hi gi rhong e, nge liong gung po dai gin hi gid xin ku e a. [...] mo a. gied hoi fu jiu gi — nga ba cud loi rha m hen zon go, xi m shib ngien zang zon go rhid bai moi then.
No. It was going to be a completely strange place. Who knew what would happen? A couple with (a small kid) is very difficult. My father had never gone back after he left. He returned only once to the homeland after he had left for forty to fifty years.

While the Chinese settlers in Malaya often returned to their homeland and kept familial ties, the Indian Hakka by and large did not return to China. They settled in India and assimilated to Calcutta without losing their ethnic identity as Hakka, but losing their connectedness with Meixian (08). Another speaker does not know from which village his ancestors were coming from (09). It is a bit surprising in comparison to other migrant groups how quickly the connection to the homeland was lost in this group.

(08)  A: 呃，:both: 仲多人已经到印度生活了，惯了该个生活，就毋念到话转去，除非话有兜已经做十分发达了呢，就会去那出国去（did）吓，正讲转家乡。
a, rhi do rhiu rhin gi gin hoi rhin tu sen fad le guan le ge e sen fad, jiu m nem dau va ki zon ki, cu fui va rhiu deu gi gín zo sib fun fad ta le ne, jiu voi hi nai cud gued hi din a, zang gong va zon ga hiong.
Many people had already settled down in India, they were used to the life there, therefore they had not thought of returning, unless those who had been very successful, then they would go overseas, only then [were they] talking about returning to their hometown (for sightseeing).

(09)  B: 呵呵，佬kali inf梅县。
haha, nga kali9. di he moi yen.
Haha, I only know that it is Meixian.

Success in India

The goal of all Hakka is to become a boss (老板); the migrant generation opened hundreds of businesses in Calcutta, where for some, life was very good. However, leading a good life back in India did not stop them from seeking better prospects elsewhere.

(10)  I2: 就母系讲在印度过到好苦挨种。

9 kali is an Indian loanword.
jiu m he gong coi rhin tu go dau hau kui a zung.

that means (you) were not those who had a difficult life in India.

A: 毋系。毋苦个。以前啲爸爸也有四间店个。四间店。
m he. m ku e. rhi cien ngai ba ba rha rhii xi gan diam e. xi gan diam.

No. Not difficult. My father used to own four shops. Four shops.

I2: 鞋店。
hai diam.
Shoe shop.

A: 鞋店。洗衣店。
hai diam. se rhi diam.
Shoe shop. Laundry.

(11) B: His mother they have many restaurants. Now has 3 restaurants in Calcutta, one son looks after one restaurant.
C: -- Open one restaurant, if you open -- a big boss, then you use so many people, you don't have to work --

(12) I2: 系咩大部分係去个唐人在挨位生活都毋晓辛苦个？

he me tai pu fun moi yen hi e tong rhin coi ai vui sen fad m hiau xin ku e?

Most of the Chinese from Mexico who lived there did not really have a difficult life, yeah?

D: 毋系。恶样。唔．中国人𠮶啲人过个最低都系中等生活．毋系就高生活．无低生活个嘞。
m he. an rhong. 3, zung gued rhin hamb lang go e zui dai du he zung deng sen fad.m he ji gu sen fad, mo dai sen fad go b.

No. It is, well, the worst life situation for Chinese was at least middle class, or upper class, none lived lower than that.

Wealthy Hakka in Calcutta are not willing to migrate, as their quality of life is higher in India, especially as their Indian assets are worth much less in Europe or America. Many who moved to Vienna were probably young, adventurous people in search of new opportunities, who could not leave the status of employee or worker in India; at the very least, being an employee was not that bad in Austria.

(13) 吾兜印度个客家人。做皮业，赚到钱就走个，打工个就出国了，也出国。打工在印度就无出息，做生意还有可以赚大钱，打工人就无出息。因为健康无保障啊，医疗无保障啊，无退休，系咩？所以你打工出到国就最好。

nga deu rhin tu e hag ga ngi, zo pi ngiab, con dau cien jiu zeu e. da gung e jiu cud gued le, rha cud gued. da gung coi rhin tu jiu mo cud sid. zo sen li han rhii ko rhi con tai cien. da gung gin jiu mo cud sid. jiu mo bo zong20 a, rhi vui gien kong mo bo zong a, rhi laiu mo bo zong a, mo tui siu, he me? so rhi ngi da gung cud do gued jiu zui hau.

We Hakka in India, doing tanneries, having earned money, left the country (migration). Those who worked for other people also left. Being employed had no future in India. Owning a business can at least make good money but not for those being employed. They had no guarantee, no health guarantee, no medical guarantee, no pension, right? So if you were just working for others, it would be good if you could go overseas.

Migration from India to Austria

Chain Migration

When the Hakka ran out of opportunities for growth in Calcutta, young men moved on to Austria, once again by the method of chain migration, with the help of uncles, brothers, and friends. People sometimes reported adventurous journeys across various countries, due to visa problems. Upon arrival, they were immediately employed in restaurants.

A: 吾兜个阿哥。最先来。跟紧有基础个，正喊吾兜人出来。
nga deu e a go. zui xian loi. gen gin rhii gi ci e, zang ham nga deu ngiin cud loi.

Our elder brother came first. Until he had settled, then he told us to come.

20 bo zong ‘social benefits; guarantee.’

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(15) B: For me, I have uncles over here. I have uncles. so --
(16) C: In 1992, and my cousin I think is [TOWN] in Steiermark. He got a restaurant there. I came here direct to the Steiermark [TOWN].
(17) D: Nein, nein wir hom Freunde, jo und de hom gos[t]: Jo bin eh do, komms[t]. [...] No no, we have friends, yes, and they said: I am here, come. [...] D: Weil es gibt so Sprichtwörter, ja, Freunde ist wichtiger als Verwandt. ja, im Ausland.
There is a proverb, abroad, friends are more important than relatives.

One of the consultants may serve as an example; back in India, he became a chef and worked in various places, until a friend proposed to him to go to Europe together.

(18) [...] Dann geht in ander[e] Schule, is gut, dann weiter hinauf (= dann weiter hinauf) und (= irgendwann mal), will nax Ausland | Beruf, irgen[d]e[n]en Beruf muss man lernen (= lernen). Also habe ich drei Jahre konsumiert (= absolviert), und dann hab ich aäh [xxxx] Bombay, Goa hab ich abgehe (= gearbeitet). Und danach [t] danach Freund von mir sagt (= sagt er) [xxxx], geh[e]n wir nach Europa. Then go to different school, is OK, then higher, and at one point, want to go abroad, one has to learn a profession, want to go abroad. I learned three years, and then I have worked in Bombay, Goa. And only then, one of my friends says, let's go to Europe.

Austria is usually not the first choice for migrants from the English-speaking world. The Hakka prefer an English-speaking country. Toronto is known for its large Chinese community; furthermore, people hoped to become successful businessmen more easily in Canada; however, this often was out of reach for the migrants. Austria was viewed by the elderly consultants as only an intermediary step on the way to Canada, which turned out to be their final destination (calling it a springboard, a transit, a road to Canada (借路)). Some younger people are contemplating the idea of moving to Canada even now, thereby relying once again on their network.

(19) A: 反正客家人大部分，印加州全部都走啊欧洲分到开个，一路走，有美国加拿大小澳洲哪都有，经过欧洲。住俄国再又再加又去。
Fan zii noci ga noci tai bu fun, thin tu e, ji cien bu du zee e eu zu, fun do koi e, rhid lu zee, rhid mi gued, ga na tai, au zu lai du rhid, gin go eu zu. cu ho mi a rhid zai ban e rhid zai hi.
Anyway, most of the Hakka from India, they had moved to Europe and then split, (continued) all the way to USA, Canada and Australia, through Europe.

A: 奥地利已经在那里好多年个，也移民加拿大，佢都移民奥地利，佢爱加拿大。
Au ti li ri gin cu ho hau do noci e, rha thi min ga na tai. gi du m oi au di li, gi o ri ga na tai.
(Some) have already lived in Austria for many years, also migrated to Canada, they didn’t want (to stay in) Austria, they wanted Canada.

While talking about their migratory experiences, the Hakka self-characterisation as ‘mobile people’ is evoked by the speakers, culminating in the phrase 好会走个客家人 (‘Hakka people are good at relocating’) and the word 外来人 ngoi loi noci (lit.) ‘outcomers’ (‘foreigners’), stating that mobility is the very nature of Hakkaness.

A New Language

Since the Hakka started working in a Hakka environment, and mostly never had formal education in German, their competence in this language is limited. Since the migrants basically do not use German, the Hakka language is transmitted to the children until today. For instance, the below-mentioned elder brother came to Austria in the 1970’s, among the earliest Hakka, and is now retired and babysitting two granddaughters, speaking only Hakka to them.

(20) A: 吾哥系 by road 来个。
ng ga go he by road loi e.
My (elder) brother came by road.

I2: 佢讲德语话无？

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1 Steiermark (Styria) is one of the states in Austria.
gi hiau gong ded ged fa mau?
Can he speak German?

A: 晓得，滴把，多多少少，也毋系话十分。
hiau ded, did ba, do do sau sau. rha m va shib fun ...
Can, a bit. more or less, not so ...

Another consultant brought his mother to Austria in 2000 when she was already in her 70's; she never learned any German and now lives in a nursing home; however, this is not a problem as there are Chinese and Indian nurses with whom she can communicate in Chinese and Indian.

The Austrian-born younger generation learned German at school and does not understand how it is possible that their parent generation (which speaks Hakka, Hindi, English) is unable to speak proper German, after having lived in Austria for so many years and having taken citizenship.

(21) So, but they live here like for about. I don't know, very long, 30 to 40 years by now, but they still can't | āhm: | say one correct sentence. Because of their grammar. | So they have a pretty hard time to learn German. | And because they also don't speak it oft²², like at work, | They, I think they speak English with the, the others. | And my father, he used to work at a Chinese restaurant | and, like, he spoke, āhm, Mandarin to his employers or so, yeah. xxxxxx 佢个德文也唔系懶会。

xxxx gi ge ded vun rha m (b)en an vol.
xxxx So he is also not that good at German.

While the group has strong internal solidarity, and most Hakkas are married to Hakkas, many report not having contact to other Hân (Chinese), as they usually do not understand other Chinese varieties including Pītōnghuà. Similarly, the older people do not have autochthonous Austrian friends. Being able to communicate in Hindi, Hakka restaurant owners do employ Indians or Nepalis, though, e.g., in a food delivery service. It may not be solely the language barrier which keeps them from having outside contacts; they are so used to living in a closed group that it is difficult for other people to enter their circles. Their Malaysian Hakka friend, for instance, had become the brother-in-law of one of the Indian Hakkas; he used to be a restaurant owner; and he is willing to adapt to their Meixian Hakka language. This explains what the younger generation was puzzled about: how it is possible for this group to remain Hakka speakers and to not connect to the surrounding language.

Social Security

The Hakkas who did not move on to Canada vaguely argued that they are now “already habituated to this life” (in Austria), and eventually mentioned the advantages of “peace and calmness” (as opposed to India), and most importantly, the social system (as opposed to India and North America).

(22) 这里福利比加拿大较好。
le vui fū li bi ga na tai ko hau.
The social benefits here are better than Canada.

(23) Because we find it here is very clean, very wide and you feel like there is safety here. When you go back there, when you reach the airport you find something very noisy, -- different -- [...] Once we come back here, outside Vienna airport, wow -- [...] Relax, very relaxing.

(24) 佢也移民加拿大大了啊。佢去了个加拿大移民。但係佢转转来了。
ngai rha rhi min ga na tai le a, ngai hi e ge ga na tai rhi min. dan he ngai dau zon loi e.
I also migrated to Canada, I went to Canada. But I came back here.

(25) 落了脚呢你再过喺多年。已经住习惯咗啊。佢今都唔好习惯奀加拿大。美国。
lig e giog ne ngi zai go an do ngien, gi giu cu sub guan e a, ngai gin du m sub guan hi ga na tai, mi gued.
Once settled here and spent so many years (here), I am used to it already, now I am not used to Canada, USA.

²² German oft = English often.
Austrian Hakka Culture

Dissolution of Defining Characteristics

In earlier years, Hakka men from Austria tried to find a Hakka wife through matchmakers or through friends or relatives in India. With the decreasing numbers of Hakkas, this endeavour became more and more difficult, so that some tried to find a wife in Meizhou; some couples met each other in Austria at their workplace. So far, the group is mostly endogamous, a practice which is no longer intended by the younger, still unmarried generation. Even their parents have given up the unrealistic idea of necessarily finding partners from their own group.

While many Hakkas are either Christians (Protestants or Catholics) or Buddhists, they all used to meet for traditional Chinese festivities; it was reported that certain smaller Christian denominations have somewhat weakened group solidarity, as the new Christians tend to avoid meeting the buddhists which is disappointing for those who are proud of maintaining group solidarity.

Since there is no public holiday for Chinese New Year (CNY) in Austria, Christmas is the reunion meeting time for the Indian Hakkas. They meet one another during Christmas and offer the traditional red packets (with money) to their children on that day. If possible, however, they will return to Calcutta for CNY.

Thus, the defining characteristics of the group are challenged in many ways, and the group size is decreasing over time. Since they did not seem to explain much to their children, the younger generation does not know much about their historical and cultural background. Therefore, questions of group identity are seen differently across generations.

Elder Generation’s Identity

The elder generation Indian Hakkas gave up Indian citizenship and became Austrian citizens; nevertheless they are reminiscing over their homeland of India. While they lack any concrete experience of China, it is also mentioned as a more ‘metaphysical’ or remote origin. In the following passage, a speaker sums up the three places the Hakkas refer to (China, India, Austria) as his homelands.

At this moment, half, more than half my life I have already spent here. [...] Is also one of my homelands. [...] I cannot say India or China or Austria, but all are my homelands.

Middle-aged Generation’s Identity

The feelings about identity among the parent generation are also layered, including Chinese identity. ‘Being Chinese’ (Hàn) is an underlying identity on the basis of racial characteristics and cultural similarities, while ‘being Hakka’ refers to specific stereotypical traits of the group. In the following statement, the middle-aged consultants refute being Hakka and identify as Chinese, despite of lacking a personal connection to China. The sub-identity is one of migrants (wanderers) which is a category attributed to Hakka identity.

(27)  A: We don’t think we are Hakka, only think we are Chinese. 
I2: Ah huh, yeah. a, Would you like to live in China? 
B: No, I have never been to China. 
I2: Ok. So this is no home country for you. 
B: Gypsy, wanderer. [giggling]
Chinese and Western Culture

The youngest among the migrant generation even attended German classes, but still prefer to speak Hakka and English. When asked about their children (born in Austria) who speak German like native speakers, the cultural rupture between Chinese values and Western social norms appears. The parents somewhat regret that their children are “westernised” and are no longer Hakkas.

(28)  
I2:  
你尐同佢讲挨兜中国人啊，吾兜唐人啊，挨兜道理系无？
ngi hiu tung gi gong ai deu nga deu zung ged rhin a, nga deu tong rhin a, ai deu dau li he mau?
Do you tell [= teach] them [= your children] the Chinese values?
A:  
佢毋讲。佢地人有 European mentality.
| gi m gong, gi diin ngin rhiu European mentality.  
| They don't talk [about it]. They have European mentality.
A:  
佢知得。佢系佢会毋讲。
| gi di ded, dan he gi voi m gong.  
| They knew, but they don't talk about it.
I1:  
And their friends are mainly Austrian?
A:  
Yeah, mainly Austrian.
I1:  
And they consider themselves just Austrian? They don't say, I am Chinese or Hakka?
A:  
They don't know what is Hakka.

Hakka Competence of the Younger Generation

The young people speak Hakka as their family language and are able to converse in Hakka. They are certainly weaker speakers of the language, filling lexical gaps with German or English loanwords. While the parent generation deplores the children’s westernisation, it turns out that the teenagers regret not having been informed more by their parents about their Hakka identity. The parents are proud of their children’s ability to speak Hakka (29). For the children it was not clear in the beginning what it means in terms of identity, as they did not really connect to this concept of “being Hakka.” But they understand that Hakka is an important marker of identity for their parents (30).

(29)  
吾兜人客家人在奥地利十分靓个客家话，细人啊，十分靓。加拿大，美国，唔行十分烂。
nga deu ngin hag ga ngin hoi ao ti li shib fun liang ge hag ga fa, se ngin a, shib fun liang, ga na tai, mi gued hamblang shib fun lan.  
The Hakka children in Austria speak very good Hakka. Those in Canada, USA very bad.

(30)  
Ja. Also es ist so: Für meine Eltern es ist eben sehr wichtig, dass ich Hakka gelernt habe. [...]  
Yes. Well, it is like that: For my parents, it is very important that I have learned Hakka. [...]  

The Identity of the Younger Generation

The teenagers have not been taught about their ethnic background, and therefore were somewhat uncomfortable and confused when it comes to understanding their social identity as Hakkas. In the following passage, a young person describes her difficulty in explaining how she herself as a Chinese-looking person, having close ties to India and yet speaking a language which is neither ‘Chinese’ nor ‘Indian.’ This seems to have created some level of discomfort to her at times.

(31)  
I1:  
呃，有人问过你系咩啊 Chinese 无？
|$ rhin rhin mun go ngi he me a Chinese mau?
Have you ever been asked, if you are Chinese?
A: 恬多人。
an do ngin.
Many people.

I: and then 你仰般答？
and then ngi rham men dab?
And then how do you answer?

A: Ahm, also 偕先啲话 偕系.
Ahm, also ngai xien ngai va ngai he, m he, xien ngai va, ja.
So first I say I am, no, first I say yes,
I am Chinese, then 不想 them to ask anything [more].

ngai he Chinese, then ngai m oi gi dì ngin mun mag ge,
ngai he Chinese, then ngai m oi gi dì ngin mun mag ge,

I am Chinese, then I don't want them to ask anything [more].

尾下正佢较大了，嘅话，毋係，吾妈咪爸比印度来个，and then 偕地人每摞问你仰个印度来个，then 正
尾下正佢较大了，嘅话，毋係，吾妈咪爸比印度来个，and then 偕地人每摞问你仰个印度来个，then 正

佢会 explain. ja,厥地印度出世个，佢系吾兜人佢个 Großeltern 还有别个 generation 个，厥地人就系 em em
尾下正走咗印度来个。厥兜話 ‘oh OK。
尾下正走咗印度来个。厥兜話 ‘oh OK。

mi ha zang ngai go tai e, ngai va, m he, nga ge ma mi ba ti rhin tu loi e, and then gia di ngin mi bai mun ngi rhong e rhin tu loi e, then zang ngai voi explain, ja, gia dì rhin tu cud se e, dan he nga deu ngin ngan e Großeltern han
mi ha zang ngai go tai e, ngai va, m he, nga ge ma mi ba ti rhin tu loi e, and then gia di ngin mi bai mun ngi rhong e rhin tu loi e, then zang ngai voi explain, ja, gia dì rhin tu cud se e, dan he nga deu ngin ngan e Großeltern han

Later when I grew bigger, I say, no, my parents were from India, and then every time they will ask: how come you are
Later when I grew bigger, I say, no, my parents were from India, and then every time they will ask: how come you are

from India; then only I will explain, yeah, they were born in India, but our grandparents and other generations, they were
from India; then only I will explain, yeah, they were born in India, but our grandparents and other generations, they were

born in China and later came to India. They say: Oh, ok.
born in China and later came to India. They say: Oh, ok.

In another passage, when asked whether she feels 'Chinese,' she first agrees with that label on the basis of racial appearance, but ends up defining an 'Indian' identity.

(32) Denken Sie von sich selbst, Sie sind eine Chinesin?
Do you consider yourself a Chinese person?

I: Ja, voll. Halt früher, das hat mich echt richtig gestört, vor allem so wegen meinem Aussehen und so, weil ich
Ja, voll. Halt früher, das hat mich echt richtig gestört, vor allem so wegen meinem Aussehen und so, weil ich

fühle mich eher, wie, also wenn ich mich jetzt entscheiden müßte, entweder China oder Indien, wo ich mich eben
fühle mich eher, wie, also wenn ich mich jetzt entscheiden müßte, entweder China oder Indien, wo ich mich eben

mehr hinge hörig fühle, würd ich eben Indien nehmen, weil halt, jetzt so kurz gesagt, ich mag Indien eben mehr, ich
mehr hinge hörig fühle, würd ich eben Indien nehmen, weil halt, jetzt so kurz gesagt, ich mag Indien eben mehr, ich

mag die Kultur mehr, ich mag die Musik mehr, ich mag halt alles an Indien mehr als jetzt China.
mag die Kultur mehr, ich mag die Musik mehr, ich mag halt alles an Indien mehr als jetzt China.

Yes, completely. Except earlier, this was irritating for me, especially because of my appearance and such, because I feel more
Yes, completely. Except earlier, this was irritating for me, especially because of my appearance and such, because I feel more

like, well, if I had to decide, either China or India, where I feel more connected to, I would take India, because, well, in
like, well, if I had to decide, either China or India, where I feel more connected to, I would take India, because, well, in

essence, I like India more, I like its culture more, I like its music more, I like everything about India more than about
essence, I like India more, I like its culture more, I like its music more, I like everything about India more than about

China.
China.

Linguistic Competence

Since the Hakka of Calcutta left China before the introduction (1956) of 普通话 Pǔtōnghuà, the modern
Since the Hakka of Calcutta left China before the introduction (1956) of 普通话 Pǔtōnghuà, the modern

Chinese standard language, they had only spoken Hakka and read Chinese with Hakka spelling. In Calcutta,
Chinese standard language, they had only spoken Hakka and read Chinese with Hakka spelling. In Calcutta,

they obviously learned Indian languages and English, but organised their own Chinese schools and learned
they obviously learned Indian languages and English, but organised their own Chinese schools and learned

Written Chinese with Hakka pronunciation, which is the traditional way of learning to write. Nonetheless,
Written Chinese with Hakka pronunciation, which is the traditional way of learning to write. Nonetheless,

these circumstances made people more ‘Hakka’ than ‘Chinese.’ After coming to Austria, all started working
these circumstances made people more ‘Hakka’ than ‘Chinese.’ After coming to Austria, all started working

immediately, and most of them had no opportunity to formally learn German in language classes. Their
immediately, and most of them had no opportunity to formally learn German in language classes. Their

competence in German is a pidgin version of (Austrian) German, which had been picked up mostly through
competence in German is a pidgin version of (Austrian) German, which had been picked up mostly through

spoken interactions; some reported that being waiters and waitresses was the main motivation to understand
spoken interactions; some reported that being waiters and waitresses was the main motivation to understand

some German, while cooks did not need to learn the language as well. During interviews, many first-generation
some German, while cooks did not need to learn the language as well. During interviews, many first-generation

migrants preferred to speak Hakka or at least English, not German. Their Hakka, However, is not influenced
migrants preferred to speak Hakka or at least English, not German. Their Hakka, However, is not influenced

by Pǔtōnghuà or other Chinese dialects (but adopted some Indian words).
Since the families speak Hakka at home, the Vienna-born generation understands and is able to use Hakka, but their best language is German, which they learned late after entering school. Some teenagers did attend weekend Chinese classes when they were young, like many other children of overseas Chinese, however, this was a difficult experience for them; having grown older, they are reconsidering to learn Chinese.

*Language Barrier*

One important aspect regarding their closed-group practices is certainly the language barrier; since the old people can only speak Hakka (not German), they will not easily engage in outgroup communication. At our first meeting, one consultant has been asked to communicate with the Austrian interviewer, because he is known to be a good language learner; this person’s German is communicatively solid, derived from spoken Austrian German, however, not grammatically correct in many ways. Nonetheless, he had adopted a speaking style which makes him sound like a very good speaker of the language, including some sociophonological variation. He commented on his way of learning languages and the linguistically closed world of his Hakka friends.

(33) Allso ich war mit viel, viel Leute unterwegs, äh Freund[e], na, darum i[ch] lern[e] a bisl da, lern, lern ein bisl do, und sogar, glaube, mein Mandarin, wenn i (= wenn ich) ausprechen, is[t]-is[t] sicha, ahm, leichter zu verstehen als die von [NAME]. Ja, die san, die hom nur Hakka, redn nur Hakka. [...] Eigene Kreis na und darum die, die und die san jetzt[t] zu alt, Zunge zum drehen ja? Hat.a (= hat er) Schwierigkeiten.

*I have been with many people, friends, so I learned a bit here and a bit there, and even my Mandarin, if I pronounce it, is easier to understand than [NAME]*. They have only Hakka, speak only Hakka. [...] They are only in their own circle, and therefore --, and now they are too old to turn their tongues -- it is too difficult for them.

*Jobs and Language*

There is a quarter which has the highest density of foreign foodshops and restaurants, the *Naschmarkt*, but there is no Chinatown or typical living quarter for Chinese. The Hakkas cannot live in one area of the town. In earlier years, the Indian Hakkas of Vienna had a regular meeting time in a coffee shop which, as they explained, served as a job market, beside being an opportunity to meet friends. Nowadays, this is less important, but the meeting is still taking place every week in a fast food restaurant downtown. The people loosely group together on various tables and discuss things in Hakka language. The younger people sit together in a separate area. They may speak German with each other, but they also know the Hakka language.

While most Vienna Hakkas are working in gastronomy and are proud of their cuisine, not all Indian Hakkas were always good at cooking. They could be trained upon arrival in Austria; the workflow of a Chinese kitchen is based on usually one or two chefs -- one main and one assistant -- who need other people for the preparations -- the cutting work, washing/rinsing of ingredients, dishwashing. This fast and hard work is usually done by men. At this workplace, it is important to understand commands and to share the same work ethics. In this way, speaking Hakka is essential for their profession.

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23 In Calcutta, Hakka is weakened, since education is now mostly in English, not Hakka.
24 I.e., choosing different variants for the same words stylistically.
Contacts with Calcutta

Chinese New Year

Viennese Hakkas, especially the older generation from the group, are adamant that returning to Calcutta is an important matter. For Chinese New Year (CNY), they all ‘return home,’ as far as it is possible for them.\(^{25}\) It became clear in every conversation that their hometown is Calcutta, not China.

(34) 一定爱转印度过年。
\[\text{Love to return to India for Chinese New Year.}\]

(35) 过年就爱转印度。爱转就一定爱转印度。那下毋去过年。
\[\text{CNY must return to India. When want to go back, must go back to India, nowhere else to go for CNY.}\]

The people go back for the most important festival of the year (CNY) to meet their relatives, old friends, and to think of the ancestors -- and to enjoy the Indo-Chinese food.

(36) A: 做么个转去哦？看朋友、亲戚、拜个个 \[\text{How to go back? To meet friends, relatives, worship the ancestors' temple,}\]
\[\text{ge}^{55}\text{ge}^{55}\text{祖宫,}\]
\[\text{zo mag gai zon hi o' kon pen rhiu, qin qid, bai ge zu gung.}\]
\[\text{Why going back? To meet friends, relatives, to worship the ancestors' temple,}\]

I3: 还有你 vermisst 倒挨位餐馆个客家菜。
\[\text{And you miss the Hakka food there.}\]

A: 嗯。印度菜、客家菜。
\[\text{Right, Indian cuisine, Hakka cuisine.}\]

Global Relatives and Friends

These meetings for CNY in Calcutta bring the scattered Indian Hakkas together from all over the world. They call it ‘return to hometown,’ just like the Chinese in Malaysia would be saying (zon loi kampung).

(37) A: 就同啊转家乡一样。
\[\text{Just like returning to hometown.}\]
\[\text{jiu tung a zon ga hiong rhid rhong.}\]

B: 效。转家乡一样。加拿大、澳洲、瑞典全部转印度。
\[\text{Both, like returning to hometown. Those in Canada, Australia and Sweden all return to India.}\]

A: 话番个过年就会十合 sib hub\(^{26}\). 转--
\[\text{All those who have left overseas would sure go back to--}\]
\[\text{Hamb slang}^{27}\text{ cu d gu ed e go ngien ji vo shib hab zon --}\]
\[\text{Surely return to India.}\]

\(^{25}\) E.g., the restaurant owners and chefs may often stay in Vienna, but they would send their wives and children to Calcutta to rejoin the relatives.

\(^{26}\) The word sib hub is unknown to the authors, from the context, it seems to mean ‘surely’

\(^{27}\) Hamb\(^{8}\text{bai}^{24}\text{lang}^{55}\text{all}^{29}\text{ Alla}^{29}\text{彼拉}^{29}\text{边拉}^{29}\) is used by Hakkas and Cantonese speakers; it has been described as the word habp ‘all’ with an adjectival ending baid from the spoken language in Northern China during the Yue dynasty (13th century) (Lo and Tam 1996: 58).
Meixian in the Distance

Meixian is recognised as the origin of the ancestors; they remembered an old Calcutta-based Hakka father who, at the end of his life, had the wish to return to Meixian, or to at least have a cenotaph where the old clothes or hats of the deceased would be buried, and a grave tomb would be made in the hometown. According to the consultant, the symbolical “belongings” of his deceased father had been brought back to the hometown with a traditional ceremonial practice.

Thus, this first generation migrant to India still missed their ancient homeland. The Indian-born son was still very insistent on his Hakka identity, which he associated with the speaking of the Hakka language, probably the most precious good brought from China to India. Like with many migrants, speaking the ‘original’ language is an issue.

The people who were born in Vienna have little to do with this experience, most probably due to the lack of a tightly-knit Hakka community as that which had existed in Calcutta back then. For the Indian-born generation, Meixian is mostly a ‘mystical’ origin, with Calcutta being their reference point. It is only the old people in

29 ['thinking tiredly of going home]
29 i.e., the symbolic things left by the deceased
30 请 qing HK qiang for a god or deceased person means to invite him to come to a certain place.
Vienna who can remember a generation that came from Meixian, and therefore may have some memory of tales from this distant place. These old people went to Chinese schools and lived with a traditional Hakka culture in India. The consultants from the middle-aged generation experienced schooling in public non-Chinese schools, being English-educated; these were the people who, for instance, self-identified as ‘Chinese from India,’ not ‘Hakkas.’ It is mainly their ethnic professions and their cooperation inside a particular group (and sharing a specific language) which defines their Hakka identity.

Conclusion

This particular group of Hakkas had settled in India and identified with their new home country as one of many local ethnic groups. The multiethnic situation helped maintain a Hakka identity in spite of numerous influences from their new home, as group identity defined occupations and their overall social situation in society; the group was known for specific traits in Calcutta (tanning and leather), and developed a specific Indo-Chinese cuisine. When they moved on to another country (Austria), they preserved their specific ‘Indian Hakka’ identity and continued their Indian lifestyle as a culturally and ethnically distinct subgroup of a larger society in Vienna through closed-group practices and an ethnically defined profession (Chinese gastronomy), which also helped preserve their language into the Austrian-born generation.

Although the main motivation for Chinese migration is entrepreneurship, this could not be achieved by many; they are still content with their living conditions, due to social welfare and a feeling of security in their new home country. Calcutta is their anchor point in the world, not China. Nonetheless, only the older generation proudly identifies as Hakka; the middle-aged generation refers already to the larger identity ‘Chinese,’ and the young people are Chinese-Austrians with family ties to India. In other words, each generation projects a different identity based on the historical background of their generation’s experiences, so that their various individual identities are divergent, and a common social identity for the group is mainly based on families and friendship. Life has changed tremendously over time, due to changes in economic opportunities, education, living conditions, and through the global scattering of the group, and has to open up to larger identities (Hakkas → Chinese → Austrians of Chinese ethnicity).

The fact of relocating as a group is often called the ‘Hakka spirit,’ which seems to explain their migrant fate. However, it can also be seen as a convenient explanation for their experience as migrants and of practical necessities of that situation, which is to rely on the cooperation of friends for migration and prosperity. Similarly, the oft-mentioned ‘hardworking spirit’ of Hakkas relates to the wish of business-oriented people who need to start from scratch and want to succeed, especially among Chinese. Thus, the self-identification of the Hakkas as wanderers and as diligent actually describes factualities of their lives. The customs transmitted are basically family habits such as celebrating Chinese New Year and showing respect to forefathers.

Otherwise, they do not seem to celebrate Hakka festivals such as *bu tien con* or the winter solstice festival. The only distinct trait is the preservation of their language due to their closed-group communication practices including their professional and family life. The younger people who have not experienced migration are not communicatively restricted to the group and need not cooperate closely in the group. Having only very little knowledge of Hakka-specific festivals and other customs, this younger generation is aware of their Hakkaness almost exclusively by the fact that they are speaking this particular language in the family and among friends. Nonetheless, they wish to transmit the language to their future children and to learn more about their Hakka background.

References


Vietnamese Proverbs: Values Preserved in Modern Society

Ngo Thi Thanh Quy\textsuperscript{a}
\textsuperscript{a}Thai Nguyen University of Education, Vietnam

Nguyen Thi Hong Minh\textsuperscript{b}
\textsuperscript{b}Thai Nguyen University of Education, Vietnam

Abstract

Vietnamese proverbs has created long-lasting values which are being passed on to the modern society with numerous passions. These values include humanistic values confirming the human position in life. They also comprise social values and human philosophy as well as aesthetic values. Therefore, typical proverbs of the Viet people which have been transferred to the younger generations via literary works such as \textit{Việt điển u linh} (A collection of Vietnamese misteries) in the 14th century, \textit{Linh Nam chích quái} (A selection of the Viet extraordinary stories) in the 15th century are still being passed on until the present days.

With the foundation of traditional Vietnamese proverbs, modern proverbs have undergone profound changes as seen in modern life through different forms of media including printed and audiovisual media as well as internet. It is obvious that traditional proverbs has regenerated in the new appearance. Proverbs are reproduced in modern literary works. Proverbs are also recreated and transformed in prose, poetry and drama.

The movement and development of proverbs in our modern society confirm their deep values of the traditional culture. Writers, journalists and artists of other art forms have not only received the art tradition of word use of the ancestors but more importantly they have inherited the cultural environment, humanistic values and life philosophies in order to transfer to the next generations.

Henceforth, in the modern society Vietnamese proverbs are not obliterated but remain their vitality with different forms and have been of the Vietnamese people’s favourite.

\textbf{Keywords:} Values, preservation of Vietnamese proverbs, vitality of Vietnamese proverbs

Background

The value of Vietnamese traditional proverbs has been a creative product of the Vietnamese nation throughout its long historical journey. The lessons of human behaviours depicted in proverbs have rooted themselves deeply in the minds of Vietnamese generations. The elderly repeat proverbs in modern life and express their strong pride in the heritage of the past, which evidences the deep imprints of proverbs in the life of Vietnamese communities. Proverbs contain both linguistic and cultural values, and are the cultural values of Vietnam, thus creating vitality, especially in the context of modern society.

Compared to other types of folk literature, Vietnamese proverbs carry special values. Cao Huy Dinh (1976) notes that:
In Vietnam, scientific knowledge and folk philosophy are expressed in many specific and vivid forms (fairy tales, fables, jokes, anecdotes, riddles, etc.), but most directly and condensedly in the form of the proverb. Learning about nature and the universe, the practice of labor and fighting as well as all the dealings with life situations ranging from small to serious issues are continuously and constantly summarized into proverbs by the Vietnamese people from generations to generations. Proverbs, which are a product of vivid life and have a clear teaching purpose, participate actively in the ideological and cultural activities of the people.

As a valuable folk literary genre, Vietnamese proverbs are a topic of interest and are studied by many researchers, including not only literary and cultural scholars, but also linguists. From a linguistic perspective, proverbs are sentences that convey an artistic message in simple one-sentence form, which differentiates them from other artistic messages.

Humanistic Values in Vietnamese Proverbs

*Family Values*

Vietnamese proverbs have created sustainable values that people in modern society still embrace. They mention humanitarian relationships with humanistic values, which cover the relationships between spouses, parents and children. There are proverbs which have become guidelines for Vietnamese people. They comprise those expressing withdrawn lessons and philosophy in behaviour for a harmonious relationship between a husband and wife:

*Behind every great man, there is a great woman (Thuyền vợ thuyền chồng tát bé Đồng cùng can)*

*A soft answer turns away wrath (Chống giân thì vợ bớt lời)*

In Vietnam, the relationship between parents and children is important; it creates a strong link in the Vietnamese family:

*He whose parents are alive is living in a house with a roof" (Con có cha nhạt nhà có nọc)*

Therefore, Vietnamese people take the teaching of their children into serious consideration:

*Train up a child in the way he should go (Uốn cây theo thô con non, dạy con the theo con non ngày thành)*

In order to teach their children well, parents should be as strict as possible:

*Spare the rod, spoil the child' (Yêu cờ roi cho vợ, ghét chở ngọt chở巴士)*

Parents not only care for their children's schooling, but also take care of their children's marriage when they mature. The maturity of children is the result of the care and teaching from the family, school and the society. Parents are the ones who give birth and nurture the children; thus children are supposed to express their gratitude to the parents with respect in mind and in behaviour:

*Children should respect both the father's side and the mother's (Bên cha cũng kính bên mẹ cũng vậy)*

It is a deeply loving relationship with mutual care and support:
A young kid needs his parents; an old man needs his offsprings (Trẻ con cần cha, già cần con).

Social Values

The value of the proverb holds central social values embedded in the rule of each village, the heart of traditional Vietnamese society:

Each village has its own custom (Đất có kẻ quê có thói)

The village customs are the principles, traditions, habits, rules and habitual lifestyles of the people in each region. Those rules are not written, but people must know these in order to obey:

Custom rules the law (Pháp vua thua kẻ lạng)

In Vietnamese proverbs there is always appreciation and respect for neighbours who offer assistance in times of need. Therefore, Vietnamese people approve the sentiments among neighbours:

Better a neighbour that is near than a brother that is afar.” (Bán anh em xa, mua láng gèn gần)

A philosophy of behaviour is practical in Vietnam as the Vietnamese learn that distant relatives and siblings do not have the opportunity to provide instant and immediate help as neighbours can. Positioning neighbours as siblings strengthens community. Close neighbourhood relations allow people to help one another without regret:

When a horse is sick, the whole stable refuses grass (Một con ngựa đau, cả táu bỏ cỏ)
A good leaf covers the torn leaves (Lá lành đùm lá rách)
Do as you would be done by (Thương người như thể thương thân).

However, Vietnamese people prefer clearness and fairness in order to maintain long-lasting relationships. Appropriate behaviour is a social treasure which has long been established and developed:

A hedge between keeps friendship green (Yêu nhau rào gấu cho kín).

The tradition of love, solidarity, support and sharing in neighbourliness has created noble acts such as sharing one’s meals and clothes, sacrificing personal property, and even life, in order to save and protect disadvantaged people. These are noble acts of favour in Vietnam, which demonstrate attitudes toward living

While doing someone a favour, do not wait for a return” (Làm ơn đừng cầu báo đáp).

In charity, empathy is displayed towards fellow humans. These attitudes in helping others become humane efforts.

Paying one’s debt of gratitude (On trả nghĩa đến)
When drinking water, think of its source” (Uống nước nhớ nguồn, ăn quả nhớ kẻ trồng cây).

Nevertheless, Vietnamese culture has it that people must always bear others in mind, more so in the debts they must repay:

One must be thankful for small favour” (On ai một chút chẳng quên, phần ai một chút để bên đời này).

Aesthetic Values in Vietnamese Proverbs
Aesthetic Values Reflected in Dressings, Eating and Drinking

Vietnamese proverbs express aesthetic values in eating, dressing and living. Their conception of beauty is finely depicted by the language of proverbs. Ideologies of eating do not simply constitute placing food in one’s mouth to meet biological requirements, but rather, symbolize personality, morality and culture.

*Do not eat to get full but to enjoy the flavour (An lây thơm lây tho, chử không ăn lạy no lạy béo)*
*Eat when you are invited, do when you are asked (An có mời, làm có khẩn)*
*Eat at pleasure, drink with measure (An có chừng, chời có độ)*

Vietnamese people regard eating and drinking as a culture which utilizes the natural environment:

*Ask Mother Earth for rice, ask Mother Sea and Mother Forest for food (Cốm gạo xin mẹ đất, thác ăn bơi mẹ biên, mẹ rừng)*

In their diet, Vietnamese people appreciate the synthesis and the harmony of ingredients, and this influences the way of preparing food:

*Green rice cake should have both onion and fat (Bánh chưng xanh vừa hành vừa mỡ), Having rice with soup is like having friends in a remote place (An cơm có canh như tự hình có bạn)*

The Vietnamese respect the harmony of food combining this with human relations:

*Good wine should be shared with good friends (Rượu ngon phải có bạn biếu)*.

The proverbs also depict eating manners. Eating and drinking cultures of Vietnam have become a philosophy of harmony between nature and people.

*Care the pot when you eat, sit after you check your chair (An trông nồi, ngồi trông bống)*.

Aesthetic Values Reflected in Dress

In addition to the proverbs about eating and drinking, Vietnamese proverbs reflect dressing manners. The monsoon tropical climate has created a diverse ecosystem for Vietnam, where the Vietnamese have adapted to this environment. As such, the Vietnamese have developed specific ways of dressing:

*Three bowls of rice and three layers of coat prevent hunger and cold* (Cốm ba bát, áo ba manh, đôi không xanh, rết không chết).

A culture of residence of Vietnamese people is vividly depicted in their proverbs. As such, houses are built for optimum residence and permanent settlement. They represent stability, and a location for ancestral worship and for the storage of farming products, crops, labour tools and animals. The house is a symbol of family and rural life and is regarded as “the key element of Vietnamese civilization” [2]. The Vietnamese must have an appropriate settlements in order to ensure work sustainability:

*Having a settlement allows work contentment (An ở mề kệ nghiệp)*
Vietnamese people also convey their house building experiences in proverbs. The Vietnamese’s house is a yin-yang harmony, a harmony between the sky - the land - the people:

*Being in the downtown is the best, being close to a good neighbour is the second-best, being close to a river is the third* (Nghĩa căn thị, nghĩ căn làn, tam căn giang).

**Aesthetic Values Reflected in Speaking**

The Vietnamese people convey politeness and modesty in speech. Here, the greeting that is considered more important than property:

*A word of greeting is more satisfying than a feast (Lời chào cao hơn mâm cơ)*

It is thus implied that mastering the art of small talk can open up the opportunity for success:

*To speak kindly does not hurt the tongue* (Lời nói chung mất tiền mua, lẹa lời mua nói cho vida lòng nhau).

Someone’s personality, behaviour, educational and family backgrounds are revealed through the way they speak, and similarly, people’s judgement is based on how they use words in their daily communication:

*The bird is known by his note, the man by his words* (Chim khôn hót tiếng rành rang, người khôn tiếng nói đâu dằng dễ nghe).

However, the Vietnamese people do not expect nice untruthful words, but rather, prefer honesty and faith despite the harshness:

*Beauty is only skin deep (Tốt giọng tốt một số)*  
*Beauty is but skin deep (Cái vẻ đánh chết cái đẹp)*

The philosophical values in proverbs are rich, diverse, flexible and practical in Vietnam. The most striking values in these proverbs are thought, affection and respect for promoting kinship, summarized into profound philosophical lessons. The philosophy of the Vietnamese harmoniously combines affection and morality, respect for others and respect for personal honor, family and social relations, kinship and neighbourship. These factors ground motives for lack of assimilation.

**Aesthetic Values Reflected in Behaviour**

Displaying the experience of difficulties due to wars, natural disasters and epidemics, Vietnamese proverbs still very much pervade the Vietnamese, who employ proverbs in daily to as a societal memory of solidarity and unitedness:

*One single bamboo can’t form a row (Một cây lìm chẳng lấn non)*  
*United we stand, divided we fall (Đoàn kết thì sống, chia rẽ thì chết)*

The proverbs teach to live responsibly with community through acts of supporting others in difficult circumstances:

*When a horse is sick, the whole stable refuses grass (Một con ngựa đau, cả táu bỏ cơ)*
Proverb Values in the Modern Life

Proverbs represent a literary genre with unique practical functions. The traditional proverb present in current society is not only orally transmitted but has integrated into society through media. Grounded in traditional proverbs, modern proverbs have been mobilized and transformed into emotional sentiments, handed down through media. Traditional proverbs have formed the foundation of modern proverbs, and modern proverbs in turns have been transformed into new ideologies, becoming reborn and reshaped in modern writing, poetry, drama and other media.

Vietnamese proverbs are widely used in jounalism. There are many traditional proverbs which are used in their original form in media

*Fine clothes do not make the gentleman (Tốt gì hơn có nước sơn)*
*It is too late to lock the stable door after the horse has bolted (Mất bò mới lo làm chuồng)*
*To speak kindly does not hurt the tongue (Lời nói chẳng màng tiện mua, hẹa lời mà nói cho vừa lòng nhau)*
*We learn not at school but in life (Học thầy không ượm học bạn)*

Journalists sometimes flexibly use proverbs and modify way of highlighting content to be expressed. For example, the original proverb:

*The elder sister falls down, the younger lends a hand (Chị già, em nâng)*

has changed to:

*The younger sister falls down, the elder lends a hand (Em già, chị nâng)*

This exchange of words has brought other meanings to the proverb. In addition to the original message about the sisterhood in the family, it highlights the role of the elder siblings in supporting the younger. This new use of the traditional proverb allows the writer of an article to increase the efficiency of expression, improving the strength of the article. Accordingly, the content of the proverb is preserved, but the proverb now carries a new nuance and is thus more attached to current issues.

Proverbs express the attitude and affection of the working people towards life issues, while contributing effectively in the exchange of people’s thoughts and emotions. Proverbs can be transmitted through the proverbs themselves, or can be passed down in through larger speech. More importantly, proverbs are transmitted and embedded in literary works, such as in folklores. Here, audience can better understand the meanings of the proverbs. In the works of those such as Nam Cao, Nguyen Huy Thiep, Nguyen Xuan Khanh and Ho Anh Thai, brief, concise and terse proverbs intertwine with literary texture to dominate the author’s literary style, in vivid harmony with tradition.

Vietnamese proverbs have been transformed in the new era though incorporating traditional values and Vitality. The birth of modern proverbs is congruent with the general rule of formation of traditional proverbs. In addition to the borrowing and collective creation, there are proverbs created by intellectuals in different fields and in different eras. Modern proverbs have significant roles in communicating new policies in different areas of society. However, the dark side of society is reflected strongly in proverbs:

*There is official correspondence in the left pocket, there are reports in the right pocket (Công văn túi áo, báo cáo túi Quân)*

and
There is a pocketful of announcements, there is another bagful of instructions (Đây túi quấn thông báo, đây túi áo chí thể)

are of the proverbs criticizing the pressure of bureaucratic procedures in public officie.

First comes relationship, second comes position (Nhất thân, nhị thế)

and

The warehouse-keeper is superior to the chief officer (Thủ kho to hồn thứ trưởng)

are of the proverbs with which criticize corrupt officials. While traditional proverbs reflect experience, modern proverbs indicate social criticism. It is noteworthy to know that not all new derived expressions in media are regarded as modern proverbs since they have not been approved and accepted by a large audience. These can be classified into three categories. The first and the biggest category consists of proverbs which are entertaining and innocuous. These proverbs give people joy but do not hold long attention. For example, the derived proverb:

The nearer you are to ink, the blacker you get; the closer you come to the fire, you will get burned (Gần mực thì đen, gần đến thì cháy)

originates from the old

The nearer you are to ink, the blacker you get; the closer you come to the fire, the brighter you can see!

He, who keeps company with the wolf, will learn to howl (Gần mực thì đen, gần đến thì rạng).

The proverb:

The young relies on his father, the old relies on his son (Trẻ cây cha, già cây con)

has been reproduced into

The young relies on his father, the old relies on his pension (Trẻ cây cha, già cây lương) [3].

The second category are the derived proverbs which reflect some kind of unapproved generalisation:

Money goes first, positions follow (Tiền bại đi trước, chức trước theo sau)

or

Immense fields do not make as big profits as an middleman (Ruộng bè bè không bằng nghề buôn mạt bớt) [4].

The last category includes proverbs which are newly reproduced but precisely summarizes social life practices such as

Cutting down trees is the brother of storms and droughts, driving swiftly is the uncle of death and injury (Chặt phá cây xanh là anh của bão bực, hạn hán. Phăng xe tuôn vụt là chú ruồi của tang tóc, đau thông) [4].

Vietnamese proverbs are passed down through generations through such publications as Proverbs and Folk-songs (two volumes), Vinh Hung Long Publishing House (1932) and Vietnamese Folk Poetry (Vũ Ngọc Phan 1975). These have been reprinted and are always welcomed by readers. President Ho Chi Minh called these publications jewels in Vietnamese folk treasure, and which provoke conceptions of duty, in order to render
these proverbs more beautiful and brighter. The movement of traditional proverbs into modern society helps to reaffirm the sustainable values of traditional language and culture. Writers and journalists not only receive the tradition of folklore art, but also absorb cultural atmosphere, human values and life philosophy so as to pass these on to new generation. Outlining the values and vitality of proverbs allows us to recognize and identify the rich diversity of behaviour philosophies of practical and knowledgeable folk artists. Values in proverbs are imbued with the soul, the ideological personality of the Vietnamese people and the imprints of the era from which they came. Most folklore philosophies in proverbs remains to guide people. This accumulated knowledge enriches personal experiences, wisdom, and virtue, while sharpening appreciation of nation.

In modern society, Vietnamese proverbs have not been forgotten, but maintain vitality and exist in different forms. Traditional proverbs are still in use with yet in new forms so as to become integrated into modern life. Via their appearance in media, proverbs can become more alive and resonate, and develop with time. Proverbs have demonstrated their vitality and pervasiveness as they become perpetual through time and space. Traditional values are being lost, and the values in proverbs must be preserved and promoted.

References


Japanese Animation: Its Effect on Malaysian Undergraduate Students

Rokiah Paeae
"Universiti Malaysia Sarawak, Malaysia"

Roslina Mamatb
"Universiti Putra Malaysia, Malaysia"

Roswati Abdul Rashidc
"Universiti Malaysia Terengganu, Malaysia"

Abstract

Japanese animation or anime is one of the most popular and well-received types of Japanese popular cultures, translated into various languages, rendering these globally renowned. A plethora of studies has shown that interest in anime has led students to start learning the Japanese language. However, to date, studies examining the influence of anime consumption on Japanese language students, particularly in Malaysian contexts, are scarce.

The present study aims to identify the effect of anime consumption on Malaysian undergraduates who enrolled in beginner Japanese language courses at three public universities in Malaysia. A total of 150 undergraduate students who are interested in anime participated in this study. The data was collected using an online survey and was coded and categorized by themes. The data revealed that most students are influenced by the characters, settings, and storylines of anime. The main positive effects are broadening their knowledge on Japan and its culture, deepening their interest on Japanese language, strengthening relationships with family members and friends, releasing stress, instilling positive moral values and enhancing imagination and creativity. However, poor time management, negative moral values, negative emotion, antisocial behavior, escapism and buying characters’ goods are mentioned as the main adverse effects. The results of this study gave insightful perspectives to those working in Japanese language and cultural pedagogies.

Keywords: Anime, effect, Japanese language learners, undergraduate

Background

Anime is the abbreviation of the Japanese term for animation. Emerging from Japan 40 years ago, anime has successfully penetrated the global market and has become a worldwide phenomenon (Ng 2002; Noh 2017). Anime has been acclaimed for its originality, which showcases the intricacies unique to Japanese culture and content. These differences are stark enough from the mainstream animation to the point where the term ‘janimation’ is used to describe animations produced in Japan. One of the most distinctive features of ‘janimation’ or anime is the character design, where the characters usually have big eyes and unique hairstyles that are unconventionally colored. The storylines in anime are detailed, complicated and continuous with
themes ranging from fantasy, daily life, cooking, action, adventure, martial art, sports, romantic drama, comedy, and same-sex relationships. Despite being seen as a genre either too childish or too violent and pornographic, the popularity of anime has been sustained through showcases of anime films and series on television, uploads of episodes on YouTube, online games, commercials and anime characters’ merchandise (Pinili 2017).

Research on learners of Japanese language has strongly emphasized the link between anime and Japanese language education (Fukunaga 2006; Mori and Takeuchi 2016; Rokiah Pace 2017). However, research on the effect of anime consumption on students of Japanese, particularly in Malaysian contexts, is still scarce. This study aims to shed light on the positive and negative impact of anime consumption on Malaysian Japanese language students.

Literature Review

Interest in Japanese popular culture such as anime, manga and computer games mentions these facets as motivational factors that trigger students to begin taking Japanese courses at university (Mori and Takeuchi 2016; Rokiah 2017). A survey by the Japan Foundation (The Japan Foundation 2013) found that the motivation to learn Japanese language comes more from the learners’ interest in Japanese popular culture than any future career prospects. This phenomenon may be explained by Japan’s economic drop, which led to fewer job opportunities requiring proficiency in Japanese language. Hence, Japanese language classrooms are no longer filled with students from business majors, but rather, are replaced by avid anime watchers, manga readers and Nintendo players (Hayashi 2009).

In a qualitative study by Rokiah Pace (2017) on Malaysian undergraduate Japanese language learners, anime came up as the top Japanese popular culture that triggered learners to start learning the language. Rokiah Pace interviewed 24 beginning Japanese language students from five national universities in Malaysia, and found that the majority started watching anime at childhood. Most watch anime and their familiarity with the language motivates them to take the courses thus. Apart from interesting anime characters and motivating storylines, the learners also enjoy listening to animation theme songs. Among the animations mentioned in the interviews were Swords Art Online, Steins Gate, Attack on Titan, Kuroko no Basket, Crayon Shinchan, One Piece, Gundam, Doraemon, Digimon, Detective Conan, Initial D, Naruto and Tonari no Totoro.

Anime is not only used as a source of entertainment but also serves as a learning tool. The Japanese language learners use it to gain new knowledge on pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar, writing systems and culture. In a study conducted by Mamat, Abdul Halim, Mansor and Abdul Rashid’s (2018), approximately 79% of respondents indicated that the consumption of manga and anime helped in enhancing their Japanese language competencies. Listening to the repetitive dialogues assisted the students to memorize the meaning of the words, phrases or sentences and to understand the scene. Anime also creates awareness of Japanese linguistic features such as men and women’s languages, plain and polite forms, phrases, vocabulary, sentence structures, pronunciation and intonation as students focus on anime dialogues (Chan, Wong and Ng 2017). Most of the respondents rely on subtitles to understand the story. Respondents also learn the ‘plain’ or casual forms that are different from the polite form that is used based on social status. Through manga and anime, respondents also learned new linguistic features that are not taught in their Japanese university classes. Moreover, from written exercises, students who favor manga and anime perform better as they have the ability to distinguish the suitable vocabularies, phrases or sentences for different contexts (Roslina Mamat et al. 2018).
Methodology

Participants

The study was conducted at three public universities in Malaysia. Purposive sampling was used for data collection. A total of 150 students consisting of 38 males and 112 females who enrolled in basic Japanese language courses participated in this study. These courses are a general university requirement and enroll students from a wide array of other disciplines. About 130 (86.7%) students indicated that Japanese animation is a major motive to study Japanese. More than half (56.7%) of the students started watching anime before entering their secondary schooling years, one third (33.3%) started during their secondary school, while 4% started during their matriculation/college years. Only 6% started watching after entering university.

Instrument

The students were given an open-ended online questionnaire using google forms. This questionnaire has two sections: Section A asked about the participants’ demographics such as their gender, ethnicity and institution, whereas section B consists of two open-ended questions, regarding the positive and negative effects of watching anime.

Data Collection

The data were gathered via google forms at the end of the semester. Students were given the link to the form by their respective Japanese language instructors, and they were asked to fill in the survey during their free time. The students were allowed to write their responses in Malay or English, predicated on which language they are comfortable with.

Data Analysis

Initially, 153 students completed the survey. However, out of 153 students, one student submitted two responses, and another two did not answer the open-ended questions, resulting in their participation being deleted from any further analysis. The final analysis consisted of 150 responses, and the data were coded thematically.

Methodology

Positive Effect of Anime Consumption

Students’ descriptions of the effects of anime consumption revealed several themes. The main positive effects of anime consumption can be categorized into six major themes: (a) broadening their knowledge on Japan and its culture, (b) deepening interest and knowledge on Japanese language, (c) strengthening the relationship with family members and friends, (d) releasing stress, (e) instilling positive moral values and (f) enhancing imagination and creativity. Table 1 shows the positive influence of anime consumption on the Japanese language learner and examples of responses.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Students’ Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a Broadening knowledge on Japan and its culture</td>
<td>I can learn about Japanese culture and other countries culture too.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Understand their culture more. Some of them [anime] told me how to deal with people and stuff that happen around me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b Deepen interest and knowledge on Japanese language</td>
<td>I can learn new words. I’m studying Japanese right now, and it’s an advantage for me if I can understand the anime without the subtitle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Able to understand Japanese a little.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Able to listen and speak some words.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It motivates me to learn Japanese language because I want to watch anime without translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c Strengthen the relationship with family members and friends</td>
<td>Appreciate the friendship. Look for quality, not quantity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The importance of strengthening the bond among family and friends.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I started to realize the need to appreciate our friends more and protect the bond we have made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Make more close friends with the same interest and strengthen my relationship with my siblings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I realize the importance of friends regardless of during good or bad times or when we are in need of help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d Release stress</td>
<td>Able to think calmer and can release tension due to study</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It just makes my life and day happier and less stress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It allows me to escape from my troubles for a little while.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I like to be in the anime world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e Instill positive moral values</td>
<td>I am more motivated in whatever I do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Determination in achieving an objective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Learn more about appreciating our lives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>There are reasons in everything that happened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>There is some good influence from anime such as Naruto where the anime offers various positive moral value such as helping each other, never give up, love and many others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dare to take risks which is essential in being successful. This encourages me to make decision and be brave to face the consequences of my decision.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I learn not to give up easily, appreciate people around me and work hard until succeed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Personality and thinking become better and more mature.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I can learn good moral value that should be in our lives, such as keep trying after failing, do not blame others, do not bully others, and so on.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It enables me to shift my attitude to a more positive note by observing ethical values from the anime.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f Enhance imagination and creativity</td>
<td>It motivates me and makes my imagination more creative (widening the horizon)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It let you expand your imagination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Increase creativity in writing stories or drawing.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Positive Effect of Anime Consumption

**Negative Effects of Anime Consumption**

Out of 150 students, about one-third of the learners answered “none,” “nothing,” “no comment,” “I am not sure,” “Nothing I’m aware of,” or left the answer column blank when asked about the negative effects of anime viewing. Table 2 shows the negative influence of anime consumption on the Japanese language learner and response examples. The negative effects can be categorized mainly into six themes: (a) poor time management, (b) negative moral values, (c) escapism, (d) negative emotion or thought, (e) antisocial behavior, and (f) buying characters’ goods.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Students’ Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a Poor Time Management</td>
<td>Unable to finish work on time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Time management. Binge-watching for a whole week!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maybe getting too immerse with the anime and hence not getting much work done.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I spent too much time watching anime compared to doing other things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It makes me addicted to watching it, and it makes me procrastinate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>Negative Emotion/Thought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>Escapism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>Instill Negative Moral Value</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>Antisocial behavior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>Buying characters’ good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2: Negative Effects of Anime Consumption**

**Discussion**

The results show that anime consumption affects the majority of learners positively rather than negatively. This is evidenced by that only 2/3 of respondents listed the negative impact as opposed to almost all listing the positive effects. The positive effects listed for anime consumption include the ability of learners to broaden their knowledge and to deepen their interest in not only Japanese culture but also the culture of other countries. Moreover, the time spent watching anime together with family members and friends serves as a steppingstone in strengthening their bond. The portrayal of positive values such as the determination to succeed, self-reflection, helping others and gratefulness, in anime, serve as motivation for the viewers to become a better version of themselves.

However, among the negative influences mentioned, poor time management ranks in first place. The students are aware of the long time they spent on anime consumption and its consequences such as inability to deliver other scheduled tasks on time, but are unable to control themselves. This may be due to the immersive nature of anime, and they hence become willing binge-watchers, which leads to addiction. The addiction, when indulged alone, may lead to less interaction with other humans to the extent that some learners become antisocial and prefer to be alone and stay at home. However, most of the students are not influenced to imitate the character of the anime or to feel the urge to have a collection of anime goods. This suggests that the students know their limitations and still have the ability to delineate between the world of reality and of the fantasy.

**Conclusion**

This study has highlighted the positive and negative effect of anime consumption on Japanese language learners at the Malaysian public universities. The findings revealed both effects from the data. This suggests that anime have influenced the respondents’ lives to some extent. These students’ voices point out some critical considerations for the future of language education. According to Iwabuchi (2002), to cater to global taste, Japanese cultural products have shifted significantly from emphasizing the Japanese national context to global contexts. Hence, anime’s contents are no longer specific to Japanese settings, making it an unsuitable platform to represent any real or authentic Japanese culture and identity. Therefore, there is a hidden danger in having
limited knowledge of Japan from anime alone. To avoid this stereotyping, Japanese language instructors may introduce authentic materials, not only in the form of anime but also in various forms such as movies, songs, newspaper articles, TV commercials, news, magazine advertisements and the like during teaching and learning. This will enable the learners to see how the Japanese language is used in real life. Using carefully selected authentic materials makes the class more enjoyable and exciting. Thus, it will appeal more strongly to learners’ interests and at the same time, will expose learners to the salient aspects of broader usage of Japanese language. According to Matsumoto and Okamoto (2003), the structure of the Japanese language curriculum, which commonly focuses on polite form first may de-contextualized language in the textbooks. Therefore, by using a variety of authentic materials, the learners will be exposed to different language registers.

The results of this study gave insightful perspectives to those in the field of Japanese language education. However, room for further research remains. The data collected in the study was based on self-report and thus contained potential weaknesses such as the participant unwillingness to present themselves honestly. Efforts were made to increase the validity and reliability of the study by not requiring the students to answer questions on their demographics that may lead the researchers to identify students such as their name, age, faculty and email address. The impact of anime consumption can also be assessed via other alternative measures such as focus groups interviews or semi-structured interviews. Further study may investigate the differences in performance or motivation between anime fan learners and non-anime fan learners. It would also be interesting to explore the potential that anime might have in attracting and retaining learners.

References

Becoming the Puppeteer: Reflections on Global Language and Culture by Puppetry Students in Yogyakarta, Indonesia

Susana Ayala*  
*National Autonomous University of Mexico, Mexico

Abstract

Puppet theater on the island of Java is an ancient art which has maintained some of its characteristics considered traditional, but has also been transforming innovations such as the wayang with hip-hop music among other popular expressions. The art of puppetry has also been institutionalized and is itself a degree program at the National Institute of Arts of Indonesia.

In this paper, I show the outcomes of my research among students and shadow puppet art teachers in Java, Indonesia. There are two special characteristics in training puppeteers: The main use of Javanese language and the development of communities of practice as ways of working in the teaching and learning process. As such, these contexts motivate students to be constantly reflecting on the Javanese language and culture. I note the process and the reflections of the participants on the Javanese language shift, and the uses of language in puppet performances which consider the reception of young Javanese. To analyze the data, I draw from fieldwork and interviews, I use the theoretical concepts of discursive genres and dialogism proposed by Bakhtin and I propose that the art of puppetry is a social field that encourages vitality and linguistic diversity on the island of Java.

Keywords: Dialogism, discursive genres, language ideologies, community of practice, Wayang puppetry

Background

The art of puppetry is one of the oldest expressions of humanity. This art has been related to ritual and popular educational activities. In many cases globally, puppet performances have been controversial. This paper is the result of my anthropological approach to the world of Wayang in the region of Yogyakarta on the island of Java, Indonesia. During 2012 and 2013, I engaged in a year doing ethnographic fieldwork among the Javanese dhalang (professional puppeteers) students at the Institute of Arts in Yogyakarta. The methodology consists mainly of daily coexistence with the students. Here, I also resorted to participant observation during classes and in the arrangements of the Wayang performances, both inside and outside of the Institute. I also conducted ethnographic interviews and collect audiovisual and written records. My analysis culminated in a correlation between narratives and the other collected data.

Prior to that time, I had focused on how linguistic diversity in Mexico has shifted through the use of Spanish, the national language, with special focus on language vitality. From a perspective of the relationships between different languages in a globalization framework, I discovered opposite poles in vitality and shifting. Among the many questions that I frequently had, was the following: How would local languages in Indonesia and particularly the Javanese language, used in Wayang performances, shift through the national language Bahasa Indonesia? That year of fieldwork led me to rethink the relations of coexistence, including
complementarity and complexity that exist in linguistically diverse contexts which are not exempt from social, political and ideological tensions, more so during the social use of multiple languages within a single context.

The Wayang

The word wayang literally translates to shadow puppet, a performance with characters that is replete with infinite symbolisms. For example, colors of puppet faces, the features of the eyes, the noses and mouths indicate the moods of the characters. The body postures describe social manners and behavior, the attire presents social economical status, and the size of characters signifies identity, that is, whether they are warriors, gods, if they belong to royalty, deities, demons, or this world. The actual performance is called wayangan, as the event itself that includes the audience as well as the performers.

From the turn of the 21st century, wayangan performances adopted an artistic discipline promoted by Indonesian government institutions. This institutionalization led to the wayang art itself becoming a degree program at the National Institute of Arts of Indonesia. Moreso, from 2003, UNESCO declared the art of puppetry in Indonesia an Oral and Intangible Heritage, and in 2008, an Intangible Cultural Heritage. When this fieldwork was conducted, the academic community of the Institute of Arts sought to recall and maintain these statements and to promotes wayangan during their extracurricular time. The performances are prepared and carried out by teachers and students in the Institute’s ‘pendopo,’ a square open-air but roofed stage. The audience is placed around the pendopo.

Institutional and Spontaneous for the Dhalang

Dhalangs trained in the Institute are considered academic dhalangs, differing from dhalangs who are empirically trained and who are considered heirs and holders of a special ‘Wayang’ gift. Students at the Institute of Arts have a theoretical background in history, including anthropology, semiotics and symbolism related to the art of Wayang. However, Wayang performance is much more than theory: The representation involves rhythmic movements and speech according to mood and social characteristics of each character and moment of the story. As such, the puppeteer requires knowledge and skills of traditional dance, karawitan and gamelan (traditional Javanese orchestra music), different types of wayang manufacturing techniques, knowledges of rhetoric and voice modulation, constituting an indispensable framework with which to give coherence to dialogues. Here, the speech of each character corresponds with a personality, with the story and with the body language that the character conveys and represents.

In addition to scholary activities, I observed the activities that students become involved in in their extra curricular time. Much of the time, young apprentices practice together, regardless of their level or the semester that they are taking. Outside of class, students convene to play instruments, practice the Wayang movements and prepare the pendopo for performances. In addition, they get together to talk, eat, go on excursions, during which, they act the Wayang, and sing in different social voices and voice modulations. These seemingly non-formative activities are significant in the process of becoming a dhalang and are developed through collective action where everyone participates and practices so as to learn in spontaneously and ludic created social spaces, Following Lave and Wenger (1991), this type of learning organization constitutes a Wayang community of practice. To be a participant in the Wayangan implies that one must do things in coordination with others, through significant and perlocutionary speech acts (c.f. work by Austin and Searle).
Linguistic Diversity, Discursive Genres and Dialogism in Javanese Shadow Puppet Art

Wayang shows are mainly performed in the Javanese language. This language has four social levels: 1) Krama inggil, the speech with the highest level of formality and respect, as the language used by the kings and gods; 2) Krama, the formal and polite speech, but at a lesser level, used by respectable people; 3) Ngoko, the colloquial speech that is used in informal situations with friends and family; and 4) Kasar, consisting of the most informal and disrespectful speech, considered obscene and vulgar. In the Wayang performances, kasar is never used. The other three levels are used predicated on situated context and character. The stories are developed in the Wayang plays, generally built on the Ramayana, but are mixed with local stories.

In the central region of Java all performances must include at least one playful moment called goro-goro and limbukan. Here, there is a turn in the main story, and local stories called lakon carangan are inserted. In the goro-goro, mythical characters of Java appear: Petruk, Gareng and Bagog. These stories emanate from the main structure of the performance. However, in addition to offering a space for comedy, these become messages given by the government or local community authorities. At this moment, the characters interact with the singers and the persons in the audience. At this point, in addition to Javanese, the national language Bahasa Indonesia is used, which has two levels of formality.

Author: Susana Ayala. Goro-Goro performance. ISI, Java, Yogyakarta, Indonesia
Student of dhalang Wahono Simba, 2012.

For example, Petruk can speak with the singers in Ngoko or in the less formal level of Indonesian, to ask them to dance or sing with a certain style. The same occurs if the characters are introduced to the audience, where it is common for the men among the audience talk to the characters, to make jokes, suggestions or other comical comments. The messages from the government or civil authorities are made in Bahasa Indonesia and, if a speaker from another language is among the audience, it is possible that the dhalang uses phrases in that language, I observed dhalangs saying words or phrases in English, Japanese, and, at times, Spanish, as the dhalang students were familiar with the fact that it was my language. In addition to spoken dialogues, sung genres such as the suluk have diverse expressions both in Yogyakarta and Surakarta performances.

In the Institute of Arts, the scripts for training dhalang students can be written by the teachers based on the stories of the Ramayana, however, those written stories are only a general structure of the play that each student will represent on stage and is called lakon. At the time of acting, each apprentice of dhalang must transform the
script to make a different story that makes full sense, they must have a proper use of the different sociolinguistic levels in Javanese and Bahasa Indonesia and, if is possible to them, must using resources from different languages. They must to know how link the lakon with the lakon carangan and goro-goro or limbukan.

Within the process of becoming dhalang, several school activities are held in Bahasa Indonesia, although the courses are conducted mainly in Javanese. Not all students have Javanese as their native language, where many speak Sundanese or other languages of the archipelago, such as Kalimantanese, Sulawesi or Sumatran, yet they must learn Javanese.

All this diversity is significant as, regardless of modern international declarations, in Java, the wayangan puppet performance art is an ancient art related to ritual. The wayangan is a common recreational and playful practice, popular in the central region of Java, particularly in the rural areas of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, but also on other islands with significant Javanese immigrant populations. The Wayang can animate a wedding, the birth of a child or even certain agricultural cycle celebrations. Government agencies hire dhalang artists to entertain local or national celebrations, such as Independence Day. Students of the pedalangan are hired at these events, including apprentices in their first semester. At that time, pedalangan students perform wayangan almost every weekend as part of their instruction process.

The data suggests that students learn to use different discursive genres that, according to Bakhtin, are defined as statements that occur in each sphere of social life, and that are characterized by their particular composition, theme and style. Every genre have social characteristics according to a context, and those who use them (Bakhtin 1979/2009: 248). The training of dhalangs and the wayang performances are dialogical spaces in the sense proposed by Bakhtin:

Javanese Language Ideologies among Dhalang Students

In the interviews that I conducted with the students, I expressed my concern about the shifting of languages. All students expressd that Bahasa Krama and Bahasa Ngoko will not disappear, owing to the continuation of Wayang performances, which assist to sustain the ethics, values, philosophy and Javanese logic, only possible through the language. The dhalangs make a communicative connection with the public in less formal levels of Javanese language, but also in Bahasa Indonesia, more so as among Indonesians there exists a strong sense of nationalism. Consequently, for younger generations the Wayang performances can be boring or difficult to understand. The data shows that among Wayang students, there is an ideology or an image about the Javanese language as prestige, having social power to transmit knowledge about the processes and cycles of life through a Javanese cultural worldview.

Final notes

This study was conducted almost seven years ago. Almost all the students I interviewed are working in the world of Wayang, in the performing arts or in an art academy. They have a strong use of the Javanese language, not only in the wayangan, but also in social media. Javanese appears to be strong and alive in this changing and globalized century. Javanese wayang performances can be considered to be a dialogic discursive space characterized by heteroglossic relations.

The ludic and spontaneous activities that apprentices of dhalang create a community of practices within which to learn and improve Wayang skills.
The ideologies about the Javanese language among the academic dhalangs is positive and has prestige, however, this is only a group located mainly in the middle of Java island. The educational linguistic policies and ideologies that privilege English in schools, publicity and ordinary life are also too strong.

References

Language and Spatiotemporal Frames
Between Global and Local Contexts: The Seoul Linguistic Landscape

Kapitolina Fedorova

*Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, South Korea

Abstract

Multilingualism in urban spaces is mainly studied as an oral practice. Nevertheless, linguistic landscape studies can serve as a good explorative method for studying multilingualism in written practices. Moreover, recent research on linguistic landscapes (Blommaert 2013; Shohamy et. al. 2010; Backhaus 2006) have shed some light on the power relations between different ethnic groups in urban public space. Multilingual practices exist in a certain ideological context, and not only official language policy but speaker linguistic stereotypes and attitudes can influence and modify those practices. Historically, South Korea tended to be oriented towards monolingualism; one nation-one people-one language ideology was domineering public discourse. However, globalization and recent increase in migration resulted in gradual changes in attitudes towards multilingualism (Lo and Kim 2012). The linguistic landscapes of Seoul, on the one hand, reflect these changes, and However, they demonstrate pragmatic inequality of languages other than South Korean in public use. This inequality, though, is represented differently in certain spatial urban contexts.

The proposed paper aims at analyzing data on linguistic landscapes of Seoul, South Korea, with the focus on different contexts of language use and different sets of norms and ideological constructs underlying particular linguistic choices. In my presentation I will examine data from three urban contexts: ‘general’ (typical for most public spaces); ‘foreign-oriented’ (seen in tourist oriented locations such as airport, expensive hotels, or popular historical sites, which dominates the Itaewon district); and ‘ethnic-oriented’ (specific for spaces created by and for ethnic minority groups, such as Mongolian / Central Asian / Russian districts near the Dongdaemun History and Culture Park station). I will show that foreign languages used in public written communication are embedded into different frameworks in these three urban contexts, and that the patterns of their use vary from pragmatically oriented ones to predominately symbolic ones, with English functioning as a substitution for other foreign languages, as an emblem of ‘foreignness.’

References:


Keywords: Linguistic landscapes, Seoul, Russian, South Korean, English, language choice
Background

Historically, South Korea tended to be oriented towards monolinguism; despite of, or maybe even because of, firstly, rather strong Chinese influence, and later the occupation by the Japanese, South Korean is an important symbol of national identity. For the most part of South Korea’s existence as an independent state, one nation-one people-one language ideology has dominated its public discourse (Shin 2006). However, recent decades have brought globalization and a sharp increase in migration — according to Yi and Jung (2015), the number of foreign-origin residents underwent a sevenfold increase in less than 15 years, and these figures do not include numerous illegal labor migrants. Growing ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity resulted in gradual changes in attitudes towards multilingualism, with its becoming associated with new transnational elites (Lo and Kim 2012). English, being a global language, has turned into a marker of prestige and economic success, maintaining and deepening existing social inequality since mastering the English language demands expensive extra curricula education (Song 2011). At the same time, both on practical (poor performance in other languages than South Korean) and ideological (linguistic nationalism — see Park 2010) levels, monolinguism retains its strong positions in South Korea. This makes local multilingual practices an extremely interesting case for analysis.

This paper focuses on one particular aspect of such practices – written use of different languages in public space usually referred to as the ‘linguistic landscape.’ The paper aims at analyzing data on the linguistic landscapes of Seoul, with the focus on various dimensions of language use and various sets of norms and ideological constructs underlying particular linguistic choices. The linguistic landscapes of Seoul, on the one hand, reflect recent changes favoring multilingualism, whereas, however, they demonstrate pragmatic inequality of other languages in public use. This inequality, however, is represented differently in certain spatial urban contexts. The paper is based on the analysis of data – over 500 digital photos of various signs and advertisements alongside necessary metadata (place and time; type of sign; number of languages and graphic systems; content; position; relation to other signs; etc.). The data were gathered in 2018–2020 in and around Seoul in three different urban contexts. These contexts can be referred to as ‘general’ – typical for most public spaces; ‘foreign-oriented’ – found in tourist oriented locations such as the airport, expensive hotels or popular historical sites; and ‘ethnic-oriented’ – specific for spaces created by and for particular ethnic minority groups, such as the Mongolian / Central Asian / Russian district near the Dongdaemun History and Culture Park station. I aim to show that foreign languages used in public written communication are embedded into different frameworks in these three urban contexts, and that the patterns of their use vary from pragmatically oriented ones to predominately symbolic, with English functioning as a substitution for other foreign languages, as an emblem of ‘foreignness.’

Linguistic Landscape Studies – A Methodological Overview

Multilingualism in urban spaces is mainly studied as an oral practice. Nevertheless, linguistic landscape studies can serve as a good explorative method for studying multilingualism in written practices. Moreover, the resent research on linguistic landscapes (e.g. Backhaus 2006; Shohamy et. al. 2010; Blommaert 2013) shed some light on the reflection of power relations between different ethnic groups in urban public spaces; depending on their status, some groups and their languages can be underrepresented in linguistic landscapes. It is also important to bear in mind that multilingual practices exist in a certain ideological contexts, and not only official language policy but also speakers’ linguistic stereotypes and attitudes can influence and modify those practices. By placing a certain verbal sign in public space, any actor becomes involved in creating, maintaining and transforming the
social order. As Bommaert and Maly put it, “public space is also an instrument of power, discipline and regulation: it organizes the social dynamics deployed in that space” (2016: 192).

Any sign placed in public spaces can be seen, as can verbal interaction, as an act of communication, even if this communication does not happen face-to-face. Every sign is created by someone to convey meaning to someone else; however, this meaning is not necessarily limited to the literal sense of the words and sentences used. Public signs, therefore, can, and should be analyzed in relation to different aspects of the communicative act – who speaks to whom, when, where, how, why, etc. according to the model suggested by Hymes (1974: 53–62). The only difference is that speakers, or rather writers and their readers, usually do not present in the picture and should be reconstructed by researchers on the base of a broader context. Important indicators are the type of signs, the place where they are found, and materials used. E.g. street signs are normally regulated by city administration, placed outside and made according to certain templates, including colors, scripts, etc. Therefore, violations of these norms, e.g. when we see a street sign put on the wall inside some bar or another sign placed in the street but made in a manner different to all other street signs, signal that some other actors are involved, and the function of such signs is not to provide directions, but something else. With this in mind, I will describe how foreign languages are represented in the Seoul linguistic landscape.

Dimensions of the Seoul Linguistic Landscape

Linguistic landscape studies bring into focus the fact that language management is not limited to official language policy; the efforts of local actors involved in language planning on the micro-level are also very important (Liddicoat and Baldauf 2008). The concept of authorship in linguistic landscapes (Malinowski 2009) help us to realize that most public signs in modern cities are created not by governmental officials but by the commercial sector, with individual citizens contributing to the process as well. Audiences also should be taken into account; some messages are directed to the general public while others target particular groups. Moreover, the linguistic aspect should also be considered; authors and readers can be speakers of different languages. In the case of South Korea, they are either native speakers of the national language – South Korean, or some minority languages; and they may or may not be fluent in languages other than their native ones. If the actor responsible for creating a sign in question belongs to the same group as their targeted audience, we are dealing with in-group communication; otherwise it becomes out-group communication.

Purposes accomplished by different public signs are, certainly, very diverse. In terms of their general function, however, main division should be made between pragmatic and symbolic reasons. Pragmatic messages aim at conveying practical information in the most efficient way – if, e.g. bank managers suppose that their ATMs will be used by foreigners with limited or no knowledge of the national language, they can bother to make the ATMs provide services in several languages. Symbolic messages do not aim at exchanging factual information; they imply rather than inform directly. Thus, e.g., multilingual “Welcome!” signs in a hotel lobby not only express the staff’s good feelings towards their clients from different countries but also tell them that their linguistic differences are recognized and respected. Symbolic messages often deal with images, ideas and stereotypes – when, e.g., a French name is chosen for a South Korean bakery franchise, such as Paris Baguette, it appeals to the popular image of Parisian life style and French cuisine. However, communicative acts, both predominantly pragmatic and predominantly symbolic, can be evaluated in terms of their efficiency, and some messages fail to convey the desired factual or symbolic meaning. Sometimes this occurs when these signs are aimed at one audience and meet another.

On the surface, modern Seoul does not appear monolingual; English and Latin scripts are almost everywhere. City authorities try to make navigation easier for foreign tourists, and most street signs and
direction signs are bilingual in South Korean and English, as are maps and subway schemes. Moreover, the Seoul linguistic landscape is created mainly by the business sector, and numerous shops, cafes, bars, firms, buildings, shopping malls and cinemas, etc. use foreign (mainly English) words in their names, and insert English words and phrases in their advertisements. E.g. on a street billboard promoting sales prices for smartphones, there is a picture of a person speaking into the phone and asking in English “Really?? Sure?,” evidently referring to unbelievably low prices. All practical information about the models, monthly payments, etc. is given in South Korean. The advertisement is directed to South Korean speaking people; at the same time, it employs emotional exclamation in English, implying, among other things, that potential customers are modern and smart enough to be fluent in English. Similar implications can be found in many brands’ attempts to be creative with English words in their names and slogans. E.g. some franchise stores named ‘CU’ add such English words as “nice to,” “happy to” or “again” to the brand name in their signboards, turning them into meaningful phrases (“Nice to see you” etc.). To appreciate the pun, their customers should not only know how these phrases and English letters ‘c’ and ‘u’ phonetically, but should also be acquainted with popular abbreviations used in computer-mediated communication.

Unlike pragmatically oriented bilingual signs provided by city officials, most commercial multilingual signs have symbolic functions, and aim at South Korean speakers and not at foreigners who are sometimes puzzled by names such as ‘Angel-in-us’ (a chain café). Informative signs normally have semantically equivalent texts in two or more languages; in symbolically loaded signs, there is no such equivalency. In other words, an overwhelming majority of bilingual signs in Seoul belong to in-group communication, they are addressed by South Korean speakers to other South Korean speakers and are not meant as part of the interaction between different ethnic groups. Moreover, even when some attempts to include non-South Korean speakers into potential audiences are made, they can fail. A typical example is a restaurant menu, in which English words such as ‘lunch and dinner,’ ‘seasonal’ and ‘chicken and snack’ are used to title its different sections. However, all dishes with prices are listed only in South Korean. The symbolic inclusion of non-native speakers, therefore, turns into a pragmatic failure, communication becomes miscommunication.

Foreign languages speakers, in turn, can also become actors responsible for creating Seoul linguistic landscapes, but mostly in very particular areas. There are several ‘ethnic villages’ (Kim and Kang 2007) in this global city, and there, languages such as e.g. Chinese, Mongolian or Russian can be used and can even dominate the scene, totally excluding South Korean. Business owners and individuals placing their advertisements and announcements in such areas target people from the same group in the first instance; where their texts can sometimes contain no indicators that they belong to the South Korean urban landscape, as, e.g., in the case of signs on the door to a shop owned by Russian immigrants. The shop name (‘Baby’) is in English, on the signboard is supplemented by Russian words meaning ‘goods for kids and pregnant women,’ and a handwritten note in Russian runs as ‘socks, stockings etc.’ These signs are also a part of in-group communication, the same way as advertisements all around Seoul, but in this case, it is communication within a minority group, not within a South Korean speaking majority. This is multilingualism ‘for local needs’ rather than an example of true urban superdiversity; in Blommaert’s sense (2013).

Itaewon: Constructing ‘Foreign’ Identity

There is one particular area in Seoul which is worth special attention in terms of its linguistic landscape. It is the district called Itaewon, situated in close proximity to the US military base and known as ‘Western Town,’ famous by its shops and restaurants providing foreign goods and food. Initially, the district had a rather questionable reputation, but as of the turn of the 21st century, it has become quite trendy with a true
international spirit, a scene where people from a variety of cultures can freely mix and communicate with each other, an image further popularized by the recent TV drama 'Itaewon Class' which is set there.

Thus, despite the fact that Itaewon is historically associated with Americans and an overall 'western' influence on South Korean culture, it now represents much more than that. ‘Asian’ components of the new globalized world are highly visible there; there are many Chinese, Vietnamese, Thai, Turkish, Lebanese, Indian and Pakistani, restaurants in the area, as well as shops with halal food; the main Seoul mosque, the Islamic Central Masjid of Seoul, is situated there making Itaewon an important gathering point for Muslim residents of the city (see Song 2014). Itaewon, therefore, is at the same time a place designed for foreigners, both particular ethnic groups and foreigners in a broader sense, and as such, everyone who is not South (or North) Korean, and an attraction for South Korean citizens interested in other cultures and flavors. Some business owners are South Korean, others are foreign, and most of them try to attract both South Korean and foreign customers. Itaewon, in this sense, is a symbol of inclusiveness; in the TV drama mentioned above it is depicted as a place where people differing from the ethnic or gender majority (e.g. a child of a mix-raced marriage or transgender) can cease to be identified as outcasts.

However, the analysis of the data on the Itaewon linguistic landscape reveals that this image of a global superdiverse urban space does not include actual linguistic superdiversity. It is true that the area is not monolingual; it lacks representation of most languages spoken there. Most shops and restaurants use only two languages in their advertisement, South Korean and English, and employ other languages more symbolically, mostly as part of their names as, e.g., in the case of the Vietnamese café named ‘Pho House’ or the Chinese diner ‘Chaofan.’ There are even more cases when English is used exclusively; there is, e.g., a Jordanian diner named simply “Jordan Falafel,” and a Thai restaurant called “Buddha’s Belly,” with all their menus, billboards and open/closed signs written in English, or in English and South Korean, with no trace of Arabic or Thai. English, therefore, is used as a substitution for all other foreign, i.e. non-South Korean, languages; the very idea of exotic ethnic identity is represented via one particular language, a symbol of the globalized world. Mixing of meanings of words ‘national’ and ‘international’ are revealing in this sense: similar shops selling imported food products and situated on the same street are named ‘International Mart,’ ‘National Food Mart,’ and ‘Foreign Food.’

It should be mentioned that in this image of ‘foreignness,’ global (international, non-South Korean) identity is supported by local non-South Korean actors, and their choice of everything English and foreign rather than ethnic and culturally specific may even be conscious. The most striking example is a halal food restaurant named by its Pakistani owner ‘Foreign Restaurant.’ All elements of linguistic landscape there, including a job offer note on the door inviting Malaysian or Egyptian waitresses and Arabic chefs to apply, are in English.

Conclusion

The analysis of the Seoul linguistic landscape, therefore, reveals several patterns of language use, depending on the specific urban context. Foreign languages used in public written communication are embedded into different frameworks in these contexts, and patterns of their use vary from pragmatically oriented to predominately symbolic ones. However, in most cases of multilingual signs, they are not part of interethnic communication; on the contrary, they are used for in-group interaction, be it brand names for national-wide chain stores or handwritten notes in a small local shop in one of so-called ‘ethnic villages.’

Moreover, in most contexts, English functions as a substitution for other foreign languages, an emblem of ‘foreignness,’ where other foreign languages are used mostly as symbolic ethnic / cultural markers. Importantly,
this sub-ethnic ‘foreign’ identity is constructed simultaneously by actors from the outside and from the inside, by the South Korean speaking majority and by foreign residents of Seoul who resort to English as the only language other than South Korean to be used in public spaces. This ‘English-only’ micro-level language policy can be seen as another face of the same monolingual ideology. When challenged by linguistic and cultural diversity, linguistic nationalism, even when undergoing slow transformation, resorts to monolingual techniques of constructing new – global – images of the city and its residents.

References

Translating space from Chinese to English: A Case Study of Cao Wenxuan’s *Bronze and Sunflower*

Zhao Meijuan

*Modern Language and Communication Faculty, Universiti Putra Malaysia, Malaysia*
*Foreign Languages Department, Baise University, China*

Ang Lay Hoon

*Modern Language and Communication Faculty, Universiti Putra Malaysia, Malaysia*

Florence Toh Haw Ching

*Modern Language and Communication Faculty, Universiti Putra Malaysia, Malaysia*

Sabariah Md Rashid

*Modern Language and Communication Faculty, Universiti Putra Malaysia, Malaysia*

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**Abstract**

Translated children’s works from English to Chinese have flooded China unprecedentedly since the end of the 19th century. However, there is a discrepancy in the translation of Chinese children’s works into the English language. This is maybe because western scholars are still largely ignoring Asian texts for young readers. Therefore, the research aims to fill the gap in the scholarship by studying the translated *Bronze and Sunflower*, which is a renowned work written by the Chinese first Hans Christian Anderson winner Cao Wenxuan, from the aspect of narrative space. A qualitative approach is adopted to compare the similarities and differences of narrative space between the source text and the target text. The samples will be taken from Cao Wenxuan’s *Bronze and Sunflower* and its English translation. The textual analysis is illuminated through the narratological framework, which is based on three-layered space: The topographic level, the chronotopic level and the textural level. The study explores how narrative space is constructed in the process of translating *Bronze and Sunflower*. It is hoped that the findings of the study will show how space is created in a different language, and that the translator prefers to change the narrative space rather than keeping the same spatial structure in the target text.

**Keywords**: Space, narrative, *Bronze and Sunflower*, translation, children’s literature

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**Background**

Translated children’s works from English to Chinese have flooded into China since the turn of the 20th century. However, there is a discrepancy in the translation of Chinese children’s works into the English language. This is possibly owing to that western scholars are still mainly ignoring Asian texts for young readers (Stephens 2013; Nelson and Morris 2014). Children’s literature, in this study, refers to “books released by the juvenile or junior division of a publisher and intended for children from prekindergarten to about sixth grade” (Nilsen, Blasingame, Donelson and Nilsen 2013: 3). Since the end of the nineteenth century, numerous English translated children’s works have flooded into Asian countries unprecedentedly. Gradually, western children’s
works became the mainstream, while Asian children’s tales have lacked appreciation. Moreover, very few English children's books translated from Asian languages can be seen in bookstores overseas, few reviewed by influential literary journals. What is striking in these translated books is that the quality of the translation varies. Some books are translated so roughly that readers do not want to finish reading the books (Yao Minji 2016). Some receive superlative reviews, namely, the English translation of *Bronze and Sunflower* (2015), whose author Cao Wenxuan won the 2016 Hans Christian Anderson Award - the world’s top prize in the field of children's literature.

The field of children’s literature translation studies has had implications from the aspect of a narrative voice (McGillis 1991; O’Sullivan 2005), in ethics (Oittinen 2000) and in polysystemic theory (Shavit 1981; Pascual-febres 2014). Little attention has been paid to the impact of translation in the narrative space. This is due to the apparent preference for a temporal narrative, which is considered to play a more prominent role in western narratology. However, the narrative space is a vital focus for Chinese narratology, whereas Western narrative centers on time (Zhang Shijun 1999; Wang Ying 2016). In view of this, different narrative customs may bring change or even distortion to the reconstruction of narrative space in the target language. Hence, the guiding question here needs to be discussed: How would narrative space be translated from one language into another?

**Narrative Space in Translation**

The combination of narrative theory and translation studies is increasingly obtaining attention. From the late 1970s onward, translation study has been a new discipline. It has experienced cross-discipline combinations, namely Ernst-August Gutt’s relevance theory, Katharina Reiss and Hans Vermeer’s Skopos theory, Itamar Even-Zohar and Gideon Toury's Polysystems theory, and so forth. However, little attention has been paid to the narrative approach in translation studies. Some scholars such as Venuti and Baker begin to exert more attention on this inter-disciplinary work. Baker (2006) directly initiates the inter-disciplinary notion of the narrative approach and translation theory. She draws narrative theory from social and communicative sciences rather than from narratology. In this regard, Baker defines translation as a form of (re)narration that constructs and does not represent the events or characters in the target language.

In this study, the paper focuses on narrative space from Gabriel Zoran’s model, which is believed to be the most practical and theoretical model up to now (Long Diyong 2015; Chen Tian 2019). Zoran elaborates that narrative space is a constructive process in which readers participate and react actively. He distinguishes three different levels in structuring space in the text as a three-layer model of space in a narrative: The topographical level, the chronotopic level, and the textual level. According to Zoran, the topographic space is the highest level of reconstruction for its independence of both “the temporal structure of the world and sequential arrangement of the text” (Zoran 1984: 316), in, for example, the city and the village. The term *chronotopos* refers to the entire complex of space and time together (Bakhtin 1978). Zoran defines the structure and organization of chronotopic space as “the movement and the action of the narrative” (Zoran 1984: 318). A case in point is that in the room, character A is doing the homework while character B is watching TV. The textual level “encompasses the structure which is imposed on space by the fact that it is formed within the verbal text” (Zoran 1984: 319). That is, different orders in space would affect the arrangement of the text continuum. For instance, the spatial image moves from the internal to the external or vice-versa.

**Method**

The study employs a qualitative study of the narrative space in *Bronze and Sunflower*, examining the similarities and differences of narrative space between the source text and target text. The data are extracted from the
Chinese *Bronze and Sunflower* authored by Cao Wenxuan and its English version, translated by Helen Wang. Examples about narrative space are randomly selected by Zoran’s Three-layered model; the topographical level, the chronotopic level and the textual level.

The data are analyzed in the following steps: First, the study identifies different space levels in the source text. Second, the examples in the target text are examined by comparing and contrasting the levels with the intended meaning in the source text. Third, the examples are further analyzed at the topographical level, the chronotopic level and the textual level to identify similarities and differences of narrative space between the source text and target text.

**Findings and Discussion**

The analysis of selected versions of *Bronze and Sunflower* revealed the narrative space in translation, which has been altered to some extent, while at the same time, the versions have constructed another spatial world. By focusing on the narrative space from aspects of Gabriel Zoran’s three-dimension space model (1984), the study finds that the translator prefers to remove some descriptions of space in the process of translation.

On the Topographic level, the text expresses the topographic structure by means of direct description, providing a clear map of the world. The map is based on the places found in the entire text, namely Damaidi, the reed marsh, sunflower fields and so forth.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Units of space (Chinese version)</th>
<th>Units of space (English translation)</th>
<th>Translation procedures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>油麻地 (You Ma Di)</td>
<td>Youmadi</td>
<td>Phonetic transliteration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>芦苇荡 (Lu Wei Dang)</td>
<td>The reed marsh</td>
<td>Literal translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>葵花田 (Kui Hua Tian)</td>
<td>Sunflower fields</td>
<td>Literal translation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Units of space at Topographic level

The above table collects units of space at the Topographic level from both the Chinese and English versions of *Bronze and Sunflower*. All the names of these places are retained in the target text, whereas their translation procedures are different. 油麻地 (Youmadi) is a kind of phonetic transliteration that shows the rendering of the sound of one language with the words of another language. In this regard, the original pronunciation of the word is preserved, which does not bear any clear connected connotations. Hence, the translation through 油麻地 (Youmadi) does not fill in the semantic blank left by the phonetic transliteration. Differently, the translator directly translates 芦苇荡 (the reed marsh) and 葵花田 (Sunflower fields) literally, which keeps the semantic meaning but loses the original sound. Irrespective of which type of translation procedures the translator adopts, the names of places are kept to contour a map of the structure in the narrative.

At the Chronotopic level, the translation focuses on the entire complex of space and time. A case in point is the space marked by Bronze and Sunflower. In the Chinese text, Cao Wenxuan froze frames at the moment; the girl named Sunflower cried in the Cadre School while the boy Bronze watched her near the wall of the Cadre School. Names and titles are particular devices available to translator or interpreter for (re) framing narratives. In the translated text, Helen Wang retained this frame by retaining the location of two characters’ names. This strategy is called labeling, which focuses on using “lexical item, term or phrase to identify a person, place, group, event or any other key element in a narrative” (Baker...
It is surprising that Helen did not merge the paraphrases but kept the original chronotopic structure. Maybe the translator and author, to some extent, reached a consensus in framing motion, and rested in the narrative.

At the textual level, there is a scene in the Chinese language version, where Sunflower is walking to the river. The description follows the order Sunflower-river-sunshine-sky-sky (see figure 1), while in Helen’s English translated version, it changes into Sunflower-river-sky-sky-sun (see figure 2).

![Diagram](image1.png)  ![Diagram](image2.png)

Figure 1. The sequence of space in Chinese version  Figure 2. The sequence of space in the English version

The translator controls the information flow of these space elements and shows a different arrangement of movements in this sequence. Further, different information flow presents the distinguished logic relationship between Chinese and Western narratology. In Figure 1, the author describes the scene from the sunshine to the sky, showing a large space in front of the little girl Sunflower, whereas the translator arranges the order by the lineage of time: The sky was low and dark when the rainy season was over. Nevertheless, now, it was bright, and the sun seeped across the sky like freshwater. In this regard, the translator favors using a timeline to rearrange the structure.

Conclusion

The paper, centering on constructing a world in another language, mainly discusses the translation of narrative space. Drawing on that, the study of translating narrative space in the children’s fictional work Bronze and Sunflower, based on Gabriel Zoran’s narrative space, showing the differences and similarities between the source text and target text. According to Gabriel Zoran’s theory, the study here mainly focuses on the different units of space at the topographical level, at the chronotopic level and at the textual level. The study finds that the translator keeps most of the space elements in the target text but changes the linear arrangement of these in order to organize messages at the text level.

References


Anthropological Linguistics
A Morphological Analysis of Negation in Amele, Papua New Guinea

Masahiko Nose

"Shiga University, Japan"

Abstract

Amele is one of the Trans-New Guinea languages spoken in Papua New Guinea. Foley (2000) described that the Trans-New Guinea languages have complicated verbal morphology, including Amele. This study examines negation in Amele, and attempts to clarify its morphological behaviors. The grammar of Amele was described by Roberts (1987), but the author of this study has conducted fieldwork and has acquired more data on negative expressions. Amele has a negator ‘qec’ (‘q’ indicates voiced dorso-labiovelar plosive), and this negator follows the element negated, as shown in Examples 1 and 2. Amele has verbal conjugations for persons and numbers, but no negative conjugation in the present tense.

(1) Ija jo ac.
   I house have
   “I have a house.”
(2) Ija jo ac qee.
   I house have not
   “I don’t have a house.”

That Amele has negative conjugations in its past and future tenses is unusual. Example 3 presents the conjugation of the negative past tense of the verb “hoga” (to come).

(3)
“hoga” (to come)
1st person singular (1 sg) ho-l-o-m
2sg ho-l-o-m
3sg ho-l
1st person dual (1d) ho-l-o-h
2/3d ho-l-o-sin
1st person plural ho-l-o-m
2/3p ho-l-o-in

Thus, Amele has many types of past tenses—today’s past, yesterday’s past, the remote past, and the negative past—and each of these tenses has inflection. Typologically, another language has negative conjugations of the verb (cf. Miestamo 2007; Payne 1985), but these behaviors of the negations remain unexplained. This study observes a functional basis of the grammar and claims that Amele has grammatical positive-negative and present/past distinctions, and that it is functionally marked in its past tenses. Thus, Amele focuses on past events.

Keywords: Negation, morphology, Amele, Papua New Guinea, Finnish
Introduction

This study attempted to clarify negation in the grammar and negative expressions in Amele, a language spoken in Papua New Guinea. Amele is one of the Trans-New Guinea languages spoken in this country. Foley (2000) described that Trans-New Guinea languages have a complicated verbal morphology and that Amele has a complicated verbal morphology, which incorporates into tense, person, and number (cf. Roberts 1987). This study focuses on negation in Amele and attempts to clarify its morphological behaviors. The grammar of Amele was described by Roberts (1987), but in this study, the author has conducted fieldwork and acquired more data on negative expressions (cf. Nose 2020a, 2020b). Negation is a necessary grammatical phenomenon, and every language has negative expressions, for example, ‘not,’ ‘never’ or ‘without’ in English. This study uses Finnish (Finno-Ugric) as a contrastive sample of negations.

The remainder of this paper is structured as follows: Section 2 reviews a cross-linguistic study of negation, Section 3 presents the data of negative expressions in Amele, Section 4 provides the discussion and Section 5 is the conclusion.

General Remarks: Negation and the Amele Language

This section conducts a cross-linguistic review of negative expressions and their grammar and introduces the sample language, Amele, including its grammatical and sociolinguistic situations.

Amele is one of the approximately 400 Trans-New Guinea languages and the biggest language family in Melanesia. Approximately 5,000 individuals speak Amele, and almost all are bilingual with Tok Pisin, an English-based creole and the lingua franca in Papua New Guinea. Amele was described by Roberts (1987). Notably, Roberts’s study was based on the Haia dialect; the two dialects have several differences regarding morpho-syntax. Amele has a fixed SOV order together with noun-adjective, noun-demonstrative, and noun-numeral orders. Amele has no voice system but rather a complicated verb morphology, including several tense features, such as the following tenses: Present, today’s past, yesterday’s past and remote past (cf. Nose 2020a, 2020b).

Negation in grammar occurs in many languages, for which there are several typological studies, for example, Payne (1985), Elliott (2000), and more recently Miestamo (2007). Amele has a negator (Neg) ‘qee’ (‘q’ is a dorso-labiovelar sound), and its position is after the element, as presented in Examples 1 and 2.

(1) Mebahic/Mebahic qee (good/good Neg; good/bad)

In Example 1, the adjective ‘mebahic’ (good) can be denied by ‘mebahic qee’ (good not). There is no single word ‘bad’ in Amele, and the negator is used to make an opposite adjective.

(2) a. Ija school meel. (I student). ‘I am a student.’
    b. Ija school meel qee. (I student Neg) ‘I am not a student.’

Example 2a is an affirmative sentence and Example 2b is its negative sentence. The negator arrives after the NP, and its order is ‘NP-Neg’ (Amele has no copula). The negator ‘qee’ is partly incorporated in verb morphology in Amele and the inflections of the verb ‘oboga’ (to walk; Table 1).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Yesterday's past</th>
<th>Negative past</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Negative future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>Obiga</td>
<td>Obigan</td>
<td>Oborin qee</td>
<td>Obig on</td>
<td>Obigin qee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>Oboga</td>
<td>Obogan</td>
<td>Oboron qee</td>
<td>Obog on</td>
<td>Obogon qee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>Oboya</td>
<td>Obeyan</td>
<td>Obor qee</td>
<td>Obigi on</td>
<td>Obini qee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>Obonba</td>
<td>Obonban</td>
<td>Oborom qee</td>
<td>Obo-nu</td>
<td>Obonban qee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ndPL</td>
<td>Oboiga</td>
<td>Oboigan</td>
<td>Oboron qee</td>
<td>Obobaig on</td>
<td>Obowain qee</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(SG: singular, PL: plural, 1,2,3: first person, second person, and third person)

Table 1: Affirmative and negative inflections in Amele (‘oboga’ to walk)

Overall, there are present, today’s past, yesterday’s past, remote past, and future tenses. Additionally, Amele has negative past and negative future tenses. Nevertheless, there is no negative present, and this takes is the same form as the present affirmative. By contrast, there are special inflections in negative past and negative future tense.

According to typological studies on negation, such as Payne (1985), Kroeger (2005), and Miestamo (2007), there are two types of negation in the grammar: One is standard negation, and another is non-standard negation. Standard negation indicates that every language has means to express clausal negation: ‘This is not my book.’ Non-standard negation includes negative imperative, existential sentences, and other non-verbal clauses, including ‘un-necessary,’ ‘im-possible’ in English. Additionally, standard and non-standard negations differ, for example, Hungarian has two types of negators (e.g., Example 3).

(3) Hungarian:
      Neg  speak-1SG Hungarian
      ‘I don’t speak Hungarian.’
   b. Nincs a pénz-em.
      Neg  the money-1SG
      ‘I don’t have money.’
   c. Ne beszélj angolul!
      Neg  speak-2SG English
      ‘Don’t speak English!’

3a is an example of standard negation with the negator ‘nem,’ Example 3b is negative existential with the negator ‘nincs.’ Example 3c is negative imperative with the negator ‘ne’ used. Many languages have several of these types of negators.

In Table 1, the negative verbs are incorporated into verbal morphology in Amele. Notably, other languages have similar conjugations of negative verbs. For example, Finnish (Finno-Ugric) has negative verbs (Table 2). Finnish has the negator ‘ei,’ and this negator inflects in persons and numbers, such as ‘en,’ ‘et,’ ‘ei,’ ‘emme,’ ‘ette,’ ‘eivat.’ Verbs have also negative verb forms; the negative present has simpler forms than the affirmative present, and negative past verbs have special forms, as for example, singular ‘-nut’ and plural ‘-neet.’

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Negative present</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Negative past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>Sano-n</td>
<td>En sano</td>
<td>Sano-i-n</td>
<td>En sano-nut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>Sano-t</td>
<td>Et sano</td>
<td>Sano-i-t</td>
<td>Et sano-nut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>Sano-o</td>
<td>Ei sano</td>
<td>Sano-i</td>
<td>Ei sano-nut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>Sano-mme</td>
<td>Emme sano</td>
<td>Sano-i-mme</td>
<td>Emme sano-neet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>Sano-tte</td>
<td>Ette sano</td>
<td>Sano-i-tte</td>
<td>Ette sano-neet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>Sano-vat</td>
<td>Eivat sano</td>
<td>Sano-i-vat</td>
<td>Eivat sano-neet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Negative verb inflections in Finnish (sano ‘to say’)

Thus, negative verb forms are not rare phenomena typologically (cf. Payne 1985). Nevertheless, this study needs to consider the effects of negative verbs, namely, those that contrast Finnish and Amele. Thus, this study examines negative sentences in Amele, and attempts to clarify forms and meanings. Moreover, this study explores the basic meaning of the negative particle ‘qee’ in Amele and attempts to describe negative verb inflections. Amele has complicated verb inflections with negation, and we contrast these with those in Finnish (Finno-Ugric).

Data in Amele

This section presents of negative expressions, and attempts to describe the forms and the meanings of the negative usages. Amele has its negator ‘qee,’ and this negator sits after the negated element, as shown in Examples 1 and 2. Amele has verbal conjugations in persons and numbers, but there is no negative conjugation in the present tense.

Amele has tense distinctions between the present and past tenses. Example 4a is present tense and Example 4b is today’s past tense. Example 4c is the negative past form, but the meaning of Example 4c can indicate either negative present and negative past. Therefore, the negative past form is used even in the present tense. Additionally, the negator can be located both in front of the verb (Example 4c) and after the verb (Example 4d). The ‘Verb-Negator’ order in Example 4d is preferred, but the ‘Negator-Verb’ order in Example 4c is also possible.

(4a) Ija rais jigina. [I rice eat-present tense]. ‘I eat rice.’
(4b) Ija rais jiga on. [I rice eat-today’s past] ‘I ate rice (today).’
(4c) Ija rais qee je-rim [I rice neg eat-negative past] ‘I did not eat rice./I do not eat rice.’
(4d) Ija rais jerim qee.

Next, this study observes the usage of adjectives, as presented in Examples 5 and 6. Amele does not have a copula (Example 5a), and the negator locates after the adjective, representing the ‘Adjective-Negator’ order (Example 5b).

(5a) Dana mebahic (man good) “The man is good.”
(5b) Dana mebahic qee (man good neg) “The man is not good.” also “the man is bad”
(6a) possible/impossible: ihoc/ihoc qee
(6b) necessary/unnecessary: mebec/mebec qee

For example, English uses the two words ‘good’ and ‘bad,’ but Amele uses one word, ‘mebahic’ (good), and the opposite word, ‘mebahic qee’ (good neg; bad). In Example 6, Amele has a general tendency to exhibit such a contrast in the adjective/not-adjective pair. Therefore, the negator ‘qee’ indicates an ‘opposite’ meaning.
Next, we observe the difference between past and future in negative sentences. Examples 7b and 7c are affirmative forms of the verb ‘ihiga’ (to give), and Example 7a is a negative past inflection.

(7) a. lja ina book qee ihī-reim.
   I you book neg give (‘reim’ negative past inflection)
   ‘I didn’t give a book to you’
   b. present: ihīga
   c. today’s past: ihīga

In Example 8, an affirmative future is realized in ‘ihīg on’ (will give), and the negative future form ‘ihī-gin’ is used in a negative situation.

(8) lja ina book qee ihī-gin.
   I you book neg give (‘gin’ negative future inflection)
   ‘I will not give a book to you’
   affirmative future: ihī-gon

Morphologically, negative verbs in past and future tenses have special forms. Their formation is incorporated in person/number/negative elements, which cannot be morphologically analyzed (i.e. portmanteau forms).

Next, we review negative existential sentences, such as ‘I do not have X’ (Example 9). Amele uses the ‘ac qee’ (have neg) form, and the verb ‘ac’ has no inflectional marking, that is, person, number, tense.

(9a) lja jo ac.
    I house have
    ‘I have a house.’
(9b) lja jo ac qee.
    I house have neg
    ‘I don’t have a house.’
(9c) lja jo ac qee moni ac qee.
    I house have not money have neg
    ‘I don’t have a house and money either.’

In Example 9, the negator is after the verb ‘ac,’ the ‘have-Neg’-order and negative verb form are not used in the verb ‘ac,’ and the verb ‘ac’ takes no inflectional element (it resembles the neutral tense).

The usage of ‘never, without’ is also notable. The strong negation ‘never’ indicates only ‘qee’ in Example 10a, and ‘not at all’ indicates ‘qee bahic’ (bahic: very) in Example 10b.

(10a) lja buk qee siani-gina on.
    I book neg read (negative future inflection)
    ‘I never read the book.’
(10b) lja buk qee bahic sian-erim.
    I book neg very read (negative past inflection)
    ‘I don’t read the book at all.’

The usage of ‘without X’ is the same form of the ‘I don’t have/There is no’ form, ‘ac qee’ (Example 11). The order is ‘Noun ac qee.’

(11a) tea sugar ac qee ‘tea without sugar’
(11b) car gasoline ac qee ‘car without gasoline’
Finally, we check the negative imperative (or prohibitive) in Amele (Example 12).

(12a) Ain jeg-an alcohol.
    Neg drink alcohol: positive future 2sg inflection
    ‘Don’t drink alcohol!’

(12b) Ain mado-gon.
    Neg speak: you (sg): positive future 2sg inflection
    ‘Don’t speak!’

In Example 12, another negator ‘ain/ain bahic’ (don’t, no; cf. Tok Pisin, tambu) is used for the negative imperative, and the verb takes an affirmative future inflection. The order is ‘Ain-Verb,’ where the ‘Verb-ain’ order is not possible.

Discussion

We observed various usages of negative expressions in Section 3. This section discusses our research questions. We perform a deeper morphological analysis of the negation, discuss that Amele has negative verbs, and then discuss the functional motivations of the negation, which contrasts with the negative verbs in Finnish (cf. Nose 2020a, 2020b).

First, we summarize the negative expressions in Amele. The negator ‘qee’ is widely used in verbs, adjectives, and in other parts of speech, and its orders are ‘Neg-Verb/Verb-Neg’ (their orders are flexible), ‘Adjective-Neg,’ ‘have-Neg,’ and ‘X-Neg.’ Overall, the ‘X-Neg’ order is preferable. The negator ‘qee’ is used for existential, non-verbal expressions (without) by using the verb ‘ac’ (to have). Another negator, ‘ain,’ is used for the negative imperative (‘Ain V: ‘don’t V?’).

Second, this study attempts to more deeply describe negation and its morphology. Amele has two types of negators, ‘qee’ and ‘ain,’ and ‘qee’ is widely used for verbs and adjectives. By contrast, ‘ain’ is used only for the negative imperative. Negative verbs are observed in Amele, and similar negative verbs are observed in Finnish (Finno-Ugric) and other languages (cf. Payne 1985). Therefore, the negative verbs are not rare grammatical phenomena cross-linguistically. Amele has a special negative verb morphology in the past and future tenses. However, the negative past form is observed in the present tense, the existential verb ‘ac’ takes no inflection, and its negative form ‘ac qee’ is used in all tenses. Thus, negative verbs have special features in past and future temporal references, but their usages are not always obligatory.

This study contrasts the negative verb morphology between Amele and Finnish. This study attempts to clarify the effect of negative verb morphology. Amele and Finnish are geneologically and typologically different, but their negative verb phenomena are partly similar. Both languages have another prohibitive negator, ‘ain’ and ‘āla’ (Don’t). However, Amele has negative elements, including person/numbers; by contrast, in Finnish, negators inflect, and the negative verbs are mainly two forms: singular and plural. The negative verbs in Finnish are simpler than those in affirmative verbs, but the negative verbs in Amele become more complicated. In any case, both languages put a functional burden on the negative verb morphology.

Overall, negative meanings and usages are ‘marked’ in the grammar, and Amele has one negator, ‘qee,’ which is used in various usages. Negative verb morphology has an effect of functionally marked grammar and can be observed in other languages, for example, Finnish. However, the specific behaviors of the negative verbs differ in Amele and Finnish. Amele is morphologically complicated, and Finnish has simpler inflections.
Conclusion

This study argues that Amele has the negator ‘qec,’ widely used for negative expressions, except for the negative imperative particle ‘ain.’ The negator ‘qec’ is usually located after the denied element, and is widely used in adjectives and with nouns and verbs. A characteristic is that negative verb inflections are observed in the past and future tenses.

These findings indicate that negation is functionally marked in Amele; the negator ‘qec’ implies the meaning of ‘not, opposite, there is no, without;’ and the meaning of ‘ain’ is ‘don’t.’ Negative verb morphology is observed in Amele, and similar grammar is observed in Finno-Ugric. The negative verb morphology is a cause of the complicated verb morphology in Amele and Finnish, but this phenomenon suggests that both languages have marked functions in verb morphology, particularly in the tense category (negative past tense). Therefore, when indicating negative past situations, a certain type of functional burden is observed.

References


Language, Identity and Ideology: Media-Induced Linguistic Innovations in Contemporary China

Jing Lei a
a State University of New York at Oswego, U.S.A.

Yufang Rao b
b Wuhan University of Technology, China

Abstract

As we enter the 21st century, we often find ourselves living in an increasingly globalized world, a world which is characterized by the global cultural flows of people, technologies, capital, media, and ideologies (Appadurai 2015). Language, as a part of culture, is always evolving in response to socio-cultural changes. Thus, linguistic innovations via social media offer a particularly interesting locus to track such global flows.

This paper aims to study how popular lexicons have emerged out of digital communication and have been widely used and interpreted by different groups of individuals involved in social media in contemporary China. As China is increasingly becoming integrated into the global economy, the widespread movement media networks, such as WeChat, QQ and Microblogs, has provided Chinese citizens with easy access to new words and new ways of using old forms. When did these linguistic innovations appear? What linguistic resources are used to bring about such changes? Why are new lexicons and new meaning created? And how do Chinese citizens respond to these media-induced language changes? By addressing these questions, this paper is oriented toward exploring the role of social media in language change as well as the relationship between language, identity and ideology in the context of globalization.

Our findings suggest that these media-induced language innovations are not simple responses to the broader socio-cultural changes occurring inside and outside China. Instead, Chinese citizens, through creating, using or spreading new popular lexicons, are able to construct, negotiate, and make sense of multiple selves across those digital spaces. Therefore, social media has generated a network of ‘imagined communities’ that allow individuals of various social backgrounds to have practical images, expectations and self-actualizations that extend beyond temporal spatial limits (Anderson 1983; Boyd 2014). As such, linguistic innovations in those virtual spaces have created multiple figured worlds, within which, individuals’ identities and agencies are formed dialectically and dialogically in global cultural processes (Holland et al. 1998).

Keywords Language innovation, identity, ideology, China

Introduction

Contemporary accelerated globalization is characterized by the global cultural flows of people, technologies, capital, media, and ideologies (Appadurai 2015). Language, as a part of culture, is always evolving in response to socio-cultural changes. Thus, linguistic innovations via social media offer a particularly interesting locus to
track such global flows. For instance, a comic show in the 2015 Spring Festival Gala has brought two female address terms, 女神 goddess and 女汉子 tough lady, to the public attention in China, causing heated discussion and debates on what constitutes a favorable woman. Both terms originate from social media but are widely spread into everyday communication, which offers a snapshot of how media-induced linguistic innovations are reflecting and perpetuating Chinese people’s daily understanding and interpretation of gender roles and gender identities.

The study of address terms has constituted an important component of language and gender research within anthropology, linguistics and gender studies, for address terms are social deixis to index gender dynamics in relation to other social dimensions. In regard to Chinese language and culture, classic studies include Gu's (1990) discussion of the insider-effect and positive politeness strategies in relation to kinship terms and self-negation in modern China, and Blum’s (1997) analysis of the significance of naming practices in sustaining social structures in China. Due to the flourishment of social media within the past decade, a good number of scholars have directed their attention to online Chinese buzzwords to address both males and females, covering a wide range of topics, such as the origin of buzzwords (Liu 2014), reason of popularity (Yang and Zeng 2016), semantic changes (Wu 2014), pragmatic analysis (Yang 2018), cultural implications (Bai 2016; Zhang 2015), and psychological analysis (Ren 2019). However, most studies focus on only one or two female address terms. Little work has been done to treat online female address terms as a specific collection, nor has research been attempted so as to systematically analyze the socio-cultural implications of these media-induced language changes. Additionally, we lack models that study the dynamics of language, identity, and ideology in a global context.

As China is increasingly becoming integrated into the global economy, the widespread use of media networks, such as WeChat, QQ and Microblogs, has provided Chinese citizens with easy access to new words and new ways of using old forms to address females. When did these linguistic innovations appear? What linguistic resources are used to bring about such changes? Why are new lexicons and new meaning created? And how do Chinese citizens respond to these media-induced language changes? By addressing these questions, this paper aims to explore the role of social media in language change as well as the interconnections between language, identity and ideology in the era of globalization.

Findings and Analysis

Changing Dynamics of Online Female Address Terms

Thanks to the prosperity of various social media platforms, a group of popular female address terms have emerged out of digital communication in China. Generally speaking, these lexical innovations are characterized by coining, borrowing, using older forms for new meanings and employing multimodality.

Firstly, some online female address terms have been coined by connecting two or more words to identify certain kinds of females. For instance, 女汉子 tough lady is formed by adding the character 女 female in front of the word 汉子 man, suggesting a manly or masculine female. Another example is 白富美, a rich beauty with fair complexion whose morphology is characterized by arraying three adjectives, 白 white, 貨 rich, and 美 beautiful, together, referring to a genuine beauty with a wealthy family background and fair complexion. This term is gradually generalized to denote any rich (inherited or self-made), well behaved or educated female with or without a pretty face.
Cultural diffusion has also brought in new online female address terms from external sources, especially Japanese ACG (Animation Comic Gaming) culture that attracts the attention of youth in China. Chinese female address terms have borrowed from Japanese ACG for either homophones or homonyms (Liu 2014). For instance, 萝莉 (ロリ in Japanese, luo li in Mandarin, Lolita/Loli in English), is a typical homophone. Although this term is generally believed to be borrowed phonetically from two sources, ‘tres joli’ from French or the name in a 1955 novel Lolita of a Russia American novelist, Vladimirich Nabokov (Shi 2013), neither of which is relevant to Japan, it does occur to Chinese youngsters that this term has become popular due to the ACG pronunciation and therefore refers to the type of girls who are under 15 or dressing in a Lolita style. As to the homonym example, 御姐 (御姐 in Japanese, yu jie in Mandarin; domineering lady in English), similar in typography with Japanese 御姐, is a popular female address term borrowed from Japan. It refers to a type of determined, confident and domineering female, usually of a comparatively older age than 萝莉 Lolita.

In addition to coining and borrowing, some online female address terms emerge by using pre-existing forms for new meanings. One semantic change involves the application of old words indexing an elegance identity towards a more generalized identity. For example, 美女 beauty used to refer to a lady with extraordinary appearance, such as 四大美女 the Four Beauties of Ancient China. This term now has been generally used to refer to any female, regardless of her appearance, age, status etc. (Ren 2019). In addition, following the cultural practice of fictional kinship, some traditional kin terms are extended to denote new meanings. For instance, originally a kinship term to refer to the elder sister, 姐姐 little elder sister has evolved into a two dimensional term in Japanese ACG, referring to the lovable and adorable girls in ACG fans’ circle, and has been finally generalized in current China to indicate any easy-going, lovable and adorable girl (Tie 2019). Furthermore, owing to the influence of Japanese ACG, the viral acceptance and application of such expressions as 姐姐 little elder sister, 小仙女 little fairy lady, 小公主 little princess and 萝莉 Lolita apparently suggests that online female address terms are shifting towards indexical associations with younger age.

Last but not least, new online female address terms are generally of high multimodality. This is in accordance with the multimodal nature of online communication involving juxtaposition of a wide range of semiotic resources, including texts, signs, emojis, emoticons, pictures, audios, videos, etc. It is usually through new images, such as Emojis and Memes, and the new platforms, such as Weibo, comic forums and Danmaku (弹幕 dan miao in Mandarin, bullet comment in English), that certain female address terms are created, circulated, revived or assigned new semantic connotations. For example, 小仙女 little fairy lady has undergone a semantic transformation from its original connotation of fairy ladies living or serving up in the heaven in ancient Chinese fairy tales to the current meaning of young girls who are considered to be beautiful, elegant, pure or cute. This term gains its popularity thanks to the prevalent circulation of memes and Emojis as shown in the following three images.

(From image.baidu.com)

Analyzing the Dynamics of Online Female Address Terms

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Then why are new lexicons and new meanings created? And how do they reflect the larger socio-cultural changes happening in and outside China?

The appearance of various online female address terms can be attributed to the reinterpretation of females’ multiple gender roles and gender categories in contemporary China. Thanks to various political, legal, and economic policies implemented within China since 1949 and the global Feminist Movement since the 1960s, women’s status has significantly improved. No longer confined to the domestic sphere as a wife or a mother, Chinese females have played more active roles in social, economic, political and educational domains, which in turn demands the creation of new female address terms to specifically describe and define various females. Popular address terms like 女博士 female PhD, 女汉子 tough lady, and 御姐 domineering lady suggest that Chinese females have gained more independence in terms of finance, family, education and career.

In addition, both the tendency to signify a generalized gender identity and the preference of indexical meanings associated with younger age embodies Chinese females’ desire to psychologically evade from the real hierarchical world. In spite of much improved gender equality, Chinese women in real life are still more likely to be judged by a variety of social factors, such as age, physical appearance, education, profession, family background, and marital status. Unlike face-to-face interactions, online communication, however, usually involves pseudo names or fake IDs, which enables netizens to conceal their real identities. Therefore, online communities have provided Chinese females with ideal platforms to feel more comfortable and confident communicating with others regardless of individual differences. Accordingly, using more generalized female address terms becomes a communicative routine as a part of the digital discourse.

From a pragmatic perspective, the emergence of new female address terms or new meanings is closely related to positive politeness strategies (Brown and Levinson 1987). Making compliments and using in-group solidarity markers are among the most commonly used politeness strategies attending to the positive face/images of the hearer. The generalization of the term 美女 beauty makes it clear that the vast majority of Chinese females are finding it a compliment when being addressed by 美女 beauty, since most females would like to be identified as young ladies with beautiful appearance rather than middle-aged plain-looking 大妈 Damamauntie. In addition, the extended use of such kin terms as 小姐姐 little elder sister and X姐 Sister X would instantly create a friendly and intimate interpersonal relationship, especially among strangers. Such in-group solidarity markers, as a result of the insider-effect (Gu 1990), function to establish a close bond among members of online communities.

Finally, the use of self-address terms to make a sharp contrast between one’s virtual identity and real identity can achieve a sense of humor, creating a hilarious communicative mode. For instance, by self-addressing oneself as 女汉子 tough lady, the female with a goddess-like outlook is actually downgrading herself in a humorous way while narrowing down social distance, both of which serve as positive politeness strategies. On the contrary, a middle-aged or elderly female calling herself 小公主 little princess with a proud tone is making fun of herself, yet still to create the same funny and relaxed atmosphere.

Discussions

_Digital Communication as Figured World_
Chinese people come to use and circulate these online female address terms for different motivations and have various understandings toward this. These communities keep in mind different images, ideologies, and expectations of addressing and being addressed. The dynamics underlying these media-induced language innovations go far beyond being simply responding to or reflecting the broader socio-cultural changes inside and outside of China. Instead, Chinese citizens, through creating, using or spreading new popular lexicons, are able to construct, negotiate and make sense of multiple selves across digital spaces. These linguistic changes have also moved from online to offline, perpetuating certain gender ideologies and identities while shaping individuals’ perceptions and behaviors in everyday life. Therefore, we argue that social media has generated a network of ‘figured worlds’ that allow individuals of various social backgrounds to have practical images, expectations and self-actualizations that extend beyond temporal spatial limits (Holland et al. 1998; Boyd 2014).

Figured worlds are peopled by figures and characters who form collective ideas, images and aspirations, and accordingly take various actions towards those collectively realized ‘as if’ realms. It is within these culturally figured worlds that people’s identities and agency are formed dialectically and dialogically. As Holland et al. point out,

By “figured world,” then, we mean a socially and culturally constructed realm of interpretation in which particular characters and actors are recognized, significance is assigned to certain acts, and particular outcomes are valued over others.

(Holland et al. 1998: 52)

The concept of ‘figured world’ highlights the situated nature of identity and human agency. It is also concerned with the interactions of the global and the local, i.e. how globalizing processes exist in specific local contexts. Therefore, figured world offers a useful framework to study the dynamics of media-induced linguistic innovations, as it provides a closer account of domains, practices, activities and identities in the circuits of interconnections.

The word figured has two implications. First, it implies illusion or the reconstruction of online communities. Thus, there is a distinction between the real physical world and the virtual world. Second, it conveys the difference between people’s anticipations for the address terms and the actual realization of these. The meaning of world is also two-fold. First, it represents the physical existence of virtual space as opposed to the material world. Second, digital communication is not bounded by specific temporal spatial limits, since it also occurs in other online places during other periods of time. Thus, figured world captures the fluid, multi-sited, and multimodal nature of online communities.

Whether various online female address terms have been created, borrowed, or assigned new meanings to identify Chinese females’ diverse personalities and characteristics, to serve as a psychological coping strategy to escape from the real hierarchical world, to satisfy the communicative need of achieving positive politeness, to function as in-group solidarity markers to narrow down the social distance or to create a humorous communicative mode, such linguistic innovations have created multiple figured worlds along time and across space. Along with various images, ideas and expectations configured within these multiple figured worlds, Chinese netizens are able to explore multiple identities and ideologies related to gender dynamics which in turn are enacted by such linguistic practices.
Enregisterment of a Sexist Discourse

Although various online female address terms are formed or assigned new meanings to recognize females’ diverse gender roles, social media has, to some extent, perpetuated the gender ideologies against females. Therefore, we argue that the circulation of certain female address terms across digital space involves the enregisterment of a sexist discourse. Agha (2005) has defined enregisterment as “processes whereby distinct forms of speech come to be socially recognized (or enregistered) as indexical of speaker attributes by a population of language users” (38). In other words, register is not a static concept; rather, it is a dynamic process reflecting human agency. By overtly stigmatizing some women based on age, marital status, personality and physical appearance, and by covertly putting females as secondary to males, online linguistic innovations in female address terms have reinforced Chinese as a sexist language.

Overt sexism is realized by creating new female address terms or new meanings to stigmatize certain types of females whose new gender roles and identities conflict with traditional ones. While being well-educated and socio-economically independent, 女博士 female Ph.D. is usually associated with a plain-looking, super-nerdy woman who is an idiot outside the ivory tower. 剩女 leftover lady is a derogatory term meaning women who remain unmarried in their late twenties and beyond, which implies the high pressure to form a family for women who have to delay their marriage in favor of educational and professional advancement. As a 女汉子 tough lady who has a tough personality with strong determination to succeed, a female may find it challenging to deal with romance and family. 大妈 Damamauntie is another derogatory term to show discrimination against middle-aged or elderly women who are blamed for enjoying their leisure time instead of fulfilling traditional duties of performing house chores or taking care of the family. The negative associations and images of these female address terms mirror the predicament modern Chinese women are caught in. By contrast, all their equivalent terms for males are either neural or positive.

In addition to overt sexism, covert sexism is subtly enregistered through putting male/masculine as default and female/feminine as deviant. The Markedness Theory considers dominance as being “sustained by privileging in community practice a particular perspective on language, obscuring its status as one among many perspectives, and naturalizing it as ‘neutral’ or ‘unmarked’” (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992; 483). Regarding morphology, such new female address terms as 女博士 female Ph.D. and 女汉子 tough lady, are derived from the male/masculine form by adding 女 female/feminine, clearly suggesting that male/masculine is the unmarked perspective and thereby a privileged one. Another way to analyze this implicit gender hierarchy is to look at whether all female address terms have equivalents for males. Although some address terms like 姐姐 Sister and 哥哥 Brother and 小公举 little princess appear in pairs across various contexts, the equivalent terms of other popular ones like 女神 goddess and 美女 beauty (男神 god and 美男 beautiful man) are not as commonly used in Chinese society. Male/Masculine is, thus, the unmarked gender; female/feminine, the marked. Both morphology and asymmetrical use of address terms suggest a weak form of male dominance.

To summarize, both overt and covert sexism has been encoded in the above appellation practice. Nevertheless, language is not a passive tool with which to report or reflect pre-given realities; instead, it can influence human perception by reinforcing certain ideas and ideologies. It is through language that the individual cultural understandings of gender categories and gender roles are learned and perpetuated. Therefore,
the circulation of certain female address terms across digital space has enregistered a sexist discourse, which in turn has perpetuated the traditional ideologies of male dominance in contemporary China.

Conclusion

Our findings suggest that Chinese female address terms have emerged via social media by coining, borrowing, using older forms for new meanings and employing multimodality. These media-induced language innovations are not simple responses to the broader socio-cultural changes occurring inside and outside China. Instead, Chinese citizens, through creating, using or spreading new popular lexicons, are able to construct, negotiate, and make sense of multiple selves across those digital spaces. Therefore, social media has generated a network of ‘figured worlds’ that allow individuals to have practical images, expectations and self-actualizations that extend beyond temporal spatial limits. As such, linguistic innovations in those virtual spaces have created multiple figured worlds, within which individuals’ identities and agency are formed dialectically and dialogically in global cultural processes. While acknowledging females’ diverse gender identities in contemporary China, the virtual circulation of certain female address terms involves the enregisterment of words as part of a sexist register, subtly sustaining the long-standing male-centered gender ideologies.

References


A Study on Images of Food in *Bian Cheng*

Guo Xiaohui

*Universiti Putra Malaysia, Malaysia*  
*Nanjing Normal University, China*

Ang Lay Hoon

*Universiti Putra Malaysia, Malaysia*

Sabariah Hj Md Rashid

*Universiti Putra Malaysia, Malaysia*

Ser Wue Hiong

*Universiti Putra Malaysia, Malaysia*

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**Abstract**

As one of the important representative works of Chinese Modern Literature, *Bian Cheng* (Border Town, in English) consists of folklore of different categories which reflect the life of Chinese people seeming to live in Shangri-la. Image is ‘words to present ideas’ of an author. The images of folklore in *Bian Cheng* are its author’s idea on life of Chinese people. Food belongs to material folklore. It is important to present the images of food for better understanding Chinese people’s life.

This descriptive study focuses on the presentation of the images related to food in *Bian Cheng*. The image is identified by figures of speech and tied images. The findings show that the images of food mirror Chinese life in terms of priorities on food, marriage, individual propensity for food, history and customs.

**Keywords**: *Bian Cheng*, folklore, images, food, figures of speech, a ‘tied’ image

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**Introduction**

*Bian Cheng* (hereafter shortened as BC), a novel, well-acclaimed both at home (*referring to China*) and abroad (Liu 2002: 70). BC is listed as the top of the 100 Modern Chinese Novels in the 20th Century, in terms of its narrative (Hsia 2005: 436). As such, it has been canonized in various compendia of Modern Chinese Literature (1917-1949) (Xiao 2013: 58).

The story in BC is about love between Cuicui, 翠 (cuì), the heroine and her two wooers. She was born and became an orphan shortly after birth as her mother committed suicide. The girl was raised in poverty by her grandfather who worked on his ferry boat to help people to cross a river. She grows up in nature. At the Dragon-boat Festival, Cuicui has her first experience of love with Nuosong, 诺 (nuò) 送 (sòng). Nuosong and his elder brother Tianbao, 天 (tiān) 保 (bǎo), the sons of Shunshun, 顺 (shùn) 顺 (shùn), are both praised by the local community for their excellence. The love story becomes more unexpected due to not only their both
falling in love with Cuicui, but also due to their continuous misunderstandings with Cuicui, her grandfather, Nuosong, Tianbao and Shunshun. It is Tianbao who first takes action to win Cuicui’s heart. Before he takes action, he realized that his younger brother also adores her. The two brothers, according to local custom, decide to sing serenades to Cuicui to see who gives her hand to the one whose song moves her most. Tianbao, knowing that Nuosong sings much better than he does, decides to quit as soon as the younger starts singing. Unfortunately, gets drowns, and his younger brother faces pressure to marry a girl from a rich family, for his father imputes Tianbao’s death to Cuicui, and refuses to allow her to become the wife of his second son. Consequently, Nuosong chooses to leave home. The aloofness the old ferryman caught from Nuo Song and Shunshun beats him down, and he also dies. Cuicui, finally, is left alone to wait for her love’s return which is uncertain.

Folklore is one of the beautiful elements of BC (Cai 2011) which appeals to BC’s readers. It also serves to construct the narration of BC (Luo 2007; Liu 2006). Folklore in this study is grounded on work by Mish and Kongas, as the entire body of ancient popular beliefs, customs and traditions which have survived among the less educated of civilized societies, and thus includes fairy tales, myths and legends, superstitions, festival rites, traditional games, folk songs, popular sayings, arts, crafts, folk dances and the like (Mish 1984: 401). According to Kongas (1969: 85), artifacts, as superorganic products of culture, can be a part of folklore in which products of culture are investigated, and is drawn on to discover the creativity of our human existence (Wilson 1998: 157-158). Therefore, folklore in BC mirrors Chinese people’s life, of which the images of folklore show a vivid picture. According to Zhong (1998: 5), food is material folklore which includes material production and material life (foodways, dressing and housing). In this study, food is a substances for human consumption or drinking, including processed food, semi-finished products and unprocessed food (Jiang 2011: 155).

According to Murfin and Ray (2003), the use of figures of speech is one way to present an image. In this study, figures of speech are presented in a narrow sense, and are thus rhetorical devices (Feng 2001: 81), such as the hyperbole, the simile, and so forth. The image, which is not presented by figures of speech is ‘tied.’ Its meaning becomes an associational with that of all readers (Holman, Thrall and Hibbard 1985: 223). As such, this study addresses two questions. (1) What images of food are identified in BC? (2) What aspects of Chinese life do the images reflect?

Previous Studies on Images of Folklore in BC

The study on food in BC is found in papers of translation of folklore in BC. There are many studies on the images and folklore of BC, but food has not been discussed. Work by Long (2015), Li (2016) and Zhu (2016) focuses on translation folklore, and includes food. Their focus is on whether the translation is accurate and faithful to folklore. As such, they are concerned with the primary meaning of food. These researchers select Zongzi, the food Chinese people eat during the Dragon-boat festival as representative, despite that a more eclectic range of food is needed. More precisely, Wang, Xu and Li (2016)’s work focuses on the image of food in Guozhao. They employ questionnaires to develop an image of food from tourists. Drawing from their work, this study focuses on the text in BC, to describe images of food.

Methodology

Murfin and Ray (2003) point out that figures of speech are often employed to present an image which expresses abstract ideas in a vivid and innovative way. As such, we now draw figures of speech from phrases or sentences.
A ‘tied’ image has similar meaning and associational for all readers (Holman, Thrall and Hibbard 1985: 223), and as such, we identify a tied image as those appearing in BC. The images whose meaning and associational value is (nearly the) same are identified in BC. Here, we chose images that clearly have common meaning across a spectrum of readers. The meanings of a word provided by 海(hǎi) is the criterion with which to judge whether the meaning is denotative or not. As such, we also draw from Cihai, An Unabridged Comprehensive Dictionary (Fan 1994: 36).

Images of Food in BC

After an analysis of the texts of BC, we found that personification is related to one image of food. Four images of food which are tied images are identified. The first tied image is identified by Cihai. Examples 3, 4 and 5 are the images studied in previous research.

Example 1: 炸(zhà)鲤(lǐ)鱼(yú) fried carp

常(cháng)有(yǒu)煎(jiān)得(dé)焦(jiāo)黄(huáng)的(de)鲤(lǐ)鱼(yú)豆(dòu)腐(fǔ). 身(shēn)上(shàng)装(zhuāng)饰(shì)了(le)红(hóng)椒(liào)椒(jiāo)丝(sī). 卧(wò)在(zài)浅(qiǎn)口(kǒu)钵(bō)头(tóu)里(lǐ) (Shen 2011: 21).

Long tables in front of the little restaurants offered carp fried into a crispy brown lying in a big shallow earthenware bowl with bean curd, the fish adorned with slivers of red peppers (Shen 2009: 14).

This is a case of metaphor as a figure of speech in which one thing is described in terms of another (Cuddon 2013: 432). The comparison in metaphors is implicit. However, the metaphor presents a vivid image of the fried fish: The fried fish is like a man ‘lying’ in a bowl and ‘adorned’ by red peppers.

Example 2: 臭(chòu)酸(suān)菜(cài) pickled vegetable.

吃(chī)的(de)是(shì)干(gàn)鱼(yú). 辣(là)子(zǐ). 臭(chòu)酸(suān)菜(cài). 睡(shuì)的(de)是(shì)硬(yìng)帮(bāng)的(de)舱(cāng)板(bǎn)”(Shen, 2011, p.27)

They ate the same dried fish, hot peppers, and pickled cabbage as the others, and they slept on the same stiff, hard deck planks (Shen 2009: 20-21).

臭, according to cihai, could be an adjective meaning offensively malodorous. 酸菜 is a pickled vegetable. In this case, 臭 is not offensively malodorous. The image is the smell which is unpleasant to some people, and is the food of the crew (referring to ‘they’ in the quotation) on ships who are common people.

Example 3: 点(diǎn)心(xīn): dim sim

但(dàn)这(zhè)件(jiàn)事(shì)依(yī)照(zhào)规矩(jùjǔ)得(dé)这(zhè)个人(gèrén)带(dài)封(fēng)点心(diǎnxīn)亲自(qīnzì)到(dào)碧(bì)溪(xī)竹(zú)家(jiā)中(zhōng)去(qù)说(shuō). 方(fāng)见(jiàn)得(jiàndé)慎重(shènzhòng)起(qǐ)事(shì)”(Shen 2011: 107).

But the local custom said that No. 1 would have to come in person with gifts of cakes to Green Creek Hill and to speak for himself to prove his seriousness (Shen 2009: 80).

The dim sim is a traditional Chinese food with small portions of various foods are served together. According to local customs, the dim sim is an image of a gift which is formally used for proposing marriage in BC.
Example 4: 粽(zòng)子(zi): zongzi dumplings
节(jié)日(rì)里(lǐ)自(zi)己(jǐ)不(bù)能(néng)包(bāo)粽(zòng)子(zi) (Shen, 2011, p.57)
And when he learned how hard up their household was — too poor to wrap their own zongzi dumplings for the festival (Shen 2009: 42).

Example 5: 雄(xióng)黄(huáng)酒(jiǔ):realgar wine
因(yīn)此(cǐ)便(biàn)约(yuē)好(hǎo)了(le)那(nà)人(rén)早(zǎo)上(shàng)过(guò)来(lái)吃(chī)饭(fàn)。喝(hē)一(yī)杯(bēi)雄(xióng)黄(huáng)酒(jiǔ)。 (Shen, 2011, p.41)
It was agreed that he’d come over in the morning for a meal and a cup of realgar wine (Shen 2009: 30).

Zongzi dumplings and realgar wine in Example 4 and Example 5 are discussed together in that they are both related closely to the Dragon-boat Festival. Eating Zongzi and drinking realgar wine, for Chinese people, is the image of the festival (Yue 2017: 61).

**Chinese Life Reflected in the Image of Food**

The identification of images of food in BC provides the basis for the study: Chinese life is demonstrated by the images given to readers of BC. The images of the fried fish, pickled vegetable, dim sims, Zongzi dumplings and realgar wine are discussed in succession.

The image of the fried fish is the embodiment of the priorities of Chinese cuisine. There are five priorities in Chinese cuisine: color, aroma, taste, food styling and the food container (Zhang 1995: 51). The image of the fried fish, at least, demonstrates the color — the red pepper, and the container — a big shallow earthenware bowl which makes the fish lic and please audiences.

The image of pickled vegetables shows one diversified food taste in China. If it is offensively malodorous, the pickled vegetable can not be eaten. The meaning is that the food gives off a smell by fermentation. The smell is unpleasant to some, but not to all. The image of dim sim displays relations between people. It is a gift for proposing marriage. In Chinese, 点 means little, 心 is a kind feeling and the harmonious relationship between people (2019: 37). The dim sim symbolizes a kind feeling and harmony, and becomes a suitable gift for proposing marriage.

The images of Zongzi dumplings and realgar wine are the food of a Dragon-boat Festival. Chinese people feast on different kinds of food in different festivals. This includes dumplings, according to Kinkley (Shen 2009: 166-167), made of sticky rice, often filled with meat, eggs and vegetables, shaped like a pyramid and wrapped in palm leaves. Realgar wine is used to ward off evil (Yue 2017: 61). The image of Zongzi is closely linked with historical information related to the commemoration of Qu Yuan, where the image of realgar wine functions as the Chinese custom of warding off evil.

**Conclusion**

This descriptive study is on the image of food in BC. There are five images of two types identified. The first type is the image realized by figures of speech. The second is the ’tied’ image. Figures of speech are common in English and Chinese. Four of these are 'tied' images of food, based on meaning and associational values which
embody folklore. The more folklore-specific the food is, the more aptly the image of food appears. Therefore, images of food do more than incur the information of food. The images demonstrate priority on food, marriage, individual propensity for food, history and customs, and help readers of BC to learn folklore as a mirror of Chinese life.

References


Rain or Shine Shield: Language and Ropes of *Sadok* Making

Loyalda T. Bolivar

*University of Antique, Philippines*

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**Abstract**

A *sadok* or *salakot* is a farmer’s cherished possession, protecting him from the sun or rain. The *Sadok*, persisting up to the present, has many uses.

The study of *Sadok* making was pursued to highlight an important product, as a cultural tradition in the community as craft, art, and part of indigenous knowledge in central Antique in the Philippines. Despite that this valuable economic activity needs sustainability, it is given little importance if not neglected, and seems to be a dying economic activity. The qualitative study uses ethnophenomenological approaches to gather data using interviews and participant observation, which aims to describe the importance of *Sadok* making. It describes how the makers learned the language of *Sadok* making, especially terms related to materials and processes.

The study revealed that the makers of *Sadok* learned the language from their ancestors. They have lived with them and interacted with them since they were young. *Sadok* making is a way of life and the people observe their parents work and assist in the work which allows them to learn *Sadok* making. They were exposed to this process through observations and hands-on activities or ‘on-the-job’ informal training. They were adept with the terms related to the materials and processes involved in the making of *Sadok* as they heard these terms from them. They learned the terms bamboo, rattan, *tabun-ak* (leaves used) and nito (those creeping vines) as materials used in *Sadok* making. The informants revealed that the processes involved in the making of *Sadok* are long and tedious, starting from the soaking, curing and drying of the bamboo, cleaning and cutting these bamboo into desired pieces, then with the intricacies in arranging the *tabun-ak* or the leaves, and the weaving part, until the leaves are arranged, up to the last phase of decorating the already made *Sadok*.

In summary, socialization is one important factor in learning the language and a cultural practice such as *Sadok* making. It is an important aspect of indigenous knowledge that must be communicated to the young for it to become a sustainable economic activity, which could impact on the economy of the locality. Local government units should give attention to this indigenous livelihood. Studies that would help in the enhancement of the products can likewise be given emphasis.

**Keywords:** Language of *Sadok* making, indigenous livelihood, survival, tradition, materials, processes

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**Introduction**

A *salakot* is a kind of hat which is found in the Philippines, and in other regions. There is a kind of hat which is considered unique to Filipinos called *salakot* or *sadok* as well. These kinds of headgear are equivalent to the *fez* of Morocco, the sombrero of Mexico, the *nón lá* of Vietnam, or the *vueltiao* of Colombia, and by extension, the turban and patka of India.
In Tagalog, *salakot* simply refers to any head covering with a wide brim of woven or nonwoven material. This artistic product is called *salakot* or salacot, which has unique features, defines Philippine culture. Based on Philippine history, peasants or farmers would wear *salakots* made of grass, and the landed gentry preferred beautifully accessorized *salakots* made of shell and other sturdier materials. This hat is used for protection during rain and/or the heat of the sun. The *salakot* being an important aspect of material culture among Filipinos was part of Filipino identity, which is why during cultural celebrations and festivities related to acts of nationalism, the *salakot* or *Sadok* is part of the costumes and decorations.

In the Philippines the hats or headgear called salakot are varied. There is the vakul rain gear of the Ivatan women (of the Batanes Islands), the so-called rain basket, the feathery and wild boar tusk-festooned caps and ceremonial headdresses of Ifugao men and women, the extra-wide-brimmed hat found in Jolo which looks like a Mexican sombrero but uniquely different. Hats and headgear are also produced using local materials like *nito, buri* and *barin*. *Sadok* making has become rare, but there still exists a group of women who are engaged in the craft (Kadagatan Tubtub Kabukidan 2018). Particularly, it could be noted that *Sadok* making is present in the province of Antique, which could be considered an indigenous knowledge, a kind of traditional economic activity. This art and craft which is part of the material culture of the Antiquenos is a dwindling means of livelihood to most rural workers if not a dying one. Exploring the study on *Sadok* Making is believed to be of valuable importance in preserving the culture and highlight the indigenous art, craft and knowledge for enhancement and sustainability. True enough, emotions can run especially high when the integrity of a culture’s language is at stake.

The study is believed to impact on the lives of one of the poorest sectors of the community, especially the economic aspect of life of people in general. Furthermore, the result of the study could be a valuable input to local government units who work towards development by helping the marginalized and the poorest of the poor. The study was pursued as there is a dearth of literature, showing attention to this particular material culture thus highlighting the importance of *Sadok* making as an art and craft. In addition, no study has yet been conducted on how the makers learned not only the making of the art and craft in *Sadok* among Antiquenos but also the language and ropes involved in it being a traditional and indigenous knowledge. More particularly, the terms related to materials and processes of *Sadok* making have not yet been documented and given importance. Thus has emerged the interest to conduct a study highlighting the importance of *Sadok* making, especially the language (terms related to materials and processes) and ropes (describing the processes, issues and concerns related to it) of *Sadok* making being a rain or shine shield among Antiquenos in the province of Antique.

Materials and Methods

In this study, qualitative research using a combination of interpretative phenomenology and ethnographic approaches has been used. The two approaches were integrated in different ways but both are exploratory in which the researcher acts as a data collector using interviews and participant observation.

The study setting is located in the central part of the province near the capital town especially in a particular community in Sibalom, Antique, The Philippines, noted for producing Sadok. The participants include all those persons involved in the making of Sadok in the community who provided information and shared their experiences.
The total population of Sadok makers were taken as respondents in the community, but who are mostly women. They were interviewed using in-depth semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions. Other methods used were participation observations, field notes and post-interview notes. The interviews were carried out in the community, especially in their homes and in places where these persons work (for their other sources of income) located outside of their community. The duration of the interview was usually 30 minutes to one hour. The interviews were conducted based on the interview schedule prepared composed of questions relating to the importance of Sadok Making in their lives and the community. The researcher further explored the context by probing.

Results

The participants totaled seven people. These makers are generally poor and of poorly educated, living in homes made of light materials such as bamboo. These are subsistence farmers, and housewives needing help in order to sustain their way of life as a family. They were motivated to engage in the economic activity since this augments their income needed by their respective families. Others treated Sadok making as their major source of income. They sell their Sadok in the nearby market through a comprador or person who sells native (arts and crafts) products in the capital town or in other towns of the province. Some sell this in an NGO called Antique Federation Credit Cooperatives Union Incorporated (AFCCUI), which is also an enterprising NGO which collects native arts and crafts in the province and elsewhere, and markets these mostly outside the province. During peak season, this NGO orders a number of Sadok. One person is the middle person (the one who connects with the NGO) who would transact and collect the finished products of those members of the community who are Sadok makers. The middle person would bring the purchase order to the NGO concerned and settle the deal. However, this is a seasonal issue. There are cases when local government officials would order a number of Sadoks for their festivities and for their business establishments all as decors which are occasional.

Importance of Sadok Making

People in the community engaged in making Sadok tried to learn the art and craft because this is a livelihood for them. They earned a meager income, but a great help to sustain their family needs and to send their children to school. The livelihood in Sadok making is essential to survival for these poor rural workers. They were able to send their children to school despite their meager income, and were able to buy food for their families.

How the Sadok Making was Learned

The participants revealed that they have learned the craft of making Sadok because their great grandparents or parents were engaged in it. Others said that they were taught since they were small. At first, they were made to do it repeatedly until they mastered it. There were those who learned the craft through observation which developed their interest. Others said that they tried to learn this since they believe that this can help them and their families. They have no choice but to learn the art and craft for survival of their family.
Terms Related to Materials in Sadok Making

The Sadok or Salakot in Filipino national language is made of woven bamboo strips, a type of leaf called tabun-ak and originally tied with native vine called nito in the past. However, since the native vine has become rare and nearly extinct, thereby becoming scarce, according to the makers, who have replaced this with commercial plastic strips called plastic nito in the area. Specifically, materials are kawayan, tabun-ak, plastic strips, hurmahan and thick plastic for vent.

1) Kawayan tinik with Scientific name Bambusa blumeana is an important bamboo resource for the Philippine population. Aside from being a premium species for edible shoot production, it also provides materials for construction, furniture, handicraft and other novelty items. A bamboo pole aged at least a year is cut into parts with a length of two nodes per cut. These cut ones are being sliced and cleaned to obtain desired sizes of strips which will be used for weaving as seen in Figure 1.

![Figure 1. The Kawayan or Bamboo](image)

2) Tabun-ak, another material used in making Sadok, is a kind of plant called Tabun-ak with Scientific Name Phragmites vulgaris Trin, is a perennial grass that grows in wetlands throughout the temperate and tropical regions of the world. The leaves of this plant is a material used for the roofing of the Sadok. In the Panay Islands, especially in the province of Antique, this grass usually grows in river bank swampy areas or near irrigational canals. The leaves of this plant are cut and folded and allowed to dry achieving at least 20% dryness. The Sadok makers in the past would gather them in the area because these abound anywhere. However, as time goes by, this kind of grass has become endangered. They would even gather these in neighboring towns and lately in other provinces.

![Figure 2. Tabun-ak or the Plant for Roofing of Sadok](image)
3) Plastic Strips are a substitute for the indigenous vine used in the past called nito in the area, and this is called plastic nito by the Sadok makers in the community. This material is used for binding the edge of the Sadok and for decorating the final product. The plastic strips are bought in bundles from the local market at one hundred fifty pesos, composed of one hundred twenty pieces. These are colored black and white and a meter long.

Figure 3. Plastic Strips or Plastic “Nito”

4) Thick Plastic – a material used as roof vent material located at the tip covering or the pointed part at the center of the hat which is also the apex of the ‘roofing,’ and serves as the ‘water protector’ in case of rain. The Sadok makers utilize a kind of material used to cover cemented floors called ‘linoleum’ used by people in lieu of tiles. This is cut creating a rounded piece just enough to fit the upper part of the woven bamboo which serves to prevent water from coming in times of rain as seen in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Thick plastic for the Bubong or Roof Vent of Sadok

5) Hurnaban – the molder of the hat especially for the head portion, a material made of wood with a flat portion and a head at the center. It is made of wood, carved at the center resembling a head at the center to serve as a molder. The center resembles a head as the start-off point or the guide in making a ‘salad’ or guide for the weaving stage, in order to form the upper portion of the Sadok.
Terms Related to Processes in Sadok Making

The makers revealed that they have lived with the community for sometime and have seen their great grandparents, parents and other relatives who are engaged in making Sadok. They have observed how the weaving is done and the entire processes involved. At first, they tried repeating the method until they mastered it. Repsondents noted that the language and ropes of Sadok making are learned after hearing the words and processes from people around them in the family and neighborhood who are also their relatives. They have been exposed to these old folks and observed these since they were small. They have identified the terms attached to the materials and processes as they see them do it. That is, as they socialize and communicate with their elders and relatives, they were able to know and adapt these terms. Furthermore, they were able to know how to do the processes as they hear and see them doing the processes.

The terms involved in the processes that they have learned are hurum (but optional to some), utud kag lagis, kihad kag sukdap, salad, rara, rarik, tikul, atup kag suksuk, lagpit, baralayan, salbid, budbud, bubong, ligas and decorar.

1. **Hurum**—bamboo is soaked when it is older than a year. But if the bamboo is more or less a year old then these are being directly cut and sliced without soaking. However, the bamboo strips are soaked in water during the weaving stage, allowing the bamboo strips to become softer and pliable for weaving (and to prevent these from becoming brittle).
2. **Utud kag Lagis**— the act of cutting one bamboo pole with at least two nodes per cut and then the cleaning of this, removing the unnecessary outer parts, especially within the nodes area of the skin.
3. **Kihad kag Sukdap**— the act of slicing the bamboo into desirable sizes and cleaning it thoroughly using a bolo, and further slicing them into strips until the desired thickness of strips needed for weaving is achieved; there should be more or less 80-100 strips needed to complete the weaving stage of the Sadok.
4. **Salad**— When the sliced bamboo strips are cleaned and readied, these are placed into the hurman or the molder as a start-off point for the weaving process. The bamboo strips have two layers, the lower portion and the upper portion all placed together in the molder.
5. **Rara**— after the start off point of weaving which is the pagsalad, the weaving continues up until the desired shape and size of the Sadok is achieved, forming a hat. It is observed that the lower portion of the hat is woven first and after completion another ‘salad’ or start-off point or weaving guide is made on top of the woven lower portion.
6. *Rarik*—placing of a smaller cleaned strip of bamboo, which is rounded, and whose end is put together to form a circle and placed at the edge of the Sadok to give an almost perfect rounded shape with added strength.

7. *Tikul*—after the weaving and the strengthening process is done to form a hat or Sadok. The ends of woven bamboo strips are tied uniquely for both layers, to put them further together for extra hold. This is done by turning one strip up until everything is done. After this, each tip will be inserted to the lower portion of the woven part, one after the other, until completed. After this process called *tikul*, the edge and lower portion of the Sadok is neatly interwoven to provide a secure and neat edge by inserting the extra parts of woven bamboo, one opposing another until it is completed. After doing the *Tikul*, the extra strips are cut so that the edge becomes neat.

8. *Atup kag Siksuk*—after weaving is completed forming a Sadok having two layers, the leaves called *tabun-ak* are used for roofing. This is done by inserting them by twos between the two layers of the woven hats until the hat is fully covered with leaves which serve as the roofing.

9. *Laqpit*—putting a clean rounded shape bamboo whose ends are again put together to form a circle which is placed in the inner part of the edge for further support of the leaves not to loosen and tangle.

10. *Baralayan*—this refers to the outer rounded shape of the Sadok, about an inch in width; this provides the major support for the entire woven bamboo hat (the outer part).

11. *Salbid*—placing again another slice and clean rounded strip of bamboo formed into a circle in between the two layers of the woven bamboo located on the center of the edge between the *baralayan* and the *laqpit* to support the structure.

12. *Bubud*—after everything was placed on the edge, such as the *laqpit* the *baralayan* and the *salbid*, it is now time to put everything together at the edge of the hat by securely binding them with a plastic strip called plastic *nito* which is readily available in the market (substituting the native vine called *nito*).

13. *Bubong*—this is installing a ‘roof vent’ at the peak of the Sadok, creating a sloping portion of the roof by using a thicker plastic material called *linoleum* cut into a round shape.

14. *Ligas*—this rounded strip of bamboo is further placed in the inside part of the hat to give strength and form to the hat. These are inserted in between the two woven strips of bamboo.

15. *Decorar*—the now Sadok is decorated with flower designs done with the use of plastic strips (plastic *nito*).

**Challenges Related to Sadok Making**

The Sadok makers identified some issues and concerns related to the production of Sadok. Firstly, only a few are interested in the making of Sadok for reasons such as that the work is so laborious and the demand is low. Second, there is a limited market for the product and the income is meager. Third, the leaves needed for the roofing called tabun-ak are now beginning to be endangered. There are limited supplies of these in the province. At times, they would find this in neighboring towns or provinces. Fourth, the government lacks support to their traditional source of livelihood or has not recognized these local knowledge, which is also unique in the area. Fifth, the traditional livelihood source is dying since the younger generation are not interested in Sadok making anymore.

**Discussion**

Sadok Making is considered indigenous or traditional knowledge among people in the province of Antique. *Saklat* is a Filipino identity when it comes to arts and crafts. It is considered traditional or indigenous knowledge. The study of *Sadok* making is very important to the lives of people engaged in it since this has
sustained the needs of their families. People in a certain localities with indigenous knowledge such as making Sadok express that people as a group have developed highly specialized livelihood strategies and occupations, which are adapted to the conditions of their traditional territories and are thus highly dependent on access to lands, territories and resources. These traditional occupations include hunting, fishing, trapping, shifting cultivation or gathering food and forest products, handicrafts such as weaving, basketry, woodcarving among others and rural and community-based industries.

The Sadok makers learned the art and craft through socialization among members of the family and the community. The terms associated with materials and processes were transferred as they interact especially during the process of making Sadok during youth.

Most indigenous knowledge disappears due to the intrusion of foreign technologies and development concepts that promise short-term gain and solutions to problems without being capable of sustaining them. The tragedy of the disappearance of this knowledge system is most obvious to those who have developed it and who make a living through it. But the implications for others can be detrimental, when skills, technologies, artifacts, problem solving strategies and expertise are lost (Senanayake2006).

Conclusion

The study about Sadok making is a local knowledge which needs preservation because this is an important source of income to poor sectors of the community. Support from the government is very much needed if we mean to improve the situation. Support services facilities should be provided to these groups in the community so that the art and craft in Sadok will be improved or enhanced. Joint efforts should be forged between academia and the local government for the restoration of the endangered plant species of the native vine called ‘nito,’ and the native roofing material in ‘tabun’ak,’ so that supply of the raw materials is sustained.

The wisdom of traditional and indigenous people is found in their kinaadman – their customary ways of doing things handed down from generation to generation. This may be filtered through the years or generations by ancestors to adjust to the present ways. Hence, there is a need to preserve this local knowledge by teaching and training the young to learn the language and the ropes of Sadok making. Likewise, restoration and propagation of the raw materials for roofing called tabun-ak and even the nito (which is the original tying material replaced now with plastic strips) in the area are necessary actions as a remedy to the dying art and craft and the growing scarcity of materials. The replacement of nito vine with plastic strips they call plastic nito is an indication of change in the original piece of art, thereby changing material culture in Sadok. The scarcity therefore must be addressed if sustainability is to be achieved in art and craft.

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The World through the Eyes of an Asian American: Exploring Verbal and Visual Expressions in a Graphic Memoir

Titien Diah Soelistyarini*  
* Universitas Airlangga, Indonesia

Abstract

This study aims at exploring verbal and visual expressions of Asian American immigrants depicted in Malaka Gharib’s I was Their American Dream: A Graphic Memoir (2019). Telling a story of the author’s childhood experience growing up as a bicultural child in America, the graphic memoir shows the use of code-switching from English to Tagalog and Arabic as well as the use of pejorative terms associated with typical stereotypes of the Asian American. Apart from the verbal codes, images also play a significant role in this graphic memoir by providing visual representations to support the narrative. By applying theories of code-switching, this paper examines the types of and reasons for code-switching in the graphic memoir. The linguistic analysis is further supported by non-narrative analysis of images in the memoir as a visual representation of Asian American cultural identity. This study reveals that code-switching is mainly applied to highlight the author’s mixed cultural background as well as to imply both personal and sociopolitical empowerment for minorities, particularly Asian Americans. Furthermore, through the non-narrative analysis, this paper shows that in her drawings, Gharib refuses to inscribe stereotypical racial portrayal of the diverse characters and focuses more on beliefs, values, and experiences that make her who she is, a Filipino-Egyptian American.

Keywords: Asian American, literary code-switching, cultural identity, graphic memoir, stereotypes

Introduction

For hyphenated Americans, the so-called minority or immigrant groups in the United States, the question of identity has always posed a constant challenge throughout life. Therefore, when they put their thoughts and their experiences into writing, it is very much likely that the beliefs and values rooted from their heritage culture will find a way to emerge and affect their writing. Having a multicultural background, it is inevitable for these authors to express themselves in their writing through various verbal codes, especially when they wish to describe situations, modes of thought, or cultural-bound concepts that do not find their equivalence in English. Consequently, code-switching provides a preferred option since it enables them to communicate better in their writings while asserting their cultural identity and promoting their heritage culture at the same time.

Switching from one language to another becomes one of the unique styles employed in a contemporary literary work by a Filipino-Egyptian American author, Malaka Gharib, in her graphic memoir entitled I was their American Dream: A Graphic Memoir (2019). The story in this memoir revolves around the personal life of the author who was born and raised in the United States from an Egyptian father and a Filipino mother. Even though the memoir is written in English, Gharib numerous inserts words, phrases and even sentences in other languages, namely Arabic and Tagalog, when she tells her experiences living and interacting with her extended
family. The use of code-switching in Gharib's writing clearly reflects ethnic minorities and their language as part of the social stratification in the United States. According to Martin (2005), a mixture of languages within literary works—and varieties within those languages—reflects the dialogue that occurs regularly within the United States.

The use of code-switching or the alternating use of two (or more) languages in spoken modes has been studied extensively. However, along with the increasing growth of bilingual literature in the United States as well as world literature written in English, it seems that mixing languages at the written level has obtained a level of legitimacy (Montez-Alcala 2012). Consequently, several studies have addressed the issue of code-switching in literature. Focusing on code-switching in US ethnic literature, Martin (2005) asserts that the use of code-switching from English to the character's or author's heritage language has added multilingual dimensions to the work that enables authors to reclaim the language and integrate it as part of the US language. Similar to Martin, Montez-Alcala (2012) also conducted some studies on code switching mainly in ethnic US literature, particularly US-Latino novels. Meanwhile, Ennin and Afful (2015) revealed that code-switching and code-mixing are used by African writers as one of the methods in localizing the English language and preserving the African culture. In a study on code-switching in Italo-Brazilian literature, Mueller (2015) suggests that code-switching can also be regarded as a way of expressing bilingual identity, and serves as a means of self-determination and resistance of multilingual minorities against the monolingual bias of the majority group. Lastly, in their studies, Gardner-Chloros and Weston (2015) and Weston and Gardner-Chloros (2015) outline the use of code-switching in various works of literature across the globe in order to highlight the overlap between the functions of code-switching in spoken and written modalities, and assert the significance of the study on literary code-switching to complement to prevailing code-switching studies based on 'natural' speech samples.

Unlike the studies on spoken code-switching that have become a major concern for a very long time, studies on written code-switching, especially in literary works, have only recently stepped into the spotlight. Since there have not been many studies on literary code-switching, particularly in contemporary literary works, such as graphic novels or memoirs, this study aims at exploring verbal and visual expressions of Asian American immigrants depicted in Malaka Gharib's I was their American Dream: A Graphic Memoir. The verbal expressions are focused on the use of code-switching portrayed through the multiethnic characters and pejorative terms associated with the Asian American stereotype as a minority group in the United States. The visual expressions are taken from the images that serve as illustration when the code-switching or the pejorative terms occur. By exploring these verbal and visual expressions in this graphic memoir, this study is expected to reveal the way the Asian American perceives her cultural identity and places herself within the dominant American culture.

Theoretical Framework

Code-switching commonly occurs when a bilingual person alternates between two or more languages in conversation. First coining the term ‘code-switching’ in the late sixties, Gumperz (1982) defined code-switching as ‘the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems.’ In similar tone, yet not limited to spoken modes, Poplack (1980) defines code-switching as ‘the alternation of two languages within a single discourse, sentence or constituent.’ Thus, when code-switching occurs, the items from the different languages are tied together to form a single speech act, sentence or constituent.

Code-switching may vary in its degree of usage. According to Woolard (2004), code-switching can occur between different languages, or dialects, or registers, or ‘levels,’ such as politeness in Javanese, or even styles of a single language. Poplack (qtd. in Romaine 1995) identifies three different types of code-switching, namely
tag-switching, inter-sentential, and intra-sentential. First, tag-switching involves insertion of a tag in one language into an utterance in another language. Next, inter-sentential switching involves a switch at a clause or sentence level, where each clause or sentence is one language or another. Then, intra-sentential switching occurs within the clause or sentence boundary. In this study, only two types of code-switching are observed, namely inter-sentential and intra-sentential switching, since there is no occurrence of tag-switching found in the graphic memoir.

Code-switching commonly occurs in bilingual contexts in relation to identity. Gumperz (1982) argues that the use of two languages in code-switching commonly indicates a cultural contrast between the minority and the dominant society. Thus, bilinguals tend to consider the use of minority language as identity markers associating them with familiarity or solidarity within the group, while the language of the dominant society is associated with more formal, and less personal out-group relations. In other words, the use of code-switching may come as a strategy to assert one’s identity in the society.

Method

This study employs qualitative descriptive research in interpreting the objects of the study, which is a graphic memoir entitled I was their American Dream: A Graphic Memoir by Malaka Gharib (2019). As a graphic memoir consists of words in dialogues and images in frames, data for this study was collected through close-reading in order to sort specific verbal and visual expressions that indicate the use of code-switching and pejorative terms. The selected data was further sorted to identify the types and functions of code-switching. To analyze the verbal expressions, this study focuses on code-switching that frequently occurs mainly from English to Tagalog, and from English to Arabic. Applying the theory of code-switching, the verbal expressions were analyzed in order to obtain deeper understandings of literary code-switching in this graphic memoir. The verbal analysis was further supported by visual analysis of the images in the graphic memoir.

Results and Discussion

Code-Switching in the Graphic Memoir

Born from an Egyptian father and a Filipino mother and growing up as an American girl, the main character of this memoir, Malaka, finds herself caught up between three different cultures and languages on a daily basis. Being American but looking neither Asian nor Arab, she always struggles with the question: “What are you?” which she believes defines one’s identity. As a teenager, Malaka’s response to the question does not fail to give away her multicultural identities.

In Figure 1. Malaka’s speech bubble containing the response to the question of her identity is positioned as the center point. Consisting only of one panel dominating the whole page, the image shows the use of inter-sentential code-switching when Malaka introduces herself as Egyptian-Filipino. In order to claim her membership in both cultures, Malaka feels the need to switch from English and to use English expressions in both Tagalog and Arab, to say: “How are you?” instead of simply using the English words. Code-switching is deliberately used here to highlights Malaka’s belonging to both Egyptian and Filipino cultures.
Interestingly, the color scheme used throughout the graphic memoir is dominated by shades of red, white and blue commonly associated with the colors of the American flag. Yet, they are not the same. The red and blue colors in this graphic memoir are as bright and striking as the ones in the flag. However, the use of these colors further intensifies the author’s intention to confirm her American identity. This identity is not quite the same as that of the dominant American culture because she is not quite American and instead belongs to the hyphenated American group, in this case, Asian American.

As a marker of cultural identity, the use of inter-sentential code-switching is also found in the dialogue between Malaka’s parents (Figure 2). There are three panels in one page, each showing how the tension is building in the relationship between Malaka’s father and mother. Her father’s facial expression changes when her mother brings up her intention to send Malaka to Catholic school. Being a Muslim, her father objects to the idea, and his objection is reflected in his harsh criticism of what Malaka’s mother is wearing. The first two panels lead to the climax when they both fight and employ inter-sentential code-switching to channel their anger. Here, code-switching serves as a way to express mood or emotional state, and in this context, tension that leads to anger has become the trigger for the code-switching. Furthermore, by switching to their respective mother tongue in their state of anger, Malaka’s mother and father deliberately attempt to claim their own cultural identity and exclude each other from membership of a shared culture.
In contrast, the same use of intra-sentential code-switching as seen in the right picture (Figure 3), serves a completely different purpose. In the third panel, two Filipino girls in Malaka’s school is talking behind Malaka’s back. Since they are badmouthing her, they do not want Malaka to understand their conversation. These girls do not know that Malaka is half Filipino and can understand Tagalog well even though her appearance does
not look like a typical Filipino. Therefore, when they say that she is ugly, instead of using English, they switch to the Tagalog words ‘pangit.’ In this context, intra-sentential code-switching is deliberately employed to exclude Malaka who is considered as a non-member of the group.

This usage of code-switching from English to Tagalog or Arabic in an American graphic memoir may certainly pose a challenge for American readers who mostly do not understand these foreign languages. Insertion of any foreign words without an explanation may result in the literary works being marked as inaccessible for American readers (Martin 2005). Therefore, code-switching in most ethnic literature in the United States is only employed on a limited basis. Gharib’s graphic memoir is no exception. Gharib cannot employ too many or overly-long non-English passages in her graphic memoir, for fear of that it will only deter American audiences from reading her graphic memoir. Yet, she still feels the urge to expose code-switching to emphasize her character’s multicultural identity. In order to make readers understand the meaning of the non-English words or sentences, Gharib mostly provides translations or explanations of the foreign expressions that can be found on the same page and which look like a footnote.

**Stereotyping Asian Americans**

![Figure 4. Pejorative terms associated with Asian Americans (Gharib 2019)](image)

Another verbal expression depicted in the graphic memoir is the list of pejorative terms along with their definitions and illustrated in a full page (Figure 4). These terms are commonly associated with Asian American stereotypes, and often create misconceptions toward Asian Americans. The terms ‘banana’ and ‘twinkie’ (yellow outside, white inside) are negative identity labels given to Asian Americans who are considered being too assimilated (‘whitewashed’) into the dominant American culture. Similarly, FOB or ‘Fresh off the Boat’ and FOBBY are derogatory terms that stereotype Asian Americans as perpetual foreigners. Even though Asian immigrants have been in the United States for centuries, Asian Americans are never automatically seen as ‘American,’ and are often assumed to be non-English speakers (Pyke and Dang 2003). So, if the first set of
labels perceives Asian Americans as being too assimilated, the second set, in contrast, casts Asian Americans as fundamentally foreign individuals who will never fully assimilate into American society. This contrast surely confirms the practice of stereotyping that only serves the purpose of the dominant society to maintain its hegemony over the minorities.

By putting all of these terms on a list, Malaka implies her rejection to be associated with these stereotypes. In the previous page, before she makes the list of the terms she learned in high school, Malaka even states that “I wasn’t trying to be white. I mean just look at me!” (Gharib 2019). Through this statement, Malaka denies the common accusation toward minorities as constantly desiring to be part of the mainstream American society. She acknowledges that those terms are negative identity labels commonly associated with Asian Americans, yet she personally refuses to accept them. By doing so, Malaka challenges these stereotypes and stands up to empower herself as a member of the minority.

Conclusion

This study has shown that, from the analysis of both verbal and visual expressions, literary code-switching may serve as a means for minorities to assert their cultural identity. By inserting Tagalog and Arabic into the narrations and dialogues between the characters in her graphic memoir, Gharib has claimed her multicultural identity, being American yet Asian. Still, she refuses to accept the perjorative terms that stereotype Asian Americans and that deny the identity of Asian Americans as Americans. Accordingly, this study affirms the findings from previous studies, in that literary code-switching allows Gharib as the author to reclaim her heritage language as part of her cultural identity. Moreover, by challenging the stereotypes associated with her cultural identity, Gharib also exposes her resistance as a member of the minorities which act against the hegemony of the dominant culture.

References


Singlish Turns Indonesian in *Crazy Rich Asians*: Lost in Translation

Retno Wulandari Setyaningsih

“Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Airlangga, Indonesia

Puji Audina Lestari

“Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Airlangga, Indonesia

Abstract

*Crazy Rich Asians* (2018) is a movie telling about Singaporean wealthy families, and in particular a love story between an heir and a commoner. Taking place in Singapore and Malaysia, this Hollywood movie includes Singaporean English (Singlish) in the dialogues so as to expose Asian identity. This study purports to illustrate Singlish utilized in *Crazy Rich Asian* (2018), and the strategies applied in subtitling the Singlish into Indonesian. This study is descriptive in nature, and scrutinizes the movie script while comparing the Singlish found with the Indonesian subtitles. Utilizing a Microstrategies theory proposed by Cintas and Remael (2007), this study maps subtitle strategies to reveal their impact on viewers. There are 86 Singlish words and phrases identified, and the subtitle strategies found are calque, transposition, explication, loan, omission, substitution, lexical recreation and compensation. The most frequently applied subtitle strategy applied is calque, which turns Singlish specific lexical and grammatical features into a set of formal Indonesian words and phrases. As a consequence, the translator can be considered successful in providing information about the movie story for Indonesian viewers. However, the translator fails to effectively introduce Singlish words and phrases as markers of Asian identity to Indonesian viewers.

**Keywords**: Singlish, subtitles, subtitle strategies, Crazy Rich Asians

Introduction

Singlish is a variety of English that differs to other Singaporean varieties that incorporate Hokkian, Malay and Tamil, and is used in both informal and formal situations. Goh(2015) defines Singlish as a colloquial variety of English spoken in Singapore which incorporates Chinese dialect (particularly Hokkien) and Malay lexical and grammatical elements. He adds that, with mixing Chinese, Malay and broken English, Singlish often appears in conversations between friends or specific informal circles but often avoids informal situations. Furthermore, Singlish is the language of the street and includes elements primarily of English, Mandarin, Malay and Chinese dialects, including Hokkien and Teochew.

In 2018, the film *Crazy Rich Asians* (CRA), directed by Jon Chu, and based on a book of the same name by Kevin Kwan, was published. The film tells the story of class conflict in the union between the self-made Chinese-American Rachel who personifies the American dream and the grandson of a Singaporean Chinese matriarch from a long line of inherited wealth. Taking place in Singapore, the language pervading the film is
Singlish, which can be categorized as marked speech. According to Cintas and Remael (2014), marked speech is characterized by non-standard or not 'neutral' language features, despite the fact that they are considered the standard language, and thus, have more or less specific connotations. The non-standard connotations present problems in translating or subtitling the film into Indonesian. Thus, this research observes the impact of Singlish subtitle strategies into Indonesian. As Ellender (2015) argues, the more a film contains language which deviates from a standard (oral) register, the more challenging the task of subtitling becomes.

According to Hatim and Mason (2000), subtitling activity is constrained by four elements. They elaborate the elements as style shift, spoken mode into the written, physical constrains, namely available time and space, reduction of the source text and a requirement to match the visual images with the subtitles. In order to overcome problems in subtitling, several scholars propose strategies in subtitling non-standard language features. For example ten strategies forwarded by Gottlieb (2015) are suggested to help overcome problems including language and culture-specificity. While Cintas and Remael (2014) list nine strategies that are commonly used in subtitling. Analyzing TED Talk subtitling practice di Laura (2019) concludes that subtitlers tend to reduce the textual content which is expected to run on the screen through omission and reformulation strategies. This study attempts to illustrate the strategies used in subtitling Singlish as an identity marker in CRA.

Literature Review

Goh (2015) discusses the anatomy of Singlish through intra and extra linguistic aspects, suggesting that Singlish offers an exemplary of a level of resistance to the more aggressive aspects of globalisation, including not only linguistic-cultural imperialism, but also economic and class hegemonies. Leimgruber (2011) elaborates on the sound system and grammar of Singlish, which can be seen as a way of expressing Singaporean identity or even national identity. Both researchers indicate that Singlish is itself a nativize English which is important for emphasizing unique identity.

Method

This study focuses on microstrategies which deal with individual translation problems at the lexical and sentential levels. The study considers nine microstrategies proposed by Cintas and Remael (2007): Loan, calque, explicitation, substitution, transposition, lexical recreation, compensation, omission, and addition. The research employed in this study is mainly qualitative, as verbal texts are analyzed to identify the subtitling strategies used in CRA. In addition, this study draws on an interpretive paradigm.

Findings and Discussion
Calque

Cintas and Remael (2007) present that calque is a literal translation, often needing explanation so as to assist viewers to understand. Yet, the context and visuals can assist to clarify the meaning. In CRA, calque is often applied to translate phrases in which the meaning can be derived from individual words and contexts with the help of visuals. Several examples are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Data 18</th>
<th>00:24:51</th>
<th>Everybody knows you wear the money pants in this family.</th>
<th>Semua orang tahu kau memakai “celana dari uang” di keluarga ini.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Data 51</td>
<td>00:41:50</td>
<td>So, have you prepped Rachel to face the wolves?</td>
<td>Kau sudah mempersiapkan Rachel bertemu para serigala?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data number 18 shows that the phrase *money pants* is translated into *celana dari uang* by using double quotation marks to indicate that this is a specific expression. In fact, the expression belongs to slang that indicates savviness of the ones wearing *money pants* (Urban Dictionary). In fact, the slang was uttered by the husband to his rich wife to emphasize that she possesses the high position and wealth of the family. The scene setting is the spouse bedroom. Thus, even though no one is wearing pants made from money (which is the back translation of *celana dari uang*), the Indonesian viewers may understand the meaning of this unfamiliar term from the context and visuals.

Further, data item 51 illustrates that the phrase *face the wolves* is translated using a calque strategy and becomes *bertemu para serigala*. Literally, wolves are *serigala* in Indonesian. However, data item 51 carries connotative meaning instead of denotative, since the wolves referred to by the speaker are Nick’s family and not an animal. The conversation occurs at a party with Nick and his cousin, Astrid who marries a commoner. Astrid likened Young’s family to a pack of wolves due to their vicious prejudices and acts. The calque strategy applied does not deliver the function of the phrase and the viewers may need to draw a conclusion based on their own knowledge of the matter. Thus, the consequence of using this strategy for Singlish in CRA is a set of unusual phrases in which the real meanings are derived from the context and visuals along with the subtitles.

Transposition

Transposition is defined as a strategy when a cultural concept from one culture is replaced by a cultural concept from another (Cintas and Remael 2014). In the case of CRA, the foreign cultural concept is replaced by Indonesian concepts. Around 17% of the Singlish found was translated in this way, which suggests that Indonesian viewers could easily identify with the words or phrases. For example, the expression *Guam Xia*, thank you in Hokkien, is translated into *terima kasih*, Chinese Indonesians often use *kamsia* to express gratitude, thus relating Singaporean to Chinese, though the translation employs an Indonesian expression of gratitude. Other examples include:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Data 30</th>
<th>00:29:22</th>
<th>— Ah pa, can we go trampoline!</th>
<th>Ayah, boleh kami main trampolin?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Data 67</td>
<td>01:02:22</td>
<td>— You gold digging bitch</td>
<td>Dasar jang mata duitan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>01:02:25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Data item 30 *Ah pa* is uttered by Peik Lin’s twin sisters to address an elderly male, where the translation *ayah* suggests a male parent. It is considered as transposition since *Ah pa* is an address term in Hokkien while *ayah* is an address term in Indonesian. Thus, viewers may not catch this Hokkien term. However, an address term *Ah Ma* is transposed as *Nenek* once and then borrowed for the rest of the story. The different treatment may be caused by the fact that the very term *Ah Ma* appears throughout the story so that viewers can relate the address term to the Indonesian address term *Nenek*.

Data item 67 transposes the term *gold digging bitch* into *jalang mata duitan*. The idiomatic meaning of the phrase *gold digger* refers to a woman who pursues a romantic relationships with a man solely for his wealth. Rachel is assumed to be a woman after Nick’s wealth. In Indonesian, the term *mata duitan* explains a person whose interest is money, but without gender reference. However, the term is preceded by the noun *jalang*, equivalent to the address ‘bitch’.

**Explicitation**

Despite the fact that subtitling is limited by space and time, the strategy of explicitation is applied in translating Singlish in CRA. Explicitation is a strategy that enables viewers to understand the SL word or phrase by way of generalizing (Cintas and Rmael 2014). Explicitation is applied on translating non-standard grammar such as the deletion of noun phrase, verbs and emergence of *can or not*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Data 22</th>
<th>00:27:36</th>
<th>Whole family waiting to meet you</th>
<th>Seluruh keluarga tak sabar ingin bertemu dengamu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Data 23</td>
<td>00:27:40</td>
<td>Very excited</td>
<td>Mereka sangat bersemangat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data items 22 and 23 are utterances by Peik Lin’s mother, a middle class Singaporean. The Singlish used is quite intense in the scenes that involve Peik Lin and her family, since Singlish is said to be used mostly in informal situations, such as among close friends. Data item 22 omits the definite article *the* and the auxiliary *is* while the translation provides a complete sentence. In addition, data item 23 is a phrase, while the translation is a complete sentence that clarifies the meaning of the Singlish uttered. Other examples include the use of a double negative which is translated into a single negative, and which suggests that an omission strategy is applied. As a consequence, a significant feature of simple, non-standard use of English is not manifested in the Indonesian subtitles.

The clause final particle *ab* seems to be used most frequently, but *lab* has the highest profile, as a stereotype of Singlish, among its speakers. In CRA, there are 66 particles uttered and identified, but only two subtitles were completed with the particle *lab*. Thus, the subtitles intend to make audiovisual materials understandable by audiences, yet do not highlight language variation presents, an identity marker for some characters. According to Cintas and Rmael (2014), subtitlers often apply compensation strategies when translating marked language. This suggests that a particular intervention becomes more ‘marked’ or ‘colourful’ in some subtitles, so as to compensate for the loss of such speech elsewhere in the translated film. However, there are only three utterances out of 86 which are compensations in CRA. As such, the subtitles intend to present information rather than introducing language variation.
Conclusion

There are 86 Singlish words and phrases identified in CRA, with eight subtitle strategies applied in translating Singlish into Indonesian. As a Singapore speech marker, Singlish poses difficulties when translating the subtitles. Despite proximity between Singapore and Indonesia, and the fact that many Chinese live in Indonesia, the subtitles tend to be literal and resulted in formal standardized Indonesian instead of a creative use of familiar Chinese terms in the Indonesian subtitles. As a consequence, the unique linguistic identity of Singlish was lost in the Indonesian subtitles and viewers are expected to recognize these from the movie’s audiovisual presentation and context.

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The Impact of Children’s You Tube Videos on English Language Socialization and Acquisition in Indonesia

Layli Hamida

*Universitas Airlangga, Indonesia*

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Abstract

This study aims at describing how the use of English on youtube videos play a significant role in the socialization and acquisition of the language for children in Indonesia. It particularly focuses on the depiction of how the media serve a platform for children’s English language development and socialization and whether parents or other adults’ accommodation reinforces or counteracts the language. Ethnographic interviews were conducted on five middle class parents with children of 3-5 years of age so as to collect information on children and parents’ everyday practices with the media. The findings suggest that parents’ beliefs and ideologies on foreign language socialization as well as their English proficiency lead to their primary support for English. Their everyday media consumption and communication practices with children show how arenas provided by parents have turned into an assumed form of scaffolding in the way that children reflect on the language collected from the media. The research indicates that global practices of English on the internet intersect with local practices of language socialization.

*Keywords*: Youtube videos, children, English, language socialization, language development

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Introduction

Despite the large number of discussions on the role of You Tube as one of the most viewed platforms for learning and education, little work has emerged on how it interferes with language development in children. Several scholars have discussed how the Internet and digital technologies affect parents-children relationships (Blinka 2013; Fuller 2015; Livingstone 2018), where as some researchers such as Venkataswamy (2018) and Eva Lam (2004) have discussed ways in which the Internet has influenced learning, as have Jia (2019), Olasina (2017) and Terantino (2011), who explain that You Tubemay become useful in helping with language development. Asmiarti and Winangun (2018) and Jindal and Kanozia (2019) have conducted similar work. However, this work focuses on You Tube’s effect on cognitive development and parenting. The present study aims to explore the way You Tube has changed the process of the development of a primary discourse in the Indonesian context.

Since its launch in 2005, You Tube’s popularity has experienced a sharp increase conintuously, due largely to the provision of Internet in all countries, not least of which is Indonesia. As such, the number of Internet users has risen astronomically. Google research (via Pradiya 2018) suggests that 57% of Internet users use You Tube to search for entertainment, where 86% search for newest information. In Indonesia, 92% of Internet
users have expressed that You Tube has become their first target for searching when they need to look for video content. This emanates from that You Tube offers a variety of and interesting content, easily available to users.

The alteration in media habits globally has influenced parenting habits. Jindal and Kanozia (2019) report that in India, with the advent of 4G mobile internet services, You Tube Child Media has been enhanced greatly. Children’s rhymes and animated cartoons on You Tube have become parents’ prioritized choice to engage their children and to provide edutainment. The role of edutainment once possessed by television has now moved to You Tube. This is similarly the case in Indonesia. At present, Indonesian parents prefer You Tube in order to occupy infants, toddlers or preschool children. Through this, the platform stimulates children’s cognitive as well as language skills and occupies children while parents work. You Tube channels are thus chosen for children in such a way that they contain child-friendly material, while television does not offer the same affordance. Children’s programs on You Tube are delivered in many languages, including Indonesian and English. Parents in Indonesia with English language competence mostly resort to programs delivered in English. This leads to the phenomenon of Indonesian children being socialized into English at a very early age, despite that their surrounding ecosystem of language socialization is mainly Indonesian or a local language. This paper explores this issue by describing the methods by You Tube channels for children’s socialization into English, and the impact of this socialization.

Method

To collect data, the study deployed the use of interviews and observations. Five parents whose children were identified as becoming socialized into English early through You Tube were chosen as informants. Three of the children are now early elementary school, while two are still at preschool. Semi-structured in-depth interviews with the parents concerning the social and educational information of the children’s linguistic and cultural development were conducted. From the interviews, data regarding the channels on You Tube that the children watch regularly was obtained. Consequently, the researchers observed the content in these You Tube channels. Data was analyzed based theories of attention and development learning, and through a thematic analysis. Finally, the results were discussed with parents in conjunction with macro social information about socialization and language planning and policy in Indonesia.

How do You Tube Channels Socialize?

The interview results suggest that several You Tube channels with children’s programs include those from famous television channels. The channels and content include Pinkfong Kids Songs and Stories with content from Baby Shark Dance, Blippi, Ryan Toy Review (now Ryan World), Nick Jr., Shaun the Sheep, Chu Chu TV, Cocomelon, Tayo the Little Bus, FV Family and others. The channels have approximately 4 – 30 million users with 4 -700 million views, globally.

The children in this study began to watch You Tube from ages 1-2 years, and are in contact with You Tube for five hours per day. This amounts to 100 hours per month and 1200 hours a year. The children mostly watch the programs without interruption. Here, the children had not yet begun school and parents work outside of the home. During working hours, children usually watch programs downloaded by their parents, and are accompanied by caregivers such as their grandparents or their nanny. More contact with parents occurs when
parents return from work. Here, parents usually apply restrictions to the content viewed and the duration of watching.

The time children spend watching You Tube exposes the intensity of contact with You Tube media. During the viewing, children are provided with what Cameron (2001: 199) labels as “target language only,” which is the choice when using only the target language. In the context of Indonesian neighborhood environments, children are usually socialized into Bahasa Indonesia or local languages of the community, such as Javanese. Parents and other caregivers or relatives use these languages at home with the children. However, with rigorous connection to Kids programs on You Tube, children whose parents present programs in English see English as their ‘target language,’ maximizing exposure to the language and thus their learning opportunities.

All the videos in the programs are attractive, containing music, dance, stories, verbal interactions, colorful objects or pictures and are abundant sources of language. Channels such as Ryan’s World, Blippi or FV Family and others provide examples of language use in real life contexts (authenticity). The English words, phrases, and sentences uttered in the channels are accompanied by physical movements which react to verbal input, which is in common as an activity when socializing children into a language. Here, the channels provide very well-established formal features, that is a representational code that guide(s) infant and young children’s attention to information processing, including auditory and visual production and editing techniques such as action, sounds effects, pacing and so forth (Barr 2008). The characteristics of the channels comply with the characteristics of young developers, who seek play, and thus learn through enjoyment.

Some channels provide language repetition, thus increasing learning. Repetitions is mostly through rhymes “helpful in improving children language, learning abilities, and diction” (Jindal and Kanozia, 2019). Moore (2012: 210) states that “Repetition is a source that is always available and can be used to do many different things, and this affordance is significant for language socialization.” Cameron (2001: 51) suggests that “the repeated use of the same words in different physical and language contexts helps to construct in the child’s mind the sound, shape, and use of the word.”

The vocabulary, phrases or complete sentences used captivate the children in that this is ‘formulaic language.’ Cameron (2001: 49-50) claims that “in all types of language-using situations, first and second, child and adult, speakers seem to rely on formulaic (whole ‘chunks’) language that come ready-made and can be brought into use with less effort than constructing a fresh phrase or sentences.” Vocabulary and phrase chunks include: ‘Pretty tasty,’ ‘Thumbs up,’ ‘Roll around,’ ‘Gynormous,’ ‘Teleporting,’ ‘It goes right there,’ ‘You made it,’ ‘That was so much fun,’ ‘That smells,’ and so forth. The use of these chunks in the programs is accompanied by action movement or peculiar gestures with which children easily grasp the meaning of the chunks and therefore acquire these quickly.

You Tube channels nevertheless lead to cultural development. Some use appropriate expressions and context, with conversations between parents and children in the programs, such as in FV Family or Ryan’s World channels. These provide children with authentic English vocabulary related to the targeted community, richer culturally than in class instruction. Owing to this interaction, children become exposed to internalization and hence culture outside of their primary ecosystem (Thanksgiving Day, Halloween, Chrismast Eve). Scott and Ytreberg (2004: 2) assert that: “Young children sometimes have difficulty in knowing what is fact and what is fiction. The dividing line between the real world and the imaginary is not clear.” Ochs and Schieffelin (2012: 8) assert that during language socialization, infants (and young children) “not only become speakers of language;
they also become speakers of cultures.” Ortnner (2012) suggests that: “… adults and children are always trying to make sense out of their lives, always weaving fabrics of meaning, however fragile and fragmentary. As such, the significant amounts of time these children devote to You Tube renders this medium real world.

Consequences on Children’s Socialization

Influenced by their intense engagement with You Tube programs which absorb their attention and increase their language socialization, the eventual primary discourse ceases to be Indonesian or regional languages, and becomes English, for all but one child documented. All children indicated that they are socialized into English language as their primary discourse. In consequence, most of the children were considered experiencing speech developmental delays as they have lowered skills in the community’s language. Furthermore, as the Indonesian government policy regards English as a foreign language, the children’s ecosystem does not support their socialization into English. At this point, parents are forced to decide on further language policy (to reinforce English or to switch socialization to the local community’s language), as children must cope with home and school environments.

One parent documented claimed that, as an Indonesian, their child should speak Indonesian prior to any other language. Therefore, they communicate with their children in languages other than English, and alternate between Indonesia and English programs. However, they admit to that their child produce English ‘chunks’ in speech, evidencing the English effect of You Tube. Another parent reported that they have to stop their child from watching channels and all kinds of kids videos delivered in English so as to dampen the conflict with the child’s grandmother who considered her grandchild as mute and retarded as he could only speak English at that early age. They subsequently switch language socialization to Indonesian and replace all videos with those in Indonesian. Still, children speak Indonesian with broken accents. Other parents face difficulties when their children enter school. As the children attend schools with an Indonesian language of instruction, they experience difficulties in coping with educational demands, which may not occur in international schools. Children’s language identities have thus become a dilemma, owing to language policy, ideology and identity in Indonesia.

Conclusion

English, with a status in Indonesia as a foreign language, has the potential to become Indonesian children’s first language. You Tube and other platforms online provide international ecosystems for English socialization for Indonesian children as it provides children with specific language and cultural affordances. Parents’ language ideologies and the policies to which they are subjected have become factors for the establishment of English as a primary discourse. Unfortunately, children developing competence in English as their primary discourse, while developing social competence in a (virtual) global community, are concurrently alienating their physical environments.

References


Language, Dialect, Sociolect, Genre
The Sociolinguistic Registers of ‘Malaysian English’

Ralf Vollmann*
*University of Graz, Austria

Soon Tek Woo†
†University of Graz, Austria

Abstract

The interplay of four standard languages and a number of spoken languages makes Malaysia an interesting case of societal multilingualism. There is extensive convergence between the spoken varieties. ‘Malaysian English’ (ME) has developed its own structures which can be shown to copy structures of the mother tongues of the speakers at all levels of grammar, thereby being an example for localisation and the creation of a new dialect/sociolect. An analysis of the basilectal register of ME in ethnic Chinese speakers finds that converging patterns of ME and Malaysian (Chinese) languages, with situational lexical borrowing between the various languages. Sociolinguistically, ME plays the same role as any dialect, with covert prestige as an ingroup (identity) marker which is avoided in acrolectal (outgroup) communication. Spoken English in Malaysia can therefore be seen as a localised creoloid dialect of English, based on linguistic substrates. Sociolinguistically, ME is mainly an orate register for basilectal and mesolectal intra-group communication.

Keywords: Malaysian English, World Englishes, orate and literate styles, language and identity

Background

Malaysia is a multi-ethnic and multilingual country (Asmah 1992; Vikør 2004). The standardised languages Malay, English, Mandarin and Tamil are used in written form and in the media, with many other languages existing, mostly in spoken form. Focusing only on one of the larger speech communities, ethnic Chinese citizens usually speak one or more Southern Chinese varieties (Platt 1977) and will learn Malay, Standard Chinese and English at school; of course, these languages occur also in spoken form. The standard languages have developed localised forms, namely Bahasa Pasar (for Malay), Malaysian Mandarin (for Putonghua), and Malaysian English (‘Manglish,’ ME). These spoken varieties of standard languages show peculiar Malaysian characteristics, and, therefore, a high degree of structural convergence. Since English is not recognised as a national language, Malaysia belongs to Kachru’s (1986) third layer of World Englishes, as opposed to Singapore (cf., e.g. Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008; Trudgill and Hannah 2013).

Authors argue that the peculiarities of Malaysian English which show substratic influence from local spoken languages are due to the somewhat ambiguous language policies of Malaysia (David and McLellan 2014: 134f.; Gill 2003; cf. Tharmalingam 2012; Vollmann and Soon 2018a: 39) which led to a decline in competence even at schools (Khaw 2006, 2008). However, Malaysian English is also used by well-educated speakers, which actually makes it more like a ‘dialect’ of English (cf. Deterding 2007), a localised variety, providing a linguistic identity as ‘Malaysians’ to its speakers (cf. Platt 1975; McWhorter 2005: 229), being a neutral and international
language covering all ethnicities in equality. Certainly, there are different styles of Malaysian English in dependence of how well a speaker has learned and mastered formal English.

Malaysian English is also virtually identical with Singaporean English, where English has an official status. In Singapore, government policies attempt to replace this localised variety called ‘Singlish’ (cf. ‘Speak Good English Campaign,’ cf. Rubdy 2001), but meet some resistance from citizens who also cherish this variety as an identity marker.

Manglish (or Singlish) with its peculiar phonological and grammatical structures has been termed a ‘creoloid’ or ‘post-creole continuum’ (Platt 1975 on Singlish; cf. Leimgruber 2013: 52), a ‘semi-creole’ (Holm 2003), or a ‘partially restructured language’ (Holm 2003: xiii); these terms indicate that the sociolinguistic status of Manglish is not unanimously defined. As is the case with creole languages, spoken English in Malaysia (or Singapore) can be stretched out on a register scale between L and H variants (cf. Pakir 1991). With better education, the L variant will vanish and be replaced by an H variant which is closer to Standard English as taught in schools (around the world). In the H variety, only certain characteristics may still be applied. If people are able to switch registers or languages, one may call this a diglossic situation (cf. Gupta 1998, 2010; Bao and Hong 2007). However, it also compares to situations in other languages where education influences the use of the spoken vernaculars.

Standard languages vs. Vernaculars

In traditional multilingualism, the speakers’ linguistic competence is horizontally extended by learning various languages of the same status in order to communicate with people from another group. In traditional cultures, only few individuals would elaborate their competence vertically by learning a written language which usually deviated very much from all spoken forms (cf. Biber 1995; Maas 2008, 2010). A more practical traditional solution is found in the emergence of a *lingua franca* from which a new standard language may emerge. Only in modern societies of the nation-state type, there is a very accessible standardised language taught at schools, which is accessible to most people through general education and which is close enough to spoken practices so that it can be actively used by most members of society and roof over these dialects. These languages provide a better tool for acrolectal communication, educational and economic purposes, so that their usefulness is usually not contested.

Multiethnic countries also usually try to establish one standard language to serve this purpose and to reduce linguistic diversity, which is perceived as a hindrance to educational and economic success. However, this usually also leads to friction between a dominant group imposing ‘their’ language on ‘linguistic minorities’ who may or may not be willing to adopt the new language, especially when alternatives are available, which is the case with linguistic groups with their own established standard language.

The standard languages also serve as lexical resources for spoken languages (minority languages and dialects). In the case of Malaysia, there are four standard languages, and as a consequence, loanwords, code-switching and structural convergence lead to a language mix (‘bahasa rojak’) or ‘translanguaging practices’ of multilingual language users. The standard languages, however, are also influenced from substratic spoken varieties. For instance, Putonghua spoken in Malaysia shows converging structures with other Malaysian Chinese idioms (localisation); here, a new ‘dialect’ of Standard Chinese has emerged. At the same time, standard language education provides new linguistic resources; Putonghua is reported to successfully replace the smaller South Chinese languages in the younger generation (cf. Ting 2018; Vollmann and Soon 2018b).
Manglish as a Dialect

The term ‘dialect’ signifies a geographically defined variety of a ‘language’ which is usually ‘roofed’ by a common standard language. This type of bilingualism (dialect/standard) creates differences along the lines of social stratification (on the basis of education), providing sociolectal differences. For instance, a speaker of German in Vienna (Austria) may be competent in ‘Viennese dialect,’ or in ‘Viennese Colloquial German’ (a dialect–standard hybrid), or in ‘Austrian Standard German’ (a localised form of Standard German). These sociolectal styles and their (mainly phonological and lexical) mixing can produce various complex sociolinguistic effects (cf. Vollmann 2020).

In Malaysian English, a similar social stratification of varieties can possibly be identified, and even standard English would show at least some phonological and lexical peculiarities as compared to British English. However, some speakers of English in Malaysia may be L2 speakers who did not learn much English at school, and therefore apply structures in their English from their own linguistic background (pidginisation). Other speakers may grow up with more exposure to Manglish so that it is actually an L1 to them (creolisation). Others may be influenced by L2 education in Standard English, in which case features of Manglish are merely localised (or dialectal, colloquial) forms in their English. To give one example, all speakers show features such as the omission of third person verb ending -s, or plural -s; these -s may occur sometimes, and they may be omitted for two reasons: either by adopting underspecification (e.g. from Chinese) or for phonological reasons (closed syllables are difficult for speakers of Chinese languages). The third reason could be habituation, i.e., it has become a dialectal feature.

Language Attitudes

In dialect/standard situations, it has been well-described that a standard language usually has overt prestige, and dialect has covert prestige (cf. Chambers and Trudgill 1998), i.e., it has prestige for an ingroup, but it is not able to replace the standard language in acrolectal communication. In sociolinguistic interviews, speakers will therefore often praise their dialect as unique, and at the same time frown upon dialect usage as a characteristic of stereotypic uneducatedness or unculturedness — as only higher forms of communication (meso- and acrolectal functions) are considered in their evaluation. This turns out to be the case also for ‘Manglish,’ where educated speakers may agree to some degree with ideas such as the ‘Speak Good English Campaign,’ or in education where they naturally strive to teach their children the standard language, while the local variety is, of course, informally used by them and learned by the children.

Conclusion

This paper compared the sociolinguistic situation of Malaysian English to a dialect/standard situation. It is assumed that Malaysian English is a quickly evolved ‘creoloid,’ i.e., a standard language that has been adapted by informal L2 learning to substratic structures, which has become a dialect of the larger language. With more education, Manglish may merge with Standard English, just as minority languages may vanish through language shift, which then will certainly still retain some local features which are again a colloquial (dialectal?) form of the standard language. Like any other spoken, non-standardised language, Manglish is a phenomenon which exists only in this usage-based multiplicity of ‘languaging’ of multilingual speakers inside a conglomerate of areal linguistic convergences.
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Socialization through Sign Language for Deaf Children in Early School Years in Light of Communication Theory

Hien Do Thi

Institute of Linguistics, Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences, Vietnam

Nguyen Thi Thanh Thuy

Hanoi University of Culture, Vietnam

Abstract

Like the impact of natural language on normal children, sign language plays an important role in the comprehensive development of deaf children. Deaf children also use sign language to think, communicate and socialize. So how do we teach deaf children sign language? Is teaching sign language to deaf children the same as teaching language for normal children? In this article, considering the situation of many deaf children in the first grade who have few language skills and limited communicative competence, we discuss the factors affecting language teaching in these environments. Furthermore, we propose games which may enhance their language skills, and to assist them to develop and improve the quality of life, and thus to integrate into larger society.

Keywords: Teaching, sign language, deaf children, socialization

The problem

Communication Activities

Communication activities occur when there is a message sent from character A to character B, and then character B responds:

In teaching:

The message is the lesson content, which teachers convey to students. The content is a chain of encrypted signals. For students to comprehend content, teachers and students must share the same code. The code becomes the system of words, letters, symbol, as a signal system in language. In hearing classes, code signal systems of speech sound are conveyed through the auditory channel. Hence, under standard conditions, that teaching activity is
effective. But in specific cases of teaching deaf children, teachers use sound language. In lacking a common code, the transmission of information between teachers and students may be blocked. Teaching activities here may become ineffective as deaf children are unable to receive sounds, whereas the content of the lessons is encoded in sound language and travels through the auditory channel. Vietnamese deaf communities often use sign language as a means of communication, and in some schools, many deaf students are taught in sign language. However, the teaching quality in a majority of these centers is limited. In this study, we thus analyze pedagogical factors.

**Pedagogical Factors for deaf children**

*The Psychology of Deaf Children when Starting School*

Deaf children often feel inferior, shy and afraid of contact with others when first entering school largely owing to limited language competence. These restrictions also lead to lowered communication skills, thus negatively affecting academic performance and general development. Therefore, teaching sign language to help deaf children confidently integrate into cultural learning environment is essential.

**Methods of Sign Language Teaching for Deaf Children**

The stress of starting school is more noticeable for a deaf child. Confidence and the absorption of cultural knowledge should be a priority for teachers and parents. Here, we propose a number of methods to improve the effectiveness of teaching sign language for deaf children when they are in the first grade.

**Flashcards**

*Definition*

Flashcards can be used to introduce and give classroom instructions, which children use to express their awareness and understanding of the world.

*Method*

Divide students into 2 or 3 groups. Teachers display flashcards based on familiarity of the topics. Each pack of flashcards emphasizes one theme. Children look at each picture for 4 or 5 seconds, and then each member of the group approaches the podium individually to write the word related to the flashcard. The group with the most correct and fastest answers will win.

*Effects in Sign Language Lessons*

The main preensity of first graders’ thinking (children at the age of 6) is usually visual. More so with deaf children, the development of visual sense is more noticeable. As such, flashcards with vivid images and attractive colors will encourage activity and will excite children, assisting teachers to effectively achieve teaching aims.

*Notes to Bear in Mind in Using Flashcards*
Using flashcards to motivate deaf learners becomes effective when teachers are well-prepared and flexible. Flashcards should be sorted by topics from easy to difficult; specific to general words. For example, when teaching the topic ‘transportation’ with the words: green light; red light; zebra crossing; planes; car; train; ship; motorbike; bicycles, etc., particularly with unfamiliar words, teachers should provide more visual and kinesthetic illustrations with body gestures and movements or using visual aids.

Teachers would benefit by selecting flashcards with bright colors and clear lines. Moreover, as pictures are used to develop sign language for deaf children, teaching must correspond with student thinking. Specifically, sign language in pre-school is mostly anonymous and anthropomorphic; therefore, flashcards must have the features to assist children to recognize the phenomena in the flashcards quickly. For example, in the vocabulary system of sign language in Vietnamese deaf communities, the symbol CAT is created by simulating two moustaches; COW symbols are expressed by simulating two short horns on the head. The detail of a cat moustache must be clearly shown in the flashcard. Likewise, when using flashcards to teach the word ‘cow,’ an impression with cow horn symbols must also be clearly made, so that children can quickly associate with the sign language of a cow.

**Crossword Puzzle**

*Principles of Crossword Puzzles in Sign Language Lessons*

1) The puzzle is built to suit the level of the child’s sign language
2) The puzzle must appeal to children.
3) The rules of the puzzle should be clearly explained to the students.
4) Prepare enclosed items (pins, key crosswords ...).

*Benefits of Using Crosswords Puzzles in Teaching Sign Language*

Crosswords puzzles excite children. Here, children discover and acquire knowledge independently. Moreover, the crossword becomes central in developing basic literacy and cognitive skills.

*Some Basic Crosswords*

- Crossword pyramids
  + Procedures:
    - Prepare a pyramid table of blank squares which are numbered from two to six squares.
    - The puzzles must contain images.
  + Instructions:
    - Allow students to identify puzzles of sign words. Give clear instructions.
The key symbols are: Bà (GRANDMOTHER); BÀN (DIRTY); TIVI (TELEVISION); NHẤU (MANY); BIM BIM (SNACKS);

• Crossword gaps

  Procedures:
  - Prepare images of sign words
  - Instructions: Teachers introduce images of signs and first provide a model. Then, ask students to add the remaining letters to complete words.

```
C m
á n h ì
C á K ẹ
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The key symbols are: CÔM (RICE); BÀNH MÌ (BREAD); CÁI KẸO (CANDY) PHỞ BÒ (BEEF NOODLE); KHÔNG THỊCH (DISLIKE).

• Crossword blank

  Procedures:
  - Prepare images of signs
- Instructions: Teachers first introduce images and blank squares with corresponding letters, then provide a model and ask students to fill in the blanks with the given letters so that each word best aligns with the meaning of that sign.

The key symbols are: CÁI BÀN (TABLE); XE DẠP (BIKE); CHIẾC DIỆN THOẠI (BIKE)

**Conclusion**

Deaf children’s restrictions on language proficiency restrict communication skills, and reduce confidence, which may impact on their academic performance and later development. Drawing on Communication Theory, the article reaffirms the importance of teaching sign language for deaf children. In addition, the article also points out some positive measures for improving teaching quality.
A Study of the Cultural Characteristics of Chinese College Students Using Cyber Language

Shuang Hong

“School of Chinese Language and Literature, Beijing Normal University, P. R. China

Abstract

With the development of internet and the increase of internet users, cyber language develops rapidly. Cyber language as a kind of social dialects, which application and development can reflect cultural characteristics of the netizens. College students as young netizens are one of main creators and users of cyber language. Through the investigation of cyber language using among college students, the cultural characteristics of this group can be explored.

Keywords: Cyber language, Chinese undergraduates, cultural characteristics

Cyber Language

This paper takes new Internet idioms as an example of cyber language. New Internet idioms generally abbreviate a sentence as a four-character idiom without any ‘reasonable’ rules, shown in (1) to (6).

| (1) 人 艰 不 拆  |
| ren1  jian1 bu4  chai1 |
| person  difficult  not  expose |
| Life is so hard that some lies are better not to be exposed.  |

| (2) 细 思 恐 极  |
| xi4   si1 kong3 ji2 |
| careful  think  horrible  very |
| When you think it over, you will feel horrible.  |

| (3) 不 明 觉 厉  |
| bu4  ming2 jue2 li4 |
| not  understand  feel  awesome |
| I don’t quite get it, but I think you are really awesome.  |

| (4) 累 觉 不 爱  |
| lei4  jue2 bu4 ai4 |
| tired  feel  not  love |
| One is very tired and cannot love again.  |
These new idioms generated on a wide scale on the Internet around the year 2013. At first, they were forbidden in official publications and radio/television programs, owing to their destructive tendency on classic Chinese idioms. However, after seven years, these new Internet idioms have proliferated, not only in cyber language but also in official publications. Here, these new internet idioms have vitality and advantages in expression, thus becoming standardized and halting their disappearance.

Survey of Cyber Language Usage

In 2015, I made available questionnaires to 999 college students, surveying the usage of 24 new Internet idioms. The survey results indicated that 93.5% of participants can fully understand these new Internet idioms. 20.3% use these idioms often and 79.7% use these idioms occasionally. The participants use the new Internet idioms in a certain contexts. All use the idioms online, while 60.2% also use the idioms in spoken language, and 2.9% use the idioms in written language. The participants use the idioms according in communication. All use the idioms with contemporaries and peers, while 3.7% use the idioms with their elders such as their parents and teachers. The participants have different attitudes toward the development of the idioms. 22.2% have positive attitudes, while 21.7% have negative attitudes. 56.1% have an open attitude to allow ‘nature take its course.’ These people suggest that others should give the idioms time to develop. If the idioms are helpful for our language communication, they should have life and continue to be used. Otherwise, they will disappear from our language. 24 idioms surveyed have unbalanced frequency in use. Six of these idioms have a high frequency: ren1-jian1-bu4-chai1 > lei4-jue2-bu4-ai4 > bu4-ming2-jue2-li4 > xi3-da4-pu3-ben1 > shi2-dong4-ran2-ju4 > xi4-si1-kong3-ji2. These six idioms are still used, while the other 18 have disappeared.

At the end of 2019 and at the beginning of 2020, I conducted a second survey, sending questionnaires to 270 college student, regarding the idioms (1) to (6). The survey results indicate that 9.6% of the participants have never used these idioms. 23.7% of the participants only use the idioms online and 66.8% use the idioms both online and in spoken language, while 9.5% also use the idioms in written language as well as online and in spoken language. All participants who use the idioms use these with their contemporaries and peers, while 1.2% of those using the idioms use them with their elders. 91.7% of the participants have positive attitudes that these idioms can be alive and will continue to be used in language communication, while 56.3% think that people should avoid the use of these idioms in certain. They suggest that the idioms should be standardized in official publications and can be freely used in informal contexts such as online or in spoken language. 8.3% of the participants claim that the idioms should be forbidden online and offline.

Through the two questionnaire surveys, we found that college students prefer to use cyber language and have positive attitudes to the new language phenomena, and we thus tend to reconsider the advantages that
cyber language might have. The new Internet idioms are abbreviated from sentences, which renders hem precise and suitable for online use and in spoken language. The idioms have four-character formations that are the same as classic Chinese idioms, a property which conforms with Chinese prosodic principles and also shapes assigns the idioms grace and a solemn style. These advantages of expression have thus sustained the use of the idioms. More so, some of the idioms have been introduced into Global Chinese and now have their own organiz development, shown in (7). Ren2-jian1-bu4-chai1 has become shi4-jian1-bu4-chai1 in Global Chinese.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>世</th>
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The whole world is so hard that some lies are better not to be exposed.

Characteristics of College Students

The age factor had significant impact on the results. The frequency of the usage and the acceptability of the idioms declines with the increase in age and year level of participants. When asked why they use the idioms, 46.4% note that these idioms are cool and fashionable, and 36.9% note that they use the idioms due to their concise expression, where 14.2% of the participants use the idioms owing to their humorous function. 2.5% of the participants use the idioms to emulate their contemporaries and peers.

Through surveying the use of cyber language by college students, we can expose that contemporary college students prefer to accept emergent trends in thinking and seek to create new expressions while challenging traditional use of language. They are socialized into Internet environments, which are thus unavoidable.
Local Chinese Dialects and Toponymity of Chinese Streets in Sibu, Sarawak

Wong Ling Yann*
*Universiti Putra Malaysia, Malaysia

Abstract

This paper aims to explore into the categories, structural formation, syllables and alphabetic characteristics of the naming of Chinese streets in Sibu, Sarawak. Sibu is the third biggest city in Sarawak, also called “New Foochow” or “Little Foochow”. The Foochow people is one of the main ethnicities in Sibu. The Foochow culture and dialect play an important role in developing the history of Sibu. One of the significant influences of the Foochow culture and dialect towards the history of Sibu is the naming of the city streets in Chinese. This study adopts a qualitative research methodology to collect and analyse research data, where a historical comparative study is adopted to study the naming categories, the structural formation, syllables and alphabetic characteristics of the Chinese streets in Sibu.

Keywords: Sibu, Chinese streets, toponym, Chinese dialects, naming categories, formation structure, phonetic characteristics

Introduction

Sibu represents the third biggest city in Sarawak. The Foochow people being one of the main ethnicities in Sibu, is also called “New Foochow” or “Little Foochow”. The Foochow culture and dialect play an important role in developing the history of Sibu. One of the significant influences of the Foochow culture and dialect towards the history of Sibu is the naming of the city streets in Chinese. Naming the streets in Chinese is based on an oral agreement among the local people and were not directly translated from the official names given by the Sibu government; but is based on various sources connected to the local history and Foochow migrants from China. This paper aims to explore into the categories, structural formation, syllables and alphabetic characteristics of the naming of Chinese streets in Sibu, Sarawak.

According to the population survey conducted by the Foochow Association of Sibu in 2011, the local Foochow population of Sibu is approximately 90,000. The Foochow culture and dialect play an important role in developing the history of Sibu (Pan 2000, Cao & Cheng 2016).

Through the studies of Cao and Cheng (2016), the Foochow dialect is the business and social communicative language among the Chinese people in Sibu. Hence the Foochow dialect is perceived as the more popular and dominant local dialect spoken by the majority of the Chinese population in Sibu, regardless of their ethnic background. One of the significant influences of the Foochow culture and dialect towards the history of Sibu is the naming of the city streets in Chinese.
Shi (1982, p.191) points out that toponym is a discipline to study the methods, rules and implications for naming places based on various sources like the relationship between naming places and the location. In fact, toponym is knowledge in relation with geography, history, language and nationality. Toponym also includes the studies to explore local geographical environment and the development of society during the historical periods. Toponym concerns about historical facts, development of economics and geographical environmental changes (Shi, 1982, p.190).

Lu (1997, pp.37-38) believes that toponym is a study to investigate the phenomenon of places and streets to be given such naming, and how this naming can be formed, and the objectivity in the development of toponym. Toponym studies activities of a nation or place from the aspect of ethnology (Shi, 1982, p.191). Naming places provide ethnological information to conduct comparative studies on different races of people, and how these ethnic differences can affect the naming of places from the views of linguistic anthropology. Migration and movement of ethnic groups can become the historical sources for naming places (Shi, 1982, p.191).

Toponym concerns about historical facts, development of economics and geographical environment changes (Shi, 1982, p.190). These sources are valuable in the discipline of toponym for naming places, roads, streets and lanes. Toponym provides us knowledge about geographical situation, natural scenes, social and humanity features, and development of the local communities. The relationships between toponym and linguistics, according to Zhang and Yan (2013, p.15); the naming of places or streets is living fossil that can provide us information about development of vocabularies used to form the naming of places or streets, through a comparative study between the naming of places or streets in reality world and the naming of places or streets recorded in the historical text. Thus enabling the verification of the earliest formation of the vocabularies used to form the naming, and its connection with other ethnic languages in the same territory.

Based on the ethnic and dialect backgrounds of the Chinese people in Sibu, this study facilitated the insight into the influences of the local Chinese dialects on the naming of the Chinese streets in Sibu, especially the names which were formed using some of the local Chinese dialects.

Methodology

This study adopts a qualitative research methodology to collect and analyse research data, where a historical comparative study is adopted to study the naming categories, the structural formation, syllables and alphabetic characteristics of the Chinese streets in Sibu. The research methods from Yin (2003, pp. 71-72), was adopted to study the toponym of Chinese streets in Sibu through the study of the following: maps, comparisons of the present and historical developments, text analysis, field work researches and statistical research.

Text analysis includes formal history, local history, series of books, notes, tablet inscription, epigraph and so on. Through field work research, data collection from non-structural interview on pioneers or historical personages, information on social and cultural phenomenon, geographical condition, historical period and statistical research collected.

Photos of the Chinese street signs, the contrasts between the alphabetic names and the actual street signs, help to determine the existence of these streets in road maps, drawn by Wong’s & Associate based on the Master Map from the Sibu Municipal Council, under the instructions of Mr Kong Sien Han and Mr. Wong Fu Toh,
the former was the Chairman of Sibu Municipal Council, Sarawak, and the latter was the engineer for this council.

This study is based on the research outcomes, data collection of conceptual framework and research methodology. Library research and the electronic resources from the websites such as CNKI (China Knowledge Resource Integrated Database) provide relevant research information to this study. Research sources from the following were much adopted from the history of Sibu (Li, 2016), the Fookchew society in Sarawak and its structure (Cao & Cheng 2016, Chen 2016), the conceptual framework of toponym and ethnology (Zhang & Yan 2013, Li 1997, Lu 1997, Shi 1985, Shi 1982), the methods for naming the Chinese streets (Yuan 2015, Su 2014, Ceng, Fang & Ye 2011, Gu 2010, Yin 2013).

This study adopts methods of text analysis to analyse structural and ethnological formation about the methods of naming the Chinese roads, streets and lanes in Sibu from the aspect of linguistic anthropology. Comparative linguistics method is used to compare the sound characteristics of the alphabetic names of Chinese streets in Sibu with the local Chinese dialects in order to verify the sources of the Chinese dialects to be used to form the alphabetic names of the Chinese streets in Sibu, Sarawak. From the naming of Chinese streets in Sibu, this study tries to discuss the Chinese naming and alphabetic names are based on the local Chinese dialects showed on the street or road sign boards which reflected the ethnological information about the historical backgrounds of Sibu and how this naming information related to the toponym of Sibu.

A comparative study is adopted to verify the sources used to form the alphabetic names of the Chinese streets in Sibu. Two informants from Sibu interviewed help to identify which local Chinese dialects are being used to form the alphabetic names of the Chinese streets, and which naming of the Chinese streets can reflect the ethnicity characteristics of the local Chinese people in Sibu. Sounds of the characters in the Chinese dialects (《汉语方音字汇》，2008) compiled by Department of Chinese Language and Literature, Peking University, China, edited by Wang Futang (王福堂)1 becomes the main reference for this comparative study with the alphabetic names of the Chinese streets in Sibu. This publication recorded the sound systems of the Fookchew, Hokkein (Amoy), Cantonese (Canton), Hakka and Toecchow dialects (in the southern part of China) and the phonetic formation of these dialects in the methods of colloquial and literary.

Analysis

Besides the common names for roads and streets, another common name is found to label lanes, called “巷” [siat\(^{\mathrm{a}}\)]). Lane means a narrow road in a city. Proper noun is placed before the common category to form a specific meaningful name for road or street. Therefore, proper noun contains a useful meaning from various sources adopted to name roads or streets.

The sources used to form the naming of Chinese streets in Sibu can be from names of personages, historical places, local scenery, natural scenes, cultural terms about ethnicity and social communities, depending on how

1 The reason for this study to refer this publication as the main reference for doing this comparative study is because the Chinese migrants from China to Sibu were from the southern part of China, the mother tongue of the China migrants derived from the same sources as the dialects noted in this publication. 北京大學中國語言文學系語言學教研室編, 王福堂修訂。2003。漢語方音字彙（第二版重排本）。北京：語文出版社。2008年 第2刷。
the local authorities or people want to name those roads or streets. There are two approaches; methods of
description and recordings were used to form the naming of Chinese streets in Sibu.

Under the description methods, there are four sub-methods namely; direction, numerical order,
natural landscapes and natural resources.

1. Direction, as in the following roads, streets, lanes in Sibu: Nan Sang Lane (南山巷) and Central Street
   (中街). “Tung” (东) is east, “Nan” (南) is south and “middle” (中) is central.

2. Numerical order is the naming of roads, streets or lanes followed by numbering in sequence. For
   example; main road Jalan Then Kung Suk (邓恭叔路), the other five lanes around the main road are
   numbered accordingly such as Lorong Then Kung Suk 1 (邓恭叔路第一巷), Lorong Then Kung Suk
   2 (邓恭叔路第二巷), Lorong Then Kung Suk 3 (邓恭叔路第三巷) and so on.

3. Natural landscapes are adopted to name the Chinese roads, streets or lanes in Sibu, for instance, “海墘
   街” or “海墘街” both streets are named as “Jalan Channel”, “海墘” is formed by the Hakka dialect,
   whereas the Chinese name “海墘” is the name derived from the Hokkein dialect. “Channel” in English
   means an area of water that connects two larger areas of water.

4. The natural resources of Sibu played an important role in the naming of these roads, streets and lanes
   like; “Jalan Seng Ling” is “森林路” in Chinese. “Sing Ling” is the alphabetic name formed by the local
   Chinese dialect, which means “Forest Road” in English. “Jalan Getah” is “橡胶路” and “Rubber Road”
   in Chinese and English respectively. “Jalan Lada” is “拉达路” in Chinese, “lada” meant “pepper”,
   which is one of the famous local agricultural products in Sibu.

During the British colonial times, these natural resources once became a source of naming Chinese streets
in Sibu.

The second main method used to name the Chinese roads, streets and lanes in Sibu is through researches
into past records. Under this naming category there are three sub-methods namely; through cultural landscapes,
records, personages, ethnicity and the social community and historical facts.

1. The cultural landscapes in Sibu, also took effect on naming some roads as in “Jalan Temple”, “庙街” in
   Chinese. With a Tai Pek Kong Temple (大伯公庙) and a Kwan Yin Pagoda (观音塔) located around
   this road. there is sufficient evidence that cultural landscape affect the namings of some streets in Sibu.

2. Historical personages being the second sub-method had contributed a great deal to the development
   of Sibu, just like the Chinese migrants Wong Nai Siong (黄乃裳) and Then Kung Suk (邓恭叔). They
   were some of the pioneers in the reclamation of wasteland in Sibu. In recognition of their contributions,
   their Chinese alphabetic names were used to form Chinese roads, streets and lanes in Sibu.

Naming of Chinese streets in Sibu also included the Chinese ethnicity source, as in Jalan Hua Khiew which
is called “华侨路” in Chinese. The Chinese name “华侨” meant, “Chinese residing abroad”. It indicated
that migrants from China settled and establish their new homes in Sibu, thus acknowledging themselves as “Hua
Khiew”. The Chinese naming of this road contained a historical fact about the Chinese migrants who had
settled down in Sibu in the 20th century. Jalan Tiong Hua called as “中华路” in Chinese and “Tiong Hua” in
Chinese can be understood as "China". Jalan Foochow "福州路", Jalan Kwong Tung "广东街" and Jalan Amoy "厦门路" are some of the roads, street in Sibu, named after some of the different Chinese settlements from Foochow, Hokkien and Kwong Tung provinces.

In Jalan Huo Ping, “和平路” in Chinese, the Chinese vocabulary "和平" meant 'peace'. Jalan Hock Ann as “福安路” in Chinese, where the Chinese vocabulary “福安”, meant ‘good fortune and safety’. The above showed the Chinese migrants’ desire to live in peace and prosperity.

3. Historical facts as recorded showed in the third sub-method for naming the Chinese roads as in Jalan Kai Ping “开平路” The Chinese vocabulary “开平” meant reclaiming and levelling the wasteland related to the history of reclamation of Sibu.

The structural formation of the naming of Chinese streets in Sibu is proper noun plus category name. The proper nouns placed in front of the roads or streets or lanes carried information about locations, reflected the first impression and recognition of the local people on roads or streets or lanes (Li, 1997, p.31).

The naming of Chinese roads, streets and lanes in Sibu contained different number of syllables. Minimum syllables used to form the specific names of the Chinese roads or streets is two morphemes and the maximum is 7 morphemes. The specific names placed in front of the category names (road, street and lane) normally were formed by two syllables, this structural formation included the naming based on almost all the methods of description and recording except in the naming methods for lanes un numerical order and historical personages. These two categories of Chinese naming were formed by more Chinese syllables than other road or street naming categories.

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Normally the three syllables structural formation which included [specific name + category name] was adopted for most when naming the specific names of the roads, streets and lanes.

There are 42 Chinese roads and streets in Sibu with alphabetic names formed by the local Chinese dialects. The Foochow and Hokkein dialects are the two more popular Chinese dialects adopted compared to the Cantonese, Hakka and Teowchow dialects. Jalan Sie Po Khieang (施培坚) was formed by the Foochow dialect, and Jalan Tiong Hua (中华路) was formed by the Hokkein dialect. Through comparative study and linguistics evidences on the alphabetic names of the Chinese roads, streets and lanes in Sibu, the local Chinese people used the local Chinese dialects or a mixture of two Chinese dialects to form the alphabetic names of the Chinese roads, streets and lanes in Sibu, such as the alphabetic names of Jalan Wong Nai Siong (黄乃裳) and Jalan Ding Lik Kong (陈立广) which were formed by the Foochow and Hokkein dialects.

This study also discovered that most of the alphabetic names of the Chinese streets in Sibu did not differ in literary and colloquial pronunciations. However, some of the surnames or last names of the Chinese historical
personages used to form the alphabetic names of the Chinese streets in Sibu were from the colloquial or literary pronunciation of the local Chinese dialects. For instance, the middle name of Jalan Wong Ting Hock was formed by the literary pronunciation of Foochow dialect; the surname of Jalan Teo Chung Loh was formed by the colloquial pronunciation of Hokkein dialect.

Conclusion

The sources used to form the naming of Chinese roads or streets or lanes in Sibu were all from the descriptive and recording methods. The main characteristics of the Chinese streets in Sibu from the aspect of toponym is its Chinese naming showing the features of historical personages and the ethnicity of the local Foochow people in Sibu. Different Chinese dialect is used to form the alphabetic names of the Chinese streets in Sibu, but the Foochow and Hokkein dialects are the two most popular local Chinese dialects used to form the alphabetic names of Chinese streets in Sibu. The alphabetic names of some Chinese streets in Sibu are formed by more than one Chinese dialects, often with a mixture of both the Foochow and Hokkien dialects. Natural resources such as rubber, pepper, gambir and timber, being the main resources of Sibu at that time, were also used in the naming of Chinese streets in Sibu. Chinese names displayed on the street signboards indicated the invaluable contributions of the Chinese community in Sibu to the local community and government.

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Ethnographical Language Work
Pagdihon: The Art and Language of Pottery Making in Bari, Sibalom, Antique

Edbert Jay M. Cabrillo³
³University of Antique, The Philippines
Rowena S. Cabrillo⁴
⁴University of Antique, The Philippines

Abstract

Pottery is seen as creation of ornamentals, cooking and storing materials. Yet, while economic gains are often considered from producing these materials, the artistic and linguistic aspects have been ignored.

This study discusses the factors influencing the culture of pottery, the processes of pottery making, and seeks to uncover the language used in processes of pottery making in Bari, Sibalom, Antique. A qualitative research employing ethnographic study with participant observation and face to face interviews using photo documentation, video recording and open-ended questions in gathering the data was employed. There were five manugdihon, or potters, purposively selected as key informants of the study.

The study revealed that environmental factors influenced the culture of pottery making in the barangay. There were seven main processes in pottery making. These included gathering and preparing of materials, mixing the needed materials, cleaning the mixed clay, forming of desired shape, detaching, drying, and polishing and varnishing. Further findings indicate that, together the other processes, the language used in pottery making was archaic Kinaray-a, the language of the province. This language pattern suggests a specialized pottery making. Ultimately, the study suggest that the manugdihon should continue their artistic talents so that the language may be preserved. The educational institutions of the province may provide ways to include pottery making in the curriculum so that the art and language of pottery making will be preserved and promoted.

Keywords: Art, Kinaray-a language, ethnographic study, manugdihon, pottery

Introduction

Pottery making has existed since time immemorial. People from different cultures have considered pottery as a tool for existence, as one of the great contributions of early civilizations to today’s generation (Rice 2015). Tite (2008) believes that the history of ceramics began with the production of earthenware vessels at around 10,000 BC in Japan and around 6,000 BC in the Near East. In the Philippines, pottery production is evident during the Neolithic Period about 2,000-1,800BC (Carson et. al. 2013). Pottery production in the Philippines shows unique ethnolinguistic group properties, processes or techniques to assemble and produce the pottery. The modeling by ethnolinguistic groups in the respective regions reflects their identity (Geronimo 2018). The invention and development of pottery is thus a reflection of social, economic and environmental conditions. Brown (1989) notes that there has been demand of pottery as it varies in response to social, economic and
environmental change that has resulted in ceramic production, in the form of earthenware, stoneware and porcelain. Earthenware is the oldest and easiest type of pottery. Stoneware is the denser type of pottery that is fired a higher temperature. Porcelain is the finest and most valuable variant, finer than stoneware.

Pottery making requires critical thinking, decision making and problem solving. Artistic knowledge which can assist to create a quality design is needed. Focus and coordination in pottery making are important, requiring stamina and strength to prepare and mix the clay and sand, as well as strong hands for shaping (Tucker 2010). A potter may be considered knowledgeable and skillful as he/she must have good speaking skills. Since pottery making is a cultural practice, it passes from generation to generation, together with its language and registers, along with the practices embedded in the language and craft.

The province Antique, in The Philippines, is renowned for its pottery making. The Pagdihon is a Kinaray term for the artistic process of pottery making native to Barangay Bari in the Municipality of Sibalom. Likewise, it is observed that linguistic ingenuity exists along with the practices of the locals as they make pottery. This creative craft is conducted by a practitioner called manugdhon or a potter, yet younger generations have no interest in such ingenious creation. Economic gains are often considered when producing these materials, yet the artistic and linguistic significances have been ignored. Most studies have mainly focused on archeological aspects, and have not uncovered the language used in the process. From this, the researchers of this study believe that an improvement in understanding the process in pottery making and language used by the potters or manugdhons is necessary. This will result in the appreciation and preservation of language associated with the pottery practices.

The present study has three main purpose: (a) To discuss factors that influence the culture of pottery making in Barangay Bari; (b) to describe the process in pottery making; and (c) to uncover the language used by potters in the processes of pottery making.

Methodology

The researchers used qualitative research, employing ethnographic work with participant observation and face to face interviews. Photo documentation, video recording and open-ended questions in gathering the data was employed. Books, articles and journals were drawn on in gathering data. Creswell (2013) notes that ethnographic approaches aims to describe and interpret the shared and learned patterns of values, behaviors, beliefs and language of the group. These commonly should duration for long periods (e.g. 6 months or a year).

The study was conducted in mid to late 2018 in Bari, located in the north-eastern municipality of Sibalom, Antique province. The location of the barangay is near to the riverbanks of Sibalom River. Barangay Bari, as the only place in the municipality where pottery making is present. The key informants of this study were 5 manugdhon or potters. Manugdhons interviewed were two adults (40-50 years old) and three aged people (70-80 years old). The key informants in this study were purposively selected. In order to explore the processes in pottery making and the language used by the manugdhons in Barangay Bari, Sibalom, the researchers conducted the study in several stages and considered different techniques for data collection.

Permission from the authorities was secured prior to the conduct of the study such as Barangay Captain of Bari. A letter of permission was sent to the Barangay Captain. As soon as permission had been obtained, the researchers identified the key informants where the data would be gathered. In the same manner, the researchers requested assistance from the Barangay Captain to become acquainted with and to request permission from the selected key informants. A preliminary observation and interview using video was conducted along approval.
The purpose and significance of the study was also discussed with the informants, after which, the main study began.

The researchers conducted in-depth interviews on factors that influence the culture of pottery. A video recorder was used to document and capture the interviews. Researchers also documented, participated in and interviewed on the practices of pottery making from gathering of materials to polishing process. In this stage, the researchers documented the step-by-step process of pottery making. Language used by the potters along the processes of pottery making was correspondingly documented, and was uncovered so as to provide context on the discourse used in the processes. Emic and etic viewpoints were similarly considered.

After the interviews and observations, other documents such as books, articles and journals linked to the study were examined for confirmation and to support findings. The final stage was the member check. Prior to developing written documentation, the researchers returned to the field to clarify and verify results so as to ensure validity in the findings. The data was analyzed using Wa-Mbaleka’s model (2018) of qualitative data analysis, through transcription, documentation, data gathering from other sources and coding. Ultimately, conceptual ordering of indigenous typologies was conducted.

Results and Discussion

Factors that Influence the Culture of Pottery Making in Barangay Bari

The results revealed that pottery making culture is generally influenced by environmental factors such as the availability of clay and sand, where hays and bamboos were also found to be essential in pottery making. Socio-cultural factors in pottery making were learned from the elderly, as the development of household traditions was found to result from what the potters have created given their natural environments. Pottery making has evolved through shared knowledge from forefathers. Elders show their artistic and creative skills while their young observe the activity. When one family member is considered a potter, the other members may be inclined in the same manner. It is evident that some of the tools used in pottery making have been inherited from their forefathers such as the bulalao, which is used during the pre-polishing stage, and which has existed since before the World War II.

The findings indicate that environmental elements provide great significance in the development of pottery tradition. Household traditions are also found to be significant for the potters themselves. These technologies comprise indigenous items such as pots, vessels and the like. This supports the hypothesis that household traditions have resulted in the introduction of pottery culture. The development of household materials has led to the development of indigenous tools and knowledge. Economic conditions of the village suggest that in the long run, pottery making has become the livelihood of the potters in a continuing demand for pottery. The barangay is the main producer of pots in the municipality of Sibalom. From this, locals produce and generate income that assists the locals to fund their daily needs. Although they have most resources, some materials require additional capital. Here, economic factors became integral in pottery making as pottery making has increasingly become a source of income for potters.

Processes in Pottery Making of the Manugdihons (Potters)
There were seven main processes in pottery making found by the researchers. These processes were: gathering and preparing the materials, mixing the needed materials, cleaning the mixed clay, forming the desired shape, detaching, drying and polishing/varnishing.

The first process was the gathering and preparing of materials. The gathering of clay or laó and sand as primary materials is called pagdakot. The pusog or matured bamboo tree is necessarily used as balay or a house where the dried pottery is placed during the firing and cooking process. The ubit or rice straws can be found anywhere in the rice field of the barangay. This material is important in the firing stage in order to cook the pottery. To cover the outputs, they address ubit as tarāmbun. The gahitan or wheel used in forming desired shape is made of round-shaped wood approximately two and a half inches thick. The garahit or presser is used during the formation of a desired shape. It is made of piece of cloth called the lapát that holds the mixed clay over the center of the gahitan. The desired shape must be removed from the gahitan using the baralaghit. This is made of nylon and is approximately half a meter in length, and is used to pull and separate the molded or formed pot in the wheel. The pirik-pik or paddle is used by potters to further mold the desired shape accompanied by tula or a semi-smooth stone that is used to hold inside the desired shape for toughening. The pirik-pik is made of wood and is approximately eight to ten inches long. The bulalo or stone is used during the pre-polishing of a pot after it has been dried and wiped by red clay, and is composed of a smooth type of stone that is utilized to brush the surface of the dried pot for pre-polishing.

The second step is the mixing of needed materials. In this stage, the clay is soaked for one night so as to lighten the clay. After soaking, the clay is ready for mixing, a process called paghalo. This is to combine the clay and sand to produce a good texture that determines the durability of the pottery. The mixing stage includes two main processes, namely the pouring of water called pagbasá and crushing called paglinas. The thickness of the mixed clay and sand might not be enough to ensure that it will not create cracks in the finished product. From this, the potters add water in mixing the clay and sand called pagbasá, to soften the materials and to avoid cracks. Clay and sand may be in mounds needed to be crushed so that wet clay and sand are mixed well. The potters practice crushing paglinas and mix these well using their feet. This can be painful as it is conducted barefoot, where the potters have to exert force so as to ensure the refinement of the clay.

The third process is the cleaning of mixed clay. In this stage, the potters clean the mixed clay properly called paglimpyo. They remove pebbles, small stones and roots from grass that have been mixed with the clay. Cleaning of mixed clay is very important and extra time is allotted to avoid uneven results that might produce cracks in the finish product.

The fourth process is the forming of the desired shape. In this stage, the potters form a desired shape called a pagdhibon. This is the formation of different shapes, and in particular the pot and other earthenware. These practices include pagkandol or making of a cylinder-shape, creating the rim and pirik-pik or toughening. A cylinder-shape is placed into the center of a gahitan, an improvised wooden wheel, in the middle of which the potters create a hole. This is considered to be the first lay-out of the pot. Following this, the potters wet the garahit and hold the clay, and turn the gahitan while the pot is gradually formed. The output is dried for approximately ten minutes. Then the pirik-pik or toughening of the clay is now complete. The manugdihon uses the pirik-pik or a wooden paddle while turning the gahitan so as to further mold the clay into the desired shape. A tula or a semi-smooth stone is used to compress the output while the pirik-pik is completed.

The fifth process is the detaching of desired shape. The process of detaching is called pagbalaghit. The mananighon removes the desired shape from the gahitan using a baralaghit or a remover made of nylon. In this stage, a desired shape can be formed which may vary in shape. The following are commonly desired shapes of
the manugdihons; the kuron or cooking pot, the bangao or jar (for storage), the pasó or pot for plants, the alkansiya or coin banks, the kalán and uringan or stove, and the turuk-an or plates for chickens (especially for roosters).

The sixth process is the drying. The first stage in drying is called pagbulad, where the freshly molded earth is air-dried and kept under the kamalig or nipa hut, which also serves as their working area. The potters believe that air-drying gives more durable output than sun-drying. The paghapas or wiping is a pre-varnishing stage using a haraplas or wiper made of brush. The red clay is given a small amount of water to avoid cracks when wiping the surface of the desired shape. The process of pre-polishing is called pagbulalo. The potters use a bulalo or a smooth stone and brushes on the desired shape until it becomes shiny. Then, more air-drying takes two to four hours. Air-drying is applied as the output is thin and very fragile, and is easily cracked when exposed to high temperature. The last stage of drying is called panagba or firing, when the desired shape is heated and cooked. Cooking of the desire shape takes about two hours, and is crucial for durability. This makes the output last longer. In this stage, the potters arrange the pusog to form a balay or house whereabove which the outputs are placed. Th uhot or rice straws (hays) are placed over the balay with the pots and earthenware on top. In this stage, they call the uhot ‘tarambun.’ The firing begins when the balay is nearly covered fully by the uhot. During the panagba, some remaining dried rice straws are gradually placed over the fired balay until the desired amount is placed to cook the outputs. As fire stops as all rice straws have been burnt, the manugdihons would consider the outputs already cooked, where the ashes of burnt rice straws turn grey. Further, the manugdihons check one sample to verify that the outputs are totally cooked. The manugdihons leave this until completely cooked. These considerations ensure durability.

Lastly, the seventh process are the polishing and varnishing practices are performed in order to apply finishing touches. The potters use a scraper to remove dirt such as ashes and gummed soil around the output. This is also the part for ensuring the creation of a perfect shape and smooth texture. The outputs, especially the kalán, are encircled by a tire wire called alambre, that serves as a rim. The outputs now are ready to be varnished with the use of glossy paint or shellac and dried it.

![Figure 1. The Process of Pottery Making in Barangay Bari](image)

*Language Used by the Manugdihons in Pottery Making*
Most of the terminology used by potters was archaic Kinaray-a. The language in pottery making was largely found in the materials and processes of pottery making. The terms lao, bun-bun, pusog, tarambun, gabitan, bulalo, pirik-pik, garahit, barulaghita and tulya were identified as concepts found in materials of pottery making. Linguistic elements were also found in the processes of pottery making. The terms pagdakot, paghalo, paglinas, paglimpyo, pagdihon, pagpik-pik, pagkandol, pagbulad, paghaplas, pagbulalo, panagba, and pagtulya were identified as concepts in this process.

The findings indicate that the language used is embedded in the materials and processes, traditionally inherited from their forefathers, and thus formed through cultural transmission for generation. Cultural transmission constitutes such a mechanism: Languages are transmitted by iterated learning, as cultural transmission, whereby learners acquire a behavior by observing similar behaviors in others who acquired those behaviors in the same way (Kirby et al. 2008). The elders (forefathers) have developed a certain language that has emerged from their activity, and in this case, pottery making. This has greatly impacted on new generations of potters. Also, the development of traditional knowledge systems (TKS) of pottery making has been evident in their language. This suggests that language used in pottery making has been the result of the culture of potters. According to Nabi (2015), language always carries meanings and references beyond itself. The meanings of a particular language represent the culture of a particular social group. To interact with a language means to do so with the culture as its reference point. Fatihah Guessabi (2017) points out that culture is a language in itself. Language always carries meanings and references beyond itself. The implication of a particular language characterizes the values and principles, traditions and practices of a particular social group. In this sense, the manugdihons have promoted their knowledge and skills as their practices. “To interrelate with a language means to do so with the culture which is its reference point” (Guessabi 2017). Johnson (2014) claims that for both culture and language concepts are better understood as activities or processes, not as things – they are something that humans do or something that happens rather than something that exists or something that humans possess.

Ethnolinguistic terminologies in this context were found to be archaic Kinaray-a language. The Kinaray-a language is mainly used in Antique, in parts of Capiz and Iloilo in Panay Island. Some locals from these places have moved to parts of Mindanao where the language is also used. However, in archaic Kinaray-a, terms are literally different in the modern and conventional language used by the Karay-a or Antiqueño people (the people of Antique province). The emergence of archaic forms of Kinaray-a language as a specialized variety of language used by manugdihons has been found. Some terminologies have been influenced by the intervention of colonialism such as with the Spanish language. It is evident that the Filipino language is marked by diverse linguistic patterns due to the Spanish administration for 333 years. The identity of the locals as potters has been thus marked, as they perform pagdihon or pottery making. The language of pottery making has become the identity of these potters, where that language is influential as it has the capacity to distinguish an identity of a group or organization of people in the community or society at large.

The language used by the potters is a specialized jargon. Nordquist (2019) suggests that jargon refers to the particular language in a society. It may be a professional and working or job-related group. He considers that the language used by this group of people is useful and usually meaningless to non-native or strangers. The potters use specific words in a particular process or material in pottery making. Only the locals can understand the terms used in the process of making pottery. These specialized terms are used to convey hidden meanings accepted and understood in the field. From this, specific terms are developed to meet the needs of the group of people working within the same field or occupation.
Conclusion

In conclusion, pottery making is dependent on the natural environment of the potters. The availability of primary materials which are found in the area has paved the way for developing pottery making in Barangay Bari. Sociocultural factors are found to be the outcome of the environmental factors, where the forefathers of the potters have started pottery making in alignment with their natural environment. As a result, economic factors also influenced the pottery making, to sustain the community’s livelihood.

The culture of pottery making and language used by potters have developed through cultural transmission. Cultural transmission has shaped language as the human capacity for language has also evolved. Pottery making reflects the traditional knowledge of the potters, who have developed pottery making in their own capacity based on the knowledge from their forefathers.

The potters believe that their language is a diverse from among mainstream language. The terms are unique and unusual to mainstream language. Here, ethnolinguistic terminology is an archaism for Kinaray-a jargon. Language is embedded in the culture, where the language specifies and indicates a specific group of people forming the identity.

Finally, it is recommended that the government should revisit Barangay Bari and provide appropriate assistance for the sustainable livelihood of the manugdihos, so that the culture of pottery making is maintained. Educational institutions may collaborate with government agencies (i.e. DOST and DTI) to provide assistance in terms of extension projects for the locals and ways to include pottery making in curriculum so that the art and language of pottery making will be preserved and promoted. It is recommended that the manugdihon should continue their artistic talents so that their cultural heritage will be preserved and promoted.

References

Case Marking of Rava in Comparison with Bangla

Shuvam Dutta*

*Jadavpur University, India

Abstract

Rava, also known as Kochakrew, is a Tibeto-Burmese language mainly spoken at the New Alipurduar and Jalpaiguri districts, West Bengal, India. Bangla/Bengali is an Indo-Aryan Language spoken primarily in India and Bangladesh. Here, language mixing occurs, and within which case becomes a salient phenomenon. Case marking is traditionally referred as “a system of marking dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their heads” (Blake 1994).

The present paper aims to investigate how case is formed in both Rava and Bangla. It mainly undertakes a study of case as a nominal inflectional category in Rava and Bangla and accounts for the morphological and syntactic features of case and case marking with special emphasis on their semantic significance.

Keywords Case marking, case, animate, Bangla, Rava

Introduction

Rava is one of the speech communities in the West Bengal state of India. Rava, also known as Kochakrew is a Tibeto-Burmese language primarily spoken at New Alipurduar and Jalpaiguri district of West Bengal. Outside West Bengal, the language is spoken in Assam and Meghalaya. But the Rava language, which is spoken in West Bengal, is significantly different from the language spoken in the Assam or Meghalaya. However, for the present study, I have concern on Rava as spoken in the New Alipurduar district, West Bengal.

Bangla is the official language of West Bengal. The Bangla language is an eastern branch of the Indo-Aryan family of languages and a descendent of Magadhi Prakrit. In West Bengal, the Rava community is surrounded by the Bangla language speakers. Along with other similarities, they share same case features, though they are realized differently through affixation and postpositions.

Rava and Bangla both are convenient languages to use in order to illustrate case because they both are agglutinative languages, i.e. one in which there are affixes that are easily separable from the stem. With nouns, the stem, the number marking and the case marking, are all separable (except for some cases of phonological assimilation).

Objective

The present paper aims to investigate how case is formed in both Rava and Bangla. It mainly undertakes a study of case as a nominal inflectional category in Rava and Bangla and accounts for the morphological and syntactic features of case and case marking with special emphasis on their semantic significance.
Methodology

We have pursued interviews for the present study. We collected data through direct communication with speakers through these interviews. The present work is based on the data collected in field trips in Madarihat, in the New Alipurduar district. Primary data of Rava varieties has been collected through sentence lists related to case construction.

Case

Cases are traditionally described as ‘a system of marking dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their heads’ (Blake 1994). Case is an inflectional category. Typically Case marks the relationship of a noun to a verb at the clausal level or of a noun to a preposition, post position or another noun at the phrase level. We need to make a distinction between cases and the case markers or case form through which case are realized. A case marker is an affix where a case form is a complete word. In both Rava and Bangla, case affixes can be separated from the stem, so it is possible to discuss case markers for these languages. From my analysis seven cases are realized in both Rava and Bangla.

i. Nominative
ii. Accusative
iii. Dative
iv. Genitive
v. Ablative
vi. Instrumental
vii. Locative

Nominative Case

The Nominative encodes the subject and the nouns that stand in a predicative relation to the Subject. The noun ‘that is doing something’ is said to be in the nominative case.

Rava

The subject of the finite verb receives φ marker in Rava.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>01. rad'a-wa-φ</th>
<th>gubu-ẹi-t-a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>radha-CLF-NOM</td>
<td>sleep-PROG-PRS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Radha is sleeping’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>02. mia-ra-φ</th>
<th>b3l-φ</th>
<th>gebi-t-a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>boy-PI-NOM</td>
<td>football-ACC</td>
<td>play-PRS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Boys play football’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bangla

In Bangla, the nominative case also receives the φ marker. However the noun in the Nominative case may be an actor or agent of the verb.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>03. rad'a-φ</th>
<th>ẹg'umo-æ će-φ-e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>radha-NOM</td>
<td>sleep-PROG-PRS-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Radha is sleeping’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
04. c'ele-ra|̠| firb:|̠| |̠| k'el-|̠|e
boy-PL-NOM   football-ACC   play-PRS-3
'Boys play football.'

**Accusative Case**

The Accusative case defines the direct object and the nouns that stand in a predicative relation to the object. Accusative case markers work in a similar way in both languages. Consider the following examples:

**Rava**

| 05.  | raja-|̠| |̠| bocotei-|̠| sa |
|------|------|------|------|
| raja-NOM | mango-ACC | eat.PRS |
| 'Raja eats mango.' |

| 06.  | rad'aa-|̠| umar-wo | m'ok-a |
|------|--------|--------|-------|
| radha-NOM | he-ACC | love-PRS |
| 'Radha loves him' |

**Bangla**

| 07.  | raja-|̠| |̠| am-|̠| k'aa-i |
|------|------|------|------|
| raja-NOM | mango-ACC | eat-PRS-3 |
| 'Raja eats mangoes' |

| 08.  | rad'aa-|̠| tra-ke | b'alobas-|̠|e |
|------|--------|--------|--------|
| radha-NOM | he-ACC | love-PRS-3 |
| 'Radha loves him.' |

In examples of both the languages it can be seen that when the object is inanimate, then the case marker is dropped. But when the object is animate, the accusative marker is -ke in Bangla and -wo in Rava.

See some other examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>09.</th>
<th>sa-wo</th>
<th>ama-i</th>
<th>la</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>child-ACC</td>
<td>lap-LOC</td>
<td>carry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Carry the child on your lap.'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 10.  | leka-|̠| tra- | tibil-ni | pira-i | taŋ | Rava |
|------|------|------|--------|-------|------|-----|
| book-CLF-ACC | table-GEN | on-LOC | keep |
| 'Keep the book on the table.' |

| 11.  | leka-|̠| tra- | tibil-ni | pira-i | taŋ | Rava |
|------|------|------|--------|-------|------|-----|
| book-CLF-ACC | table-GEN | on-LOC | keep |
| 'Keep the book on the table.' |

| 12.  | bacca-|a-ke | kol-e | nao |
|------|-------|------|-----|
| child-CLF-ACC | lap-LOC | carry |
| 'Carry the child on your lap.' |

| 13.  | boi-|̠| tra- | tebil-er | opor-e | rakho | Bangla |
|------|------|------|--------|-------|-------|-------|
| book-CLF-ACC | table-GEN | on-LOC | keep |
| 'Keep the book on the table.' |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>14.</th>
<th>boi-</th>
<th>a-ke</th>
<th>tebil-er</th>
<th>opor-e</th>
<th>rakho</th>
<th>Bangla</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>book-CLF-ACC</td>
<td>table-GEN</td>
<td>on-LOC</td>
<td>keep</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Keep the book on the table.'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Here, example 11 is ungrammatical in Rava. In Rava, the animate and inanimate object can not take both classifier and accusative marker form at the same time, whereas in Bangla, an animate object can take accusative case marking after taking classifier.

**Dative Case**

The main function of dative is to mark the indirect object. The basic role for dative case is to distinguish the recipient of something given, transferred etc.

**Rava**

In Rava, the Dative case marker is –na:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>15.</th>
<th>raja-ɸ</th>
<th>uni</th>
<th>j’ok-na</th>
<th>go-sa</th>
<th>par-ɸ</th>
<th>laotana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>raja-NOM</td>
<td>his</td>
<td>wife-DAT</td>
<td>one-CLF</td>
<td>flower-ACC</td>
<td>give.PST</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Raja gave a flower to his wife.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>bikram-ɸ</td>
<td>lbra-na</td>
<td>leka-ɸ</td>
<td>laoa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bikram-NOM</td>
<td>lata-DAT</td>
<td>book-ACC</td>
<td>laoa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Bikram gives the book to Lata.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Bangla**

The Dative case marker in Bangla is –ke, similar to the Accusative case:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>17.</th>
<th>raja-ɸ</th>
<th>tar</th>
<th>bou-ke</th>
<th>ek-ţa</th>
<th>p/ul-ɸ</th>
<th>di-il-o</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>raja-NOM</td>
<td>his</td>
<td>wife-DAT</td>
<td>one-CLF</td>
<td>flower-ACC</td>
<td>give-PST-3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Raja gave a flower to his wife.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>bikram-ɸ</td>
<td>lbra-ke</td>
<td>boi-ɸ</td>
<td>de-ɸ-y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bikram-NOM</td>
<td>lata-DAT</td>
<td>book-ACC</td>
<td>give-PRS-3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Bikram gives the book to Lata.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Genitive**

The Genitive case is primarily used to denote noun phrases as dependents of a noun, i.e. it is primarily an adnominal case. Among its adnominal function is the encoding of possessor.

**Rava**

In Rava, the Genitive case is marked by –ni:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>19.</th>
<th>nakak-ni</th>
<th>tale’obi-ɸ</th>
<th>d’ob’i</th>
<th>saiou</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>door-GEN</td>
<td>latch-NOM</td>
<td>broken</td>
<td>AUX.PFV.PRS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The latch of the door is broken.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>leka-wo</td>
<td>tibil-ni</td>
<td>pira-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>book-ACC</td>
<td>table-GEN</td>
<td>on-LOC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The Book is on the table.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Bangla**

The Genitive case marker in Bangla is –r and occurs after a word ending with a vowel. It has an alternate –er that occurs if the word ends with a consonant. Consider the following examples:
Ablative

The basic role of the Ablative case is to indicate movement away from some location. The Ablative case is the case of separation from the source in performing the action carried by the verb.

Rava

In Rava, the Ablative is marked with the post position ‘pʰriŋ’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>23.</th>
<th>umar</th>
<th>kolkata</th>
<th>pʰriŋ</th>
<th>feinaya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>he.NOM</td>
<td>kolkata</td>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>come.FUT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘He will come from Kolkata.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>24.</th>
<th>pʰangai</th>
<th>pʰriŋ</th>
<th>čak</th>
<th>sorokeita</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tree</td>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>leaf</td>
<td>fall.PROG.PRS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Leaves are falling down from the tree.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bangla

In Bangla the Ablative case is realized with the postposition ‘tʰeke’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>25.</th>
<th>se</th>
<th>kolkata</th>
<th>tʰeke</th>
<th>asbe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>kolkata</td>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>come.FUT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘He will come from Kolkata.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>26.</th>
<th>gacʰ</th>
<th>tʰeke</th>
<th>pata</th>
<th>pʰrche</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tree</td>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>leaf</td>
<td>fall.PROG.PRS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Leaves are falling down from the tree.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Instrumental Case

The Instrumental case denotes the noun as the means of accomplishment of the action expressed by the clause.

Rava

In Rava, the Instrumental case is marked by the only suffix –mʰon.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>27.</th>
<th>caku-mʰon</th>
<th>čekʰon</th>
<th>matana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>knife-INS</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>cut.PFV.PRS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Hand got cut by the knife.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>28.</th>
<th>pisiɾiŋ-mʰon</th>
<th>halai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>broom-INS</td>
<td>sweep.PRS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Get it swept by the broom.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>29.</th>
<th>brahmanlai-mʰon</th>
<th>pujo</th>
<th>law</th>
<th>nigina</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>brahmin-INS</td>
<td>puja</td>
<td>do.INF</td>
<td>AUX,FUT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Puja is to be done by the Brahmin.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here we can see that there is no differentiation between animate and inanimate.
**Bangla**

In Bangla –e /-te and postpositions such as ‘dʰara,’ ‘diye,’ added after the genitive marker –r, act as instrumental markers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>30.</th>
<th>cʰuri-te</th>
<th>hat</th>
<th>keṭ-ec³-ᵽ-e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>knife-INS</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>cut-PFV-PRS-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Hand got cut by the knife.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>yʰaru</td>
<td>diye</td>
<td>jhaṭ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>broom</td>
<td>INS</td>
<td>sweep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Get it swept by the broom.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>brahman-ke</td>
<td>diye</td>
<td>puṭo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>brahmin-ACC</td>
<td>INS</td>
<td>puja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Puja is to be done by the Brahmin.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the object is inanimate, the postposition ‘diye’ is used. But when the object is animate then accusative marking –ke is used before ‘diye.’

**Locative Case**

The locative case generally expresses the location with both spatial and temporal references. This case indicates the location of the event or action identified by the verb. Consider the following examples:

**Rava**

The marker for locative case in Rava is –i:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>33.</th>
<th>muṭu-ᵽ</th>
<th>mata-i</th>
<th>ḫar-cak-ᵽ</th>
<th>saita</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cow-NOM</td>
<td>field-LOC</td>
<td>grass-ACC</td>
<td>eat.PROG,PRS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘The cow is eating grass in the field.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>ini</td>
<td>anao-ᵽ-wa</td>
<td>iskula-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i GEN</td>
<td>sister-NOM</td>
<td>school-LOC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘My sister is in school.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Bangla**

The locative case markers in Bangla are –e/-te:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>35.</th>
<th>goru-ta-ᵽ</th>
<th>matג-e</th>
<th>gʰas-ᵽ</th>
<th>keṭ-ec³-ᵽ-e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cow-CLF-NOM</td>
<td>field-LOC</td>
<td>grassACC</td>
<td>eat-PROG-PRS-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘The cow is eating grass in the field.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>amar</td>
<td>bon-ᵽ</td>
<td>iskul-e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i GEN</td>
<td>sister-NOM</td>
<td>school-LOC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘My sister is in school.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Findings**

a. The case markers are summarized below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CASE</th>
<th>CASE MARKER (Rava)</th>
<th>CASE MARKER (Bangla)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>φ</td>
<td>φ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>φ⁻wo</td>
<td>φ⁻ke</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b. Case inflection is postpositional in the two languages.
c. The Nominative case is unmarked in these two languages.
d. Both languages drop their accusative case marking when the object is inanimate.
e. Features of differentiation of the animate and inanimate object through case marking is highly noticeable for the Accusative case.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Marking</th>
<th>Bangla</th>
<th>Rava</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Animate</td>
<td>Inanimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>-ke</td>
<td>( \phi )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Classifier+ke</td>
<td>Classifier+ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>-ke + diye</td>
<td>diye</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

f. The Dative case inflection is similar to accusative case inflection in Bangla. However, it is not similar in Rava.
g. In Bangla, different cases are denoted by the same case marker, whereas in Rava, different cases are marked by different case markers.

Conclusion

Case or case-marking is a Morphosyntactic device that is used to indicate who is doing what to whom. Rava and Bangla exhibit such an inflecting nature. This paper is an effort to analyze an aspect of Rava and Bangla case system. We have worked on morphological and syntactic aspects, but we need to conduct more analysis, and as such, to determine several other features with which to illustrate the diversity of different cases in these languages.

References

Compliment Strategies Employed by Japanese and Malaysian Tour Guides during Tour Sessions

Roswati Abdul Rashid
Universiti Malaysia Terengganu, Malaysia

Roslina Mamat
Universiti Putra Malaysia, Malaysia

Rokiah Pace
Universiti Malaysia Sarawak, Malaysia

Abstract

This research is a comparative study of Japanese language communication between the Japanese and Malay tourist guides during tourism tour sessions. The research goal is to examine patterns of compliment strategies implemented throughout the interactions of the tour sessions. The study results acquired are in the form of four recordings of a dialogue between the tourist guides and the tourists, in audio and video modes. The conversations are transcribed and coded. The tour guides included two Japanese native speakers and two Malaysian-Japanese speakers. In contrast, the tourists are Japanese native speakers who visited Malaysia, and Malaysians who attended the tourist attractions in Japan.

The study reveals that the frequency of compliments applied by both Japanese and Malaysian tour guides are alike, or in other words, there are no significant differences. Nevertheless, category, function and topic or theme of compliment utterance present substantial distinction.

Keywords: Humour, compliment, tourist guide, Japanese language, comparative study.

Introduction

One of the characters acquired by Japanese tourists (JT) is that they have high expectations and are demanding towards a service to which they have subscribed, in comparison to other international tourists (Reisinger and Turner 1999). They assume that the value or quality obtained must be equal to their own services in Japan towards foreign tourists. Among the services they subscribed to is the employment of tour guides (TGs) as communication facilitators with the host country community, in order to obtain information on the tourist destinations that they would like to visit. Hence, by acquiring genuine Japanese communication skills, TGs perform a vital role in delivering tourism objectives for the JT. One of the communication skills that will be examined in this analysis is the compliment strategy that was identified as an essential strategy for facilitating interaction between two parties – tourists and TG during Tour Trip Session (TTS). This comparative study is anticipated to become the foundation for TGs enhancement in Japanese speaking skills, which will immediately influence the expectations of JT and can be a part of a literature review of the speech act of compliments studies.
Compliments

The compliment is one of the most well-known speech acts that can be used to assist in communication. This is defined as speech, utterance or phrase that refers to something positive and is enjoyed by the speaker and the recipient (Jassim Nasser Al-Azzawi 1995), while Holmes (1986) defined the compliment as an illustration of admiration, respect or appreciation that is explicitly or implicit articulated. Most compliments refer to one’s appearance, abilities/skills, performance, ownership, personality and so forth. The purpose of praise is to produce unity in personal relationships (Mohammad Yahya Al-rousan, Nosimah Mat Awal and Khazriyati Salehuddin 2016), and assists to bring people into proximity (Holmes 1988). Zhang (2013) and Shamsabadi and Raskeh (2014) infer that compliments work as a starter in conversation, and acts as a lubricant in communicative situations. Wolfson (1983) expresses that praise acts as grease in a social wheel and functions as this social lubricant.

The compliment is split into various parts: the compliment’s function, topic or theme, the strategy of praise and its feedback, which are influenced by social variables such as age, status/power, context and gender. The designs, styles, rules, features and other factors in uttering compliments from one culture to another are distinctive. Kubota (1999) states that the primary roles of culture are to strengthen the claim of diversity in procedures of uttering compliments in a society. Kubota reminds us that the way a person thinks, talks, writes and behaves is inspired by cultural differences.

Japanese Compliments

Japanese society was perceived to be less likely in expressing compliments to those who are close, in comparison with one who is less close in relation with them (Matsuura 2004; Barnlund and Araki 1985). This is influenced by the Japanese societal hierarchy, precisely; uchi (insider) and soto (outsider) underpinned the compliment response in their community. According to Matsuura (2004), the Japanese do not present a compliment to family members in everyday life. However, people who are not from within the family should be given compliments as they are outsiders and should be considered with high levels of politeness.

As suggested by Matsuura (2004), in general, Japanese society is polite to outsiders, especially in compliments. The Japanese favour practising a variety of types of feedback when being complimented for their capabilities and appearance. Research by Barnlund and Araki (1985) concluded that Japanese society was found to be interested less in complimenting those with home they have close relationships and also less inclined in exchanging compliments in communication. In terms of the application of the compliment strategy, the Japanese society gives compliments discursively by utilising simple phrases and is more likely to question and dismisses the compliments presented. Nonetheless, Adachi (2010) discovered that Japanese culture is more likely to express praise directly instead of indirectly. His study concluded that the application of compliment strategies directly and indirectly depends on the extent of linguistic and social features.

Japanese society generally utters or give compliments on an extensive range of topics or themes such as ownership, ability or performance, personal development and personality. In general, Japanese society concentrates on the capacity and performance in which men utter compliment correlates to the topic of function or performance and personal development. In contrast, women praise on the issue of ownership and appearance.
Malay Compliments

Literature reviews discussing compliments in Malay society are not comprehensive, compared to research about compliments in other societies and languages. The present studies on compliments of the Malay culture are restricted to only certain features, including studies administered by Hashim and Ahmad (2018), Ahmad and Yaman (2010), Othman (2010) and Musa (2008). Consequently, the discussion of compliments in Malay society will be limited to a small number of studies. Research on complimenting among Malay language speakers was conducted by focusing on 240 compliments taken from a large corpus by Akmar (2000). His conclusions recognise two kinds of syntax patterns of compliments presented in the way of questions, such as: ‘What about you, you are so beautiful?’ and indirect compliments such as: “This is correct/ right?” The results of his research indicate that features of compliments in the Malay language appear to have formula and are easily identifiable. Compliments stated by parents and teachers are deeply ingrained in students’ affect, and drive their learning efforts, largely owing to that the compliments hold positive expressions and spiritual components that are intended to be sincere by parents and teachers, which eventually lead to intension. Also, Malay and Western compliments work differently (Othman 2011), owing to that the Malays are not as receptive, regardless of the language used in the context of Malay culture, and hence the response is generally rejection.

In some compliments, there is even a negotiation between the speaker/utterer and the receiver. Nonetheless, Othman (2011) found that contemporary Malay language speakers can value the compliments given instead of refusing and rejecting. Here, the compliment language in the Malay culture has undergone a transformation. The study also found that feedback of compliments differs in terms of topic/theme, and social standard between the speaker and the praise recipient. Further, teh compliment tends to be rejected if the compliment comes from someone who is close and accepted from those who are not clos.

Work by Hashim and Ainal (2018) exposes the portrayal of the strategy of politeness in speaking compliments by professional judges in reality television shows. The focus of the study is to investigate the form and approach of praise, especially in critiques by a professional jury, based on Holmes (1986) and Brown and Levinson (1987) politeness framework. The study demonstrates the accuracy of judges’ compliments, both explicitly and implicitly, when providing criticism.

Comparative Work

Comparison can be of the most potent methods in explaining or exploring the field. Accordingly, comparative studies can be conducted to discern the differences in a particular phenomenon. This research aims to investigate why the cases are different: to reveal the fundamental structure that generates or underpins the surface or behaviour of an issue such as culture. Comparative methods are often used in the early stage of exploratory research to describe a phenomenon that can help the researchers to explore multiple levels in the event of discrepancies. Therefore, this study seeks to expose the compliments by TGM and TGJ, who use the Japanese language as a medium of communication in a professional context that is TTS.
The comparisons will describe the features of compliments of both cultures so that the contrasts between these two cultures can be better interpreted and understood. These differences will serve as a benchmark for compliment utterances, which will further strengthen communication skills between JT and TG. The elaboration of these differences will also give a clearer picture of the procedures in giving compliments effectively.

Problem Statement

The pattern, style, rules, features and so forth in expressing compliments differs from one culture to another. This applies specifically to the context of TTS. TG utters compliments in accordance to the same way that it is outlined in the JT’s society and whether JT will respond in the same way as they give feedback when they receive compliments. Following Manes (1983), Holmes (1986) and Herbert (1989), who demonstrated that praise is a universal socio-cultural value, but differs from one culture to another, we embarked on this comparative study of ways in which compliments to JT can be enhanced, so as to improve the communication skills of Japanese speaking Malaysian TGs. TGs serve as front-line workers in the tourism industry, and must have the ability to speak an appropriate language to align with the culture of the JT, thus avoiding cultural and ethical discontent which may otherwise threaten face. As Tanaka (1988) proposed, knowing the pattern of the target language culture becomes significant in order to meet the needs of JTs who largely expect a return to their investment in politeness.

Research Questions

This study examines the compliment utterances by two categories of respondents, namely; Japanese speaking Malaysians (TGM) and native Japanese speakers (TJ). Compliments given in the Japanese language will be examined for comparison. According to Wolson (1983), cross-cultural speech acts do not only differ from their application but also in terms of their delivery, frequency and function. Therefore, the comparisons of compliment characterization summon four research questions:

1. Are there any differences in the frequency and average of frequency in compliments given by TGMs and TGJs during TTS?
2. Are there any differences in the category of compliments given by TGMs and TGJs during TTS?
3. Are there any differences in the function of compliments given by TGMs and TGJs during TTS?
4. Are there any differences in topic/theme of compliments given by TGMs and TGJs during TTS?

Literature Review

Many studies examine the offering of compliments. Most are found to focus on the comparison of two languages or two cultures. These include Japanese Language/English America (Daikuhaara 1986; Matsuura 2004; Tsuda 1992), American English/Mandarin (Chen 1993; Tang and Zhang 2009), English/Thai (Cedar 2006), English/South Korean (Chung-hye Han 1992), English/Chinese born in America (Chiang and Pochtrager 1993) and Egyptian/American (Nelson 1993). Studies centred on intralanguage complimenting include those
on Japanese such as by Matsuoka (2002) and those in Chinese such as by Teoh (2012). The literature review revealed that studies on compliment strategies are mostly of the English language, while studies concentrated on the Japanese language do not explicitly focus on the context of professional communication. Hence, in line with the research question, a literature review for this study will focus on compliments in Japanese society.

Barnlund and Araki (1985) pioneered work on Japanese compliments, through a comparative study of compliments in English and Japanese, concluding that that Japanese society is less likely to compliment and uses moderate language when praising compared to Americans who use superlative language in complimenting. The study also finds that Americans are more active and direct in furnishing compliments than are the Japanese, whereas Japanese culture compliments discursively and becomes more sensitive, especially when related to food. A study of compliments in Japanese society was performed by Daikuhara (1986), who conducted comparative research of compliments between Japanese and US culture in the English language. Daikuhara (1986) concluded that Japanese society gives compliments as a symbol of respect given to the recipients, and this creates a gap between the two interlocutors. As an initiative to maintain harmony between the interlocutors, the recipient of the compliment narrows this gap by making a denial or rejection to the praise received as feedback. The study by Matsuoka (2002) also applied a comparison method between sexes in delivering compliments in Japanese society. Here, data is derived from two Japanese television programs, specifically; Tetsuko no beya to obtain compliments given by female respondents while Telephone shocking in Warattemo itomo was explored to obtain compliments from feedback by males. The verdicts clarified that women were likely to give and receive compliments in terms of appearance. On the contrary, men give and receive compliments in terms of performance. This research aspires to compare compliments in the interactions of Japanese with the findings of the study conducted by Manes and Wolfson (1981) regarding compliments in English by people from the US. The results indicate that there are both similarities and differences between these two societies in function, feedback, frequency, linguistic patterns and topics when giving compliments.

Methodology

This study comprises fieldwork that focused on qualitative methods in acquiring data. This research design is selected as it encompasses the elements of language and cultural use that were present in the actual situation of communication across cultures. It provides information on how the TGs communicate and think when compliments are given and applied in communication. Data was collected by using observation, and by applying audio recordings, visuals, observations and through recording the interactions of TGM and TGJ throughout the TTS. Data collected was transcribed and checked by two Japanese speaking specialists for consistency and accuracy with recording. Data analyzed was the first three hours of each TTS and the target of the data was to elicit compliments by TG on tourists throughout the TTS.

Data was collected from four TTS conducted by two TGs referred to as TGM1 and TGM2. Whereas two Japanese TGs are referred to as TGJ1 and TGJ2., all four TTS were attended by 12 tourists comprising six JTs (referred to as JT1 to JT6) and six Malaysian tourists (MTs referred to as MT1 to MT6). The Japanese language was used as a medium of communication. TGM1 and TGM2 are Malay Malaysians who have lived in Japan.
for at least one year and five months, during which they have had direct and first-hand experience about
Japanese custom and culture. They have at least four years of experience in conducting TTS and frequently
attend one to four visits per month whereas, TGJ1 and TGJ2 are Japanese language native speakers who have
visited Malaysia at least once. All three TGJs have experience being TGs of between four to ten years in Japan.
Their frequency of handling TTS is between two to three times a week. The purpose of JT and the MT to join
the TTS is to tour and feel the excitement of tourists who visit the tourist destinations in Japan and Malaysia
for the first time, which will thus create real and natural interactions.

Data will be coded and categorized according to the model of compliment characterization by Barnlund
and Araki (1985), which covers the scope of compliment utterances between two cultures that can explain
the application of compliments by TGM and TGJ in the TTS interaction. The categorization of compliment
feedback uses the taxonomy of compliment feedback by Herbert (1989). This taxonomy is used because it is
based on the actual event context of compliment utterance, that is, natural and spontaneous revealed during
the clash of the two cultures in TTS interactions.

Data Analysis and Discussion

Data analysis showed that frequency of given by TG was uneven among TGs, in which TGM1 was the most
frequently giving compliments for at 32.6%, followed by TGJ1 - 28.3%, TGM2 - 21.7% and lastly TGJ2 -
17.4% as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 2 illustrates this discrepancy with a comparison of the frequency of giving compliments by the two
TG categories. It shows that there is no specific pattern can be concluded in giving compliments by them based
on rate or types or in other words, there are no significant differences in the frequency of providing compliments
between these two TG categories. According to this finding design, it also summarizes TGJ gives compliments
about the same frequency as the compliments given by the TGM. According to this finding mode, it further
summarizes that both TGJ and TGM give compliments about the same rate. It is in contrary to the study
performed by Barnlund and Araki (1985) who stated that Japanese society is less likely to exchange compliments
in a communication.

The frequency of compliments by TGJ can be linked to a study by Matsuura (2004) and Barnlund and
Araki (1985), who found that Japanese society was more likely to present compliments to people who are not
close rather than to family members. In terms of the average frequency of giving compliments relating to the
duration of time, it was found that TGM1 was giving compliments for 12 minutes/compliment, TGM2 - 18
minutes/compliment, TGJ1 - 13.8 minutes/compliment and TGJ2 - 22.5 minutes/compliment. It clearly
shows that there are no significant differences in the duration of time for the TGs in giving compliments.
Based on the data analysis of frequency in giving compliments between the two, TG categories were more or less the same. Accordingly, data analysis has recognised two significant divisions of compliment categories, namely, general compliments - 54% and compliments towards tourists - 46%, and this is further shown in Figure 3. The general compliment category consists of praise which is predicated on tour destination, goods, services, culture and behaviour. All these elements are not directly related to tourists. The remaining 46% of compliments are from the category of praise that is given to tourists based on their tour destination, goods, services, culture and behaviour.

There are two divisions in the category of giving compliments for TGs. Here, TGM gave compliments to the tourist while TGJ gave compliments toward general aspects, except for TGJ1, who gave compliments to tourists at 2.2%, as shown in Figure 4.
Factors influencing this significant difference are due to TGM having experience living and working in Japan. These cultural and linguistic experiences underpin the knowledge that each TG possesses. This knowledge also serves as a benchmark in making comparisons or considerations between the countries of Malaysia and Japan in the TGM giving compliments. Compared to TGMs, TGJs’ knowledge about Malaysia is not extensive as they have never lived in Malaysia, except for visiting once. It is sensible if the compliments given by TGJ focus solely on general compliments as their knowledge about the target tourist country is limited.

Another factor contributing to the TGJ’s utterances that only revolve around the general compliments were the limited frequency of TGJs conducting tour visits from Malaysian tourist. This comparison is very different from the rate of TGM handling Japanese tourists visiting Malaysia. Consequently, this will affect the use of knowledge about Malaysia while conducting TTS. It will further influence the compliments given by TGJ towards Malaysian tourists. Hence, it can be summarized that the knowledge about target tourists, whether about country, culture and language while conducting TTS plays an essential role in the category of giving compliments.

Overall, the more TG has a broad knowledge of the background of target tourists while conducting TTS, the more effective will be giving compliments in which it can enhance the TG’s relationship with the target tourist.
In contrast to the giving of compliments by TGJ, TGM expresses compliments to tourists who are more likely to be positively evaluating the advantages of JT and those related to them. According to Rashid et al., (2019), giving compliments towards target tourists compared to the general compliments given is more critical because it can smoothen interactions and make the TG’s relationship with the target audience more harmonious. This has been identified as an effective strategy for establishing and maintaining relationships between the two parties during the TTS. Close relationships enhance understanding between the parties, and makes the TTS atmosphere more friendly and relaxed. This is in line with the description of the compliment function by Holmes (1986) who expressed it as a positive and productive speech act and which can create an element of solidarity between the parties involved in a communication event. Below are two examples of how each TGM give compliments towards JT:

**Example 1: TTS 2**

JT5: *Omoshiroi [Warau]*

TGM2: *Soo omoshiroi ne kore wa. Kore wa ii koto desu ne. Ii koto toiu ka, maii. Demo hontoo wa Nihon no shingoo shisutemu ga ii desu yo. Watashi ga kan, anoo kandoow shita, kandoo toiu ka. Nihon no shisutemu wa tsunagaturun desu ne. nettowaku dekironn desu ne. (JT5: Soo, soo, soo) dakara sumaato shingoo ninatterun desu ne. Tatoeba, ee to kore hitosu wa aka, ee miori ni natte, toiu ka ao ne, ao natte, zenbu ao, ao, ao ne, dakata dekira, daato, ippon no michi demo, nankasho aru shingoo demo, ceto ao wo yappari tsunagaturu katazenbu ao ni natteru, aka wa zenbu aka natteru.. Mareeshia wa gakute ni dokuritsu shite runn desu yo. (#: Aa), Ano tsunagatte nai kara, tatoeba, koko ga aka no ni, koko wo ao, okasii deshoo.*

JT5: *Aa*

JT5: *Exciting [Laughs]*

TGM2: Yes, it’s exciting. It’s something good. Can it be said as something good? Mostly it’s okay, but the Japanese traffic light system is much better. I am impressed, mmm.. can be said as very impressed with the Japanese traffic light system (as it is) connected. It is connected to each other. (JT5: Yes, yes, yes) It is a smart traffic light. For example, when a traffic light changes into red, and then green, and then to green, all will turn into green, green, green, right? Therefore, in one road, although there are several traffic lights, the green will respond, when the red light is, everything will turn into red. Contrary to the Malaysian traffic lights that operate separately (#: Yes), it is not connected, for example, it is red here, it is green here, strange right?

JT5: *Yes*

**Example 2 - TTS 1**

JT2: *[Warau]*

TGM1: *Dakara hontoo subarashii desu. (JT1: Ee) Jikan ni kanshiie moo nihonjin wa sekai ichi desu ne.*

JT1: *Nihonjin wa desu ne sorede moo nareteru kara.*

TGM1: *Soo desu ne. (JT1: Ne)*

JT2: *[Laughs]*

TGM1: Therefore, it is very significant. (JT1: Yes). Currently, this society is no 1 in the world.

JT1: *Currently, this society is no 1 in the world. Japanese society is familiar with the culture.*

TGM1: That’s right. (JT1: Yes)

Example 1 is a compliment topic based on ability, which is Japanese traffic technology. With this compliment given, JT5 also agreed with TGM2’s praises on the traffic light system that has given a positive value to the advantages owned by Japan.
JT5 has provided feedback - *Soo, soo, soo* (Yes, yes, yes) indicating that JT5 is pleased with the compliment given and has made the TTS atmosphere harmonious, and has thus led to the smoothness of the relationship between the two parties.

Example 2 - TGM1 highlights the advantages of a Japanese society that is always up to date so that it can be recognized by the world. This compliment reflects the attitudes and practices of the Japanese community who are often punctual and who speak directly by using the Adjectives Verb *sekhi ichi* (best in the world). Feedback from JT5 - *Nihonjin wa desu ne sorede moo nareteru kara* (Japanese are familiar with the culture) depicts that JT was happy and supports the compliment without denying it.

It is in accordance with Jassim Nasser Al-Azzawi (1995) summary; positive expressions can support, improve and support dignity and indirectly make one feel good (Newton and Burgoon, 1990). Hence, the compliment given towards tourists compared to the general praise giving can smoothen interaction and stimulate emotional exchange and enhance the understanding between TG and JT.

Next, we investigate differences in the topic/theme of compliments given by TGM and TGJ throughout the TTS. Data analysis has identified that while the categories of compliments expressed a contrast between the two TG categories, the topics/themes of compliments represented also differ. Similarities have been identified only on topics/issues related to appearance that are not directly addressed by these two TG categories. Compliments on appearance include character, beauty and dressing.

In Figure 5, there are different topics/themes of compliments. Firstly, the compliments given by TGMs were more focused on attitude/personality – 44.0% and ability/performance – 52.0%. Topics/themes of compliments for attitude/personality identified in this study include the behaviors or practices of very punctual Japanese society, the courage of JT to participate in tourism activities during the tour visit, spirit and sense of responsibility of the Japanese community, whereas the topic/theme of ability/performance includes compliments on skills, abilities, sophistication, power/greatness on Japanese technology and the intelligence of Japanese society in management.

TGMs’ knowledge as previously identified and discussed, and the friendly and quickly becoming close with foreigners contributes to the second utterance of this topic/theme. A report by Malaysian Investment Development Authority (MIDA) (2013) claims that the quality of life in Malaysia is such that Malaysia is one of the most faithful nations toward own country, and are highly content to accept guests to work and live in Malaysia.

In contrast to the compliments by TGJ – 67.0% giving topics/themes of ownership encompassing Japanese-owned treasures that do not involve complements towards the individual. This is in line with Barnlund and Araki (1985), who conclude that Japanese society was unlikely to give compliments to close relations, and in general, they were less likely to exchange compliments in communication. The researcher believes that this
is due to the fact that Japanese society has always maintained its formality throughout interaction, especially in the context of professional relations.

![Comparison of Topic/Theme of Compliments Given by TG](image)

**Figure 5: Comparison of Topic/Theme of Compliments Given by TG**

From the overall analysis of data, the pattern of compliments given by the two TG categories confirms that culture determines the praise given by the TGs. Although the frequency of utterance between the two TGs has no significant difference in terms of categories, functions, topics/themes of utterance still differ. Experiences, knowledge and culture underlying the TGM and TGJ’s society had formed the compliment giving in terms of topic/theme.

**Conclusion**

Overall, this study has recognised that compliment giving between the two TG categories, namely TGM and TGJ, is different. This emerges in the diversity of presenting compliments in terms of topic/theme identified, based on the culture carried by both TG categories. The verdicts of this study as a whole have satisfied the objectives of the research planned. Further comparative studies need to be conducted to examine feedback given by the tourists towards the compliments given by TG in the cross-cultural context.

**Acknowledgement**

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Eden’s East: An ethnography of LG language communities in Seoul, South Korea

Michael Hadzantonis

Abstract

Motivated by social inclusion, lesbian and gay communities have long attempted to negotiate languages and connected discourses. Social ascriptions act to oppress these communities, thus grounding Cameron’s (1985) Feminism and Linguistic theory. This practice of language negotiation significantly intensifies in regions where religious piety (Hinduism, Christianity, Buddhism, Islam) interacts with rigid social structure (Confucianism, Interdependency), mediating social and cultural positioning. Consequently, members of LG communities build linguistic affordances, thus (re)positioning selves so to negotiate ascribed identities and marginalizations. Paradoxically, these communities model discourses and dynamics of larger sociocultural networks, so as to contest marginalizations, thus repositioning self and other.

Through a comparative framework, the current study employs ethnography, as well as conversation and discourse analyses, of LG communities, to explore ways in which these communities in Seoul (Seoul) develop and employ adroit language practices to struggle within social spaces, and to contest positivist ascriptions.

Keywords: lesbian, gay, discourse, linguistic anthropology, Seoul, South Korea

Introduction

South Korea is quite strongly a Confucian heritage (CHC) (Chang and Kalmansan 2010). Across South Korea, patriarchy and other highly normative values catalyze the maintenance of social harmony, for e.g., maintaining a certain distance from others, a forced politeness as a constructed nationalism, and a strong practice of gendered differentials. These ideologies correlate strongly with others, such as ethno-national identity, xenophobia, a long history of authoritarian politics, militant ideologies, and a Confucianist social obscurity, all of which act in concert (Hadzantonis 2013). To exacerbate this concerted interaction of factors, this region, within which a great percentage of women prefer submissive roles (Pharr 1984; Lee 1998), endorses heteronormativity, yet this endorsement becomes a complex construct, and is at times quite contradictory. At any rate, the heteronormativity, of sorts, has produced an extreme homophobic othering, thus stigmatizing and marginalizing non-heterosexuals as ‘deviant’ aberrations of society. Abundant oppressive discourses significantly influence the authorization and negotiation of language and sexuality throughout South Korea, as they do the compliance to and subversion of sociopolitical and heteronormative marginalizations (Lee 2007). Oppressive contradictory discourses are subverted and reshaped to develop group requirements through inclusive languages, as individuals attempt to naturalize group and sexual identities, and their aspirations for sexual liberation.
Networks

Contradictions arising from the oppressive discourses of larger South Korean society, re-emerge in LG lifeworlds. Membership in these communities fashions itself on trend-oriented conceptions of sexual ‘progressiveness,’ and not on critical conceptions of heteronormativity (Pahk-Kim, Lee-Kim and Kwohn-Lee 2006). LG communities reflect on and access homosexual identity as a cultural or political reality, yet with difficulty (Seo 2001; Kong, Mahoney and Plummer 2003). Here, LG identities offer a novel semiotic with which to restylize a highly rigid social membership. As conceptions of (homo)sexuality have witnessed extensive deferral and limited conscious engagement, though definitions of sexuality are continuously contested through competing and volatile ‘larger-network’ identities, LG identities remain in turmoil in Seoul. Certain incidents have attempted to obscure or suppress sexual identity, inspiring a need for continuous identity reaffirmation (Hadzantonis 2013), and for the realization of sociocultural challenges to the ‘coming out’ paradigm. ‘Powerful’ Confucianist familial bonds (Tu 1985) present a sociocultural semiotic that emerges as a ‘reversed Orientalism:’ a reappropriation of exoticizing western essentialist notions of Asian societies, to distance South Korean communities from the West (Seo 2001). This reversed Orientalism impedes coming out, increasing the obscurity of LG communities, thus influencing social and linguistic behaviors. Furthermore, exposing LG identities can limit the ‘collectivist’ requirements of society, to suppress sexual identities. South Korean general consensus has long considered homosexuality as perverted, forbidden, and socially suppressible (Kong et al. 2003; Zhang and Min 2013), while not largely differentiating amongst homosexual identities within these respective groups, thus homogenizing the communities (Seo 2001). This process becomes evident by the referent 동성연애자 dohngsoryoorejah ‘same-sex lover.’ This non-differentiation reduces homosexual groups to social non-entities, thus encouraging members to increasingly reaffirm identity (Shin 2006) as a reflexive stance to the suppressing of identity (Hadzantonis 2013). Prejudice toward LG sexuality compounds oppressive discourses, where, the overly sudden widespread awareness of LG identities in Seoul has increased the volatility of these identities, culminating in an attempt by larger social networks to reflexively delegitimize LG groups through coercing members to remain social non-entities, a phenomenon also common in larger social networks throughout South Korea (Shin 2006; Buzo 2007).

LG Identities in Seoul do present a high turnover of shifting and contradictory social membership (King 2008), as individuals spatially and socioculturally shift across these communities, that is, through acts of hyperthesis; however, the array of imaginary and possible selves assists these individuals to decenter nationalism, and to better fit into these communities (see Kanno and Norton 2003). Consequently, cosmopolitanism influences gender and sexuality (Jackson 2009), assisting LG communities in Seoul to contest local conceptions of queerness, and to complexify intersectionalities of local agency and membership in transnational arenas (Martin et al. 2008; Vertovec 2009). These processes contribute to the transactions of political and sociocultural economies of queering. For example, in heterosexual spheres, the currently metrosexuality movement responds to the need to effeminize and cosmopolitanize the male, and to authorize membership of South Korean heterosexual men within transnational flows. An influx of foreign workers, particularly from Western regions, influences the negotiation of traditional masculinity, and motivates entry into effeminate/metrosexual spaces. Moreover, the insistence of women to explore sexuality and cosmetic enhancements emerges from a contention with transnational sexualities, informing a national/transnational tension on the level of sexuality. National/transnational tensions influence gay men to embody and produce effeminism, but to simultaneously exhibit male chauvinism. Gay communities facilitate membership into communities that legitimize globalized/cosmopolitan identities, through sociolects (see Besnier 2003), aiding subversion of marginalizing sociopolitical and
heteronormative (oppressive) discourses (Swann and Maybin 2008; Greco 2012). This membership significantly increases English-Hangul language contact, reflexively encouraging cosmopolitanism in gay communities (see Besnier 2003) and the development of gay English speech (Provencher 2004), despite the desire to identify with normative standards of ‘gayness’ (Jones 2013). Lee (2007) notes that society in Seoul has long pathologized lesbianism as an essentialized and destined sexual tendency, instilling conceptions of powerlessness and inferiority through stigmatization of lesbian communities. However, emerging lesbian communities evidence an increasing subversion of these marginalizations, and an encouragement of gender pluralism. Consequently, individuals within lesbian communities negotiate social harmony, through obscuring their lesbian identities, or through limited-period membership in lesbian communities. Women frequently attempt homosexuality and lesbian roles and languages temporarily (Pahl-Kim et al. 2006). This reduced affiliation limits the growth of lesbian communities, while also limiting the use of their language registers and characteristics to those of younger generations.

Sociocultural aspirations of younger lesbians, a majority population of lesbian communities, significantly influence lesbian attitudes; imagery, identities, affordances, and languages of lesbian communities thus well embody infantilized styles and fashion commodities. Here I extend on work by both Farris (1988) and Chuang (2005), in that these languages hold strong similarity to other East Asian styles of infantization, that is, in Taiwan and other East Asian regions. An incessant desire to reaffirm status in this CHC motivates these younger members to enact and legitimize rebellious ‘tough’ identities with which to contest Confucianist patriarchy, and for which, lesbian communities offer ‘identity passports.’ Lesbian communities do remodel larger-social-network feminine identities, through attitude, fashion, and language, so to reappropriate social normativities. However, frequently, women attempt to obscure lesbian identities rather than to segregate from society and its normative standards. Here, lesbian communities can ‘subvert’ oppressive discourses through, for example, reproduction of masculine roles, building semiotic repertoires to reposition selves within a highly (pseudo) patriarchal society (Buzu 2007), but reflexively increase gender differentials within the lesbian communities. These contradictory processes converge from broader social networks to lesbian groups, evident in the rigid formation and maintenance of address labels.

Individuals within LG communities in Seoul construct gender identities through citational linguistic acts (Harvey 1998a, 1998b; Sauntson 2008), that is, discursive reconstructions of aspired identities, frequently in spaces and flows significantly devoid of situated contexts, and acts which facilitate a hyperthesis. These discourses synmediate with and index certain sociocultural factors (Agha 2003; Silverstein 1998; Greco 2012) situated through power, class, and social membership (Halliday, Kirkwood and Martin 1994). This process itself synmediates with the construction of gender identity. I now delineate the discursive strategies pervasive of LG communities in Seoul.

Summary

Unique and inclusive languages facilitate speaker staging and performativity (Coupland 2012), as individuals within LG communities frequently desire to emulate social and sexual identities of larger social networks, local and transnational, despite intentions to subvert oppressive heteronormative discourses. Subsequently, LG communities can expose hidden discourses of larger social networks, through specific linguistic affordances.

Stringent and rigid code-switching practices in lesbian communities in Seoul strongly contrast with the general absence of lesbian discourses in other cities, such as in Kuala Lumpur, or at least in this collected corpus. Despite the patriarchal intentions of Confucianism, cultural models and practices in Seoul exhibit
a pseudo-patriarchy, and more so, substantially a matriarchal society. This matriarchy appears in the language practices of lesbian communities I have presented, in that linguistic practices and related discourses amongst lesbian communities have achieved great distribution, facilitated by women’s strong social networks. In addition, languages within these communities develop so to obscure sexualities in this highly heteronormative society. Hence, the languages of lesbian groups increase so to reinforce ethno-national “collectivism”. Imagination becomes a necessary construct in lesbian communities in Seoul.

Gay communities in this context also appear to facilitate membership into these imagined communities and thus membership in gay communities indexes globalized identities. The language practices within lesbian communities, however, suggest imagined selves which more strongly index nationalism, evidenced by code mixing practices in Hangul-English word sequencing.

References


Language Socialization
Pha Nya: A Folk Cultural Treasure
Jarenchai Chonpairrot
*College of Music, Mahasarakham University, Thailand

Abstract

*Pha nya*, a type of folk poetic, has played many important roles in Northeast Thailand and in Laos PDR throughout its history. The poetic was used as a medium by young boys and girls for courting, as as  a set of proverbs to remind people to adhere to accepted codes of conduct. Many *pha nya* poems contain multiple entendres in the form of surface and deep meaning.

This paper will investigate these meanings and the roles of *pha nya* in Northeast Thailand and Laos PDR societies. The data were obtained from written document and interviews. The results of the study indicate that the meaning of words in *pha nya* poems have presented themselves as ambiguous, depending on the intention of the speaker and the way the listener's interpretation. Here, the spaker has significant agency in the symbolism of the poems.

*Keywords*: Pha Nya, cultural treasure, folk, Northeast Thailand, Laos PDR

Introduction

Historical Isan or Northeast Thailand was largely a Gregorian society. Buddhism was predominant where its doctrines strongly influenced society through its written and oral literature. One of these works was Pha Nya poetry. Many scholars assigned meaning to Pha Nyaas below:

1) The term *Kon Pha Nya* derived from *Pan Nya* in the Pali language or *Prajanya* in Sanskrit language. Pan nya or prajanya means enlightenment, knowledge, or intelligence. But nowadays, “pan nya” means knowledge and “prajanya” means philosophy. “Prajanya” consists of principle of truth and knowledge.(Veeravong. 1970,33);

2) *Kon Pha Nya* or *Kon Nyoi* is a noun representing knowledge, philosophy, wit and metaphor, developed by generations of youth to aid courting. *Pha Nya* poetry contains multiple entendres in the form of surface and meaning.

3) The *Phasit* (proverbs) are called *Suphasit* (Lit. good saying). These are suggested to have been said by the Buddha, and are thus called *Buddha Phasit* These include the *attabi attano natho (you yourself are your refuge)* (Veervong 2000: 23-30).

4) Pha Nya lexicons are replete with metaphorical signification

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A Typology of Pha Nya

Saphasis are classified into five types: (1) Tong toi phasin, a common proverb reminding people to perform good deeds; (2) Pha nya phasit, a phasit used in courting verses; (3) Panha phasit, a proverb needing interpretation; (4) Kham kon phasit, an unfamiliar or cryptic proverb, and (5) Kham khong phasit, a proverb in khong poetry (Veeravong 2000: 23-30).

Five types of Pha Nya were created: pha nya phasit, tong toi, pha nya nyo or kham khom, pha nya khruea or pha nya kiao, and pha nya uai phon. (Srisarakham.2522). However, these were classified into two larger categories: (1) Pha Nya with rhymes and Phaa Nya without rhymes, (2) Proverbs and Courting.

The Role of Pha Nya

Pha Nya have played important roles upon the ways of life of Isan society. Pha nya involved both young and old people. Nowadays pha nya is still used in lam singing and suttphan ritual.(Busayakul. 2520, 503). Lao people have accumulated many aspects of cultural heritage on various kinds of proverbs, especially pha nya poetries. It is considered the precious treasure of Lao people. Lao ancestors used these literary works teaching and casting the young ones to be good people, equipping with knowledge, alerts, solidity, generous, forgiveness, and eventually becoming a national identity of a peace loving country (Rattanavong. 2007, Preface)

Formal Structure of Pha nya

As Pha Nya poetries were improvised in situated context, there were no (few) exact formal designs. Many were a mixture of poetry and other genres, and did not have fully built stanzas. A Pha Nya poem may consist of two to four phrases, and has ubiquitous rhyming, as below (Veeravong 1970: 33):

Thang phi sang khua paen nong bo nam, sano
I had built a wooden bridge for you, but you did not use it;

Thang phi sang khua kham nong bo tai
I built even a gold bridge for you, but you never used it either.

1) Pha nya phasit or pha nya tong toi:

Wan pen lom, khom pen ya
A sweet one causes fainting; the bitter one is a medicine

Mak ngai dai nyak, lambak dai dee
If you are an easy going person, you will get into hardship;
If you are a hardworking person, you will get a good result.

2) Pha nya pasit (courting verses)

Khan jao dai khi sang kang hom pen pha nya
Ya dai luem sena phu hac nam tin sang
When yo ride an elephant with an umbrella as a noble
Don’t forget servants who are walking with the elephant’s feet
Meho nip ha hai tok tam, hai khoi khit khoi wao kham lahoi muan hu
Anguish cause yourself to downfall; you should console with sweet words

3) Panha Phasit (Puzzle pha nya)
Kuang kin mak kham pom pai kha kon khi mang
Bat wa mang bo khi, sam mue katai tai
A dear ate tamarin fruit caused the antelope’s uneasy stomach
When the antelope did not defecate, the rabbit died within three days
Atsajan jai kung kum kin pa buck nyai
It is miraculous that a shrimp tries to swallow a gigantic fish,
Pasiu lai suap khac ni pai son luep hin
A small carp is chasing a crocodile to hide in a rock cave;

General Methodological Framework

In general, the research sought a qualitative framework, drawing on written documents and other scholarly work on Pha Nya poetry in Northeast Thailand and Laos P.D.R. The study aimed at analyzing the dual meaning of Pha Nya poetics, that is, the literal and connotative properties, or surface and deep meaning; and secondly, the author intended to investigate the role of Pha Nya poetry in the lives of communities in Northeast Thailand and in Laos P.D.R.

Results of the Study

Despite the description above, not all Pha Nya poetry has dual meaning. The results are as follows:

Kon Pha Nya Kiao
Male.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Content</th>
<th>Pha nya and its meaning</th>
<th>line</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pha nya</td>
<td>Oh nöh phi ko ma hen nong khiu kong thong sing</td>
<td>Line 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surface meaning</td>
<td>Oh dear. I have met you here, the curve eyebrow one</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deep meaning</td>
<td>Oh dear. I have met you here. You are very beautiful</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pha nya</td>
<td>Saeng ta khom khue khak siat tai kradang</td>
<td>Line 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surface meaning</td>
<td>Your eye-sights look sharply, making men dying for</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deep meaning</td>
<td>Your sharp lively eyes melt the heart of men to death.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pha nya</td>
<td>Muean dang thammarong huaa pon sai kaem hat</td>
<td>Line 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surface meaning</td>
<td>Comparable to a golden ring among the sand on the beach</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deep meaning</td>
<td>(same)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pha nya</td>
<td>Khon thi mi muean lan bomi kuea koeng si</td>
<td>Line 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surface meaning</td>
<td>Thousand of women never been compared to you</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deep meaning</td>
<td>(same)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pha nya discourses continue:
Ko ma ngam kadat de song king mai bok
Two of you are so beautiful as two mai bok tree's branches
Song kok mai phang khong phudai de
Like two mai phang bamboo trees
Ko ma ngam ta de song namg phi nong
You, the two sisters, are very lovely
Ai yak pai koet huam thong sai sai hai diao nong de
I wish, I want to be born with the same mother as you
Thiao thang ma hen na kho waja tham khao
When I meet you, I want to chat with you.
Ai yak tham khao kho kho khaep khon lai
I want to ask you questions
Tham khao hin sai sung bung saphao mi jao lao bo
Asking about rock and high sand, lake and boat;
Whether these have been belonged to anyone yet?
Tham khao kho, sattabua raphan kuang phra sumen jet yod
Asking about rice, lotus, and Sumeru mountain peaks
Tham hot thaoen ya fa phu man pan lo phranang
Including Thao God at the sky who had casted you.
Sang ma ngam ying yong pun piap sao savan
Why are you are so beautiful like an angel in the paradise
Saita khom kho khak siat ta sai tai kadang
Your eyes’ light causes men to death

Nong ni luk phao suen sakun rat naeo dai
Who are your parents, a royal family?
Nai nikhom khame yat phong phan suea
What is your home town and your lineage?
Tham da din don kuang huean san ban thin
As well as your housing,
Phon phala mak mai tam ton sop radu
Are fruit trees growing well?
Tham ha usu oi pong thi ornat
Asking about the sugar cane of narrow nodes
Sat bo ma sing kat yot hon han ton
Did any animal came and ate its young part and stem
An wa phosanang khao nai na kab kae, sia bo
How about the rice in the paddy field; is it already too old?
Fa fon bo huai song hai di dai dang dai
If the rain is not coming, how can it be a good year planting?

Female.
Ai oei, nong ni bo maen luk phao suen sakun raj nai vang
Oh dear. I am not associated with the royal lines
Luk sao hai hua sum pa hka luk sao na hua sum pa khao
I am a farmer's daughter, living with the paddy field
Bo maen luk jao ban lan jao kwan khon
I am not a daughter of the head man or government official.
Noi tam toi huean nong mi ha hong
I am from the poor family, my house has five rooms.
Ngua kwai tem khong laeng khong talang
Full of cattle living under the house
Lok kai yu tai lao khok khao yu khok ban khaem hua pa mak yao.
Chicken house is under the rice storage house.
langkha huecan nong mung duai nya fa huecan maen mai sot
My house roof is covered with thatches and cardboard walls
kathot maen mai tong tong kuai kai kong
The floor supported by hardwood
ban nong mi doen kuang khaem bok bueng nong
My house has a wide fairground, near by the lake
pu pa kong kan lai sua saeo sing bon
A lot of crabs and fishes playing in the lake
fa fon huai hom hai tam radu khao bo hiao
The rain comes as normal, so the rice is fresh
dam hua pi sam ying phua dam la sam haeng ngam
Planting earlier is still yields good crop as planting at later time.
a nong dam laeo na saeng sam dam to
After finishing planting in the upper land, the lower land is continued
ban nong na kin khao mao loeng luai yu su nyam
My village has new rice desert at all time
nong yak kho tham ai sai molam sia kon
I also want to ask you.
khao wa ban ai phun mi hin hae nong yak pai pan kham
khao wa mi hin dam nong yak pai pan kaeo
I heard that your village has metal ores.
I want to go there to search for gold
lang thuca bun lai dai maniso duang yet
If I have a great merit, I may get a precious gem
jak ao ma khot jac pha phaeng wai kot non.
Putting it in my cloth, keeping it at my side.

Pha nya Phasit (Proverbs)

Kin saep non lap
Enjoy eating and sound sleep

Kin im bo yak non lap bo yan
When stomach is full, there is no hungry; when falling a sleep, no fear

Kin sang bo luea kin sue abo im.
Eating all elephants and tigers, but it is still hungry.

Phu kin kin pho hak, phu yak yak pho tai.
One eats more than needed while the other is hungry near death.

Kin phuam hon, fon phum mao.
Eat while the food is hot; dance when you are still drunk.

Khong kin bo kin man nao,
Food if you don't eat, it will be rotten
khong kao bo lao man luem.
*An old knowledge if you don’t practice, it will be forgotten.*

Khuam khit mi bo phae, thuen si kha hak bo mi
*One has a lot of idea, but he has no money for business*

Khuai tu mak so, khon jon mak wao
*A short horn buffalo like to fight and poor people like to talk*

Ta bot wao lai, na lai wao yai
*A blind man likes to talk too much, While the person with small pox scars likes to talk beyond his ability.*

Sue tho sang hang tho maeco.
*His name is big as elephant, but his real body is as a cat.*

Tok mu haeng pen haeng, tok mu ka pen ka
*Getting into a vulture group allows one to become a vulture, Getting into a crow group allows one to become a crow.*

Thuk phoen bo wa di, mi phone jang wa phi nong
*When you are poor, nobody recognizes you When you are rich you will be recognized as a relative*

Nung phalai ma hao.
*The dog will bark at the person who dresses with spotted clothes*

Wao khuam kao phit kan.
*You will get into a fight if you keep talking about past deeds.*

Kang khuen pen hen, kang wen pen nok khoa
*Become a palm civets at night; become an owl in the day time.*

Puk huan hai tam jai phu yu, puk u hai tam jai phu non.
*Building a house according the owner preference Setting up the cradle as the sleeper favor.*

Nyam pai hujak la, nyam ma hujak khop.
*Say goodbye when you leave and inform when you return.*

Mi ngoen wao dai.
*You can say anything when you have money.*

Mi mai het huan ngam.
*You can build a beautiful house when you have wood.*

Mi phua hai sang nyong, mi nong hai san oi
*If you have a husband, giving him compliments If you have younger brothers or sisters, give them sweet words.*

Moho ni pha to tok tam.
Angers brings you down.

Mak ngai dai nyak, lambak dai di.
If you work without an effort you will be in hardship later
if you are a hard working person you will receive happiness at the end.

Wai pak sia sin, wai tin tok kok mai.
If you are a quick utterer, you may break a code of conduct
if you are a quick climber, you may fall down easily.

Ngoen saen you fak fa ya pai ao khaning ha;
Song salueang ma mae hai fao kam ao wai.
Don’t hope for a hundred thousand bath over the sky
but if you have two quarters of baht in your hand, please grab it right away.

Sip hu bo tho khoci, sip luk khoci botho pho thao.
Ten times of knowing is not the same as one time doing
Ten son-in-law knowledge are not equal to his father in-law’s.

Ma lai jao kin khoi lai buean.
A dog that belongs to many owners
will eat food from many houses.

Nang sue kom tang khon tang mi,
Kon khi si khon noi kon nyai.
Everyone has his own little book
similar to the different sizes of wooden resins.

Wan pen lom, khom pen ya.
Sweeten thing causes you faint;
while the bitter thing is a medicine.

Hap di kua khon, non di kua namg.
Carrying one buckets at each end of a shoulder stick is more comfortable than
Carrying one bucket on one end of the shoulder stick
Laying down is better than sitting.

Oen kin laen sai, oen sai laen ni.
Rushing to it when you are calling to eat,
but running away when you are calling to work.

An wa khuam tai ni khaen kho tuk bat nyang,
Tuen mue so hen na jang wa yang.
Death is always with us in every step of walking;
When we see each other in the next morning that means we are still alive.

Hai nyai lon hai noi bo tem.
While the big jar is over flooded, the small jar is still not full.

Fan kin mak kham pom phat pai kho kho mang.
A deer eats tamarin fruit, but the fruit gets stuck in an antelope’s throat;
Mang bo khi sam muea kkatai tai.
The antelope did not defecate for three day, then the rabbit died.

Liang sang thao khai nga dai kin kha,
*Raising an old elephant, you can sell its ivories when it dies;* liang sang noi tai Joi kha bo mi.
*If you raise a young elephant, you get nothing when it dies.*

Naeo nam kung si kum kin pa muek nyai,
*A shrimp will swallow a gigantic fish* pa siu lai suap khac ni pai son luep hin.
*A carp is chasing a crocodile into a rock cave.*

Jao het hai hai dai taeng nuai na
*When you work on a farm, you get big melons;* jao het na hai jao man man khao
*When you work in paddy field you get a lot of rice.*

Jao pai laeo hai jao yu samran.
*When you departed, you will get comfortable life* ya dai mi phai phan sing dai ma tong.
*No any danger comes near you.*

Mi ngoen thong lai lon a-nyu nyuen nyao nying.
*Having a lot of wealth you live long.* Sappasing hai ya ma kai hai hang kai.
*All bad things must stay away from you.*

Non lap hai jao dai ngoen muen
*Get ten thousand baht when you fall asleep* Non tuen hai jao dai noen saen.
*When you wake up you get one hundred thousand baht* Paen mue pai hai dai kaeo mani sot.
*You will get a precious gem when you open your hands.*

Thot hai ya ma phan
*Serious penalties should not get near you*

Man hai ya ma biat
*Bad Mara should not get close to you.*

Hai jao hai saniat jannai
*All unlucky things should disappear.*

Phong mu phai pha nyat
hai hai ni wen hang khing, jao de
*All serious illnesses should get out of your body.*

liang khuai don hai dai to khao kham
*When you raise a white buffalo,*
you will get is golden horns
liang kuai dam hai dai to khoa kao
When you raise a black buffalo,
you will get a gem horn
liang yai lao hai sang hai tham na
When the buffalos grow up,
you use them for ploughing.

hai jao nyuen nyao man samoe man khuca kao
May you have long life, as an old wild potato vine
hai jao hom yu luan samoe mai kaen jan
May you have a fragrant smell as a sandal wood.

Pha nya kiao (Courting Verses)

Male.
Oh no, jao phu jubu na thong thai phithumraj, hiam oei
Oh dear. The lovely one as a gem
Phi kho tham nat nong nang la yu haeng dai
I want to ask you that where are you from.
Jai prasong yang thae doen thiao dan duan , mani
What do you want for coming here?
Ai yak hu pha uan jao jong khai, nong oei
I want to know, please tell me.

Female.
Oh no. hao hak thiao thang pho hen kan lai thuea , loeng laeo
Oh dear. We have met each other many times already.
Jao hak ti thaloc lieuem na lao hua
You pretend to ask me.
Nong ka jai prasong nuai kao muca khot khaen khan
I want to get a crystal tying to my hand
Jai prasong ong uan jang duan ma phai phi
I aim at you so I come here.

Male.
Khan nong wao jang san
If you say so,
Pho yak sak khayong khuen muea thong plai phai, sa de
I would like to jump up to the top of the bamboo tree, oh dear.
Pho yak khuen ton mai ha mong katai non, sa de
May I climb up the tree to find a rabbit house.
Phini yan tac lon thang pho lom nying luang laitua
I am afraid of getting a lie from you.
hai sai khup khan ko nya wa maen pa, nong oci
You tell me to grab grass instead of a fish, oh dear.

Female.
Nong ni bo khoi saplap lin lom sai jak thuea
I never lie to any man
mi tae kham suea dai jai tang dang to
My words are as worthy as a wooden trunk
bo dai ngo ngae len tua pen pak mo
I am serious, I never tell a lie.
mi tae nyot do dac lam thac jang ja, ai oei
It's all the truth, thinking over it before speaking.

Male.
Khan maen jing jang wao ka hak maen bun lai
If tha is true, I am lucky.
Maen si morana tai ka bo lai luem nong
Even at my death, I won't forget you.
Si khoi pong ao jon dai bo lai pai pen uen
I'll try to have you with my all power.
Maen si yu fa si kam thuen thok ao, nong oei
I will get you even you are as far away as the horizon.

Female.
Khan ai wao jang san
If you said so,
Pho yak ton long nham ha hang mot daeng khai, sa de
I am excited to jump down the lake to find a red ant's nest, oh dear.
Pho yak khuen ton mai ha khiang khai pa, sa de
Or climbing up a tree to find fish nest, oh dear.
Nong ko yan tae wao bo mi kha kham nak
I am afraid you are just speaking without any value.
Yan tae ja bo mi kham khem juet jang pan nam
Your speech has no salty taste, only tasteless water.
Nong hak khoei hen laeo jai sai lai ngae
I have experienced many males's behaviors
Yan tac yao yok len hai pa tn sai fa, ai oei
I am afraid you just lure the fish to jump into fire.

Male.
Phi ni sai seng ka jong jai ja to
I am a brave man, intentionally speaking to you
Bo dai khit lok lo lai lin laojing
No wrong speech to cheat you.
Khan bo nac ai bo nying khan bo jing ai bo wao
If I am not certain I won't say so.
Khan bo ao ai bo wa
If I won't take, I won't say it.

rap fa pha ka dai jai ai hak thiang san, nong oei
I can take a lightning strike, if I do not tell you the truth.

Female.
Khan maen pen jang wao si yo mue sut sok
If it is as you have said, I will raise my two hands up high.
Maen si tam tok lim pha uan nong si khoi phian
Even I have to strike the wedge, I am happy to do it.
Nong bo buean thit liao ni sai kai hang
I am not swaying away, I will stick to it.
Si khoi non khok khang kai kiao kom phisai, ai oei
I will sleep nearby you, hugging you, oh dear.

Male.

Phi ni kho tac dai nat nong ma huam hiang song
I have just you staying with me,
Si bo pong pun ni jak phanang ham hang
I won't be away from you for even one minute
Phi jak pong jits man phan pi bo kai hang, nang laeo
I will concentrate my mind on you, even if it will take a thousand years
Bo hai kha khat hang pai dai khuep wa, nong oei
I will be always at your side, oh dear.

Female.

Nong ni, yan tac tok lum lau si dai pao
I am afraid to be caught up in your trap alone
Jao hak kin nuai laeo si lai thim tac khuca
After you eat the fruit you may leave the vine die.
Yan tac lai hiam sia hai yu phoy pen hang.
Leaving me as alone as a widow.
Tua hai nang tok lom
Trickling me to fall into the mud
Tok sanom wang yang kha si sang lang, nan laeo
In the deep and wide muddy lake with my legs pointing up, oh dear.

Male.

Phi ni khoam pak dai wa laeo tang thaiang pen sat
To me, for what I have said, I will keep it
Phi bo tua nong tok tam tai du hai
I won't let you down.
Yan tac ton tua nong tua sai hai tok tam
I am afraid that you will let me down.
Tua hai kam kaeng kae ta son hot hu, nong oei
You lie to me to grab it hard with all my strength.

Female.

Nong ni phat tac ton tua tang pen nying tit to, ma ni
Since I was born,
Sut thi tai thalaeng la bo mi tang to tua, ai oei
I will never tell a lie
Yan tac ton tua ai bo mi tai tap pot, sang nan
I am afraid, you don't have a heart
Satja jing tho king koi tit lin ka bo mi, ai oei.
You never have a tiny truth on your tongue.
Another set of Pha nya kiao (Courting Verses)

Nok khoa tu phak khu ka nyang khan, nong oei
Nok khoa tu do am c'uck cu' when he leaves his mate, oh dear.
Kawao won phak kan ka nyang hong
Kawao won c'ru' ka ka' when they leave their mates.
Bat wa nong phak ai kham diao bo oenn sang
But when you depart me, never saying a word.
Tang tae mai nyai lom ka nyang oen sang to, han de
Even when a big tree falls down, it says goodbye to its trunk.
Thang phi sang khua paen nong bon nam
I built a wooden bride for you, but you did not step on it
Thang phi sang khua kham nong bo tai
When I built a gold bridge, you did not use it either.
Bat wa bao thai kai sang tae khua mai oh
When a boyfriend came from the far village he built a bamboo bridge,
Mi tae to mai tae pen sian si khoi kan, san bo.
Full of wooden trunks with sharp thorns, do you like to climb on it?

Pha Nya Phasit (Pha Nya Proverbs)

Kin saep non lap
Enjoy eating and sleep soundly
Kin im bo yak non lap bo yan
When a stomach is full, there is no hunger; when falling a sleep, there is no fear
Kin sang bo luea kin suca bo im
Phu kin kin pho hak, phu yak yak pho tai.
I am eating all elephants and tigers, but I am still hungry.
One eats more than needed while the other is hungry near to death.
Kin phuam hon, fon phum mao.
Eat while the food is hot; dance when you are still drunk.
Khong kin bo kin man nai.
Food, if you don’t eat, it will be rotten
Khong kao bo lop man luem.
Old knowledge, if you don’t practice, it will be forgotten.
Khum khit mi bo phae, thuen si kha hak bo mi
One has a lot of ideas, but he has no money for business
Khau tu mak so, khon jon mak wao
A short horn buffalo likes to fight, and poor people like to talk
Ta bot wao lai, na lai wao yai
A blind man likes to talk too much,
While the person with small pox scabs likes to talk beyond his ability.
Sue tho sang hang tho maeo.
His name is as big as an elephant, but his real body is as a cat.
Tok mu haeng pen haeng, tok mu ka pen ka
Getting into a vulture’s group you become a vulture,
Getting into a crow’s group you become a crow.
Thuk phoen bo wa di, mi phone jang wa phi nong
When you are poor, nobody recognizes you;
When you are rich you will be recognized as a relative.

Nung phalai ma hao.
The dog will bark at the person who dresses with spotted clothes
Wao khuam kao phit kan.
You will get into fighting if you keep talking about past deeds.
Kang khuen pen hen, kang wen pen nok khoa
Become a palm civet at night; become an owl in the day time.
Puk huean hai tam jai phu yu, puk u hai tam jai phu non.
Build a house according the owner preference;
Set up the cradle as a sleeper favor.
Nyam pai hujak la, nyam ma hujak khop.
Say goodbye when you leave and inform when you return.
Mi ngoen wao dai.
You can say anything when you have money.
Mi mai het huean ngam.
You can build a beautiful house when you have wood.
Mi phua hai sang nyong, mi nong hai san oi
If you have a husband, give him compliments;
If you have younger brothers or sisters, give them sweet words.
Moho ni pha to tok tam.
Angriness brings you down.
Mak ngai dai nyak, lambak dai di.
If you work without an effort you will be in hardship later;
If you are a hard working person you will receive happiness at the end.
Wai pak sia sin, wai tin tok kok mai.
If you are a quick utterer, you may break a code of conduct;
If you are a quick climber, you may fall down easily.
Ngoen saen you fak fa ya pai ao khaning ha;
Song salueang ma mue hai fao kam ao wai.
Don’t hope for a hundred thousand baths over the sky;
But if you have two quarters of baby in your hand, please grab them right away.
Sip hu bo tho khoei, sip luk khoei boro pho tho.
Ten times of knowing is not the same as one time doing;
Ten sons-in-law’s knowledge is not equal to his father-in-law’s.
Ma lai jao kin khoa lai huean.
A dog that belongs to many families will eat food from many houses.
Nang sue kom tang khet tang mi, kon khi si khet noi kon nyai.
Everyone has his own little book;
Similar to the different sizes of wooden resins.
Wan pen lom, khom pen ya.
Sweeten thing causes you fainte;
While the bitter thing is a medicine.
Hap di kua khoen, non di kua nam.
Carrying one bucket at each end of a shoulder stick is more comfortable than carrying one bucket on one end of the shoulder stick.
Laying down is better than sitting.
Oen kin laen sai, oen sai laen ni.
Rush to it when you are calling to eat,
But runn away when you are called for work.

An wa khuam tai ni khaen kho tuk bat nyang,
Tuen mue sao hen na jang wa yang.
Death is always with us in every step of walking;  
When we see each other in the next morning that means we are still alive.  
Hai nyai lon hai noi bo tem.  
While the big jar is overflooded, the small jar is still not full.  
Fan kin mak kham pom phat pai kha kho mang.  
A deer eats tamarind fruit, but the fruit gets stuck in an antelope's throat;  
mang bo khi sam muea kkatai tai.  
The antelope did not defecate for three day, then the rabbit died.  
Liang sang thao khai nga dai kin kha,  
_Raising an old elephant, you can sell its ivories when it dies;_  
Liang sang noi tai joi kha bo mi.  
_If you raise a young elephant, you get nothing when it dies._  
Naeo nam kung si kum kin pa muek nyai,  
_A shrimp will swallow a gigantic fish_  
Pa siu lai suap khae ni pai son luep hin.  
_A carp is chasing a crocodile into a rock cave._

**Pha nya Kiao (Courting Verses)**

**Male.**

Oh no, jao phu jubu na thong thai phithumraj, hiam oei  
Oh dear. The lovely one as a gem  
Phi kho tham nat nong nang la yu haeng dai  
I want to ask you that where are you from.  
Jai prasong yang thae doen thiao dan duan , mani  
What do you want for coming here?  
Ai yak hu pha uan jao jong khai, nong oei  
I want to know, please tell me.

**Female.**

Oh no. hao hak thiao thang pho hen kan lai thuca , loeng laco  
_Oh dear. We have met each other for much time already._  
Jao hak ti thaloei lin luem na lao hua  
_You pretend to ask me._  
Nong ka jai prasong nuai kaeo muca khot khaen khuan  
_I want to get a crystal tying to my hand_  
Jai prasong ong uan jang duan ma phai phi  
_I aim at you so I come here._

**Male.**

Khan nong wao jang san  
_If you say so._  
Pho yak sak khayong khuen muea thong plai phai, sa de  
_I would like to jump up to the top of the bamboo tree, oh dear._  
Pho yak khuen ton mai ha mong katai non, sa de  
_May I climb up the tree to find a rabbit house._  
Phini yan tae lon thang pho lom nying luang laitua  
_I am afraid of getting a lie from you._

hai sai khup khan ko nya wa maen pa, nong oei  
_You tell me to grab grass instead of a fish, oh dear._
Female.
Nong ni bo khoci saplap lin lom sai jak thuca
I never lie to any man
mi tae kham suea dai jai tang dang to
My words are as worthy as a wooden trunk
bo dai ngo ngae len tua pen pak mo
I am serious, I never tell a lie.
Mi tae nyot do dae lam thae jang ja, ai oei
It's all the truth, thinking over it before spoken.

Male.
Khan maen jing jang wao ka hak maen bun lai
If that is true, I am lucky.
Maen si morana tai ka bo lai luem nong
Even at my death, I won't forget you.
Si khoi pong ao jon dai bo lai pai pen uen
I'll try to have you with all my power
Maen si yu fak fa si kam thuen thok ao, nong oei
I will get you even you are as far away as the horizon

Female.
Khan ai wao jang san
If you say so
Pho yak ton long nam ha hang mot daeng khai, sa de
I am excited to jump down to the lake to find a red ant's nest, oh dear.
Pho yak xhuen ton mai ha khlong khai pa, sa de
Or climbing up a tree to find a fish nest, oh dear.
Nong ko yan tae wao bo mi kha kham nak
I am afraid you are just speaking without any value.
Yan tae ja bo mi kham khem juet jang pan nam
Your speech has no salty taste, only tasteless wate.
Nong khooi hen laeo jai sai lai ngae
I have experienced many males's behaviors
Yan tae yao yek len hai pa tn sai fai, ai oei
I am afraid you just lure the fish to jump into fire.

Male.
Phi ni sai seng ka jong jai ja to
I am a brave man, intentionally speaking to you
Bo dai khit lok lo lai lin lao jing
No wrong speech to cheat you.
Khan bo nai ai bo nying khan bo jing ai bo wao
If I am not certain I won't say so.
Khan bo ao ai bo wa
If I won't take, I won't say it.
rap fa pha ka dai jai ai hak thiang san, nong oei
I can take a lightning strike, if I do not tell you the truth

Female.
Khan maen pen jang wao si yo mue sut sok
If it is as you have said, I will raise my two hands up high.
Maen si tam tok lim pha uan nong si khoi phian
Even I have to strike the wedge, I am happy to do it.
Nong bo buean thit liao ni sai kai hang
I am not swaying away, I will stick to it.
Si khoi non khok khang kai kiao kom phisai, ai oei
I will sleep nearby you, hugging you, oh dear.

Male.
Phi ni kho tae dai nat nong ma huam hiang song
I only have you staying with me.
Si bo pong pun ni jak phanang ham hang
I won’t be away from you for even one minute
Phi jak pong jit man phan pi bo kai hang, nang laco
I will concentrate my mind on you, even it will take a thousand years
Bo hai kha khat hang pai dai khuep wa, nong oei
I will be always at your side, oh dear.

Female.
Nong ni, yan tae tok lum lo luang sai dai pao
I am afraid to be caught up in your trap alone
Jao hak kin nuai laco si lai thim tae khuea
After you eat the fruit you may leave the vine to die.
Yan tae lai hiam sia hai yu phoy pen hang.
Leaving me alone as a widow.
Tua hai nang tok lom
Tricking me to fall into the mud
Tok sanom wang yang kha si sang lang, nan laco
In the deep and wide muddy lake with my legs pointing up, oh dear.

Male.
Phi ni khuam pak dai wa laeo tang thiang pen sat
To me, for what I have said, I will keep it
Phi bo tua nong tok tam tai du hai
I won’t let you down.
Yan tae ton tua nong tua sai hai tok tam
I am afraid that you will let me down.
Tua hai kam kaeng kae ta son hot hu, nong oei
You lie to me to grab it hard with all my strength.

Female.
Nong ni phat tae ton tua tang pen nying tit to, ma ni
To me, since I was born,
Sut thi tai thalaeng la bo mi tang to tua, ai oei
I never tell a lie.
Yan tae tua tua aai bo mi tai tap pot, sang nan
I am afraid that you don’t have your heart
Satja jing tho king koi tit link a bo mi, ai oei.
You don’t ever have any honesty.

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On the Roles of Pha Nya Poetries upon Northeast Thai and Laos PDR. People.

Historically, Isan (Northeast Thai) people and Lao people in Laos PDR, were exposed to pha nya phasit and pha nya kao repeatedly on many occasions, such as from story tellings; sou kwan (soul blessing) rituals on many auspicious occasions—birthdays, ordinations, marriages, illnesses, work promotions, taking or returning from long journeys, retirement; attending and watching lam performing arts, reading Isan literature which are mostly Jataka stories that contain Buddhist doctrines. As such, Isan and Lao people needed to traverse these orientation processes in order to absorb societal codes of conduct.

Pha Nya for Sukwaan Ritual
(Blessing Pha Nya)

Jao het hai hai dai taeng nuai na
When you work on a farm, you get a big melon;
Jao het na hai jao man man khao
When you work in a paddy field you get a lot of rice.
Jao pai laeo hai jao yu samran.
When you depart, you will have a comfortable life
Ya dai mi phai phan sing dai ma tong,
No dangers should come near you.
Mi ngoen thong lai lon a-nyu nyuen nyao nying,
Have a lot of wealth and a long life.
Sappasing hai ya ma kai hai hang kai.
May all bad things stay away from you.
Non lap hai jao dai ngoen muen
Get a ten thousand baht when you fall asleep
Non tuen hai jao dai noen saen.
When you wake you will get one hundred thousand baht
Paen mue pai hai dai kaeo mani sot.
You will get a precious gem when you open your hands.
Thot hai ya ma phan
May serious penalty not come near you
Man hai ya ma biat
May bad Mara not come near to you.
Hai jao hai sianiat janrai
May all unlucky things disappear.
Phong mu phai pha nyat hai hai ni wen hang khing, jao de
May all serious illnesses get out of your body
Liang khuai don hai dai to khao kham
When you raise a white buffalo, you will get golden horns
Liang kuai dam hai dai to khao kaeco
When you raise a black buffalo, you will get a gem horn
Liang yai laeo hai sang hai tham na
When the buffalos grow up, you use them for ploughing.
hai jao nyuen nyao man samoe man khuea kao
May you have a life as old as a wild potato vine
hai jao hom yu luan samoe mai kaen jan
May you have smell as fragrant as sandle wood.
Pha Nya in Lam Performing Arts

Lam performing arts have been of the most popular form of entertainment. Molam singers have brought both knowledge and entertainment to villages, whereas Jataka (former stories of the Buddha) were brought to society through palm reading at funeral ceremonies, thought molam singers, and through Pha Nya courting verses which educated through happiness. The Molam brought in Pha Nya Phasit or Pha Nya Kiao to audiences. An example is the popular proverb Mak ngai dai nyak lam bak dai di (Work hard at the onset, and you will be comfortable in life at the end).

The form of pha nya in lam performing arts is rather neat in terms of its formal structure. The stanza of Pha Nya poetry for lam singing consists of four lines. Each line contains seven to twelve syllables or four steady beats of musical pulse. I diagramtize this below:

```
Khan nong khit hot ai hia liao boeng duean dao
An wa saeng ta hao si kom kan yu thoeng fa
Sa thu doe, kho hai bun pha la | sang naen nam nao jong
Pha hai ai lue nong dai non son kom song
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Translation:
If you miss me, please look it up into the sky
Our eye sights will meet there
Oh God. Please help us. Our merit will lead us
Making two of us living together.

References


From Upland to Lowland: Karen Learners’ Positioning and Identity Construction through Language Socialization in the Thai Classroom Context

Nopthira Jawaut

"Muban Chombueng Rajabhat University, Thailand

Remart Dumlao

"Muban Chombueng Rajabhat University, Thailand

Abstract

Karen (or Kariang or Yang) are a group of heterogeneous ethnic groups that do not share common culture, language, religion, or material characteristics, and who live mostly in the hills bordering the mountainous region between Myanmar and neighboring countries (Fratticcioli 2001; Harriden 2002). Some of these groups have migrated to Thailand’s borders. Given these huge numbers of migrant Karens, there is a paucity of research and understanding of how Karen learners from upland ethnic groups negotiate and construct their identities when they socialize with other lowland learners.

This paper explores ways in which Karen learners negotiate and construct their identities through language socialization in the Thai learning context. The study draws on insights from discourse theory and ecological constructionism in order to understand the identity and negotiation process of Karen learners at different levels of identity construction. Multiple semi-structured interviews were conducted to gain deeper understandings of this phenomenon between ethnicity and language socialization. The participants were four Karen learners who were studying in a Thai public university.

Findings suggest that Karen learners experience challenges in forming their identity and in negotiating their linguistic capital in learning contexts. The factors influencing these perceptions seemed to emanate from the stakeholders and the international community, which played significant roles in the context of learning. The findings also reflect that Karen learner identity formation and negotiation in language socialization constitutes a dynamic and complex process involving many factors and incidences, discussed in the present study. The analysis presented has implications for immigration, mobility, language, and cultural policy, as well as for future research.

**Keywords**: Karen, identity, positioning, negotiation.

Introduction

Karen is an ethnic minority that migrated to Thailand from bordering countries. The group is considered as the largest minority group in Thailand, living mostly at mountainous upland borders. Most have settled and live in Thailand for generations (Buakanok et al. 2019). With distinguished social attributes, language and
culture, the Karen display their self-uniqueness through their modest living style in villages. However, the Karen would be labeled as a homeland. With limited facilities and resources, Karen parents opt to send their children to Thai public schools to pursue their education, in the hope of a future better life. Unfortunately, the Thai school context with mixed Thai children drastically contrasts with what they used to be in the villages. The new environment appears to be an outside world creating a significant challenge. As such, they are required to adjust themselves and to negotiate with other members in the school settings. New self-positioning is formed through re-defined selflessness and the perceptions of others toward the Karen in modern society. As Bakhtin (1935) explains, identities and attitudes could be re-conceptualized from the environment that individuals take, toward others, toward content, and considering the effects of utterances. The experience of challenges creates process and form when negotiating meaning and in being socialized through language in context with the ultimate goal of survival and social acceptance, processes which echo identity formation (see Abu-Saad 2006; Hsieh 2006; Jo 2002; Morita 2004; Reeves 2009; Umaschi Bers 2001).

Although extensive research has contributed to the areas of ethnic minorities and Karen ethnography, especially in terms of their language and culture as end-products (e.g., Hongladarom 2002; Renard 2000; Trupp 2011; Phillips 1996), surprisingly there are few studies on the investigation of how these people struggle to transform themselves in a new society. An integrative understanding of identity formation is still overlooked, but substantially impact on world development. The public can learn how the Karen construct concepts of the self through their language socialization, as well as factors that influence this process.

The present study benefits Thai society in terms of obtaining better understandings of the Karen identity construction and how they perceive their surroundings in the Thai learning context. The findings shed light on further necessary actions and guidelines for governments and stakeholders to fully support and truly accept the Karen learners as member of larger communities. Development of the more vigorous relationship establishment can take place from micro- to larger scales, for national prosperity, stability and for sustainability.

Related Literature

Learning Contexts of Karen Learners in Thailand

Ethnic minorities in Thailand mostly migrated from bordering countries as the largest minority group found in Thailand. The Karen usually inhabit the uplands encompassing mountainous areas (Buakanok et al. 2019). For those with longer generation lines, their descendants have permanently settled and have lived typically in the same way as the Thai-born Karen in low lands. Their lifeworlds include a simplicity in villages, earning a living through farming. Some of these communities with rightful citizenship can own their lands, but others still utilize public areas as their own. With their own distinguished cultures, language, religion and social practices, the Karen tend to set their boundaries within their territories and attempt to preserve their sovereignty and to establish their feelings of security (Parker 2017).

Inevitably, at a certain age, Karen children need to attend regular Thai public schools, the history of which can be traced back to 1922 (Buakanok et al. 2019). This migration from the uplands to the lowlands for educational purposes motivates social turbulence, and influences not only a different living environment but also surrounding social attributes (e.g., language, cultures, norms, religion, etc.). This leads to the necessity of a social adaptation and a new identity formation and social negotiation. Through their (limited competence) use of the (mandatory) Thai language, Karen learners are challenged with major problems communication (Delang 2005). This problem comes brings with it more problems, such as social discrimination, social inequality, and so forth. In such a Thai learning context, the Thai language is mandatory in classroom contexts.
In a classroom where Thai and Karen learners are mixed, most Karen learners have not mastered the Thai language, more so at an early age. As a government solution, extra Thai language classes were usually offered and registered to improve the competence of the Thai language of the Karen learners. At college level, for instance, the difficulty in using the Thai language is gradually diminishing and thus increasing daily exposure to the language. However, this then brings speakers to the next stage which is how to cope with learning after which these learners must step into a social mainstream so as to integrate into society. Since the whole context is seemingly not in line with the Karen social structure, it appears to be a barrier in new society. The process of how the Karen negotiate their position and identities, as well as their language socialization, remains uninvestigated, and can shed light on Karen learners’ membership into Thai society.

**Language Socialization**

Language socialization is directly related to pragmatics which is limited to context in terms of verbal act, activity, turn, sequence, agency and so forth (see Dumlao 2020; Garrett and Patricia 2002; García-Sánchez and Innaculada 2010; Kramsch 2003; Ochs and Schieffelin 1979). The domain of cultural knowledge has not been considered as such. Covering that gap, the meaning of language socialization is later extended to the interaction or engagement of learners with others in the context of border situations, including culture that integrates a range of social factors such as semiotics, ecosystems, social practices, ideologies, psychological aspects and so forth (see Dumlao 2020; Ochs et al. 2011). It also incorporates how a child becomes a member of family and community. The focal part of language socialization is the communication of an individual in a particular society while he/she is shifting and enduring perspectives to portray and maintain relationships, institutions, morality, beliefs, emotions, actions, knowledge and the process of becoming a member. Language socializing considers that an individual can be an expert in one situation but a novice in another. Through heterogeneity of linguistics and cultures, a community frequently experiences language shift, loss and overall change (Pratt 1991). According to the language socialization framework, in the present study, language socialization also occurs in the Karen ethnic minority when the community migrates from its upland context to the lowland. The contradictions between the two contexts, as well as the perception gained through multiple eyes, lend to a formation of an adaptive set of beliefs, attitudes, characteristics and to the establishment of relationships with other members in Thai learning context.

**Social Positioning and Identity Constructing**

According to Tajfel et al. (1979), individuals logically establish their sense of who they are based on group membership or social status. Society plays a crucial role as a source of pride and self-esteem in constituting sense of belonging. This state is called ‘social identity construction’ or ‘self-conceptualization.’ Additionally, Frable (1997) defined social identity as the process through which individuals make sense of the world around them and through what matters to them as ‘me.’ This includes beliefs and perceptions about the self. Here, social positioning and identity construction are the processes of making meaning of self-conception so as to make sense of belonging within the group.

There are three stages in the formation of social identity; categorization, social identification and social comparison (Tajfel et al. 1979). The categorizing process, as the first stage, is based on the comparison of the differences and similarities between themselves and others. Individuals tend to divide their world into two separate social groups as us’ and ‘them.’ The terms in-group and out-group are then used to define ‘us’ and ‘them.’ In the second stage, through the social identification process, individuals resort to the identity of the group to create a sense of belonging. They conform to group norms as they believe that this constitutes the way
other people act in a group. The final stage deals with social comparison. Individuals compare their group with others so as to maintain their self-esteem. They are forced to compete with other groups to ensure that they perceive that they are outperforming others. This social comparison comes with separation that may eventually result in racism and discrimination.

A challenging question then arises: “Is self identity stable?” According to Turner (1956), self identity may be a stable and ever-changing mental construct, depending on influential social factors. Identity can be reshaped as long as social circumstances change. In the present study, in a particular Thai learning context, the status of Karen learners is initially formed to display their positioning and belongingness. This phenomenon is constructed by the changes that Karens encounter through the perceptions of social influences at different levels.

Identity of Ethnic Minorities

The characteristics of the identity of ethnic minorities are predicated on the junctures among language, religion, race and ancestry (Yinger 1985). Moreover, their concept of identity tends to be related to dominance and power. As previous studies indicate, minorities do not have equality, and are limited in power when needing to integrate into society, as isolated and marked due to the differences between these minorities and the dominant groups (Mindel, Habenstein and Wright 1988). For example, Van Dijk (1993) studied the discourse analysis of ethnic and racial inequality in society from the views of the majority or dominant groups so as to investigate how the members or institutions described the minorities, the roles they played in society towards the minorities and intergroup relation. Inequality was found to be high for the ethnic minorities. Similarly, Oyserman and Harrison (1998) explored race and identity issues of African Americans represented in society. Ethnic minorities have also been shown to effectively cope with situations in which they may experience racial prejudice (Sellers, Caldwell, Schmeelk-Cone and Zimmerman 2003). However, their identity construct in the new context eventually functions in moderating the effects of racism.

The present study aims to conceptualize the factors associated with Karen learners’ adaptation to Thai classroom contexts. During adaptation, a myriad of changes occurs, e.g., involving languages for communication, cultural and social negotiations that link to their ethnic identity. Surely, there may be an absence of heritage factors, and a changing transition, so as to avoid social discrimination and inequality in the outer socio-cultural context. Amidst the state of conflict, the ethnic minority can alternatively deal with prejudice or discrimination in a positive way that provides resistance or resilience in a particular context until such a time as when the minority can enact a productive behavior.

Theoretical Framework from the Perspective of Identity as an Ecological Construct

Identity formation can be a developmental process in which an individual constructs own meaning about social influences at all levels of organization within an ecology (Bronfenbrenner 2005). Simply put, an individual sees himself/herself through the perceptions of society. Mutual interactions at different levels shape the creation of the self-meaning as a single unit that emanates from a multidimensional view of society. Along with the mechanics of identity construction, Dumla and Tepsuriwong (2019) divided identity analysis into four levels, based on an ecological construct. These are the intra-level (i.e. self-image), the inter-level (i.e. perceptions from peers and teachers), the societal level (i.e. perceptions from school, school administrative members), and the organizational level (i.e. perceptions from government agents). The forms of negotiation of meaning of self-concept through ecological construct are varied. The reflections can be prosocial or antisocial.
To gain a holistic view, the present study employed ecological construct analysis as the tool to bring about the phenomenon of Karen learners’ self-positioning and identity construction in the Thai classroom context. The theoretical framework of the study is defined in Figure 1 below.

![Theoretical Framework](image)

**Figure 1 Theoretical Framework**

**Methodology**

A qualitative research that relies on in-depth interviews as the main tool for data collection (Edwards and Holland 2013) was employed. The research made use of interview guidelines (e.g. a set of open-style questions about daily experiences in a Thai classroom) to ensure that the respondents would address the research questions. The context of the research was a public university in Ratchaburi, Thailand, located near the Karen minority communities around Thai western borders. The scope focused on the study of the Karen learners’ language positioning and identity construction through their language socialization in the Thai classroom context. Participants were four Karen learners of Thai across faculties who were purposively selected. These Karen-participants were current students familiar with the researchers, assisting them to share in-depth information openly and honestly (Edwards and Holland 2013). This study was conducted between February 2019 and November 2019.

**Data Collection and Analysis**

One-hour in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted for each participant. The tool was validated by a panel of experts and adjusted according to the suggestions before the trials. Thai language was used as the medium for the interviews. The data were audio-recorded and later transcribed. Also, consent was received prior to interviews in the form of clearly written statements of purpose. The set of questions adhered to the participants’ perceptions about themselves and the ways in which they perceived other members in the four different levels of society perceiving them. Data collected from the interviews was treated with complete confidentiality, and only the researchers have access to this data. Participants were informed about and were assured of their anonymity throughout the study. For data analysis, a constant comparative approach (Schloss and Smith1999) was used. From the below data analysis, the set of coding schemes was defined as in Table 1:

(a) Collection of data from four cases of the Karen learner participants;
(b) Identification of important issues and recurring events and use of these to create four key categories;
(c) Collection of additional data to provide examples for each category;
(d) Writing about the categories and description of how they may account for all events in the document. Reformulation of some categories and deletion of others as the data dictates;
(e) Identification of patterns and relationships; and
(f) Developing a theory.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coding Schemes</th>
<th>Descriptions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intra-Level (IT)</td>
<td>Self-perception, self-image, self-awareness, individual personality, individual attitudes, and beliefs, developed from social experiences of Thai classrooms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter-Level (IT)</td>
<td>Individual interaction with other parties in Thai classroom context such as with peers, teachers, etc. The perspective towards those parties.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizational-Level (OR)</td>
<td>Individual interaction with organizations related to Thai classroom context such as school, school administrative members, etc. The perspective towards those parties.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Societal-Level (SC)</td>
<td>Individual interaction with other members on a larger scale of society, with governments, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Coding Schemes

The coding schemes emerged from the ecological construct analysis at different levels, including the intra-level, inter-level, organizational-level and societal levels. The descriptions of all of the schemes reflects the meaning negotiations of the Karen learners at different levels in the Thai classroom context. Both researchers were the inter-raters in coding transcription so as to validate data in each category.

Findings

The data for each theme in Table 2 is based on coding schemes at the four levels:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Levels</th>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Extracts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intra-level</td>
<td>Embodying ‘self’ with their language and culture</td>
<td>- I love my language and culture. That is where I’m from. [Yu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter-Level</td>
<td>Interacting in ‘divergence and convergence’ through language socialization</td>
<td>- I felt so nervous when I first came to the Thai classroom. I was afraid that Thai classmates might look at me. [Air]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Most of my teachers pulled me back from the point of despair. I feel like I can regain my dignity from being insulted... [Air]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizational Level</td>
<td>Strengthening a sense of belongingness and alignment</td>
<td>- In my schools, the management promoted a lot of the culture of ethnic groups like Karen. [Bu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Societal-Level Perception</td>
<td>Claiming legitimacy and citizenship</td>
<td>- I felt fulfilled as I got the citizenship....[Nong]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Taxonomic of themes and extracts at the four levels of ecological construct

More details of the findings in each scheme were described as follows:

(a) Embodying ‘self’ with language and culture
From the result of the intra-level analysis, all participants suggested that their common identities were such that they encompassed their unique Karen language and culture. In both uplands and lowlands, their internal beliefs and attitudes about themselves remained consistent. Some example excerpts are:

> I love the way I’m as a Karen. There was once my teacher asked the class who was Karen in the class, so I raised my hand and told her that I was a Karen. She was astonished because she said she couldn’t even catch that from my Thai accent. And my friend asked me why I dared to tell the whole like that. I didn’t see anything wrong with that. [Bu]

> I like Karen clothes, you know. I think they are beautiful. They mostly are hand-woven with classic patterns. You can also see my bag I’m using here. It is also made of hand-woven cotton. Many of my Thai friends often ask me to buy some for them. [Air]

Their expression displayed a strong feeling of pride in their own ethnic identity. There was no hesitation while answering the questions, expressed a privilege in having more than one culture and languages, as, for example:

> I felt good when my classmates ask me to teach them some of the Karen languages. They said they wanted to know what my Karen friends and I spoke with. I think I get the privilege of knowing more languages than them. [Nong]

In this sense, they compared themselves with the new group, and perceived that being themselves is better than being an outer group member.

(b) Interacting in ‘divergence and convergence’ through language socialization

At the inter-level, the findings revealed that the Karen learners initially had a significant problem when communicating with Thai classmates. As the Thai language was the only language allowed in the Thai school, and that their Thai language competence was still not native, they were impeded by pronunciation, where some errors emanated from Thai extended grammar. The problem was significantly embarrassment and discrimination when speaking differently to other Thais.

The Karen were discriminated against by their Thai peers. This became a major factor in creating confusion with regards to self-conception, despair and anxiety with living in society. This divergence facilitated struggle and feelings of separation from the group. For example, one participant stated the following:

> I felt so upset when I first overheard my friends said that their parents didn’t want them to mingle with me because I was a Karen. It hurt me a lot at that time. I felt numb for a long while, and then many questions came up to my mind, especially was it my fault? What kind of fault that I ever made to them? Simply nothing. Just they might think they were better and higher than us. That made me feel that I didn’t want to be with them anymore. I was a bit scared. [Air]

Nevertheless, instead of being isolated or dismissing from the group as it was not an option for them, the Karen learners tried harder to practice Thai as much as they could to sound more like Thai, and to eliminate the barriers among their peers in an attempt to converge into society. Some of the example excerpts were as follows:
When I first studied in M.1 (Grade 7 in high school), my classmate laughed at me when they heard me speaking Thai. I felt so bad at that time but I tried so hard to make it better. I didn’t want to be like that anymore. So, I practiced a lot with some of my good Thai friends. Luckily, I found good friends like them. They helped me a lot, correcting my Thai accent. And now I’m happy; I passed through it. [Nong]

I tried to make them accept me. I dedicated myself to study until I could give them helps on their assignments. I think I was better at studying because I worked much harder. [Bu]

Moral encouragement lay heavily on their Christian beliefs so as to bring negativity to positivity, and some of their Thai friends were understanding and supportive. Those factors helped them to overcome the hardship and to blend into society, as one of the participants noted:

I think my religion helps me a lot in changing my attitude toward the world around me. I try my best to better correct things that I can and avoid taking other negative words to destroy my inner-self. You can just let it go and move on. [Yu]

Convergence takes place once they overcome the problem, as they become accustomed to difficulty and live normally.

(c) Strengthening a sense of belongingness and alignment

At the organizational level of interactions, the findings showed that the Karen learners strengthen their sense of belongingness in and alignment to society. According to the Thai government tourism campaign imposed by the Tourism Authority of Thailand to promote cultures for national tourism, ethnic cultures were embedded in a national tourism strategic plan, where Karen’s culture was one of these (Riddhagni 2019). Amid a national tourism recession, the ethnic cultures were utilized as tools used to attract both local and international tourists, where the unique ethnic cultures could stimulate the local economy. Thus, Thai public schools at the western border areas fully capitalized on the promotion of Karen language and culture through schools events. These factors drastically built on the adverse shift of the society’s perceptions toward Karen, from prejudice (negative) to appreciation (affirmative). Their classmates turned out to be more interested in the Karen language and culture than they did toward racism, a phenomenon then moving to the social mainstream. The Karen eventually felt accepted as a part of society. The Karen learners regained their pride and were willing to participate in all kinds of school activities related to ethnic language and culture. Their self-esteem was escalated. Conclusively, the government policy was one of the predominant triggers to strengthen the Karen learners’ sense of belongingness and alignment, indicated in excerpts transcribed as follows:

There were many cultural activities that the school asked me to join. For example, the principles and their team asked me to wear Karen clothes for the school’s parade on a sports day. A lot of people looked at me like I was on a stage in a spotlight (He laughed). They said my culture was interesting. I think now things change. [Bu]

Some of the Thai teachers asked me to teach them our language. They said they wanted to know it to communicate better with the Karen kids. [Yu]”
In the Thai classroom context, people are more open to all races. The Karen learners felt more confident and lived normally as did others. One informant noted the following:

_I think things change in Thailand. In the past, our people lacked the confidence to wear our Karen costumes in public. But now more Karen likes to wear our clothes even in school._ [Nong]

An interesting finding on social alignment was the discovery that the longer they lived in the community, the better was their adjustment. They felt like a part of society as did other Thai learners and did not perceive themselves as different to others.

_When I was with them for some years, we started to become friends. Maybe we had no choices and I didn’t feel any differences between us anymore._ [Bu]”

(d) Claiming legitimacy and citizenship

At the societal level, some Karen learners who have obtained citizenship claimed that they felt like they had already been a part of Thai society. Yet, some had not obtained citizenship, and were waiting with hope. Despite the uncertainty and inconsistency of government regulation about the legitimacy of their citizenship, the Karen learners anticipated citizenship as it was a symbol of rightful belonging to Thai society, while offering social benefit and welfare, e.g., eligibility for government job applications, a driver’s license, cell phone registration, government certificate registration, ownership of land, etc. These were all included in the package. Unfortunately, becoming a lawful citizen of Thailand even for those born in Thailand was not a guaranteed. There thus lacks a systematic government process to assign Thai-born Karen legitimacy, becoming a human rights issue. The criteria for applying for citizenship is predicated on several conditions, such as levels of Thai language competence, the investigation of their upper family line who had received citizenship, higher educational degree, and so forth. One participant shared her experience:

_I just got citizenship for three years from my mother’s inheritance. She and I needed to take the DNA test to prove that we were my granddad's bloodline. He’s got the citizenship first, and that could legalize us to get it also. Now I get all of the social benefits like a Thai. Thank God for that. We are poor. We need government support, and I live in Thailand since I was born. I can speak Thai like other Thai. However, I never forget who I am, and I love my Karen being. I think I may be a version of a stronger Karen who can adapt myself well with Thai after struggling a lot, comparing to my first me in the past._ [Nong]

One participant noted that there are consequences to waiting for good news:

_I had no idea how long it would be my time, but I still kept hoping because no better option to choose. If I graduated from the bachelor's, I would get a higher chance. Let see. Please pray for me._ [Yu]

This participant was born and lived in Thailand throughout life. However, she continued to await this final stage of citizenship, as did many of her friends.
Conclusion and Discussion

Identity Construction through Language Socialization

The findings presented that language socialization of the Karen learners came in the form of self-conception and identity construction in the Thai classroom context. The changes around these learners did not significantly affect their ethnic identity, but rather, they continued to identify with their own unique culture and language. This was consistent with the concept of ethnic minorities' identity construction, which is always characterized by a mixture of speech, religion, race and ancestry (Yinger 1985). The Karen learners did not assume the identity of Thai students since they welcomed difference. This process is self-categorization and social identification (Tajfel et al. 1979).

However, amid diverse conditions and influence by power relations of the Thai language in context, the use of their secondary discourse was obligatory. Karen language identity emerged in their expert language use. Code switching often occurred in classroom. Language choices were accommodated to contextually. Additionally, their use of L2 was significantly influenced by their L1, evident in the syntactic and phonetic features of their L2. L2 language expressions were eventually mixed with their own accent and the misplacement of syntax, influenced by their L1. The phonological and syntactical patterns of their L2 language posited great challenges while blending in with the new society. The Karen therefore directed significant effort into adjusting their L2 language so as to approximate native use of Thai, and to avoid racial discrimination. As shown in the findings, some managed to become part of society and to gain social acceptance by constantly improving their Thai accent. The others decided to fill the social gap by proving strengthening their class, which proved to be more arduous. These groups used pressure to develop their willpower so as to move forward, much more than did native Thai speakers. This is a process of social comparison (Tajfel et al., 1979) for which the ethnic group somehow attempts to prove its superiority or at least to regain its pride.

Social discrimination, common in most cases across the world, happened to ethnic minorities. It could lead to positive or negative forces by the minorities. As previous research projected the image of racial inequality in society of ethnic minorities. The majority or dominant groups always created inequality and discrimination. There were often times the minorities could pass through such threats, but also many times failed, and that finally resulted in aggression (Oyserman and Harrison, 1998). However, in the present study, discrimination in the Thai classroom context is not tense or violent. The findings showed that the Karen learners were discriminated once the Thai peers caught up their language used from their Thai accents. However, it was at a mild degree leading to the pathways where the Karen learners pushed themselves forward and managed to adjust themselves as a part of the society. Therefore, their identity construct of the Karen learners in Thailand eventually more functioned in moderating the effects of racism.

Sense of Belonging

When entering society, individuals were required to create a sense of belonging to become a member. In the present study, the Karen learners eventually acquired a sense of belonging as most lived in Thailand since birth. Time matters for adjustment and the construct of sense of belonging. The informants implied that they did not perceived themselves as significantly different from others after passing the stage of discrimination. The legitimacy of citizenship was the final stage with which to endorse feelings of membership in Thailand. Empirical evidence was found in the theory of identity construction, for which a sense of belonging was the key in order to integrate into society (Lave and Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998).
Government policy was a key factor in promoting a sense of belonging since it has the power to change public perception (Birka 2013). This study evidently found that the shift of public attitudes changes once the government positively promotes cultural tourism, including that of ethnic minorities.

Social Alignment and Participation

The findings also presented that the Karen learners attempted to negotiate their social identities (see Au 2002; Duff 1998; Tecedor 2016). The findings suggest that as the government promoted cultural tourism, the Karen learners felt acceptance from society, and they regained their motivation to participate in the community so as to function. For example, one Karen participant who was invited by the school administrator to present their Karen costumes in the school sports parade willingly joined. Handley et al. (2006) endorse social participation in terms of its importance in becoming a member of a society. Additional support by Wenger (1998) advocate engagement with local activities and social practices, and hence, participation plays a significant role (Wenger 1998).

Implication and Further Study

The study sheds light on immigration and the international concerns of the Karen minority. Since they did not have citizenship, they had no legal right to do many things in Thailand, such as being restricted in their travels, or applying for a visa for specified countries. Government job opportunities were limited as were their social benefits and human rights. Most were born in Thailand, and their families had lived in the country for generations. This gap led the government to consider a systematic citizenship process for those in need. More supplementary formal Thai language classes for those minorities were planned in order to assist them to communicate and to better negotiate their societal positions in the Thai learning context.

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A Contrastive Analysis of Japanese and Chinese ‘Laughter’
Onomatopoeia and Mimetic Words

Yihui Xia
“Tohoku University, Japan

Abstract

In the Japanese language, onomatopoeic words occupy an indispensable part of the lexicon. In particular, mimetic words used for laughing are the most iconic words. Some scholars point out that the alternation of phoneme type or manners of articulation are the expression of emotional overtones (Tamori 2002). For instance, the simple vowel /a/ conveys ‘cheerful, nice and pleasant laughs,’ while the constriction vowel /o/ signifies ‘more feminine and graceful.’ However, only a few studies focus on the symbolism of Chinese sounds in mimetic expressions. Therefore, further exploring the sound symbolism of Chinese mimetic words becomes essential. The principal purposes of this thesis are: 1) To explore the sound symbolism of onomatopoeia for laughing, which may help identify the differences between vowels; 2) to examine the relationship between the characteristics of onomatopoeia and the elements of culture in regard to the morphological and grammatical aspects of Japanese and Chinese.

The sentences were collected from the corpus for Sino-Japanese translation. Consequently, it was found that 401 Japanese texts consisted of 155 onomatopoeias and 246 mimetic words; 281 Chinese texts consisted of 251 onomatopoeias and 30 mimetic words. Established from the collected corpus data, the sound and meaning of the words containing /a/ and /ei/ in Chinese onomatopoeia and mimetic words were alike to those of the Japanese /a/ and /ei/. Notably, Japanese texts containing the vowel /a/ are incredibly similar to Chinese texts that contain the vowel /e/. Although most Japanese onomatopoeia and mimetic expressions function as adverbs, this trend is not maintained in Chinese translations, and the use of verbs and adjectives is more frequent.

Keywords: Onomatopoeia, iconic semantics, vowels, consonants, Chinese, Japanese

Introduction

In the Japanese language, onomatopoeic words occupy an indispensable part of the lexicon. Onomatopoeia and mimetic words for laughter and smiling are pervasively employed as laughter is produced by the vocal organs of the human body from the airflow in the lungs that move the vocal cords to the movements of the mouth. Hence, each language contains words that describe laughter. The onomatopoeia commonly used in the Japanese ‘ha-ha,’ ‘hihi,’ ‘kusu-kusu’ is ‘hee-hee,’ ‘cackle’ in English. Chinese uses ‘gage xixi,’ whereas Russian utilizes ‘хихих’ (hihi)’ and Spanish uses ‘jajaja.’ These words have similarities in pronunciation and structure. In Japanese, each onomatopoeia and mimetic word for laughter has a definite meaning, and scholars put forward that alternations in phoneme type or the manner of articulation embodies the expression of emotional overtones (Tamori 2002).
For instance, in Kadooka’s (2007) research, according to the pronunciation, vowel structure of laughter, words, and the mouth’s shape and size, it may be inferred that the pure vowel /a/ presents as a ‘cheerful, friendly and pleasant laugh;’ the constriction vowel /o/ signifies a ‘more feminine and graceful’ meaning. Each syllable represents a potential meaning and is called a phonetic symbol. According to similarities in the pronunciation of each language, the latent semantic meanings expressed by vowels and consonants are similar. However, they are different due to the certain aspects of pronunciation and the cultural differences among different nations. For example, Kinsui (2017) describes the Japanese word ‘ho ho’ for the elegant laughter of women. Sumita (2019) showed that Japanese onomatopoetic words which promote sound are more likely to be used to describe men. However, in Chinese, the words ‘xixi,’ ‘chichi’ and ‘gege,’ which contain the vowel /i/, are used to describe a woman’s smile. ‘hohoho’ phonetically represents an older man laughing, while ‘houhou’ is used to describe the sound of many people laughing. The results show that many cultural and traditional differences play a role. Therefore, further exploring the sound symbolism of Chinese mimetic words becomes essential.

The main aims of this dissertation are: 1) To explore the sound symbolisms of onomatopoeia for laughing, which may help distinguish the differences between vowels; 2) to examine the relationships between the characteristics of onomatopoeia and the elements of culture in regard to the grammatical and structural aspects of Japanese and Chinese onomatopoetic words.

Methodology and Data Collection

The sentences were collected from the corpus for Sino-Japanese translation (Beijing Center for Japanese Studies). Among the literary works, 23 novels were from China, 22 novels from Japan, 14 articles from China, 14 articles from Japan, as well as the corresponding translations in Chinese and Japanese. The method of collection involved inputting ‘wara/xiao’ (laughter) in the Japanese and Chinese original texts. Accordingly, it was found that 424 Japanese texts consisted of 155 mimetic onomatopoeia (giongo) and 246 non-onomatopoetic ideophones (gitaigo), while 281 Chinese texts consisted of 251 mimetic onomatopoeias and 30 non-onomatopoetic ideophones. All sentences used in these words were collected, and the corresponding comparative translations were collected for textual analysis.

The data were then split according to the sound structure of the vocabulary. As seen in the image above, onomatopoeia and mimicry in Japanese may be divided into single-syllable and two-syllable base forms, where a syllable contains a vowel (V) and a consonant (C). Japanese forms a spacious mixture of vocabulary by repeating syllables, adding a moraic consonant (Q), a vowel prolongation * or nasal sound (N), and inserting a pseudo-prefix at the start of the single-syllable base forms as a temporary pronunciation. For instance, ‘he’ is a single syllable, and it is not usually used as an onomatopoetic word. Because the syllable ‘ha’ needs to add a mark consonant or repeated syllable, ‘haQ’ or ‘haha’ forms a specialized structure. Moreover, the instances shown in Table 1 depict that the Japanese and Chinese onomatopoeia and mimetic words have a certain similarity. Japanese use Hepburn-type Roman letters, while Chinese utilizes the Pinyin system. Here, ‘hahaはは- ha ha 哈哈’ and ‘hehe へへ- hehe 呵呵’ are two groups of words with a similar pronunciation in their respective vocabularies.
Kadooka (2007) and Tomori (1998) emphasized the importance of vowels in the study of phonetic symbols, especially when using the same consonant in combination with different vowels, where each vowel represents a different abstract meaning in its sound symbolism. Therefore, considering Japanese and Chinese, both possess meanings behind their sound symbolism. This study analyzes the similarities and differences between Chinese and Japanese via a statistical analysis of Japanese onomatopoeia and mimic words with their Chinese associations, as well as the use of Chinese in Japanese translations. The method of analysis employed classifies the collected words according to the types of vowels. The collected Japanese words contain the five vowels /a/, /i/, /u/, /el/, /ol/. In Chinese, the collected words are /a/, /i/, /u/, and the double vowel /ei/. For example, the Japanese words containing the vowel /a/ are ‘ha-ha,’ ‘kaka’ and ‘kyakya,’ while the corresponding words in Chinese are ‘ha-ha,’ ‘xixi,’ and so forth. If the frequency of the Chinese ‘ha-ha’ is high, it indicates that Japanese onomatopoeia containing the vowel /a/ are very similar to those of Chinese words when adopted to describe laughter in articles and novels. Alternatively, when Japanese words have the vowel /u/ that corresponds to the Chinese version, the utilization of these words containing /u/ is not heavy. However, the frequency of the vowel /i/ is very high, suggesting that Japanese words containing the vowel /u/ and Chinese words containing the vowel /i/ show a degree of similarity in describing laughter. Here, a comparative analysis is conducted, and similarities and contrasts between the terminologies emerge by examining the conversation.
Results and Discussion

*Japanese Vowel /a/ Vs Chinese Vowel /a/

Compared with the abundant number of onomatopoeia and mimetic words in Japanese, in Chinese, the frequency is less. Other than the use of onomatopoeia to imitate the sound of laughter, Japanese and Chinese frequently use a descriptive to indicate facial expressions, gestures and actions. There were 94 Japanese cases of ‘ha-ha,’ ‘a-ha-ha,’ ‘kaka’ and ‘kyakya.’ These words were rendered into Chinese onomatopoeia (Figure 1-a), such as ‘ha-ha’ (98%) and ‘high’ (1%). In contrast, the Chinese ‘ha-ha gaga’ were interpreted into Japanese onomatopoeia by using ‘ha-ha’(87%), ‘do’(6%), as well as the two-syllable words ‘geragera’ (5%) and ‘karakara’ (2%), where its second syllable contains the vowel /a/ (Figure 1-b). It is observed that Japanese and Chinese onomatopoeic words that have the vowel /a/ have very similar semantics when used in sentences.

Onomatopoeia is used in a sentence in two ways; ‘ha-ha’ demonstrates the imitation of a more striking sound and imitates laughter applied as a separate sentence in actual communication. In the selections below, (1) ‘hahaha’ does not become a subject or predicate, nor is it modified by other words; (2) these words act with a different syntax element always being the attribute, adverbs, and predicates in a sentence. Descriptive sentences are frequently utilized to explicate translations, especially when translated from Chinese to Japanese. For instance, in example (3)-a and (3)-b utilized a loud voice that usually describes a burst of laughter.

(1) (jpn) hahaha, sou desu.
    that be-PRS
    ‘hahaha, that’s right.’

(2) (jpn) watasi ha hahaha to wara -ta.
    i TOP laugh-PST
    (chi) wo haha de xiao le.
    i laugh PST
    ‘I laughed at my own self.’

(3) (jpn) a. koe o age-te wara-ta.
    voice OBJ raise-Gre laugh-PST
    ‘laugh out loud.’
    b. oo goe de wara-ta.
    loud voice use laugh-PST
    ‘to laugh loudly.’

*Japanese Vowel /u/ Vs Chinese Vowel /i*/

Figure 1 Comparison of Chinese and Japanese onomatopoeia containing the vowel /a/
In the analysis of the rest of the data, the onomatopoeia and mimetic words that include the vowel /u/ in Japanese are similar to Chinese onomatopoeia that contain the vowel /i/. First, as seen in the Table 1, words containing the vowel /i/ are ‘xixi’ and ‘chi’ (吃吃, 哧哧, 哂呞) in Chinese. Although these three Chinese characters have the same pronunciation and suggest giggling, they possess particular differences. 吃吃 focuses on a silly type of laughter, while 哧 describes someone who could not restrain a sniff or laughs with disdain; 哂呞

Figure 2 Chinese onomatopoeia containing the vowel /i/ translated into Japanese

![Diagram](image)

Figure 3 Japanese onomatopoeia containing the vowel /u/ translated into Japanese


emphasizes breathing. The corresponding Japanese onomatopoeia and mimetic words have a wide distribution of vowels that even cover all Japanese vowels, and a significant number of sentences are rendered using two-syllable base forms. According to Figure 2, onesyllable base forms containing the vowels /u/ and /a/ and twosyllable bases forms containing the vowel combination /u-u/ have the highest frequency of use. For example, onomatopoeia and mimetic words containing the vowel /u/ such as ‘hulu, ‘kuku’ and ‘kusukusu’ are frequently used. Moreover, the same conclusion may be drawn by analyzing the Chinese words that correspond to Japanese onomatopoeia containing the vowel /u/ (figure 3-a) as well as the two-syllable base forms containing /u-u/ (figure 3-b). That is, words containing /u/ in Japanese and words containing /i/ in Chinese represent similar abstract meanings when used in sentences. Through a small voice accompanied by movement involving covering the mouth, a small smile may be expressed.

For instance, example (4) demonstrates that, unlike onomatopoeia with the vowel /a/, words with the vowel /i/ describe both in an onomatopoeic sense and laughter as mimetic words in sentences. Moreover, example (4)-b, (4)-c and d signify interpretations of the Japanese word ‘kusukusu.’ Also, example (4)-b, ‘qieqie,’ is a repetition of the Chinese character describing the act of stealing, and ‘qie’ is the verb ‘to steal’ while its adjective means to do something secretly. Nonetheless, ‘kusukusu’ may describe a smile, but it is a smile accompanied by a small sound-a snicker. From a grammatical point of view, Japanese onomatopoeia and mimetic words are used as adverbs. However, Chinese onomatopoeia may be used as adjectives in order to garner laughter, and it
may also modify the verb ‘to laugh’ to be an adverb, such as ‘zuō xiao,’ ‘to make laughter,’ signifying that the smile appeared natural and artificial, and ‘yī xiao,’ ‘to laugh once;’ illustrating that an action is instant.

(4) (jpn) a. **kusukusu to iu warai -goe ga maji-te i-ta.**
    that laugh-voice OBJ mix-Ger Cont-PST.
    
    (chi) b. jia zhe **qie qie de xiao-sheng**
    mix with laughter
    mixed with giggle
    
    (chi) c. **chi chi zuo xiao**
    make laugh
    
    (chi) d. **pu chi yi xiao**
    once laugh
    ‘to laugh’

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**Japanese Vowel /e/ Vs Chinese Vowel /ei/**

‘heihei’ is a diphthong, and is therefore not divided. In articulating a diphthong, the vowel’s sound glides from one vowel to another. In accordance with Figure 4-a, it is found that ‘hehe’ is used more in Japanese translation followed by ‘hu-hu;’ ‘haha’ and ‘ho ho’ are also utilized. In differences between the Japanese and Chinese translations, the same trend is observed in the sentences in that ‘heihei’ not only describes laughter in the sentence, but is often used as an interjection (Figure 4-b). It corresponds to Japanese words like ‘oioi (hey hey),’ ‘oyaoya (well, well),’ ‘unun (uh-huh),’ ‘are (what?),’ and ‘iya (yeah).’ In Japanese, ‘hehe’ and ‘ho ho’ are mostly translated as ‘hei hei.’ In addition, words like ‘gege’ and ‘hehe’ attempt to use onomatopoeic words with the vowel /u/, ‘kuku,’ and ‘hu’ as well as with two-syllable base forms possessing a translation high frequency, such as the vowel combinations /e-a/ (geragera, kerakera).
Conclusion

Through the analysis of the onomatopoeia and mimic words pertaining to laughter collected from Chinese-Japanese and Japanese-Chinese corpora, it was found that there are various similar characteristics between the Chinese and Japanese versions in the depiction of laughter. The sound and meaning of the words containing /a/ and /ei/ in Chinese onomatopoeia and mimic words were similar to those of the Japanese /a/ and /e/. Notably, the Japanese texts containing the vowel /u/ are incredibly similar to Chinese texts containing the vowel /i/, though the two vowels do not appear comparable. Nevertheless, they are both used to indicate a subtle smile. Utilizing various forms derived from the core sound exhibits subtle differences in the types of laughter. Although most of the Japanese onomatopoeia and mimetic expressions function as adverbs, this trend is not maintained in the Chinese translations, and the use of the verb and adjective becomes more frequent. Accordingly, the application of adverbs, adjectives, or verbs to establish vivid descriptions and subtle nuances of multiple actions is adopted.

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A Sociology of Sanskrit Language: The Context of Women and Shudras

Retno Wulandari Setyaningsih

“Department of Sanskrit, Motilal Nehru College, University of Delhi, India

Abstract

The language of the Dalits is one of the most crucial constituents in the distinctiveness of Dalit literature. The language disturbs the posture and orderliness of the status quo. That is to say, the language of the Dalits contest the standard language, which is the language used in higher education.

Dalits being at a lower end of the caste hierarchy have been traditionally secluded from education, and for this reason their registers differ from those used by upper castes. Dalit literature exposes the discrimination the Dalits face and the oppressions that are committed on these communities. In India, an elder person is generally addressed with respect. But if the elder person is a Dalit, he would be addressed disrespectfully. The Dalits being at the lower end of the caste hierarchy have been kept from education thus influencing their language as different to language employed by the upper castes.

Keywords: Linguistic, Dharmshastra, sociology of Shudras and woman

Introduction

Generally Sanskrit literature is divided into various time periods, such as the Vedic period, the later Vedic period also known as the Upaniṣad period, the Epic period, the Classical Sanskrit literature period and the Modern period. The Classical Sanskrit literature period was crucial, and will be the focal point of the paper along with the Vedic period. In the vedic period, society was divided into four Varnas, which were predicated on work. The Varna of a person was not contingent on the role of the family or family background. A person born in any family or Varna, accepted or adopted a profession such as teaching, thus automatically becoming a member of a social sector. The segment of society that chose physical work accepted the Śūdra Varna.

Sociology of Women and Shudras in Sanskrit Text

Hymns in the Vedic Saṁhitās indicate that members of the same family were involved in different occupations, yet were affiliated to different Varnas. One particular Rgveda hymn presents that ‘I am a Kāru (a weaver or carpenter), my father is a Vaidya (physician) and my mother is a paddy grinder,’ thus we are part of the same family:

Kāruraham tato bhīṣagupalapraksinī nanā.
Nānāḍhiyo vasūvo nu gā iva taṣthimendrāyendo parisrava. (Rgveda, 9.112.3)
All members of society and all Varnas were allowed to study the Vedas. They were afforded equal rights to study, to perform rituals, to choose their occupation and to have relations with anyone. Ensuring equal rights to study the Veda, Yajurveda notes:

Yathemā vāchām kalyāṇimāvadāni jānebhyaḥ,
Brahmarājyābhāyām Śūdrāyi Chāryāya ca svāya cāraṇāya ca. (Yaju26.2.)

O men! As I (God) preach this Vedic knowledge for the human beings (without any discrimination)
Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaishyas, Shudras, servants, and tribes who live in the forests etc. likewise you
should teach well.

Many women such as Apālā Ghoṣāre considered Rṣikā the seer of the Mantras or hymns or the authors of a number of mantras for hymns in the Rgveda. As such, they were authorized to study the Vedas. There was thus no discrimination in society against women and Śūdras. Vātṛa were inter-changeable in society. We find a personification of Veda Puruṣa where the four parts of society originated from various limbs.

Brāhmaṇo’ya mukhamāśid bāhū rājanyāḥ kṛtāḥ,
Uru tadasya yadvaiśyaḥ padbhūyāṁ śūdrājāyat. -Rigveda 10.90.12

Brāhmaṇa is considered its mouth, hands are considered Kṣatriya, thighs are considered Vaiśya and the feet are considered Śūdras. Without these limbs no human body can effectively perform their duties. AS such, these Limbs are not considered inferior or superior to each other despite that their functions differ. The aforesaid Vedic personification depicts society similar to that the human body works in harmony. Śrīmadbhagavadgītā accepts this division of society predicated on karma by noting:

Cāturvanyāṃ mayā śṛṣṭam guṇakarmavibhāgāḥ,

Positioning Women and Shudra in Sanskrit Texts

Although Manu was considered as the main propagator of the caste system, he accepted the inter-changeability of the varna in the 10th chapter by suggesting the following:

Śūdro brāhmaṇatāmet brāhmaṇaśceri śūdratām,
Kṣatriyājātāmeva tu vidyād vaiśyaṭṭhathaiva ca. Manu. 10.65

The spiritual discourse between kātyāyanī, Maitreyī and Yājñavalkya indicates that women had equality, not only in education but also in spiritual activities. Here, in a dialogue between Gārgī and Yājñavalkya in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad, Gārgī questions the nature of the universe. Women were not barred from literary spiritual and social activities until till the later Vedic period. As such, they were authorized to choose life partners. Deterioration of female agency began in Brahminical society. Upanishad literature contains multiple instances where women and those whose antecedents were not known were accepted as Brahmins.

The story of Satyakāma Jābāl in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad presents another example. Satyakāma went to the seer Gautama to become his disciple, where he was asked to tell his father’s name and Gotra. He responded that his mother told him that she served a number of persons as a prostitute and became pregnant, and thus does not know the name of his father. Satyakāma was admitted by the Guru and thus became a Brahmaṇa, evidencing that in the Upaniṣad period, women and Śūdras were respected.
Deterioration began prior to the Sūtra and Smriti periods, reflected in Sūtra and Smriti literature. The varṇa system was replaced by the birth-based caste system. Even varnas were considered by birth contrary to the basic Vedic assumption. In this period, a particular ceremony meant for the admission in the Gurukul education system known as Yajñopavita or the thread ceremony was prohibited for the women and Śūdras.

This situation began to change in the Epic period and then in the later period known as Sūtra. Many Dharmasūtra did not allow women and Śūdras to study Vedic. The Brāhmaṇas barred women and Śūdras from studying Vedas, the Sanskaras, and all education related ceremonies. The Yajñopavita or thread ceremony was considered as the gateway to the education system. Failure to be admitted to the educational institution barred the person from participating in educational activities. As such, women and Śūdras were barred from formal education, intensified during the Epic period. Ekalavya was denied access to Dhanurvidyā i.e. war system education by The Royal Guru (Acharya Droṇa) owing to that he belonged to a Śūdra family, while Kartti was denied the privilege of learning Dhanurvidyā by the Acharya Parasūrāma as he also belonged to a chariot driving family considered as Śūdra.

In the epic Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, refined women and Śūdras speak Sanskrit but in classical literature, all women and Śūdra characters speak prāñśa (slang), and not standard Sanskrit. For instance, we can see the Abhijñānaśākuntalam, where the fisherman Śūdra character finds the ring of Śakuntalā in the stomach of a fish. When he attempts to sell the ring in the market, he is caught by the rājapuṣṭa police. He speaks Prāñśa as a non-standard form of language. Pleading innocence, he says

śo hage jāla-valiśa-pəhudhidiṃ maccabamdhavāvēhīṃ kutumbabalatam kalemī.(Abhigyanāshakuntalam, pancham ank 288.)

I feed my family by nets, hooks and other contrivances (difficult practices of catching fish).

It must be known that Śakuntalā, Tāpasi and other women characters speak in Prāñśa and not Sanskrit.

Conclusion

We invariably find the women and Śūdra characters using Prāñśa in the Sanskrit dramatic literature. All female characters such as Dhūtā, Vasantasenā, Radanikā, Madanikā and Śūdra characters such as cēta, saṁvāha and cāndāla always speak in Prāñśa in the mṛcchakaṭāka. Even in Uttarārāmacaritam of Bhavabhūti, Sītā speaks in Prāñśa and not in Sanskrit. In the Sanskrit dramatic literature of Bhāsa we find women speaking in Prāñśa. This situation suggests that the educational rights of women and Śūdra were suspended. We may find some sporadic instances of educated women in royal families, as exceptions. This lack in education emerges as a tool of exploitation and victimization of both segments of societies. Śūdras were severally effected by this situation, whose children were to perform only labor work, and who were given no rights to own property.

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Semiotics and Semiology
Reading Shopfront Signs: A Multimodal (Social) Semiotic Approach to Text Analysis

Arif Chowdhury

*University of Creative Technology Chittagong, Bangladesh

Abstract

Shopfront signs in the multi-lingual, multi-ethnic city of London seem to serve as a vehicle for maintaining unity in an era of linguistic diversity. Various ethno-linguistic diasporas represent themselves through a unique multi-lingual display of multimodal shopfronts signs culminating in the English language.

This paper focuses on language as a social semiotic (Halliday 1978), as a multimodal semiotic resource (Jewitt 2005) and as a manipulative-representative text within multilingual society. The study assumes an ethnographic approach to the Bengali dominated streets of Whitechapel and Brick Lane in London, on shop signs. The study aims to determine how multilingual and multimodal ‘texts,’ embedded in shop signs, could assist in processing meanings (Kress 2004). The study draws on a corpus of images and texts on shop signs which were randomly selected and categorised in various ways.

Taking a multimodal (social) semiotic approach to text analysis of shop signs, this paper attempts to analyze the Bangla and English shop signs and ideologies directed at these signs and their semiotic resources.

Keywords: Shopfront signs, multimodal analysis, social semiotics, semiotic resources

Introduction

Shopfront signs in multilingual, multiethnic London are created to attract appropriate audiences by applying multimodal use of language. These signs introduce customers to the stores, not least through multimodal representations. To analyze these signs as multimodal texts requires a multimodal social semiotic approach. My particular focus is to view language as a multimodal text and to examine how the needs of speech and language communities are fulfilled in creating group identity and (re)shaping our ideologies as shopfront readers or sign makers (Kress 2010). Semiotic resources of modes depend on how people use them to make meaning and how they are used in social functions (Jewitt 2005). Pointing out how meaning is embedded in media, Kress proposes that “meanings are always disseminated through particular media: the medium of the book; or the medium of the CD-ROM, involving still and moving images, writing, cartoon-like characters in comic strips, music and so on” (Kress 2004: 184). Collins and Slembrouck (2004) suggest that what passers-by make of signs, how they are read, is a question rarely addressed, but readings will vary by purposes of reading, prior experiences with such signs, and knowledge of languages.
Framework

Social Semiotics as an approach to multimodal analysis was proposed by Hodge and Kress (1988), developed from Halliday’s work on Language as Social Semiotic. Hodge and Kress combined semiotic resources, particularly resources of language as multimodal text, by combining images and modes in the daily communicative affairs of language communities. Halliday (1978), discussed the complex communicativeness of language, and proposed that the semiotic resources of language can be viewed as resources for meaning making in various socially mediated communicative purposes. The multimodal lenses attached to social semiotics decipher meaning in context, where meaning is bounded with modes and signs. According to Kress (2010), multimodality is essentially about understanding how different kinds of modes do different kinds of semiotic work – how each mode holds a distinct potential for meaning. Kress and Mavers (2005: 172) point out that: “The perspective of multimodality shares the assumption that all modes – and not just those of speech and writing – have specific parts to play in the making of meaning.”

A social semiotic approach, therefore, views all modes as potential meaning-making structures on which a platform of representation and communication is made by taking social and cultural systems for that purpose (Kress 2003). Furthermore, meaning is made individually, (re)shaped through culture and social interaction which emphasizes the situated perspectives of communication and meaning in a context. Bezemer and Kress (2008) view that a social semiotic approach to text places multimodality at the centre of attention. Additionally, Van Leeuwen (2005) states that ‘semiotic resources’ include semiotic modes such as language, gesture, images and music along with food, dress and everyday objects, which, according to Van Leeuwen, carry cultural value and significance. In terms of modes, Jewitt (2008) affirms that those are constantly transformed by their users in response to the communicative needs of communities, institutions, and societies - new modes are created, and existing modes are transformed. According to Kress (2010), meaning exists only as it is materialised in one or more modes. Social Semiotics include the concepts of sign, semiotic resource, mode, affordance and orchestration in multimodal analysis and explanation.

Social semiotics assumes that resources are socially shaped to become, over time, meaning making resources which articulate the (social, individual/affective) meanings demanded by the requirements of different communities. These organised sets of semiotic resources for meaning making are referred to as modes (Bezemer and Jewitt 2018). This approach deals with multimodal semiotic resources (Jewitt 2005) which can be useful for reading the multifaceted manipulative-representative texts this paper addresses.

Ethnographic (Linguistic) Fieldwork and Data Collection

Blommaert (2007) suggests that researchers can look for data rooted in video and audio recordings of interactions, field notes, interview transcripts, policy documents, letters or photographs to investigate how social intricacies unfold in social interactions. I employed ethnographic methods to collect data in Bengali populated streets of Whitechapel and Brick Lane in London, to read shopfront signs. As a native Bengali, my intention was to determine ways in which we make sense of language in socio-cultural contexts, and how multilingual and multimodal ‘texts’ embedded in shop signs could play a role in processing meaning (Kress 2004). I photographed shop signs as data, which were consciously selected and categorised based on my reaction to particular shop signs.
Data Analysis

This particular shop sign at Brick Lane creates an illusion of Hindi or Bangla as the English letters are connected with a horizontal line known as Matraline or Matra (Bangla), a general feature in Indic languages. Similarly, the shop number is stylized with the Matra. Here, this stylization creates a typological fusion of English and Bangla languages so as to attract the visitors. The title ‘Spice brick lane’ exemplifies minimal use of semiotic resources with potential meanings. Words and numbers written in orange against a black background form a metaphor of curry in flambé on a black saucepan. As spices are common cooking ingredients in curry in most south Asian recipes, the title ‘Spice’ holds most meaning, where the other part of the title ‘brick lane’ gives a sense that spice and brick lane are inseparable. The success of this ‘text’ is dependent on its coherence of semiotic resources, such as the combination of the orange and black colours, the positioning of and the stylization of the text.

The use of multimodal texts simulate particular imagery and hence attitude in a multilingual context. As such, the calculative use of semiotic resources draws attention to particular shops and their signs.

This sign presents how languages can be manipulated to create an atmosphere of a unique and exotic treasure house. The word ‘Arabian’ symbolizes Arabic calligraphy. A white font with black background emulates a moonlit night, thus creating a sense of integrated meaning related to exotic night stories and distinct Arabian commodities. The word ‘nights’ is spelt as ‘Nites’ so as to convey a contemporary oral mode. The recognition of meaning potentiality of semiotic resources used in this shopfront signs is located in the understanding of cultural identity and social affordances of ‘Arabian Nights.’ This distinctive shop appeals to a particular group of people who shop, while others simply admire the name, and while others may feel alienated.
This minimal shop sign in Figure 3 well conveys its intention, ‘Curries & Fried Chicken.’ Yet the heading “Chilliz – 2” creates an illusion with the colour red with which we envisage the red-hot chillies. The plural spelling of chillies, ending in ‘z,’ gives a vibe of spoken English. The image of two chillies, replacing the double ‘l’ again creates a surreal image of chillies. This form signals an Indian affinity for potent recipes. The word Halal written in Arabic on the right hand side of the shop sign carries meaning in Arabic for multilingual Muslim population.

This restaurant at the entrance of the Brick lane is mysteriously metaphoric. The name ‘Clifton,’ concurrently written in Bangla, Arabic/Urdu, English and Hindi languages, grafted out of white solid cement, may represent shop sign writing conventions across Britain. It communicates oldness and provenance at the same time. This sign reveals multilingual London and the presence of Bangla, English, Urdu and Hindi speaking people in Brick lane. The sub heading ‘the best of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh’ suggests a post-colonial juxtaposition of ‘Britishness’ by aligning with the name ‘Clifton.’

Discussion

Throughout the analysis, I attempted to determine how cultural knowledge and awareness of semiotic resources may assist to contextualize shop front signs. Some of the images under data analysis summon an issue of meaning potentiality. Specifically, meaning making in a particular multimodal text depends on its stylization, on the affordances of its readers, and on its modal coherence.
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"How Does the ASEAN Region Localize International Brands? A Multidimensional Analysis of Thai TV ads

Thiti Nawapan

Faculty of Education, Muban Chombueng Rajabhat University, Thailand

Remart P. Dumlao

Faculty of Education, Muban Chombueng Rajabhat University, Thailand

Abstract

In intercultural scholarship, there is a considerable number of studies that explores the impact and effect of culturally oriented social media (see Koda 2014, 2016; Mendoza 2010). Of these studies, however, there is a paucity of understanding on how social media becomes a third space of cultural representation, especially in the Southeast Asian context (Dumlao and Wattakan 2020; Feng 2009; Kalscheuer 2008). Drawing from insights connected to inter-semiosis by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) and SF-MDA by O’Halloran (2011), therefore, this paper explores the globalization process and its inclination to cultural representation, and thus creating new discursive forms of identities, by looking at Thai TV ads from January 2019 to December 2019. Two Thai TV ads were purposively chosen from international beverage companies. To capture the globalization and cultural representation, we compared these with TV ads from other countries, namely, the Philippines, and the U.S.A. Through content and multidimensional analysis, the findings suggest that commercials construct glocal identities through several factors and incidences. These incidences and factors support and provide understanding for brand identity positioning, which itself describes the intersemiosis of elements within contemporary consumer cultures. Implications of this study are discussed in the paper.

Keywords: Multimodal analysis, commercials, glocalization, international brands

Introduction

Responding to globalization, a ubiquitous obsession with digital advertising (e.g., TV channels, YouTube) has been significantly impacted the marketing world due to the demand of globalization in the global merchandise. In Southeast Asian countries alone, most of both national and international companies tend to use digital platforms to captivate the customers’ interests (see Edginton and Hayter, 2013; Matejowsky, 2007, for their discussion). Of these Digital Platforms (hereafter DP), television commercials seem to be the most effective way in introducing both national and international products (see Trappee III and Woodside, 2005). This is partially because of the practicality (e.g., time an effort in publishing printed brochures) and geographical considerations (e.g., remote areas). Given the impact of Television (hereafter TV) ads in the global market, there is, however, a new query regarding how international companies localize their products to attract local costumers. This is corroborate to what Smith (2007) emphasizes about the “glocal” mode of advertising through which culture, values, language, and semiotic resources of local customers are embedded.
In the Thailand context, using an advertisement has widely been adopted in order to persuade Thai consumer’s behavior for decades Chompunuch et al (2002) mention Thailand’s industry of advertising has been formalized for less than 60 years and thus potentially increasing. Additionally, Thailand has become well-known in this industry in terms of its gorgeous mixtures between the distinctive characteristics (e.g., addressity, politeness way of greetings) of advertising and the attribution of Thai cultural identity (e.g., Thai dressing) (Punyapiiroj and Morrison, 2007). In other words, Thai cultural idiosyncrasies have been extensively perceived as creative shapers to transmit Thai-established advertising messages. By the arrival of western culture, however, it seems that Thai cultural identity has been realistically integrated between Thai traditional characteristics and western-cultural practices. This is partially evident in the way that Thai people tend to dress western clothes, speaking the westerners languages, among others. These salient evidences are reflected in today’s digital platforms where DP has become a third space of cultural representation of other cultures. Therefore, we assume that DP, especially TV ad is one of the mediums in representing one’s cultures. In fact, Thailand is one of the major country who uses social media in advertising in the world as per shown in the figure below.

![Social Media Penetration](image)  

Figure 1. The number of active media users in the world (Digital 2020 global Digital)

**Theoretical underpinnings**

*Multidimensional Discourse Analysis perspective*

In general, the term ‘multidimensional discourse analysis’ (pertains MDA) mostly refers to the relationship between a systematical sign and a meaning itself. In the past, grammarians have emphasized the relationship of MDA to the cohesion of words, phrases, and sentences (see Gec, 2017; Johnston, 2002; Coulthard and Montgomery, 2014). However, we argue that looking on the logical, ideational, and interpersonal meaning are important aspects to see the holistic view on how other resources (e.g., sociolinguistics, language variations) intertwined with the notion of MDA in order to construct a social meaning beyond the literal meaning of the words, phrases, and sentences. Therefore, in this study, we followed the perspective of MDA, which combines the distinctive tri-strata framework of meaning coined by Kress and Leeuwen (2006), O’Halloran (2011) and Halliday (1978, 1994) consists of a systematical meaning from low-level features in the visual and text constructions (e.g., images, sound and so forth) to higher-level (e.g., sociolinguistics meaning). To illustrate its potential, we drew a figure (see figure 2) showing the connection of this tri-strata framework.
Cultural Identity within TV Ads

Numerous studies have claimed that cultural identity can be found in TV ad platforms (see Singh 2010; Morley and Robins 2002; Chen and Zhang 2010; Arnett 2003). These scholars have suggested that when designing a particular product (e.g., magazines, brochures), companies tend to consider “who will read these products ...which includes the cultural identity of the customers” (Chen and Zhang 2010: 796). Tajfel (1981) describes identity as an individual's sense of belonging to social genres. However, MDA focuses on the deep components of language, and not only identity, drawing on the communicative capacities of humans, and arbitrary areas between an individual's identification and social alignment. While social alignment pertains to the combination of marketing and social institutions, digital commercials generally integrate global and local cultural circumstances.

Glocalization within TV Ads

Glocalization enhances the ability of global corporations to infiltrate local markets (Berry 2013). Therefore, glocalization mostly focuses on regional preferences (local beliefs, cultural perspectives, and so forth), which are expressed through local behaviors. To capture the interests of local-markets, media may have greater opportunity to manipulate local needs. Advertising may capture visuals, rhythms, or designs in order to raise the interest of local consumers, as visual content and design become a critical tool on the perceptions of consumers. These combinations of elements in advertising are crucial in positioning global brands, and for extending multimodal boundaries. In digital media advertising, a discourse community develops a sophisticated and persuasive language in order to support global brands, and which may critically alter local consumption.

As such, this paper explores the following questions; 1) How does ASEAN localizes international brands? and (2) How does ASEAN link to glocalized cultural identities of the local customers?

Method

This paper employs two methods (a) MDA (b) Content Analysis. In the first stage, 257 TV commercials were collected from three TV networks from January 2019 to November 2019. Two soft drink advertisements from an international topselling company were purposively chosen. In order to capture the glocalisation process, we compared Thai TVc with those of other countries, namely, the Philippines and the U.S.A. The Thai TV ads were central to the analysis, while the two TV ads form other countries were the benchmark. As Dumlao and
Wattakan (in-press) suggest, to see changes in the glocalization process, we must collect corpus data from multiple communities. The table below briefly summarizes the products.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company Name</th>
<th>Origin of the product</th>
<th>Products (as a subject for analysis)</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coca Cola Co.</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Coco Cola</td>
<td>The international brand from the USA has high profit around the world. Moreover, this brand is trendy in Asian cultures.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pepsi Co.</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Pepsi</td>
<td>This product had initially been established in 1893. Currently, it is prevalent because the company attempts to support many sports.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Brief description of targeted products

We employed content analysis (Titscher Meyer, Wodak and Vetter 2000) through which we focused on individual facets from the TV Ads. Consequently, we applied a tri-stratal multimodal discourse analysis (O’Halloran 2011; Halliday 1973; Kress and Van Leeuwan 2006) (see Table 2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elements</th>
<th>Description of the findings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Visual meaning</td>
<td>This consists of a group of the visual identity of the product, such as colors, images, and visualized representation in Ads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural relations</td>
<td>This refers to the connection between sociocultural phenomena and a pattern of characters. But in our case, we only look into the cultural representation of the texts in the Ads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language variation</td>
<td>This refers to the language used in the target products, such as word choices and positions.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. A coding system in the analysis of ads

Findings

**Analysis of the Coca-Cola TVC**

Coca-cola was first established in Thailand in 1949. Consequently, the company continuously foregrounded red as its signifier. This color created the company’s culture (Banutu-Gomez 2012; Ghemawat 2003; Kraidy 2002). The Coca-Cola advertisements portrayed a dramatic conversation and emotional strategy (Moore and Harris 1996). The contexts in its advertisements were developed through the use of relative pronouns, for example, with age markers to distinguish young and older interlocutors. Not surprisingly, this represents Thai culture (Punyapiroje and Morrison 2007) since summoning a stranger as a relative is normal in Thai society. Following Pinyuchon and Gray (1997), Thai society generally prioritizes the concept of family (Berit and Saengtienchai 1999), which raises a sense of belonging (Wenger 1998), as a cultural model that Thais must learn and use during interaction.

It can also be seen from the advertisement that all characters tend to use masculine and feminine address as a way of expressing politeness and gratitude. In brief, *Kruba* addresses male recipients while *Kata* addresses female recipients. The advertising presents this cultural behavior. Two cultural elements, the concept of family and politeness addresseeity are portrayed in the advertising to confirm that Thai identity is elicited. Thai language was frequently used in the Ad, the brand name remains in English.
In the Philippines, Coca-cola has become a top-selling product. The ads resort to an emotional strategy to capture local customers. However, in the ad, Coca-cola aligns the advertisement with the historical and spiritual aspects, such as ‘Christmas’ eve. Additionally, it can be seen that the Ad highlights ‘sharing,’ ‘giving,’ ‘family,’ and ‘bayanihan,’ which showcases Filipino culture (Pe-Pua and Elizabeth 2000; Zialcita 2005). Codeswitching between Tagalog and English occurs, where subtitles are in English, corroborating the language policy of the Philippines.
Language variation
- English subtitles are used during the Ads
- Comprehensive code-switching between English and Tagalog occurs

Table 4 Summary of Coca-cola TV ad (the Philippines)

The Coca-Cola Company was established in the USA in 1886. Red is used in the Ads, and, western music has been adopted alongside party performativities amongst friends. Focusing on cultural identity, friendship seems very crucial for western culture. As a land of diverse ethnic groups, various types of skin are involved in the Ads, and the beverage is suitable for everyone without ethnic or racial bias (Conzen 1992; Cornell and Hartmann 2006; Min 1997).

Focusing on the linguistic variation, the Ads adopt the western sound to captivate the motion of the party instead of using a conversation in the English language, and hence there are no subtitles.

![Figure 5. Coca-cola TV ads in the USA](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elements</th>
<th>Description of the findings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Visual meaning</td>
<td>- Many colors are the central theme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- The soundtrack is in a western tone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural relations</td>
<td>- Presenting the concept of friendship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Expressing a party between a group of friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language variation</td>
<td>- No spoken language with subtitles in English</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5 Summary of Coca-cola TV ads (the US)

Analysis of Pepsi TV Ads

In 1953, Pepsi was established in Thailand. In its TV Ads, it has combined western and Thai culture through dress costumes. In visualization, it has incorporated western music yet with Thai dancing. In order to present the product to Thai people, the Ads present prestigious shows parodying famous musicians. Even though Thai culture seems conservative, the combination of the West and Asia captivate Thai consumers. LGBT people also become main characters to transmit a sense of fun. Likewise, the LGBT community has been increasingly acceptable in Thailand (Ojanen, 2014). As such, an extension of the LGBT community seems more understandable in the commercial industry (Brown and Leela 2011; Taylor and Jodie 2012).
The Ads also adopt the concept of Thai culture, involving a Thai traditional local house, conservative Thai dressing, and so forth. Even though the music western, local identities are distinctive throughout. Local older people are included in the ads as its assigns the advertisement and Thailand novelty. All surroundings in the ad include Thai cultural identities as a process of glocalization. There is no spoken language, but rather, music is used.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elements</th>
<th>Description of the findings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Visual meaning</td>
<td>• Various colors are used in the Ads with a western rhythm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural relations</td>
<td>• The TVC 2 expresses an interculturalism between Thai and western culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• The main performers are transgender and local people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language variation</td>
<td>• No spoken language during the ads</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6 Summary of Pepsi TV ads (Thailand)

The Pepsi company provides job opportunities for Filipino people. To captivate a local intension, it caters to the local atmosphere with a western theme. During the ads, the product is often highlighted by emphasize fun. Considering cultural identity, the ads involve diverse types of skin, by presenting diverse races, in Southeast Asia, emphasizing the diversity in the Philippines.

A combination of Tagalog and English seems outstanding in the ads. Without English subtitles, the ads only provide a western theme. Multimodal Code-mixing is used to represent the linguistic, cultural behavior of the Philippines.
Table 7: Summary of Pepsi TV ads (the Philippines)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elements</th>
<th>Description of the findings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Visual meaning       | • Most scenes represent the atmosphere in the Philippines  
                       | • The soundtrack is in a western tone               |
| Cultural relations   | • Filipino settings are prevalent  
                       | • Various ethnicities                             |
| Language variation   | • Tagalog and English code-switching               |

In the USA, Pepsi is a trendy beverage owing to its strong brand position in the market. Pepsi provides campaigns, holds well-known music festivals, offers job opportunities, and so forth. As a popular brand, focusing on visuals, its color scheme is black and red, pervasively included in its ads. Following its ‘No sugar’ campaign, black has been emphasized. Its cultural identity is such that, it emphasizes the diversity of The USA as a land of diverse ethnicities. As a land native to English, performances such as rap are also native, and hence, rap in American Pepsi commercials appear as natural.

Table 8 Summary of Pepsi TV ads (the US)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elements</th>
<th>Description of the findings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Visual meaning       | • Red and black are the main theme  
                       | • The soundtrack has a western tone |
| Cultural relations   | • The main characters dress fashionably |
| Language variation   | • Only a rap song is used in advertising |

Figure 8. The Pepsi TV ads in the Philippines (2.56 mins)

Figure 9. The Pepsi TV ads in the USA (0.30 mins)
Conclusion

The tristratal framework of multimodal discourse analysis extended by Halliday (1973) and discussed by O’Halloran (2011) was adapted to capture how well-known companies captivate a local consumer’s intention. Describing constitutes of TV ads, the paper analysed the processes of globalisation, intercultural expression, and identity in Thai advertising. The findings indicate that the commercials provided in this study include multiple representations, such as such as expressing politeness through a unique addressivity, and a norm of calling a stranger as their relatives. Not surprisingly, the concept of family intimacy mostly captures a significant role in Thai cultures. In was also evident that LGBT community plays a significant role in the Ad in which they tend to display their contribution to the Thai society. Additionally, this activity shows that Thai culture is explicitly expanded a boundary for LGBT community. Moreover, traditional Thai surroundings are also involved in the Ads. In terms of language variations, it is evident that all of the Thai TV ads employed “Thai” language either spoken or the subtitles. In other words, the TV ads indicated the language status of the Thai community, which is “monolingual.”

In the present study, we were able to explore the junctions between marketing strategies and globalisation, for which, we elicited the contributions of global identity and local perception, and how they are integrated harmoniously. Despite that the purpose of ads is to promote a product, they must also adopt a cultural sensitivity, to captivate a local consumer’s needs. For future study, investigating more specific perspectives (conceptions of LGBTs in each cultural location, a specific local understandings, and so forth) should be adapted, in order to better conceptualize how the identities of local knowledge emerge in the globalising process.

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Exploring Intercultural Interaction: The Use of Semiotic Resources in Meaning-Making Processes

Nur Nabilah Abdullah

*Kulliyyah of Languages and Management, IIUM, Malaysia

Rafidah Saha

*Kulliyyah of Languages and Management, IIUM, Malaysia

Abstract

Intercultural communication refers to interaction between speakers of different backgrounds, such as different linguistic and cultural origins (Kim 2001). Interaction in face-to-face situations has demonstrated that spoken language involves both verbal and semiotic resources for social action. Semiotic resources that include use of talk, gestures, eye gaze and other nonverbal cues can convey semantic content and can become a crucial point in conversation (Hazel et al. 2014).

Drawing on a Conversation Analysis (CA) approach, we explore how participants employed semiotic resources in word searches activities in an intercultural context. Word searches are moments in interaction when a speaker’s turn is temporarily ceased as the speaker displays difficulty in searching for appropriate linguistic items so as to formulate the talk (Schegloff et al. 1977; Kurhila 2006). In this study, naturally occurring interactions in a multilingual setting were video recorded. The participants were Asian university students with different language backgrounds. The findings suggest that multilingual participants mutually collaborate by utilizing verbal affordances, gaze, gesture and other nonverbal cues as useful semiotic resources in the meaning-making process, and thus resolving word search impediments to facilitate intercultural interaction.

Keywords: Semiotic resources, intercultural interaction, word search, conversation analysis, meaning-making, mutual understanding

Introduction

Intercultural communication is generally defined by sociologists and anthropologists as communication in which interlocutors come from different cultural backgrounds (Kim 2001). Spencer-Oatey and Franklin (2019) stated that intercultural interaction is as “behaviour (including, but not limited, to verbal and nonverbal communication) that occurs when members of cultural groups engage in jointly activity” (1). Many early studies on interaction involving participants from diverse nationalities, were mainly interested in investigating the participants’ different communicative patterns (e.g. Gumperz 1982; Gultner and Luckmann 2000; Tannen 2005). A number of these studies employed retrospective research such as conducting interviews, handling questionnaires and self-reported data. To investigate forms of interaction, Firth and Wagner (1997, 2007) postulated that it is crucial to elucidate how spoken language is produced and responded to by participants from an interactional approach in which the emphasis is more on the social action instead of individual cognition.
Hence, in this study, we explored communication in an intercultural natural setting. Drawing on a Conversation Analysis (CA) approach, we investigated how participants coordinate the use of verbal language and nonverbal semiotics as resources in word search activities in an intercultural context. Word searches are moments in an interaction when a speaker’s turn is temporarily stopped due to difficulty in searching for appropriate lexical items when formulating the talk (Schegloff et al. 1977; Kurhila 2006). An indication of a word search activity may emerge through speaker’s vocal perturbations, such as hesitant speech (e.g. uhmm, er), stretched sound, self-addressed questions (e.g. whatchacallit) or nonverbal conduct (e.g. gaze away) (Schegloff et al. 1977; Kurhila 2006). The phenomenon of a word search activity is common in everyday conversation and can be presented in three phases; word search initiation, word search progression and word search resolution (Chiarenza 2010). Hence, this study focuses on exploring the relationships between language use and semiotics resources in word search activities in an intercultural context.

Methodology and Data

CA allowed for a holistic fine-grained analysis of verbal and nonverbal conduct in social interaction (Mortensen 2013; Mondada 2016). The excerpt examined is extracted from a larger data set, which consists of a total of eight hours of six videos of recorded data sets of dinner conversation between Asian university students studying abroad with different first language backgrounds. In the recordings, the English language is spoken as the medium of communication. The participants were second year undergraduate students from Vietnam (speaker A), Malaysia (speaker B) and Kazakhstan (speaker C). This paper aims to discuss the study’s findings on how the participants make use of semiotic resources combined with verbal language in the meaning-making process of an unknown word during the word search activity.

Semiotic Resources in Meaning-Making Process

A prominent feature of this study is that in an interaction between participants who do share the same mother tongue, all participants work together to resolve the word search activity, even though they do not attain the actual word-searched for. For instance, in the excerpt below, in line 1 to line 2, speaker A demonstrated trouble in recalling an insect name that she feared, in which Speaker A displayed a ‘try-mark’ for the word-searched by producing a candidate word solution as the ‘krok’ (Sacks and Scheglof, 1979).

01 A : ‘but’ there’s a picture- the::
02 I don’t know the:- (0.2) "krok-" (0.5)
04 A : "kro:ki? I don’t know (0.1) [\"hau:w\"]
05 B : [oka:y ]

As there is no uptake from Speaker B, where silence is shown in line 3, Speaker A repeated the word ‘krok’ in a rising intonation, displaying uncertainty. She then explicitly exposed her trouble of getting the word-search when she gazed at Speaker B and said ‘I don’t know how’ (line 4). At this point, it could be observed that Speaker A’s uncertainty and eye gaze on Speaker B indicated that she is extending an invitation to Speaker B to help her in the word search activity (Goodwin and Goodwin 1986).
A: you know where the *broad* (0.3) think of it I'm already
((A jitters her body))
B: okay okay ((B waves her hands and jitters her body))
(0.2)
A: it's like- I don’t know how to spell it (0.3) see:
C: what is it? like (0.5) the::m ((C gestures her fingers))
A: it's like *broad* it's the insect (.)
it lives for a very long time

Figure i: Speaker A jitters (body movement) (line 7)

Figure ii: Speaker B waves her hand and jitters (line 8)

Figure iii: Speaker C makes gestures with her fingers (line 11)

It is worth noting that the communication process is not restricted solely to verbal language. There exists a large range of semiotic resources, demonstrated by these participants, which are made relevant in the meaning-making of the word ‘krok.’ Though Speaker A sent an invitation to Speaker B to assist her to resolve the word search, Speaker C joined in the attempt. Speaker A used her body postures to show feelings of repulsion (Figure i), Speaker B used a hand wave and jittered her body to demonstrate feelings of repulsion (Figure ii) and Speaker C demonstrated a crawling movement by gesturing with her fingers (Figure iii). Moreover, each participant appears to observe their interlocutor’s responses from how she narrates and enacts the undefined word.

Observation from the analysis exposes interactional evidence on how the participants collaborate to negotiate meaning and to make sense of the demonstrated verbal and nonverbal semiotics resources. The semiotic resources, such as use of gestures and body movement in enacting the unidentified insect’s name as well as rendering the thinking process visible, managed to build the concept through sufficient reference toward the previously unattainable word searched. Thus, the use of semiotic resources provided shared resources in the meaning-making process in a word search activity between speakers who do not share the same first language.
(Binti Abdullah 2017). Moreover, the joint construction in meaning-making among multilingual participants in interaction is significant in understanding how language and communication work (Canagarajah and Wurr 2011). This study broadens our understanding of viewing multilingual participants as “not the failings or deficiencies,” but as creative language users in an intercultural interaction (Firth and Wagner 1997; Firth 2007).

Conclusion

In understanding forms of interaction and social organisation, it is crucial to recognize that aspects of communication are not always thought of as ‘verbal language’ only, as they are integrated with semiotic resources that include gestures, eye gaze and other nonverbal cues (Blackledge and Creese 2017). Hence, the findings of this study suggest that the role of verbal language and semiotic resources form a ‘complex multimodal gestalts’ that are significant in interaction’s meaning-making process (Mondada 2015) and the deep intertwining of these semiotic resources in intercultural interaction could significantly aid the understanding of the evolution of language use (Seyfeddinipur and Gullberg 2014; Kuster et al. 2017). However, further research in intercultural interaction contexts from through the lens of CA is required to examine the multifaceted relationships between spoken language and other semiotic resources.

Transcript Conventions

(0.5)       pause
[]         overlap marker
::        lengthening
↑          high pitch
?          rising intonation
"word"       soft utterance
UPPER CASE    loud voice
()           unclear word
word         stressed syllable / word
((word))     notes on gestures and movement

Adapted from Jefferson, G (2004)

References


Shamanic Rituals and the Survival of Endangered Tribal Languages: An Anthropological Study in Gaddika

Indu V. Menon
*KIRTADS, India

Shebin M.S.
*KIRTADS, India

Abstract

In many ancient communities, particularly tribal communities, there exists a system of dialogue and conversation with and between supernatural beings and the supernatural world they inhabit, as well as their transmigration into a human’s body. The supernatural world is considered to be the realm of the gods, or of the spirits of ancestors, or of satanic evil spirits. A Shaman is suggested to summon, and communicate with, tribal or cult gods, while controlling spirits, ancestors, animals and birds with afforded powers. Shamanic rituals have patent linguistic significance. In communities with a strong shamanic tradition, the shamans generally use traditional language, without altering their unique features. The songs used in these rituals are also in traditional tribal dialect.

This study focuses on Gaddika, the shamanic ritual of the Rawla tribe, a tribal community in Kerala, and about songs contributing to the ritual. The study examines to what extent the Rawla dialect has been retained in its ‘original’ form, and the tribal myths that are woven into ritual language. The Rawla language belongs to the Dravidian family, and has been passed on in oral form only. In the Gaddika ritual, the original language is widely used and is central to the survival of the language.

This study was conducted among the Rawla community, through observations during several Gaddika rituals, thus documenting the songs and ritual dialogues. As such, the study documented the language in its original form and structure, along with prominent myths passed on through generations. The study analyses this shamanic ritual and its verbal patterns. The study concludes with that shamanic discourses and magico-religious rituals have a vital role in the continuity and in the survival of the historical dialect.

Keywords: Shamanism, tribe, Gaddika, rituals, Kerala

The Rawla Language

This paper analyses a collection of Shamanic conversations, incantations and songs preserved in their native language by the Rawla tribal community. Rawla is a matrilineal tribe inhabiting Wayanad in Kerala and Kudagu in Karnataka, a part of the Nilgiri biosphere reserve. They use a traditional language, Rawla, which shares characteristics with Kannada, Malayalam and Tamil. This language, without a written script, is rapidly disappearing, with community members using it only within the tribe, yet use Malayalam to communicate with those outside of the tribe. New generations are abandoning the language for other more ‘practical’ languages.
Youth in this community move to hostels or residential schools at an early age to receive better education, and adopt Malayalam as their main language, thus adversely affecting their use of Rawla, both within and outside of the Rawla community.

The Language and Communication with Ancestral Spirits

During discussions with the ancestral spirits and gods, the tribal language is still used in its ancestral form. The shamans attempt to summon deities and ancestral spirits to earth in order to hear their prayers. The shamanic intentions include to introduce new born babies to the ancestral world, or to farewell the dead. At times of illness, deprivation, crop loss or wild animal attacks, ancestors and gods are invoked in similar ways. The incantations and conversations for such rituals are conveyed through the ancient language. The community believes that such conversations, if in other languages, would denigrate the religious ritual. As such, the Rawla language must be used in order to honour to the ancestors. The Bettakkuruma rituals such as Keer mehge, Binje, Ajyyad ge, the Hadikkayadal of the Kattunaickans, the Penappattu of the Paniyar, Thira of Kurichiyan, Eluppamkuthu, chattu of Kanikkar, Muramkulukki of Malayar, Gaddika, Kooliyattu, and Kootta of Rawla, all comprise similar shamanic ceremonies.

- The languages are sung as shamanic chants and passed on orally.
- These tribal chants are in ancient languages form.
- The tribal language is the only one used to invoke ancestors, dead spirits and gods.
- Discussions and disputes with these supernatural beings must be in the undiluted pure traditional language.

The Shamanic Rituals of Rawlar

Ceremonies commonly conducted include the Kuntippula, Kootta, Pathimoontannu, which are post-death rituals involving conversations with ancestral spirits. Special rituals are necessary to facilitate the entry of the soul of a dead persons to the afterworld.

The ancestors of each Chemmam (Clan), called Achan or Acharale, must be propitiated through songs and invoked into the body of the shamans, and to whom, the shaman must hand over the pey (soul) of the departed person. Some peys transform into an Achirale (ancestors) after being taken to the afterworld. The Rawla believe that the pey is dangerous, and will not leave this world without a correct sending. At death, the pey is placed in the custody of chudalappey, the deity of the burial ground, by the shaman. As such, chudalappey will organize departure. All spirits who do not become ancestors remain as peys. Some animals are believed to turn into peys after death. For example, the Paniikkakooramma, the spirits of pigs, Anappey, the spirits of elephants and Nakurupey, the spirits of serpents, as well as Kaliyan, Maliyamma, Ummiri, Shavandi Veeran, Poyaleri Balamaga, Vijari, and Manavalan.

After Death Rituals and Language

Only the body of the dead enter into the burial ground (chudala), through a ritual called pey kettal, during which the soul is invoked into a covered coin and given to the chudalappey, the deity of burial ground. The karimi, who conducts the ritual, calls on the ancestral head of the mother of the dead person, followed by those of the paternal grandmother, and those of the maternal line of the paternal grandfather. This is to introduce the dead person to the world of ancestors.
Kuntippula/ Kuntula

This is the first ritual after death, and involves invoking ancestral spirits and naming the departed person.

Pathimoontannu

This is a ritual to send off the soul of the dead person. A pandal/temporary construction is raised with fires placed in each of the four corners. A figure of the dead person is made from raw rice by the shamans Karimi and Kanaladi. The Achirale ancestors are then called. When the Karimi speaks, the Kanaladi must reply, and vice versa. This process is known as Chathibram parachi, and includes singing praises of the dead person. Ancestors will understand this only if sung in the traditional Rawla language. Following this, women come forward to touch the figure made of rice, while wailing in a loud voice.

Kootta

In this ritual, the soul entrusted to the chudala pey is summoned. A pancake, karimi otti, is made to please the soul. The last conversation with the soul is the murakettu (Mura- winnow, Kett- knot). The Kanaladi shaman sits in the pandal, with a winnow tied to a bell, within which is rice. This is covered with a white towel. The soul of the person enters the Shaman. Accompanied by drumbeat, music and tribal incantations, the spirit speaks about the cause of death, its desires and other matters, and promises to return as a bird or deity. The food for the journey to the afterworld is served under a resins tree, consisting of turmeric rice, roasted chicken and coconut. A portion of the food is to the right of Chudala Pey, who kept the soul in custody.

Gaddika

This is a ceremony during which gods or ancestors appear. Gaddika is held to remove illness, for an easy childbirth or to ward off wild animals. The shaman is Thammadi, and the elders or Karimi or Kanaladi talk with spirits that will inhabit his body. Men, dressed as women known as Mari, invoke Mari the mother god through dance. Complex discussions are held between ancestors and gods.

Prominent Myths

Several songs of the Gaddika have been obtained in the original language, together with several myths. As such, the origin of Pookkari Magathayam, the promiscuity of Bellooramma, the myths of Shuvuni Malakkari, the heroics of Basavappan, the life of Jogiyachan, the high mother goddess Allirabhamari, the origins of gods Mallappan, Siddhappan, Parubathi, Nanjappan and Marees were all obtained during the collection.

References

Cognitive Anthropology and Language
A Study of Malay Manuscripts (Petua Membina Rumah): Geometric Pattern Lexical Density

Muhamad Fadzillah Zaini a
a Universiti Pendidikan Sultan Idris, Malaysia

Anida Saruddin b
b Universiti Pendidikan Sultan Idris, Malaysia

Mazura Mastura Muhammad c
c Universiti Pendidikan Sultan Idris, Malaysia

Abstract

This study examines the lexical density of classical Malay texts. This study is divided into three main parts, namely, (1) the form of the keyword list in a classic text compared to a current text, (2) 10 keywords that appear as a result of the Simple Math Procedure (SMP) test, and (3) geometrical patterns that are produced to examine the lexical representations of classical texts according to their SMP values. This study uses the SMP as is pre-defined in the LancsBox 4.5 software. This study was conducted on seven classical texts that have been developed in the Korpus Petua Membina Rumah (KPMR) (Tips for Building a Home Corpus). The rationale of this study is to test lexical density as a complex lexical representation in classical texts. In addition, the relation between text and community was also highlighted as a phenomenon of traditional knowledge and feudal thought.

Keywords: Language, culture, classic text, corpus linguistics

Introduction

Lexical density is a statistical measurement of the richness of a text. This statistical measurement refers to the lexical frequency that appears when representing a type of word (Gregori-Signes and Clavel-Arroitia 2015). The current study of corpus linguistics contains specifically witnessed lexicons that shape grammar according to the needs of language morphology. This is owing to that lexical wealth can be measured in a corpus. Over the years, classical textual studies have been carried out by incorporating corpus linguistics as an approach (Abainia 2019; Hammo, Yagi, Ismail and AbuSharjah 2016; Norri, Junkkari and Poranen 2019; Rubinstein 2019; Timmis 2018). Classical texts contribute significantly to lexical representations according to textual content either chronologically or synchronously. As such, this study tested the lexical density to examine lexical richness and the structural pattern of classical Malay texts in applying the corpus linguistics approach. This study used the KPMR, which is a specialized corpus. This corpus consists of seven classic Malay texts, which are MSS741, MSS1415, MSS1521, MSS1849, MSS2001, Tajul Muluk and Kitab Abu Masyar. The token for this corpus is 14,854 and the value of type is 2,027 (13.67 TTR). The lexical test uses the Simple Math Procedure (SMP) generated through LancsBox 4.5 as a research instrument. This study uses the corpus referred to by the Berita
Harian corpus (KBH) as a lexical comparison of representative keyword lists. The rationale for this study is to examine the lexical structure form of classical Malay texts using PMR. This is significant to identify the richness of Malay lexicons in classical texts.

**Lexical Density Results**

The results show that there are 10 positive keyword lexicons that appear in the keyword list. The keyword list is a lexical form that was compared using the SMP test (Brezina 2018). Once content filtering was performed, a list of keywords in the form of content was submitted for the discussion of lexical density or lexical richness in classical text. Content words are lexical forms that have a dominant relationship with the text. Figure 1.0 represents the distribution of content key words in the classical KPMR Malay text.

![Figure 1.0 Distribution of 10 Lexicons in the Keyword List](image)

Figure 1.0 shows the content words in the list of keywords whereby a significant SMP value is a lexicon with 119.5768032 and the tenth lexical ‘senget’ is an adjective which had a significant value of SMP v 20.60332658. All of these lexicons have a positive representational value in KPMR compared to KBH. This is owing to that lexical domination is widely used in the KPMR as a content descriptor for home-building tips. The dominant nouns in these 10 lexical terms are *tiang, bumi, ukuran, matalari*. This is followed by verbs such as the lexicons *beroleh, mendirikan, diam, lipat*. Lastly are the adjectives *jahat* and *senget*.

**Geometric Pattern**

As a result of this lexical density result, the lexicon can be plotted, based on the co-occurrence relation among lexicons. This involves a collocation graph to examine the position of lexicons in classical Malay texts. A collocation graph is a lexical form or plot based on the position between lexicons for content words and represents a co-occurring lexical collocation (other than lexical content) (Brezina, McEnery and Wattam 2015; Bruening 2019; Gablasova, Brezina and Mcenery 2017; Seretan 2008; Stuart and Botella 2009; Xiao 2015). Figure 2.0 shows the collocation of 10 content word lexicons that are included in the keyword list.
Figure 2.0 Geometric Pattern Representative Visualization of 10 Content Words

Figure 2.0 shows a representative visualization of geometrical patterns that map 10 interconnected content words. The dashed lines indicate the relationship between lexicons as a co-occurrence. The 10 lexical content words are ukuran, bumi, lipat, beroleh, tiang, jahat, matabari, senget, mendirikan and diam. Only two lexicons have a co-occurrence value among lexicons by connecting four other lexical content words, namely tiang and beroleh. The lexicon tiang co-occurs with the lexis ukuran, lipat, matabari and beroleh. Meanwhile, the lexical beroleh co-occurs with the lexis mendirikan, diam, tiang and jahat. The co-occurrence relationship suggests the complexity of a classical Malay text that is loaded with knowledge (Amer Hudhaifah 2017; Muhammad Akmal R.Azmi and Faudzinaim 2018). This is owing to the complexity of the pastcommunity in developing thought shows significance towards the rating of a specific knowledge (Hassan 2016; Muhamad Fadzillah Zaini and Hashimah 2019).

Conclusion

The Simple Maths Procedure (SMP) test was performed to represent lexical density or lexical richness in KPMR. This test provides a refined keyword list by focusing on previous content words. This is because the examination of the content words provides the focus of KPMR. The results show that lexical verb beroleh can precede and end with the lexical adjective senget. The lexical pillar precedes the noun to indicate that this lexical representation is significant and widely used. Next, the lexical verb mendirikan became dominant so as to refer to construction work. Therefore, it can be seen that this lexical use reflects the socioculture and architectural knowledge of the past. The adjustments used give a reflection of previous architecture. The relationship between text and people’s lives is thus closely linked to the value of nation building.
Acknowledgement

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Perception And Metaphorical Smell: A Malay Manuscript Study (Petua Membina Rumah) as an Asian Text

Muhamad Fadzillah Zaini
University Pendidikan Sultan Idris, Malaysia

Anida Saruddin
University Pendidikan Sultan Idris, Malaysia

Mazura Mastura Muhammad
University Pendidikan Sultan Idris, Malaysia

Siti Saniyah Abu Bakar
University Pendidikan Sultan Idris, Malaysia

Abstract

Scholars of architecture have at times recorded sense of smell metaphors in the site selection processes of Malay houses. This has been described in several manuscripts within discourses of Tips of Building a Home (Petua Membina Rumah). This paper analyses smell metaphors using the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). The theoretical framework is based on a corpus, which generates three sets of manuscript data, namely MSS741, MSS1521 and Tajul Muluk, to access the Keyword In Context (KWIC) of bau (smell) and baunya (its smell). This paper uses a qualitative study design around a Malay manuscript.

Three main findings emerged from this paper. First, the existence of the metaphor of ‘smell’ contained in the Malay manuscripts was evident. Secondly, the conceptual metaphor was formed according to domain structures such as smell, sound, touch, taste, vision and spirituality. Third, the metaphor of ‘smell’ aligns with feeling, which suggests that humans can use the tongue to sense odours. This study thus becomes significant in explaining the ways in which the concept of smell is linguistically coded in the Malay language and attempts to present elements of Malay wisdom based on the ‘smell’ metaphors.

Keywords: Metaphor, smell, linguistic code ability, conceptual metaphor theory

Introduction

Kovecses (2019) presented insights into smell metaphors and conceptual representations in the English language linked to key issues; Firstly, conceptual metaphoric forms encoded in English, secondly, the representation of ‘smell’ as the target domain, and thirdly, the conceptual structures of ‘smell’ that can be understood. Thus, this paper brings forth new issues that have emerged as the representation of baunya (its smell) or bau (smell) that was created based on three perspectives as the focus of this study.
Firstly, on the lexical representation of *bau* and *baunya* contained in Malay manuscripts forms metaphors. This is because the lexical representations of *bau* and *baunya* in metaphorical form can be encoded conceptually and metaphorically. Researchers of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Kovecses 2015, 2018, 2019; Lakoff and Johnson 1980) have shed light on the systematic relationships (conceptual metaphors) between domains of multiple perspectives, or simple ‘senses’ and other abstract entities (Adams 2017; Ahrens and Burgers 2018; Ahrens, Chung and Huang 2003; Ali, 2014; Andriessen, 2007; Gandolfo, 2019). Across the digital age, reading automatically facilitates the lexicon that is formed as a metaphor. Many scholars begin the process by using public data (bigdata) as a medium to study metaphors. As such, the representations of the metaphor are tailored to either the source domain or the target domain. This study proves that the source domain is dominant in shaping metaphors based on lexical co-occurrences. This helps in the formation of lexicographic grammatical metaphors as a co-occurrence between lexicons and metaphors. Secondly, metaphorical structures can represent the *bau* or *baunya* as smell, sound, touch, taste, vision and spirituality. This feature has become the baseline as an entity that assists as a source domain. At this stage, it is obvious that collocations with deltaPs’s can be used to see the lexical strength of the *bau* or *baunya* in shaping the metaphorical concept. The deltaP test uses collocation as a proof of the relationship between lexicons that forms conceptual metaphors (Brezina, McEnery and Wattam 2015).

Thirdly, the metaphor of ‘smell’ along with taste indicates that humans can use the tongue as a sense of ‘smell.’ This is a comprehensive finding to examine co-occurrences that contribute as a sense of ‘smell’ to form a metaphorical conception of ‘smell.’ This co-occurrence is examined on the basis of representations between lexicons. An example is the lexical TIME IS MONEY suggested by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Based on this evidence, we can present together with Lakoff and Johnson based on English lexical use of ‘time’ to be the same as ‘money.’ The lexicon can be understood based on the financial metaphor with a visual representation of lexical collocation (Brezina 2018). This lexical and visual collocation contributes greatly to the conceptual metaphor and lexical evidence that is highly indispensable. Visual collocation is significant as a form of a lexicographic grammatical pattern that links one lexicon to another to form a metaphorical conception. This importance is seen as a representative of lexical meanings.

Hence, this paper is a mix between lexicons and metaphors where the link can be viewed via experimental data from the Malay language to manuscript data. Malay manuscripts are among the Asian texts that still have life in the circle of the archipelago. Focus is given to the lexical formulation of *bau* and *baunya* as a prototype of metaphorical projection for the sensory concept.

**Malay Manuscript as an Asian Text**

The tradition of writing began in Malaya a few centuries ago with the oral tradition, followed by the written tradition after paper was brought into the country through the Arab and Chinese influence (Nor Hashimah 2013). Thus gave birth to the era of texts of in the Malay tradition, a process that not only plays a role as a historical or literature heritage, but also plays the role of informing, educating and entertaining the public (Ding Choo Ming 2016). Studies of classical texts or manuscripts through various perspectives have been conducted extensively by researchers to discover the value of past answers that can be used as a reference at the present time (see Chen 2018; Corman et al. 2018; Deps and Charlier 2019; Furlong and Carroll 1988; Jackson 2017; Kerzendorf 2019; Kornblith 2007; Raybould 2019; Ricciardi 2019; Tosi 2016). According to Hernández-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre (2012), in order to study earlier societies in terms of language or civilization, the main data that should be referred to is ancient manuscripts or texts.
This paper presents the research data of Malay manuscripts regarding tips in building houses. A total of seven manuscripts was selected, namely MSS741, MSS1415, MSS1521, MSS1849, MSS2001, Tajul Muluk and the Book of Abu Masyar (Fasal Kitab Abu Masyar). The manuscript contains clauses of pre-construction processes such as determining the home base, time, customs, beliefs, religion and foundational knowledge with which to build a house (Al-Ahmadi 2016). All manuscripts can be located at the National Center for Malay Manuscripts in the National Library of Malaysia (PNM). This text was written in the Arabic script and contains Arabic loan words. The examination of the text was conducted by transliterating it into the Roman script in the Malay language and was saved as a softcopy (plain text). Most Malay manuscripts are written in the Arabic script due to the influence of religion whereby preaching was widely applied in previous literary tradition (Yakob 2018).

Methodology

This paper used the Petua Membina Rumah (Tips in Building a Home) corpus (KPMR) which compiled 14,854 tokens in the manuscripts, 2,027 different types of words used in the manuscript, and 13.67 type / token ratios. The KPMR manuscript is a specialized corpus that complements the tips of building a house based on seven selected manuscripts. This study used the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (lexical approach) based on corpus data that was developed. The evaluation of corpus data in a statistical form reveals in detail the visual collocation based on the significance of raw frequency and deltaP. The deltaP value is a lexical measurement of the lexical correlation that finds the strength of the lexical relation. The deltaP formula > 0.002 is summarised as;

$$\frac{O_{11}}{R_1} - \frac{O_{21}}{R_2} , \frac{O_{11}}{C_1} - \frac{O_{12}}{C_2}$$

(Brezina 2018)

Based on the generated lexical data for bau and baunya, there were three manuscripts that provided lexical representations, which were MSS741, MSS1521 and a clause in Tajul Muluk. Lexical experiments using deltaP provide a form of lexical representation that is collocated with the strength between lexicons. This shows that the lexical representation of ‘its smell’ precedes the appearance, and there was no collocation for ‘smell.’ This provides a special perspective to the enclitic aspect of ‘nya’ as an emphasis that brings a lexical representative of baunya in particular. This can be seen through the lexicon of baunya in the metaphorical lexical perspective as a dualism that brings two meanings based on lexicon and context.

Results

Based on the generation of the node collocation for bau and baunya, the node bau does not provide any form of deltaP collocation test (except for representative collocation for raw frequency). Instead, baunya forms collocations with several other lexicons (raw frequency and deltaP test). In this generation, we had set the window size to 5 left and 5 right between the nodes. The selection of tests using raw frequency looks into the lexical plots on the average occurrence. In addition, the support test of deltaP was used as a measure of the strength of lexicon and node usage distances (Brezina 2018).

Figure 1.0 shows the representation of the nodes baunya and bau that have a collocation relationship between lexical and metaphorical. The bau node underwent a low lexical colocation that is shared with the node baunya. Among the lexicons that experienced co-occurrence between the bau and baunya include lexicons such as aroma (barum), sweet (manis), earth (bumi), color (warna), taste (rasa) and white (putih). For the baunya lexical node, there were several lexical collocations such as lexicons that served as the closest adjective, including
taste (*rasanya*), sweet (*manis*), sour (*masam*), earth (*bumi*), spicy (*pedas*), rotten (*busuk*), fragrant (*barun*), sticky (*kelat*), red (*merah*), color (*warna*), stuff (*barang*), silent (*diam*), black (*hitam*), white (*putih*), ground (*tanah*), fishy (*banyir*), should (*harus*), home (*kediaman*), family (*keluarga*), us (*kita*), masyrik, salty (*masin*), bitter (*pahit*), and spicy (*pedas*). This is a form of a metaphysical lexicographic phenomenon in viewing lexicons as a co-occurrence of ‘smell’ and ‘its smell.’

![Diagram](image-url)

**Figure 1.0 Raw frequency of Bau and Baunya nodes**

Next, Figure 2.0 represents the lexical deltaP test results that have a strong co-occurrence for the lexicon *baunya*. Based on this test, the lexicons sour (*masam*), sweet (*manis*), and taste (*rasanya*) have a strong co-occurrence in the lexicon *baunya*. The value of this test was from 0.48496035 to 0.6626059612. Therefore, the potential for metaphoric representation of *baunya* can be explained by looking at the keyword in context (KWIC).

![Diagram](image-url)

**Figure 2.0 DeltaP Node for Baunya**

**Jadual 1.0 Metaphorical patterns of bau and baunya (KPMR)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘Bau’ as a source domain</th>
<th>KWIC</th>
<th>Metaphor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>baunya</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taste + Spiritual Perception</td>
<td>baunya + masam kelat</td>
<td>Fasal pada menyatakan tanah jika tanah itu merah <em>baunya</em> masam kelat rasanya pedas-pedas atau manis-manis jika kita diam di sana alamat segala keluarga kita atau kaum kita pun muafakat dengan kita dan segala sahabat kita pun banyak kasih akan kita jika kita diam di sana alamat akan beroleh harta banyak dan hamba sahaya banyak dan beras padi pun banyak dan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**THE GENERAL ATMOSPHERE OF SOMETHING IS A GUSTATORY AND SPIRITUAL PERCEPTION**
| 'smell' + Vision | baunya + busuk | Fasal pada menyatakan jika bumi itu warnanya hitam airnya masin dan baunya busuk jika kita diam di sana alamat kematian atau kerugian lagi pun sangat dukacita dan lagi huru-hara tiada berkelanaun Wallahu’alam. | THE GENERAL ATMOSPHERE OF SOMETHING IS A OLFACTORY AND VISUAL PERCEPTION |
| Taste + Vision | bau + manis + baunya + harum | bau pun manis baunya harum bumi itu maha utama terlalu elok maha baik barang siapa diam pada bumi itu terlalu bahagia lagi beroleh emas dan perak lagi sekalian dan ketinggiannya | THE GENERAL ATMOSPHERE OF SOMETHING IS A GUSTATORY AND VISUAL PERCEPTION |
| Taste + Vision | baunya + pedas | jika bumi itu merah rasanya masam kelat baunya pedas jika kediaman keluarganya sekalian alamat akan berjanu. | THE GENERAL ATMOSPHERE OF SOMETHING IS A GUSTATORY AND VISUAL PERCEPTION |
| Taste + Spiritual Perception | rasanya + masam pahit + baunya + pedas | Jika bumi itu warnanya merah rasanya masam lagi pahit baunya pedas barang siapa diam di sana segala keluarganya dan orang sekalian pun banyak tiada kasih akan dia. | THE GENERAL ATMOSPHERE OF SOMETHING IS A GUSTATORY AND SPIRITUAL PERCEPTION |
| Taste + Touch | hanyir + baunya + masam | Jika bumi itu baunya busuk airnya manis tiada harus bumi itu akan tempat duduk sebarang pekerjaan tiada jadi dukacita tiada senang juga. | THE GENERAL ATMOSPHERE OF SOMETHING IS A GUSTATORY AND TACTILE PERCEPTION |

Thus, the summary of baunya as a source domain forms a conceptual metaphorical dualism. This is because the lexical perception of baunya collocates with several lexicons, particularly sour (masam), sweet (manis) and taste (rasanya) (deltaP testing). The results of these co-occurrences for baunya were reproduced lexically in KeyWord In Context (KWIC) to obtain a representative lexical context and togetherness. The introduction of the conceptual metaphor in dualism is due to the complexity of the dual-domain context taking place in this case. This dual-domain involves Taste + Spiritual Perception; ‘smell’ + Vision; Taste + Vision; Taste + Spiritual Perception and Taste + Touch. In line with these findings, we have developed a conceptual metaphor of dualism (such as the metaphor in Table 1.0). The relation of bau is very dominant in the retrieved Malay manuscripts. The complexity of sentences, phrases or lexicons often occurs in the text that contributes to the formation of Malay metaphors (Anida 2018; Fadzillah and Hashimah 2019). This is due to the combination of thoughts that assumes that one thing connects to another (Hassan 2016). Sense of smell and taste connect human glory to life (Karim and Zaini 2017). Thus, smell and taste form a very close and useful connection in sharpening the human mind (Day 1996; Speed and Majid 2019; Verbeek and van Campen 2013).

**Conclusion**

The perspective and metaphor for baunya in the Malay KPMR manuscripts are patently different. In particular, KMPR forms the source domain and metaphorical conception of dualism involving one context and two different domains in conveying lexical meaning. Lexicons used through collocation provide a different perspective and highlight the taste domain compared to the smell domain in general. The formation of the conceptual metaphor to bring the dual-domain provides a complex perspective to Malay thought as a teaching value in the feudal Malay socio-cultural society.
Ancknowledgement

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References


Collocation Analysis of Variants of Intensifiers in Classical Malay Texts

Anida Sarudin
\textsuperscript{a} Sultan Idris Education University, Malaysia
Mazura Mastura Muhammad
\textsuperscript{b} Sultan Idris Education University, Malaysia
Muhamad Fadzllah Zaini
\textsuperscript{c} Sultan Idris Education University, Malaysia
Zulkifli Osman
\textsuperscript{d} Sultan Idris Education University, Malaysia
Muhammad Anas Al Muhsin
\textsuperscript{e} Sultan Idris Education University, Malaysia

Abstract

In this paper, the authors discuss the findings of a study carried out to examine good lexical collocation in classical Malay texts. For the study, two corpora were used, namely Petua Membina Rumah and Korpus Rujukan Berita Harian. The former had 14,644 tokens and 2,080 types while the latter had 1,058,722 tokens and 39,632 types. Only 100 distributions of lexical collocations of the word ‘baik’ were chosen, given that such a word was most widely used in adjectival sentences. Collocation analysis was carried out using MI (Mutual Information), T score, and logDice. The findings showed such lexical collocations had metaphorical meanings based on two main categories of intensifiers, namely \textit{amplifier} and \textit{downtoner}. The former was made up of \textit{booster} and \textit{maximizer} while the latter consisted of \textit{approximator}, \textit{compromiser}, \textit{diminisher}, and \textit{minimizer}. Such findings indicate that the Malay society has a unique linguistic identity in that they converse with a good lexicon of intensifying words or intensifiers whose function is to amplify the meanings of sentences. Each variant of intensifiers of the Malay language occurs in various adverbial characters. Such a phenomenon shows that the unique adverbial intensifier of the Malay language plays an important role as an indicator to identify metaphors.

\textbf{Keywords}: Amplifier, classical Malay texts, collocation, downtoner, intensifier, lexicon

Introduction

This study was carried out to examine the uniqueness of the lexical collocation of the Malay language in classical Malay manuscripts. Lexical collocation was examined was based on phrases consisting of different functions and meanings. From the perspective of phrases, such collocation creates metaphorical meanings. According to Carbonell (1980), the creation of metaphors is formed by several processes, namely those from Recognition
Network, which help discern metaphorical characteristics of information that are either linguistic items or general metaphors. The second factor is Basic Domain Mapping, which is the mapping of meanings that either occurs ascendingly or has different meanings. The third factor is the Implicit Intention Component, which is the lexicon of metaphors that has implicit functional ideas. The last metaphorical process is Transfer Mapping, which is the process of transferring the interpretation of metaphors to other aspects. Such metaphors are created based on specific causes that will have a strong implication on the automatic interpretation of such aspects. Through this process, metaphors are created from a lexicon that has intensifying characteristics, which are instrumental in automating the process of creating metaphors with certain meanings and values.

Intensifiers can act as an indicator to identify a particular metaphor (Fuchs, 2017). Furthermore, an intensifier can serve as a grammatical category or main lexicon with grammatical characteristics, the aspects of which are not explained but are focused on their functional importance. In this respect, according to Quirk et al. (1985), intensifiers can be divided into two main categories, namely amplifier (upward intensifier) and downtoner (downward intensifier). In turn, the former can be broken down into several sub-categories, namely boosters and maximizer, while the latter can be further split into several sub-categories, namely approximator, compromiser, diminisher, and minimizer. Table 1.0 shows several sentences and phrases containing such intensifiers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amplifier</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Downcomer</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Booster</td>
<td>She is a really nice person.</td>
<td>approximator</td>
<td>I am almost full.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maximizer</td>
<td>My shoes were completely soaked.</td>
<td>compromiser</td>
<td>She is more or less a genius.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>diminisher</td>
<td>I feel somewhat sick.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>minimizer</td>
<td>He is hardly qualified.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.0 Examples of sentences consisting of amplifiers and downtoners

In this article, the discussion focuses on intensifiers of a corpus entitled *Petua Membina Rumah* containing adjectives being either as an amplifier or as a downtoner. As revealed in previous studies, especially those carried out by Liu (2019), González García (2014), Ghesquière (2014), Pace-Sigge (2013), Xiao (2007), Athanasiadou (2006), Peters (1994), Lorenz (2002), Ito and Tagliamonte (2003), and Stoic (2001), several views regarding such intensifiers have been identified in several manuscripts. Table 2.0 summarizes the numbers of tokens and types found in two corpora, namely *Petua Membina Rumah* (PMR) and *Rajukan Berita Harian* (RBH), as highlighted in Table 2.0.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of corpus</th>
<th>Token</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Petua Membina Rumah</em></td>
<td>14,644</td>
<td>2,080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Rajukan Berita Harian</em></td>
<td>105,8722</td>
<td>39,632</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.0 The numbers of tokens and types in PMR and RBH corpora

In this study, the researchers tested the Mutual Information Score (MS-Score) to measure the statistical relationship of co-occurrences as the strength of measurements of collocation. In addition, the significance of collocation was tested using a t-score with the aim of reinforcing the relationships of several collocations. In this study, the researchers also tested collocations with the use of logDice to identify the characteristics of collocations, namely node and lexical collocation. Essentially, logDice can serve as a representation of network characteristics when measurements of collocation are made from concordances. As such, logDice is widely used to compare the mean scores of various corpora, given that logDice is not influenced by their sizes.

The Analysis of Collocations of Intensifiers of Lexical Metaphors
Figure 1.0 shows the distribution of 100 words throughout the corpus, and Figure 2.0 shows the representations of various intensifiers in the selected corpus.

As shown, the distribution of words that were collocated with such a lexicon shows several different representations. From the standpoint of an intensifying function of such lexical collocation, it was found that ‘booster’ intensifier occupied a dominant position by appearing 64 times in the corpus. In contrast, ‘maximizer’ intensifier appeared only 15 times, making it the second most dominant intensifier. Other less dominant intensifiers were ‘approximator,’ ‘diminisher,’ and ‘compromiser,’ as made evident by their low frequencies of occurrences by appearing 10, 6, and 5 times, respectively. In this context, the ‘booster’ intensifier played a dominant function of good lexical collocation, which means it served as a ‘booster’ metaphor. Such a metaphor functions on nouns and adjectives. However, the ‘maximizer’ intensifier functions as a ‘maximizer’ metaphor for the lexicon involving nouns, verbs, and adjectives.

In contrast, the ‘approximator’ intensifier functions as an ‘approximator’ metaphor for the lexicon involving prepositions, conjunctions, nouns, and verbs, whereas the ‘compromiser’ intensifier functions as an adverb for prepositions, conjunctions, and adjectives. By contrast, the ‘diminisher’ intensifier functions as a ‘diminisher’ metaphor for the lexicon involving adjectives, nouns, and verbs. All these findings indicate that ‘good’ lexical collocation has a unique implicit role, a claim that has been asserted by Bolinger (1972) and Quirk et al. (1985), who also argue that an intensifier can drastically change the context of a sentence.

Frequencies of collocations were analyzed to examine values of frequencies of words in the corpus, summarized in Table 3.0. Here, the analysis of lexical collocation indicated that ‘bernasib’ had the highest frequency, appearing 41 times. This was the most dominant in the corpus. The words ‘berkedudukan’ and

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'berkelakuan' had the lowest frequency, with each having appeared nine (9) times, indicating that they had an equal representation. Table 3.0 shows the variants of intensifier in the 'Petua Membina Rumah' manuscript.

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<td>sebenarnya</td>
<td>4.679514</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>○ M</td>
<td>sesuatu</td>
<td>4.671861</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>○ R</td>
<td>memerlukan</td>
<td>4.660456</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>○ R</td>
<td>samping</td>
<td>4.647531</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>○ R</td>
<td>mudah</td>
<td>4.642714</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conclusion
The distribution of good lexical collocation can highlight the representation of variance intensifiers in classical Malay manuscripts. The study reveals that Malay society has a unique linguistic identity as they converse with a good lexicon of intensifying words or intensifiers that have amplify the meanings of sentences. Each variant of intensifiers of the Malay language occurs in various adverbial characters. Such a phenomenon shows that the unique adverbial intensifier of Malay plays an important role as an indicator to identify metaphors.

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References

The Relationship between Astronomy and Architecture as an Element of Malay Intelligentsia

Anida Sarudin
\textsuperscript{a} Sultan Idris Education University, Malaysia

Mazura Mastura Muhammad
\textsuperscript{b} Sultan Idris Education University, Malaysia

Muhamad Fadzillah Zain
\textsuperscript{c} Sultan Idris Education University, Malaysia

Husna Fareedza Mohamed Redzwan
\textsuperscript{d} Sultan Idris Education University, Malaysia

Siti Saniah Abu Bakar
\textsuperscript{e} Sultan Idris Education University, Malaysia

Abstract

Islam has been very influential in shaping societal developments in the Malay world. Such an influence manifests in various aspects of their lives, one of which can be clearly seen in several influential works carried out by Malay intellectuals in a number of fields. Old Malay manuscripts that deal with many Islamic aspects of knowledge have become a great legacy left by esteemed Malay religious scholars and intellectuals that serves as a testimony of the spread of Islam to the Malay world. Against such a backdrop, this study was carried out to examine the positive (good) and negative (bad) signs associated with Islamic months that helped Malays decide the appropriate months in which houses should be built. The study was based on a mixed-method approach based on a quantitative method and a qualitative method to help yield empirically reliable findings. The corpus-based analysis was the main analysis used by focusing on significant lexical values and concordant synthesis to highlight the good and bad signs associated with Islamic months. The researchers selected five (5) manuscripts that belonged to a corpus called \textit{Petua Membina Rumah}. The analysis showed 50\% of the Islamic months had negative signs while 42\% of such months had positive signs. The remaining 8\% had a mix of positive and negative signs. In addition, there were some instances involving a combination of positive and negative signs. Such occurrences provide an interesting view of the impact of signs on the Malay society, especially on its civilization. These significant findings highlight not only the Islamic months deemed suitable for building houses but also the thinking of Malay scholars in shaping the civilization of the Malay world.

\textbf{Keywords} Corpus statistics, Islamic months, lexicon, Malay manuscripts, Malay world.
Introduction

Syed Hussein Alatas (1977) states that a person who has the characteristic of ‘an intelligentsia or a scholar’ will be able to discharge his or her responsibility by contributing ideas, and the scholarly thinking that he or she has can help address issues and problems confronting many societies. Malay authors’ or writers’ ‘intelligentsia’ characteristic has been recorded in many Malay manuscripts, which highlights all activities carried out by the Malay society. Such manuscripts served as the main source of information of old Malay societies to transmit moral values explicitly and implicitly (Ding Choo Ming, 2016). More importantly, such manuscripts contain knowledge regarding cultural practices, stories, thinking, and civilizational philosophy, which were recorded through words to highlight specific meanings and ideas. The functions of such words can be examined through the relationships in a form of chained words in a particular sentence. To date, linguistics experts have examined several rare Malay manuscripts to unearth socio-cultural elements that can help highlight the intellectual and civilizational characteristics of Malays.

In this study, the researchers examined a number of manuscripts, designated as MSS741, MSS1415, MSS1521, MSS1849, and MSS2001, which had been translated from Jawi to Romanized texts. Essentially, these selected manuscripts contain information concerning the positions of lands, the appropriate days and months to build houses, and elements pertaining to social norms, beliefs, anthropology, and religion.

Based on the elaboration and transliteration of the chapter ‘Hari dan bulan mendirikan rumah,’ Al-Ahmadi (2016) asserts that the old Malays would build their homes by focusing on certain months that were supposed to have either good or bad signs as follows:

a) The month of Muharram that brings diseases.

b) The month of Safar that brings fortunes.

c) The month of Rabiuulawwal that indicates a sign of the impending death of the owner.

d) The month of Rabiulakhir that brings contentment to the owner of a house.

After the advent of Islam in the Malay world, religious scholars who helped spread the religion also brought with them the knowledge of Astronomy that provided important guidelines for religious rituals and living requirements of the old Malay society. Thus, it becomes clear that Malay manuscripts that prescribe the appropriate times (months) to build houses had a strong relationship with spiritual and cultural characteristics of old Malay societies that were deeply rooted in Islamic teachings (Al-Ahmadi, 2016). In this regard, Vosooghi (2018) argues that the relationship between geography and Islamic astronomy is deeply intertwined in such old manuscripts. Likewise, Man et al. (2012) assert that in dealing with certain sharia issues, such as determining the times of obligatory prayers, the beginning of each Islamic month, and the direction of Mecca, Muslim communities will rely on astronomy. From the perspective of Islamic knowledge discipline, King (2004), a renowned scholar of the civilization and the history of Islamic astronomy, divides the discipline of Islamic knowledge of astronomy into two categories, namely Islamic folk astronomy and Islamic mathematical astronomy.

According to Aizan Ali @ Mat Zin, Khadijah Ismail, and Abdul Niri (2015), ‘Islamic astronomy’ (a term coined by prefixing the word ‘Islam’ to the word ‘astronomy’ is the discipline of knowledge that examines the heavens and celestial entities based on the Islamic paradigm. More specifically, such knowledge discipline examines heavenly bodies and entities based on several aspects as follows: (a) their creation and existence, (b) their physical and metaphysical characteristics, (c) their relationships with the Creator, (d) their applications in religious rituals, and (e) their utilization for the development of good manners. In building homes, the Malays
will ponder deeply in their every move or action that they take through a process that focuses on the good tidings associated with certain Islamic months. According to Tenas (2013), the wisdom, acumen, and insightful thinking of Malays are closely related to their holistic visionary thinking. They focus not only on worldly affairs but also on matters after death. Premised on this context, this study was carried out to examine the trend of development of Malay civilization with respect to building homes in certain Islamic months that bring good blessings.

Research Methodology

This study was based on a mixed-method approach involving a quantitative method and a qualitative method, which was applied to a corpus statistical method. Such a method can help researchers to analyze data by referring to the statistics of words contained in a word list (McEnery, Xiao, and Tono, 2006), which is essentially a lexical representation of textual data (O’Keeffe and McCarthy, 2012). In this study, the researchers focused on several manuscripts of an old Malay corpus called Petua Membinga Rumah, which were designated as MSS1415, MSS1521, MSS1849, MSS2001 dan MSS741. These selected manuscripts were based on the translated versions of the manuscripts made by Abdul Rahman Al-Ahmadi (2016). Overall, such a manuscript had 6,081 word tokens, with 911 different words and the ratio of type and token being 15.00. Data were generated using Wordsmith, a widely used application for linguistic statistics, which owes to its high readability of Romanized characters. In addition, the data cleaning process was carried out by focusing on texts, not on time tables, prayers, and others that could be read by the corpus software. Cleaned Romanized texts were saved in the plain text format to facilitate the data-generation process. Table 1.0 summarizes the number of word tokens, different words, and the ratio of type and token.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MSS1415</th>
<th>MSS1521</th>
<th>MSS1849</th>
<th>MSS2001</th>
<th>MSS741</th>
<th>Overall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The number of word tokens.</td>
<td>673</td>
<td>933</td>
<td>734</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>3,527</td>
<td>6,081</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The number of different words.</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>358</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>668</td>
<td>911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The ratio of types and tokens.</td>
<td>27.98</td>
<td>38.45</td>
<td>28.92</td>
<td>37.26</td>
<td>18.96</td>
<td>15.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.0: The number of word tokens, different words, and the ratio of type and token

A word list was generated by Wordsmith for all the data related to the Malay manuscripts. A list of word frequencies was made the base for various analyses of frequencies using various statistical methods. In the study of corpus-based languages and linguistics, data are based on generated lists of word frequencies. Typically, an empirical analysis will be carried out and its findings are discussed from the perspective of the science of corpus statistics, such that data could be tested to examine their falsifiability, simplicity, completeness, and integrity (Hunston, 2002). A lexicon can be examined to determine the size of its statistical values (large, moderate, and small), which helps determine their specific implications. The emergence of a nominal lexicon can highlight complex meanings (Fontaine, 2017). As such, the focus of this study was on the lexicon of months that emerged nominally, which implicitly helped reveal their complex meanings. Table 2.0 summarizes the ranking of the lexicon of months that was represented in the data of the Petua Membinga Rumah corpus. The analysis of the word frequencies showed the manuscripts of MSS741 (125) and MSS2001 (5.61) had the highest raw and relative frequencies for the word ‘month,’ respectively. Table 2.0 shows the rankings, raw frequencies, and relative frequencies of the manuscripts for the word ‘month’ in the selected manuscripts.
The pattern of the word ‘month’ in the selected corpus

After examining the list of frequencies, the lexicon of the word ‘month’ was referred to as a concordance to highlight the contexts and patterns of such a word. In addition, relevant concordances were generated using a sub-window of WordSmith. As revealed by the analysis if concordances, the word ‘month’ often collocated with certain Islamic months, such as Syaaban, Zulkaedah, Zulhijjah, Rabialawwal, Safar, and Muharram, highlighting an interesting implication on the function and meaning of such a word based on the varying contexts in the corpus. Table 3.0 summarizes the signs associated with the Islamic months in the selected corpus.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Months</th>
<th>Islamic months</th>
<th>No. of tokens</th>
<th>Sign</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Muharram</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Negative/ Bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Safar</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Positive/ Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Rabialawwal</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Negative/ Bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Rabialakhir</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Negative and Positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Jamadilawwal</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Positive/ Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Jamadilakhir</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Negative/ Bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Rejab</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Negative/ Bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Syaaban</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Positive/ Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Ramadhan</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Positive/ Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Syawal</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Negative/ Bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Zulkaedah</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Negative/ Bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Zulhijjah</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Positive/ Good</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.0 The signs associated with the Islamic months in the selected corpus

As summarized in Table 3.0, 50% of the Islamic months had negative signs and 42% of such months had positive signs. The remaining 8% had a mix of positive and negative signs. In addition, there were some instances involving a combination of positive and negative signs. Such occurrences provide an interesting view of the impact of signs on the Malay society, especially on its civilization.

Analysis of the Corpus

At this stage, the researchers performed a microscopic analysis on the month of Safar in the selected corpus. The analysis of the five selected manuscripts showed the collocation of such a month are rumah baik alamat beroleh, rumah nescaya empunya rumah yang maha baik, banyak beroleh bartanya, rumah baik, and selamat, all of which indicated a positive sign. Table 4.0 shows the good signs of particular Islamic months to build houses, which were deemed appropriate according to the thinking of the Malays at that time, which had been recorded in the corpus of manuscripts MSS741, MSS1849, MSS2001, and MSS1419.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>The good signs in the month of Safar:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Acquiring wealth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Acquiring more wealth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Acquiring extreme wealth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript:</th>
<th>MSS741</th>
<th>MSS1845</th>
<th>MSS2001</th>
<th>MSS1521</th>
<th>MSS1419</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Conclusion

In this study, the lexicon of the word ‘month’ was carefully examined by focusing on the concordance of such a word. The findings showed the existence of positive and negative signs (values) associated with the months of the Islamic calendar, which is adopted in the Malay world, in building their homes. Evidently, these findings highlight the cosmological thinking of Malays in the home-building process that has spiritual values and meticulous building elements. The refined thinking, belief, and religion of the Malay society of the past era served as a central pillar that guided them to live with greater harmony, which helped reflect the rich Malay civilization. Such findings can have a profound impact on the social development of today’s societies such that people can examine the positive and negative values or signs of the environment in which they live, which can serve as guidelines to help them make proper decisions before embarking on certain endeavors.

Acknowledgements

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References


Language, Gender, Sexuality
English Adjectives in Indonesian Cosmetic Advertisement: A Study of Emphatic Personal Metadiscourse Markers

Nia Kurniasih
\textsuperscript{a} 
\textit{Institut Teknologi Bandung, Indonesia}

Iis Kurnia Nurhayati
\textsuperscript{b} 
\textit{Telkom University, Indonesia}

Puji Audina Lestari
\textsuperscript{c} 
\textit{Institut Teknologi Bandung, Indonesia}

Abstract

The growth of the globalization of brands in international markets has led to the inevitable importance of advertisement and hence to scholarship on advertisement, such as with methods of metadiscourse. This descriptive qualitative study was aimed at determining interpersonal metadiscourse markers used in eight advertisements of Indonesian cosmetic products using English in the construction of beauty within contemporary Indonesian contexts. The results evidence an emerging new terminology in defining and classifying the types of beauty as a social construct presented in product advertisements.

Employing a discourse analysis and Hylans’s emphatic personal metadiscourse marker adjectives, it was found that the advertising makers have used adjectives to describe nouns in the advertising texts due to their persuasive meanings, namely those of aesthetic adjectives. The adjectives found in the data belong to several categories, i.e. evaluativity, dimensionality (unidimensional and multidimensional), and measurability. All of these adjectives have constructed the concept of green beauty, healthy beauty, modern beauty, religious beauty and aesthetic beauty. This study is expected to contribute to the development of language and media studies, and to enrich media studies, especially those that can enhance the strategies used by advertising agencies to choose the most effective kind of language in their advertisements.

Keywords: Advertising, adjectives, cosmetic, beauty, emphatic personal metadiscourse

Background

The growing globalization of brands has led to the inevitable importance of advertisement and its studies, including methods used in these studies, such as metadiscourse. Metadiscourse, a term used to refer to the conceptual interaction between text and text-makers as well as between text-makers and readers (Hyland 2005: 1) embodies the notion that communication is not a mere exchange of information, goods or services, but that it also involves personalities, attitudes and assumptions of those who perform communications (Hyland 2005). Metadiscourse is classified into two macro categories: textual and interpersonal. Textual metadiscourse is used to organize propositional information coherently for a particular audience and appropriate for a particular context (Hyland 2005: 7). It can be concluded that metadiscourse can be used by text-makers to convey their
attitude towards the readers and the text they have created. It can thus lead the reader to understand the text according to their wishes.

Metadiscourse is a discourse on a discourse and refers to a linguistic manifestation of the speakers or text-makers through the texts they create to interact with the text-receivers (VandeKopple 1985). There are many types of discourse that have at least two levels. First, the authors or text creators provide information about the subject of the text (VandeKopple 1985), i.e., they expand the proportional content. At the next level, the metadiscourse level, the authors or the text makers do not add proportional material but help the recipients to organize, classify, evaluate and react to the material. Various definitions of metadiscourse have been proposed by various scholars, which has led to an understanding that it refers to a means of interaction between writers or speakers and their readers or listeners through their use of language, and that it is a term widely used in discourse analysis, pragmatics and language teaching (Crismore 1983; Hyland 1998, 2005; Mauranen 1993; VandeKopple 1985). Metadiscourse is a linguistic, rhetorical and pragmatic source that reflects and refers to the relationship between the message or content that the speaker or the author want to convey through the text and the recipients (Marta Aguilar 2011).

Interpersonal metadiscourse marker refers to the interpersonal function of a language as proposed by Halliday (1974). This interpersonal function of a language causes a person to participate in acts of communication with others. The markers in this interpersonal category focus on the speaker’s attitude towards the information conveyed and the speakers as the target of the discourse. Interpersonal metadiscourse, according to Campbell is interactional and evaluative while also an expression of the writer’s persona. It indicates a created personality that is made known in the act of communicating (cited in Hyland, 1998: 443). Also, interpersonal metadiscourse is an important rhetorical strategy because is an important part of a text in which the writers impose an added affective value and use the degree of commitment to proportional content (Vande Kopple, W, 1985).

The overall context and epistemological view of a particular field affect the viewpoint that a writer employs to communicate with the reader. In establishing the suitability of the author’s position, Hyland (2005: 49) considers an important role in the category of linguistic features which he names metadiscourse. He defines metadiscourse as a tool in which a proportional content is made coherent, clear and persuasive for a particular reader. Interpersonal metadiscourse refers to aspects of a text that reflect the writer’s position against the content of the text and the reader. Gerot and Wignell (1995: 13) state that interpersonal meaning is a meaning that expresses a speaker’s attitude and judgment. Based on that definition, an author can also express his or her attitude and judgment through text, and the meaning of the context is realized through auxiliary modals.

Hyland (1999) mentions five types of interpersonal metadiscourse markers: Hedges, person markers, emphatics, attitude marker and relational marker. In another study, Fuertes-Olivera et al (2001: 1298) mentions only three types of interpersonal metadiscourse markers that have been found in slogans, namely person marker, hedges and emphatics. Hyland (1996: 433-453) defines hedges as transient expression possibilities. In accordance with that definition, Salager-Meyer (1997: 106) describes hedges as interactive elements that connect proportional information on a text and the factual interpretation of the author. Hedges show higher frequency levels than other linguistic features because hedges can also reflect a particular language of the author.

Fuertes-Olivera et al (2001: 1297) suggest that emphatics in slogans serve to convince readers or potential customers and to avoid readers from hesitation. Emphatic markers comprise, among others, adjectives, adverbs or phrases that can reinforce nouns or statements previously provided.
Adjectives as emphatic markers describe a noun in an advertising text. The use of adjectives will have much of an effect on the proposition of the ad text due to their persuasive meanings. Adjective are words used to modify or explain nouns or pronouns. The word ‘modify’ means ‘change.’ To change a word means to change the meaning of the word. Adjectives are modifiers that have a grammatical property of comparison. They are often identified by a special derivative ending or certain adverbial modifiers that precede them. The most common position of adjectives is before a noun, but it can also fill another position.

Method

This study is a Discourse Analysis of multimodality, a semiotic method with which to analyze texts that use more than one semiotic modes simultaneously in one occasion of delivering meaning (O’Halloran 2001). Multimodal analysis is based on the concept of language metafunction, namely ideational function, interpersonal function and textual functions as proposed by Halliday (1985). Hyland’s Metadiscourse (2005) was used to analyse the linguistic signs in the form of text in advertising. Metadiscourse markers comprise textual and interpersonal markers, and expose the attitudes of the speaker—the advertising text maker—regarding the information to be conveyed to the receiver—the advertising text reader—all of which serve as the target of the discourse. Interpersonal markers tend to be interactional and communicative, though in advertising this relationship can be somewhat artificial.

The data used in this research includes advertisements of Indonesian cosmetics on official Facebook accounts that use English, i.e., Sariayu Solusi, Wardah exclusive Series, Viva Perfect Look and Wardah Lightening Series. The analysis was performed on the adjectives used as Hyland’s emphatic personal metadiscourse markers, in order to identify and describe in detail the types and characteristics of the adjectives used in the advertisements, which persuasive meanings they contain and what concept of beauty these adjectives construct.

Discussion

Data 1: Sariayu Solusi

There are five (5) adjectives that serve as empathic metadiscourse markers due to their function of indicating certainty and emphasis on a proposition.

- (1a) ... the finest organic product ...
- (1b) ... anti-aging and lightening skin care
- (1c) ... from ECOCERT certified grape seeds...
- (1d) ... keep your skin youthful...
- (1e) ... it’s also safe even for the most sensitive skin

The adjectives in (1a) and (1f), the empathic markers, are in superlative adjective form. The meanings of both superlatives imply by the two respective adjectives are, however, different. In (1a), the superlative ‘finest’ indicates the highest level of a comparative degree of the nature of something or someone. It derives from the adjective ‘fine,’ which is categorized as an aesthetic adjective of measurability. In (1f), the superlative form ‘the most sensitive’ is derived from its base form ‘sensitive.’ Combined with another metadiscourse marker in (1f), i.e., ‘safe,’ the use of the superlative form ‘the most’ is one of the emphatic metadiscourse markers that is used to convince readers that even the (most) ‘sensitive’ skin can still safely use the cosmetics offered in the
advertisement. The adjective ‘safe’ also serves as an emphatic metadiscourse marker by assuring readers that the cosmetics are not harmful.

The word ‘anti-aging’ and ‘lightening’ in (1b) are adjectives in participle form, a verb form that ends in -ing and -ed that serve as a verb or adjective. In this data, the adjectives ‘anti-aging’ and ‘lightening’ modify the noun ‘the Series,’ i.e., the series of the products advertised, presenting active meaning. Therefore, the word ‘anti-aging’ and ‘lightening’ as the modifier to the noun ‘skin care’ have an active meaning so as to brighten, maintain and to defy aging. The empathic marker in (1d) is the adjective ‘youthful’ that modifies the noun phrase ‘your skin.’ The adjective belongs to the category of aesthetic adjectives, ones that express someone’s judgment about something or someone. As an aesthetic adjective, the word ‘youthful’ belongs to the dimensionality or, to be precise, multidimensional adjectives, i.e., adjectives defined by more than one criteria something or someone has.

This study has also found the use of past participle form in this data, which modifies the noun phrase ‘grape seeds,’ i.e. the adjective ‘certified.’ This is the past participle form of the verb ‘certify,’ and hence the meanings implied by the adjective in the past participle form are ‘having earned certification; holding a certificate; guaranteed by a certificate.’ Past participle indicates a passive meaning, and therefore the phrase ‘.. made from ECO CERT certified grape seeds ...’ implies ‘.. made from grape seeds that are having an ECO CERT certification.’

**Data 2: Wardah Exclusive Series**

There are five adjectives serving as the emphatic marker in this Wardah Exclusive Series ad, i.e.,

(2a) Simply elegant  
(2b) Wardah exclusive series  
(2c) A skin perfecting make up  
(2d) ... inspiring beauty  
(2e) ... velvety, long lasting...

The emphatic markers in (2a) and (2b) are aesthetic adjectives. Based on the linguistic criteria of semantic categorization of adjectives by Bartsh and Vennemann (1972) the words ‘elegant’ and ‘exclusive’ belong to the category of aesthetic adjectives which show measurability.

In (2a), the word ‘elegant’ is a positive judgment of the speaker/writer about the characteristics of something or someone considered luxurious in a controlled way or something very well thought out but simple. In (2b), the adjective ‘exclusive’ is a positive judgment of the speaker/writer about something considered of high-quality or fave, and for limited superior members. The adjectives ‘perfecting,’ ‘inspiring,’ ‘long lasting’ in (2c), (2d), (2e) above, are adjectives with participle forms which indicate an active meaning that the cosmetics make the skin flawless, completely free from faults or defects, or as close as possible to a condition as such that the cosmetics make (something) perfect.

The same analysis also applies to the adjectives ‘inspiring’ and ‘long lasting’ the former means the cosmetics can make the skin in a condition as such that the result can lead to inspiration (2d). Literally, ‘inspiring’ means ‘encouraging or making someone feel that she/he wants to do something (good/useful/beneficial). The whole phrase implies ‘beauty that encourages you to want to do something good.’ Wardah inspiring beauty can therefore be interpreted as a cosmetic brand that can yield the kind of beauty that inspires. The word ‘long lasting’ in (2d) is a present participle that means ‘enduring or existing or being effective for a relatively long
period of time.’ Likewise, the adjective ‘velvety’ implies a meaning of ‘having a smooth, soft appearance, feel, taste or nature.’ Based on the linguistic criteria of semantic grouping of adjectives by Bartsh and Vennemann (1972), the word ‘velvety’ differs from the other two kinds of adjectives. The adjective ‘velvety’ is an aesthetic adjective that belongs to the unidimensional adjective category. Unidimensional adjective is a characteristic or property used to describe something or an individual according to the property it describes and, in (2c), describes the characteristics of being measurable and soft.

**Data 3: Viva Perfect Look**

Four adjectives are found in the Viva perfect look ad above: ‘perfect,’ ‘advanced,’ ‘super’ and ‘botanical.’ Three adjectives can be categorized as aesthetic adjectives, i.e. perfect, advanced and super. Botanical, however, belongs to the category of environmental adjectives. The adjectives in the ad above can be seen in the following data.

(3a) Get 10 benefits for your perfect look.
(3b) Advanced Make-up and Care
(3c) Super Botanical Extract

The emphatic marker in the ad text above is the adjective ‘perfect,’ an adjective that is related to aesthetics or idea assessment. This adjective ‘perfect’ becomes the modifier for the noun ‘look.’

‘Advanced’ is an aesthetic adjective that can be categorized as an emphatic interpersonal metadiscourse marker, because it gives a persuasive meaning to the nouns it describes, namely make-up and care. The word ‘advanced’ in this phrase informs the viewers that the advertised product is the most up-to-date makeup and care among other products. In this data, the emphatic interpersonal metadiscourse marker is the adjective ‘super,’ which can be interpreted as having an excellent quality or level or being very large or most powerful. Based on its semantic classification of adjectives, the word ‘super’ is an aesthetic adjective and belongs to the category of evaluativity, as the word is used to entail a positive or negative attitude or to evaluate something from the speaker’s side.

**Data 4: Wardah Lightening Series**

There are five adjectives in the ad Wardah Lightening Series above, as follows.

(4a) cleansing
(4b) protecting
(4c) lightening
(4d) 7 active white complex
(4e) Get healthier and brighter skin.

The words ‘cleansing,’ ‘protecting,’ and ‘lightening’ in (4a), (4b) and (4c) above, are adjectives in participle form, ending with ‘-ing’ or ‘-ed,’ thus becoming a verb or an adjective. In the above data, the participle form is an adjective owing to that it describes the noun ‘the series’ of the products in the ad above, indicating an active meaning. Therefore, the word ‘cleansing’ that modifies the noun ‘series’ has an active meaning, and hence the series can be interpreted as ‘to make (something) free of dirt, contamination or impurities. Likewise, the words ‘protecting’ and ‘lightening’ have active meanings.

The word ‘white,’ according to Mcnally (2011), belongs to the category of aesthetic adjectives which express an aesthetic assessment of something or someone. As an adjective in the form of color, the word ‘white’ belongs
to the group of measurability, i.e. an adjective defined by more than one criterion something or someone possesses. The word ‘white’ in this data is an embedded element contained by the additional ingredients of the cosmetics. ‘Active white complex’ is an active ingredient that is effective for brightening the skin tone by blocking UV rays and by preventing the formation of Melanocytes on the skin (www.wardahcosmetics.com).

In (4e), there are two adjectives connected with the symbol. The word ‘healthier’ and ‘brighter’ are adjectives that indicate a degree of comparison to describe and modify a noun. This comparative form is used to declare that something or a person has more properties than others; increasing circumstances; or the nature or state of an object that is increasing. The words ‘healthier’ and ‘brighter’ are both adjectives of dimensionality with differences. ‘Healthy’ belongs in the category of multidimensional adjectives because ‘healthy’ is a state defined or represented by several factors a person or something possesses, while ‘bright’ is a unidimensional adjective because the state of being ‘bright’ can be measured using only one factor. ‘Brighter skin’ in this ad is clearly measurable, i.e. that the current tone of the skin is brighter than that previously; ‘healthier skin,’ however, cannot be measured by one condition. Healthy conditions can be measured by considering several aspects, such as skin colour, and it being free from diseases.

Conclusion

Based on the data analysis above, it is evident that there is emerging new terminology that defines and classifies type of beauty as a social construct presented in the cosmetic product advertisements that use English in Indonesia. The advertising makers have used adjectives in their ads as a means of constructing the concept of beauty within the contemporary Indonesian context due to their persuasive meanings. These adjectives serve as emphatic personal metadiscourse markers in the advertising texts. The adjectives found in the data belong to several categories, i.e. of aesthetics, evaluativity, dimensionality (unidimensional and multidimensional) and measurability. These adjectives have helped advertisement makers construct the concept of green beauty, healthy beauty, modern beauty, religious beauty and aesthetic beauty.

References

The Shifting Sub-Text of Japanese Gendered Language

Mary Goebel Noguchi

Kansai University, Japan

Abstract

Sociolinguists (Holmes 2008; Meyerhof 2006) assists to describe the Japanese language as having gender exclusive elements. Personal pronouns, sentence-ending particles and lexicon used exclusively by one gender have been cataloged in English by researchers such as Ide (1979), Shibamoto (1985) and McGloin (1991). While there has been some research showing that Japanese women’s language use today is much more diverse than these earlier descriptions suggested (e.g. studies in Okamoto and Smith 2004) and that some young Japanese girls use masculine pronouns to refer to themselves (Miyazaki 2010), prescriptive rules for Japanese use still maintain gender-exclusive elements. In addition, characters in movie and TV dramas not only adhere to but also popularize these norms (Nakamura 2012). Thus, Japanese etiquette and media ‘texts’ promote the perpetuation of gender-exclusive language use, particularly by females.

However, in the past three decades, Japanese society has made significant shifts towards gender equality in legal code, the workplace and education. The researcher therefore decided to investigate how Japanese women use and view their language in the context of these changes. Data comes from three focus groups. The first was conducted in 2013 and was composed of older women members of a university human rights research group focused on gender issues. The other two were conducted in 2013 and 2019, and were composed of female university students who went through the Japanese school system after the Japan Teachers’ Union adopted a policy of gender equality, thus expressing interest in gender issues. The goal was to determine whether Japanese women’s language use is shifting over time. The participants’ feelings about these norms were also explored - especially whether or not they feel that the norms constrain their ability to express themselves fully. Although the new norms are not yet evident in most public contexts, the language use and views of the participants in this study represent the sub-text of this shift in Japanese usage.

Keywords: Gender-exclusive language, Japanese, gender norms

Introduction

Sociolinguists generally agree that in all speech communities, the linguistic forms used by males and females differ to some extent (Holmes 2008: 157). However, in most communities around the world, these differences are referred to as gender-preferential variations, wherein both males and females use all forms, but some are used more by men and others by women.

In contrast, some languages have gender-exclusive patterns of use, with certain linguistic forms being reserved for women and others for men. Languages with gender-exclusive features are generally limited to
indigenous languages such as the native American languages Yana and Koasati and the Australian aboriginal language Yanyuwa (Holmes 2008; Meyerhoff 2011; Trudgill 1983).

The sole exception is Japanese. Although it is one of the world’s most spoken languages (Ethnologue 2019), Japanese is the only major language that has gender-exclusive features. In this paper, I will briefly describe these features of Japanese and summarize recent research on their use, explain the background for this study, and then present the findings of a study involving three focus groups which explored the use of these gendered forms by female college students.

Gender-Exclusive Features of Japanese

One of the most pronounced differences in male and female Japanese speech involves personal pronouns. There are six basic first-person pronouns in Japanese. All of those used by females are variants of ‘watakushi,’ the most formal first-person pronoun. Two of these are also used by males in formal situations. However, it is not considered appropriate for females to use the ‘masculine’ pronouns ‘boku’ and ‘ore.’

Similarly, second-person Japanese pronouns are also normally used in a gender-exclusive way. Of the four basic second-person pronouns in Japanese, two are used by both females and males: ‘anata’ and its abbreviated form ‘anta.’ However, males more frequently use ‘kimi’ or ‘ome,’ which are not considered appropriate for female use.

The third gender-exclusive aspect of Japanese involves sentence-final particles. According to McGlone (1991), those used to express strong insistence (‘zo,’ ‘ze,’ ‘sa’) and assertive confirmation (‘na’) are considered ‘masculine,’ while those which express a weaker degree of insistence and confirmation (‘yo’ and ‘ne’) and those which are used to create a sense of rapport (‘no’ and ‘wi’) are considered appropriate for females to use. In addition to these particles, another well-known sentence-ending softener generally used only by women is ‘kashira,’ which indicates a degree of uncertainty and means ‘perhaps.’

A fourth area of gender-exclusivity in Japanese involves lexicon. A number of kinship terms and words related to eating are generally used only by men. For instance, males often refer to their father as ‘oyaji’ in casual speech, rather than using the standard terms ‘otoosan’ (honorific) or ‘chichi’ (humble), while their mothers may be referred to as ‘ofukuro’ rather than as ‘okaasan’ (honorific) or ‘haha’ (humble). The casual ‘masculine’ term for one’s older brother is ‘aniki,’ while females would normally use ‘onii-san’ (honorific) or ‘ani’ (humble). Words used by males when talking about eating include ‘hara’ rather than ‘onaka’ for ‘stomach’ or ‘hunger,’ ‘ku’ rather than ‘taberi’ for ‘eat,’ and ‘umai’ instead of ‘oishii’ for ‘delicious.’

In addition, Shibamoto (1985) notes that there are many Japanese nouns to which an honorific prefix is always added by women or added more often than it is by men. This type of wording is known as ‘bikago.’ In general, women are expected to use ‘bikago’ while men often do not.

Exclamatory expressions also tend to be gender-exclusive. Shibamoto (1985) mentions that men may use ‘chu’ to express surprise, ‘oi,’ ‘nana’ and ‘hai’ to get someone’s attention, and ‘kuso’ as an expletive. Women often use ‘ara’ and ‘maa’ to express surprise and ‘ebotto’ to get someone’s attention or express disapproval. Overall, the ‘feminine’ expressions are softer, more polite and less assertive.

It should be pointed out that these features are not normally used in written Japanese. In everyday speech, however, it is almost impossible to avoid using them, and women are expected to avoid the ‘masculine’ expressions.
While the above explanation is conventionally accepted in Japan, recent research has raised a number of issues with this kind of description. First, while the features of Japanese reserved for women, referred to as *onna kotoba* (women’s language), are often regarded as an inherent element of the language, a number of scholars have traced the history of their popular use back only as far as the nation-building movements of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and argue that *onna kotoba* is ‘closely linked’ to ideological views of women that were constructed and disseminated in order to consolidate the nation-state (Inoue 1994, cited in Yukawa and Saito 2004; Endo 1997; Nakamura 2012).

Another problem with the above description of the gender-exclusive nature of Japanese is that is more of an ideal than a reality. These features are considered a part of standard Japanese, and tend to appear when women speak that variety, but are absent in a number of regional dialects (Nakamura 2012). A number of studies presented in Okamoto and Shibamoto Smith (2004) provide empirical data showing that language use today is much more diverse than suggested by conventional descriptions of gendered Japanese.

Nonetheless, such descriptions do have normative value, especially as females in Japanese movies, television dramas and even commercials, almost always use *onna kotoba*, and even the Japanese subtitles for female characters in non-Japanese films employ these feminine markers. Nakamura (2007) argues that this gives Japanese around the country the impression that this is the ‘correct’ way for women to speak. Hence, this adherence to gendered norms in mass media culminates in their popularization.

The main motive for the current study was the incongruence between the growing acceptance of the concept of gender equality in Japan, particularly in the field of education (Yagi 2008), and the apparent lack of change in the way female students use Japanese. I suggest that perhaps I was not seeing changes in gendered language use as I was observing students mainly in the classroom, where a more formal register is generally used. It occurred to me that they might use different language with friends and family. I therefore opted to investigate how Japanese women use and view their language in the context of this shift towards greater gender equality.

**Exploring Shifts in Female Language Use**

*Methodology*

I began my exploration of this topic in 2013, by organizing two focus groups at a university, one composed of female students in a senior seminar and another composed of older female instructors involved in a university human rights research group focused on gender issues. I developed focus groups as I felt that I could get a better idea of actual language use if I could get small groups of Japanese women together in a setting in which they could feel comfortable, discuss issues close to themselves with people similar to themselves in terms of age, gender and occupation, and “respond to and build on the views expressed by others in the group” (Litosseliti 2003: 2).

As a springboard for the discussions, I composed a questionnaire asking for the participants’ use of a range of linguistic features—both gender exclusive and neutral—as well as how appropriate they thought it was for women to use these expressions. After the participants filled in the questionnaire, I moderated a discussion about these expressions, bringing in research findings such as those of Miyazaki (2004, 2010) about junior high school girls’ use of ‘boku’ and ‘ore’ to refer to themselves, and Matsumoto (2004) on the use of ‘masculine’ sentence-ending particles by middle-aged housewives to serve as transition elements and to stimulate deeper discussion (Litosseliti 2003). The discussions, which were audio recorded and transcribed, were conducted in Japanese in a relaxed atmosphere with a good deal of interaction and laughter.
The purpose of this first study was to contrast the findings of the group of younger women, who had all gone through the Japanese school system after the Japan Teachers' Union adopted a policy of gender equality (Yagi 2008), with those of the older women, who were avowed feminists but were raised and had worked in an era when Japan’s gender norms were much stricter. The results of this study were presented at IGALA 8 (Noguchi 2014). That study found that the older women’s attitudes towards females using “masculine” Japanese were more liberal, but it was the younger women who were actually employing some of the “men’s” linguistic features, albeit only with family and close friends.

In the following years, further changes in female language use became evident both in the mass media and in student responses to questions in my lectures, so I decided to organize two more student focus groups in the fall of 2019. As with the 2013 student focus group, the participants in 2019 were enrolled in my senior seminar; the 12 females in the class were divided into two focus groups of six. They were asked to fill in the same questionnaire as was used in the 2013 study, and their discussions were audio recorded and transcribed.

For this paper, I have considered only the results of the student focus groups, the goal being to compare the results of the 2013 group with those of the two groups from 2019 to determine if there have been any changes.

Results

One of the more interesting findings of this study was a growing rejection by young women of many of the ‘typical’ markers of feminine speech. While none of the students in either year felt that women “should absolutely never use” the ‘feminine’ first-person pronoun ‘atashi,’ the proportion of students who ‘absolutely never use’ or “seldom use” it for themselves rose between 2013 and 2019. Although the proportion of participants in 2019 who said they “often use” atashi was still large (33%), a full 42% said they absolutely never use it for themselves and another 8% said they seldom use it, compared to 40% who said they seldom or never used it 2013.

The rejection of other elements of “onna kotoba” was even stronger. All of the students in both years indicated that they never or seldom use the ultra-feminine sentence endings “desu mono” or “kashira.” Moreover, while the majority in both years said they never or seldom use the exclamation “ara” (ooh!), that percentage was higher in 2019 than in 2013. The rejection of “maa” (my!) was also greater in 2019 (83%) than in 2013 (67%).

Nonetheless, none of the participants in the focus groups in either year indicated that they use the ‘masculine’ first-person pronouns ‘boku’ or ‘ore’ to refer to themselves. However, attitudes towards other females using these first-person pronouns were more tolerant in 2019 than in 2013.

Similarly, attitudes towards female use of the ‘masculine’ second-person pronouns ‘ome’ and ‘kimi’ were less negative in 2019 than in 2013. One of the more interesting findings of this study was the difference between what the participants originally wrote on their questionnaires about their own use of these pronouns and what came out during the group discussions, particularly in 2013. On the questionnaires in 2013, only one of the students indicated that she used ‘ome,’ while another answered that she used ‘kimi.’ However, after these two participants confessed that they sometimes used these pronouns, all of the other participants ended up admitting that they also used ‘ome,’ mainly with good friends of the same age.

The group discussions in 2019 followed a similar pattern, with some participants changing their answers in response to others saying that they or their friends use “kimi” and “ome.” These results suggest that there is a growing acceptance of the use of these “masculine” pronouns by women.
A second area in which the shifts away from conventional female norms were seen was in attitudes towards and personal use of ‘masculine’ sentence-ending particles. In 2013, none of the participants indicated on the questionnaire that they used ‘ze’ or ‘zo,’ and all but one suggested that it was not very good for females to use them. In contrast, in 2019, three students said they sometimes use ‘ze’ and one wrote that she sometimes uses ‘zo.’ Moreover, over half of the participants indicated that it was sometimes all right for females to use ‘ze’ and ‘zo.’

These more liberal attitudes towards the use of these particles by women also came out in the group discussions in 2019, with several members in both groups admitting that they occasionally use these particles. Moreover, when I mentioned the Matsumoto (2004) study’s finding that some middle-aged housewives used ‘ze’ and ‘zo’ when talking among themselves, all of the participants in the two 2019 focus groups agreed that it sounded cool (‘kakkoī’). These results suggest increasing acceptance of female use of these particles.

Another area in which there were indications that young women are making incursions into ‘male’ territory was in their dropping of the ‘beautifying’ honorifics known as ‘bikago.’ Large percentages of the students in both 2013 and 2019 wrote that they sometimes or often use all three of the “masculine” items on the questionnaire: the plain forms ‘bento’ (lunch box), ‘kanè’ (money) and ‘hashi’ (chopsticks).

More tolerant attitudes towards females using the ‘masculine’ kinship terms ‘oyaji’ (father), ‘ofukuro’ (mother) and ‘aniki’ (older brother) were also revealed in the questionnaire responses in both years. In terms of their own usage, however, ‘oyaji’ was the only one of these words that more than one student said she used. However, greater actual use was revealed in the group discussions. In 2013, four of the participants said they themselves would never use any of these terms, but that they had heard female friends use them. On the 2019 questionnaire, the majority of the students (four out of six in one group and five out of six in the other) said that they would never use any of these words. However, in the course of the group discussions, students reported use of these terms by themselves and friends in special circumstances. Thus, the group discussions suggested that taboos are slowly fading, especially concerning the use of ‘oyaji’ to refer to an older man who is not one’s father.

Even greater female incursions into ‘male’ language territory were evident in the questionnaire answers and group discussions about lexical items related to eating. Among the ‘masculine’ terms related to eating, ‘umai’ (delicious) stands out in that it seems to have become quite acceptable for females to use: on TV gourmet programs women are often seen saying ‘umai’ as they eat. This trend was confirmed by the questionnaire responses. In the 2019 focus groups, all 12 participants said they use it themselves and almost all said they see no problem in females using it; this is compared to much lower proportions of the students in the 2013 groups.

‘Hara’ (literally stomach, but most often used in the phrase ‘Hara hetta’ meaning ‘I’m hungry’) also seemed to be used more and to be seen as more acceptable for females to use in 2019 than it was in 2013. In contrast, attitudes towards ‘ku’ (eat) and ‘meshi’ (food) remain about the same. In the 2013 discussion group, one student admitted that she used ‘ku’ at home, but said her mother reprimanded her for it. In the 2019 groups, several students said they used all three words with family and/or friends without problems. These results suggest that increasingly, the use of these ‘masculine’ terms is seen as acceptable when social distance is small.

The final area I explored was the use of swearing. As in Lakoff’s (1975) description of women’s language in English, Japanese women traditionally avoided using swear words. It should be noted, however, that swearing is much less common in Japan than it is in English-speaking countries, and characters in Japanese movies or television dramas use swear words far less often than characters in Hollywood movies.
In this study, I asked about the word ‘kuso’ which is an expletive equivalent to ‘shit’ in meaning. The results for both the questionnaire and the group discussions were similar in 2013 and 2019. Several participants in both years described situations in which they might use this word, suggesting that young women today may use this expletive, but generally only when they are alone or with people they are close to.

Conclusion

The results of both the questionnaires and the focus group discussions suggest that many of the features highlighted in descriptions of Japanese women’s language are not used much or at all by young women today. However, it seems that many of the speech features traditionally regarded as ‘masculine’ are being adopted by young women today. Among the latter, usage of the second-person pronouns ‘omae’ and ‘kimi’ and ‘masculine’ lexical items tied to eating, as well as the dropping of honorific prefixes, are particularly pronounced. While none of the participants said that they used the ‘masculine’ first-person pronouns ‘boku’ and ‘ore,’ students in 2019 appeared to have less negative attitudes towards females who do use them than the participants in the 2013 focus group, suggesting a gradual relaxation of attitudes towards such ‘transgressive’ behavior.

While the data suggest shifts in attitudes towards and usage of the gender-exclusive elements of the Japanese language, the study’s limitations should be noted. First, the number of participants was small, so the findings may not be generalizable. Moreover, all were college students, and all from the Kansai area, which has its own dialect. Some of them mentioned that they regard ‘onna kotoba’ as part of ‘standard Japanese,’ which they see as different from the regional variety of Japanese that they speak. Thus, their usage may be quite different from that of young women in other regions of Japan. Finally, the findings are based on self-reported usage, which may be unreliable.

All the same, the study suggests that Japanese women are slowly changing the gendered nature of Japanese, using very few of the traditional elements of Japanese ‘women’s language’ and slowly adopting a number of traditionally ‘masculine’ features which have been taboo for females to use. Although these trends are not evident in most public contexts, the language use and views reported by the participants suggest that there is an ongoing shift in gendered Japanese usage.

References


Gender Representation in Malaysian Mandarin Textbooks

Lin Wen Yue
Faculty of Modern Language and Communication, Universiti Putra Malaysia, Malaysia

Ang Lay Hoon
Faculty of Modern Language and Communication, Universiti Putra Malaysia, Malaysia

Chan Mei Yuit
Faculty of Modern Language and Communication, Universiti Putra Malaysia, Malaysia

Shamala Paramasivam
Faculty of Modern Language and Communication, Universiti Putra Malaysia, Malaysia

Abstract

A number of scholars have studied gender representation in textbooks, but only a few studies focus on application of multimodal discourse analysis in exploring gender representation. The present study aims to analyze gender representation in two series of four L2 Mandarin textbooks written for Malaysian learners. The ratio of female and male characters as well as the representation of genders in visual and verbal resources are examined in this study. This study applies quantitative and qualitative method by calculating the frequency and occurrence and analyzing the representation of female and male. A multimodal discourse analysis is carried out, including linguistic and visual analysis, to figure out whether there is gender stereotype by investigating verbal and non-verbal (visual) resources of sampled textbooks. Both the ratio and the depiction of female and male characters are analyzed by using ATLAS.ti software. The findings have revealed that the ratio of female and male characters is generally unbalanced in sampled textbooks. Gender stereotypes exist dominantly in depiction of female and male characters, especially in social settings and domestic settings. The implications of this study are discussed in the context of second language teaching and learning to highlight the awareness of gender representation in L2 Mandarin textbooks.

Keywords: Gender representation, gender stereotype, L2 Mandarin textbook, multimodal discourse analysis, gender

Introduction

Gender representation in textbooks reflects “the attitude of a particular society towards gender that is subconsciously acquired by learners and may cause long term drawbacks on their performances and social behavior” (Brusokaitė and Verikaitė-Gaigaliene 2015: 20). It may involve gender stereotype in the content of textbooks. Gender stereotype is “identified as beliefs about the characteristics and behavior of each sex”
(Manstead and Hewstone 1995: 256) and can be “widely shared among members of a culture” (Etaugh and Bridges 2010: 28).

Mandarin textbooks are of the best sources for examining gender representation because they are designed to “reflect the most common and prevailing features of gender representation in a society” (Brusokaitė and Verikaitė-Gaigaliene 2015: 20). The textbooks provide not only linguistic background for gender description, but also aural, visual and textual contents for gender representation. It is possible that the biased representation of gender in Mandarin textbooks still exists, which has an invisible and negative impact to equality in context of language education.

Literature Review

Gender representation in Mandarin textbooks, have been investigated only by some scholars (Feng 2009; Zhu 2012; Gou 2014; Yan and Shi 2018). Feng (2009) indicates that it is necessary to consider different topics and vocabulary for female and male in compiling the textbooks. Other scholars have mainly examined representation of gender through investigating illustrations and texts in textbooks. For instance, Gou (2014) indicates that there are imbalanced illustrations and depictions for females and males in the textbook < Hanyu jiaocheng (汉语教程)>, which is designed for foreign students and is published in China. Meanwhile, it is found that gender discrimination also existed in both business English and Chinese textbooks, while the problem in the New Silk Road (NSR) series is greater than in Business English Cambridge (BEC) series (Zhu 2012). Yan and Shi (2018) have studied gender roles in Chinese textbooks for foreign children. They reveal that female and male characters and roles are represented in balance in My First Chinese Reader, but gender discrimination exists in Primary School Chinese\(^1\). Undoubtedly, the above-mentioned studies are significant for exploring gender representation in Mandarin textbooks.

Previous studies mainly conducted quantitative research through calculating the frequency of the representation of female and male characters and roles in the texts and visuals of textbooks. However, gender is representation lacks attention. In addition, data concerning gender representation in Mandarin textbooks is not rich, as little research has been conducted. Hence, to fill up the gap and to enrich the data, there is a need for work with a diary approach so to examine ways in which gender is represented and whether gender bias and stereotypes are reflected in Mandarin textbooks.

Theoretical Perspective

This study drew upon Van Leeuwen’s (2008) social semiotics, as “a branch of critical discourse analysis which is concerned with analyzing visual elements” (Babaii and Atai 2016: 7). In order to determine how people in images are represented, and what options of choices the ‘language of images’ afford us in order to depict people, Van Leeuwen (2008) proposed a Visual Social Actor Network (see Figure 1) including the following dimensions and criteria:

1) **Exclusion**: A high possibility of excluding specific people in representations of groups (nations, societies, institutions) in which they live and work or to which they belong.

2) **Roles**: Whether people in images are depicted as involved in specific actions or not, and if they are ‘agents’ and doers of the action or the ‘patients’ and hence the ones to whom the action is being done.

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\(^1\) My First Chinese Reader and Primary School Chinese are both primary school Mandarin textbooks used in America and Singapore respectively (Yan and Shi 2018).
3) Specific and Generic: Whether people in pictures are depicted as a specific and individual person or a certain social type and one kind of person.

4) Individuals and Groups: Whether people in pictures are depicted as individuals or groups. If they are depicted as groups, then the members in such groups will all be similar to each other yet to different degrees.

5) Categorization: Whether people depicted in pictures are categorized in terms of ‘biological’ or ‘cultural’ characteristics or combinations of both. Cultural categorization is represented in ways of standard attributes, which commonly uses to categorize the groups, in terms of hairdo or dress.

(Adopted from Van Leeuwen 2008: 147)

![Diagram of Visual Social Actor Network]

Figure 1. Van Leeuwen’s Visual Social Actor Network

Van Leeuwen’s (2008) Visual Social Actor Network has been applied to examine gender representation in textbooks by Yang (2014). It is helpful to identify the female and male character’s involvement in activities and to determine if females are underrepresented in visual images of Mandarin textbooks in this current study.

Methodology

This study employed a quantitative and qualitative examination of gender representation in Malaysian Mandarin language textbooks. The quantitative aspect was used to determine the relative frequency of female and male character’s occurrence in visual and verbal resources. The qualitative aspect aimed to respond to the question of how gender is represented in the verbal and non-verbal resources in these books.

Multimodal Discourse Analysis

Multimodal discourse analysis has been applied to uncover how gender, race or ethnicity are represented in multimodal texts through analyzing linguistic and non-linguistic modes (see for example, Babaii and Atai 2016). As Jewitt (2009: 1) proposes: “multimodality approaches representation, communication and interaction as something more than language [and modalities, or modes, are] semiotic resources for making meaning that are employed in a culture – such as image, writing, gesture, gaze, speech, posture.”

It is now widely accepted that both visual (or non-verbal) and verbal (or linguistic) modalities are “bearers of meaning in a particular culture” (Gutiñarroa and Sanz 2008: 1062). As Kaindl (2004: 176) presents: “Non-verbal elements in multimodal texts not only perform the function of illustrating the linguistic part of the text, but also play an integral role in the constitution of meaning, whether through
interaction with the linguistic elements or as an independent semiotic system.” Thus, in order to examine how gender is represented in oral and visual modes in sampled multimodal textbooks, multimodal discourse analysis was chosen.

**Data Collection**

Two series of four Malaysian Mandarin textbooks, written for Malaysian students, were selected purposefully in this study (Table 1), as they are popular, locally published and currently used in Malaysian public universities. There are also other series of textbooks in similar contexts. This study only analyzes the two series. All contents of sampled textbooks were examined, including visual images, words, phrase, sentence, dialogues, reading passages and exercises tasks.

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Table 1. Sampled Malaysian L2 Mandarin Textbooks

**Procedure**

ATLAS.ti software is suitable for qualitative and mixed methods data analysis because of its ability of analyzing images, text, video and audio data, and calculating the frequency of words. Therefore, it is was chosen in this study to analyze the visual and verbal representation of gender in sampled textbooks following the four steps below.

Firstly, ATLAS.ti software was used to code female and male characters depicted in visual and verbal resources of sampled textbooks. The frequency of female and male characters was calculated. Secondly, a coding system was developed to analyze the representation of gender in visual and verbal resources in sampled textbooks. The visual representation of gender followed clothing, size/height, hair/length, occupation and involvement in activities of female and male characters. The verbal representation of gender followed categories and criteria of associated nouns, titles, associated adjectives and color, as well as involvement activities. Visual analysis and linguistic analysis were applied in this stage. Thirdly, related reports of the first and the second stages were exported from ATLAS.ti software. Fourthly, the data was analyzed to determine whether there is gender bias and stereotype in sampled textbooks. In order to ensure accurate analysis of the data, all the sampled textbooks were analyzed thoroughly by the researcher twice.

**Findings and Discussion**

**Ratio of Female and Male Characters**

This study examined the visual (illustrations, images) and verbal (dialogues, reading passages, practice tasks) resources of selected textbooks (TA1, TA2, TB1, TB2). Every occurrence of female and male characters depicted in the selected textbook was coded by ATLAS.ti software. The female and male characters have been depicted as imbalanced in the sampled textbooks. In TA1 and TA2, female depictions are 4.7% and 10.52% more than male depictions. In TB1 and TB2, male depictions are 5.18% and 22.78% more than female depictions.
For gender representation in visual resources, this study analyzed size/height, hair length and clothing of females and males in the visual resource of selected textbooks. In terms of size, almost all males are depicted taller and larger than females in selected textbooks. In terms of hair length, it is found that all the males are depicted as having short hair, while females, in contrast, are almost depicted as having long hair. In terms of clothing, almost all males wear trousers, while females wear trousers and skirts. In verbal resources, this study analyzed associated nouns, titles, adjectives, associated color and involvement activities. Here, firstly, the occupational roles of female and male are also depicted differently. Secondly, this study reveals that the titles of females (‘tai tai 太太 wife/Mrs.’) and males (‘xian sheng 先生 husband/Mr.’) are usually associated with surnames in TA1. Thirdly, it is found that there are different associated adjectives used for depicting genders. Fourthly, there are also significant differences in the colors associated with female and male characters in selected textbooks. Finally, it was found that female characters usually do housework or cook, listen to the music, sing songs, surf the Internet and travel.

Discussion

Unlike Yan and Shi (2018), this study found that the ratio of female and male characters is generally unbalanced in sampled textbooks, a similar outcome reported in Gou (2014). This study also exposed ongoing stereotypes in the depiction of female and male characters in social and domestic settings, as reported in Zhu (2012) and Yan and Shi (2018). Education is a main approach to achieving equal, reliable and harmonious human development (UNESCO 1996, as cited in Wu and Liu 2015: 116). Teaching materials adopted in textbooks are “of the mostly influential ‘gender agents’” (Brusokaitė and Verikaite-Gaigaliene 2015: 19).

Conclusion

Gender representation in Mandarin textbooks has been less addressed in previous research. The findings of this study redirected work by Feng (2009) and Gou (2014), which had not focused on the analysis of the representation of gender in textbooks. This study also filled the research gap in Yan and Shi’s (2018) quantitative study, in examining gender roles, as the representation of gender in discourse had not been interpreted qualitatively in their work. It is found that, although the ratio of female and male characters tend to be balanced, gender is still depicted as imbalanced in verbal resources of the sampled textbooks, where gender stereotypes are still hidden in the textbooks. The results of this study highlight that gender equality in language educational materials may contribute to raising the gender-awareness of the teachers, publishers and authors of Mandarin textbooks. This study acknowledges that the sample size is limited, and further research may expand the sampled Mandarin textbooks so as to analyze patterns of gender representation in visual and verbal resources of Mandarin language textbooks.

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Text, Context, Entextualization
An Analysis of Indian English News Headlines

Samapika Roy

Department of Humanistic Studies, Indian Institute of Technology, BHU, Varanasi, India

Sukhada

Department of Humanistic Studies, Indian Institute of Technology, BHU, Varanasi, India

Anil Kr. Singh

Department of Computer Science and Engineering, Indian Institute of Technology, BHU, Varanasi, India

Abstract

News Headlines (NHs) are one of the most creative uses of natural languages in a media text. An NH is the frontline of a news article. Specific characteristics make NHs standout: for instance, article omission, use of active verbs, dropping the copula to save space and to attract the reader’s attention to the most significant words, etc. Some research has been done on linguistic analysis of British English NH, Hindi-Urdu NHs, but hardly any work has been conducted on IndENH.

This paper attempts to analyze Indian English newspaper headlines (IndENH), and aims to contribute to the accuracy of News Headline parsing. This study determines the linguistic features of the IndENH, to improve the quality of the parsed output of NHs. This paper covers sentence construction, tense, punctuation marks, metaphors, etc. for linguistic analysis.

Keywords: Indian English news headlines, Parsing, standard English, linguistic analysis.

Introduction

News stories have three prominent styles: Inverted pyramid style, hourglass style and chronological style (Seiha 2013). The news stories contain a headline, a lead, some quotes, important details and less important details. The most prominent amongst these is the headline. Some people act more ritualistically towards newspapers than others, i.e. some people read the entire newspaper where some are very specific in their choices of sections. The aim of an NH is to introduce the story to readers. NHs attempt to provide a very brief summary of news articles. These short summaries are designed carefully to grab readers’ attention (BBC 2003). Some headlines encapsulate where some hint at the gist of the story that follows. Sometimes, tension emerges between the space limit of a news column and the space required for an NH to appear as a standard sentence. Due to several such motives, the editors are left with the only choices that render the headlines incomplete and often ungrammatical. Thus, headlines are a challenge for Natural Language Processing (NLP) tasks such as parsing, information extraction, machine translation, and so forth.

The motive behind this study is to identify the problems in NH parsing and improve the accuracy of NH parsing so that the NLP tools that use parsing produce better results.
Literature Review

Headlines have grammar which differs to that of ordinary sentences (Yoneoka 2002). From an NLP perspective, headlines pose an engineering challenge. They include linguistic aspects such as the unusual use of tenses (Chovanec 2014) and deliberate ambiguity (Brône and Coulson 2010). NLP researchers have focused on headlines, including headline generation (Banko et al. 2002) and translating NHs (Ono 2016). Some intertextual linguistic analysis (Fairclough 1995), focusing on lexical feature variations between Time Supplement NHs and The New York Times NHs (Shie 2010) has been conducted. A critical discourse analysis of online NHs has been conducted by Daria Lombardi to understand how online NHs represent the Stoneman Douglas High School shooting. Several other works such as the analysis of how attitudes are displayed in news reporting (Nordlund 2003; Pajunen 2008), a Linguistic and stylistic analysis of newspaper reportage (Agu 2015), tense in NHs (Hameed 2008) are further contributions. All of these above-mentioned works are sublime, yet we attempt to contribute to these through this study.

Data Collection

We created an IndENH corpus from print and digital media, from the top three Indian newspapers as per their circulation (Audit Bureau of Circulations). We analyzed The Hindu (TH), The Times of India (TOI) and Hindustan Times (HT) for this study. We included 1500 NHs taking 500 general titles from each newspaper. The three different newspapers facilitated the study of the structures of NHs, to confirm whether the discussion are newspaper specific or follow the same pattern.

Methodology

After data collection and sanitization i.e., removing the repeatedly occurring headings like section, cartoon, name of places, etc., we parsed these NHs using open-source parsers such as Stanford Parser and AllenNLP Parser. We observed that the NHs are mostly incorrectly parsed. The types of mistakes parsers frequently make are: changing nouns into verbs, adverbs, proper nouns, present tense singular verbs as plural nouns and adverbs, and present tense plural verbs as adjectives; adjectives as verbs. Thus, it becomes necessary to analyze NHs linguistically to determine the problems and to correct these so as to increase the accuracy of parser output.

There is a necessity to compare the NHs with standard English, to understand the difference between the two. We studied the data through a comparative method, where we attempted to understand the structure and language use of NHs.

Linguistic Analysis

NHs are significantly different to grammatically correct standard sentences. Headlines have distinctive syntactic properties, which render them a grammatical oddity (Fairclough 1995). We have attempted to locate these distinctive linguistic properties in IndENHs. We found that all the IndENHs show similar linguistic features for all the different categories.

Types of News Headlines

In IndENHs, there are two types of NHs: Interrogative and Declarative.
**Interrogative Headlines**

Grammatical interrogative forms are verb forms/sentences/clause types used in the expression of questions (Crystal 2008). In NHs, we found ‘Simple Interrogatives’ and ‘Echo Questions.’

**Simple Interrogatives**: Simple interrogatives are the regular interrogative constructions, which ask a direct question.

- TH: Doctors’ protest: Will govt. give in on contentious provisions of KPME Bill?
- HT: Will Maharashtra Rera’s SRO filter benefit homebuyers eventually?
- TOI: What happens to Rishabh Pant now?

**Echo questions**: Echo questions are pure statements, and do not involve wh-movement. They repeat someone’s statement with an interrogative tone marked via a question mark in NHs.

- TH: Ranbir Kapoor plays a DJ in Brahmastra? An insider spills the beans.
- HT: Spielberg’s stand cost Michael Douglas Cannes Glory?
- TOI: Maharashtra to bail out 11,000 staffers with fake caste certificates

**Non-Interrogatives**: Headlines starting with a wh-word need not necessarily be an interrogative question. Such NHs are like situation starters whose answer is made available in the article if the reader chooses to know.

- TH: When a crisis led to a new political bonding
- HT: What does the Jewar airport’s revival mean
- TOI: What exactly is Bhilwara’s strategy that cut infections

**Declarative Headlines**

Declarative headlines are the dominant and default headlines, mainly as the NHs state facts or report something that has happened. In the NHs, journalists inform readers of the events were mostly in the form of statements. For instance,

- TH: Medical services in Mysuru likely to be hit today
- HT: China isolated on Jammu and Kashmir in informal UNSC talks
- TOI: Kuldeep Singh Rathore named as chief of Himachal Congress

Until now, examples emerge from all three newspapers. Hereinafter, we will present examples only from *The Hindu*.

**Compound Noun**

NHs present a very creative usage of noun compounding. There is a difference between the compound nouns found in literature and those found in NHs. The compound nouns in NHs are contextual, i.e. they are created as per the context just as shown below:

- CM criticises Yeddyurappa for *corruption accusation*
**Dropping of Subject NP**

Dropping the subject NP from the headlines where it is not crucial to editors, can be found in NHs. In the given example, someone or something is turning the used oil into fresh fuel, but the subject NP is deliberately dropped, thus, creating a lack of transparency:

*Turning used oil into fresh fuel*

**Noun Phrases Containing Only Cardinals**

The cardinals such as 16, 9, and five are followed by equivalent noun subjects syntactically, but in NHs they are dropped. These cardinals may sometimes be directly followed by adjectives, past participles, and so forth, omitting the head noun of the subject NP. This noun omission leads to a lack of transparency.

1. Numerical + Adjective: 16 dead as boat capsizes in Krishna
2. Cardinal + Past Participle: *Over 350 screened at eye camp*

**Auxiliary Dropping**

Auxiliary verbs are subordinate verbs that make distinctions in tense, mood, aspect, voice (Crystal 2008). Dropping an auxiliary is the most common way to save space in NHs. Mostly, the main verb carries the tense, thus informing the readers of the status of the event. For example, one may add the auxiliary ‘was’ in the NH ‘Dengue awareness rally held’ as ‘Dengue awareness rally was held’ to arrive at a standard English sentence.

**Tense**

Tense marks the time at which the action denoted by the verb occurred (Crystal 2008). The NHs use tense to mark the time reference of the event.

**Present Tense:** The present tense is the predominantly used tense in NHs. It is used not only for ongoing events but also for reporting a past event that happened within a span of 24-48 hours i.e. is hard news whose impact lasts for 24-48 hours (Reah 1998). ‘News broadcasts and newspapers are designed to make one think that news stories are happening NOW’ (BBC 2003). In the present tense, two forms are found:

Simple Present: Simple present is referred to as ‘Historic Present.’ This tense is used even when the event has already passed but the editors want to keep the readers involved in a present time frame because readers feel more interested in reading about an event that is happening now. A past event in the past tense is less impactful. Ex.

*Heritage steam engine runs 2 km without driver*

Present Progressive: Present progressive or present continuous tense shows an ongoing event. This is also used when the event is longer than a day and is ongoing.

*Pinarayi protecting encroachers*

**Past Tense:** Past tense refers to an event that has already happened. Verbs with past tense are the second most used verbs in NHs. The main verbs of the NHs in the past tense have two forms:
Simple Past: In NH, the simple past is used to mark the past time reference. The auxiliary denoting past is mostly dropped.

*Launch of double bedroom houses delayed*

Past participle: Editors portray the past perfect tense through past participle.

*Sandalwood trees stolen from C.V. Raman's home*

**Future Tense**: Future tense is not considered as a tense per se (Comrie 1985), yet NHs still use it to mark the upcoming events. NHs usually employ verbs in their infinitive forms to denote a forthcoming event (BBC 2003). The future tense is the least used tense in the NHs amongst the three.

*India to invite Pakistan PM Imran Khan for SCO meet*

**Different Functions of Punctuations**

**Comma**: The comma “,” is used to mark clause boundaries, but in NHs, it has different functions based on their positions.

Speech-Speaker: Here, a comma is used to draw a clause boundary between the speaker and the speech with the help of a verb. The speaker can be a person or an organization. This construction is used to show the study and its report as well.

*Need an NIA unit in Mangaluru, says BSY*

This NH could be rewritten as ‘BSY said there is a need for an NIA unit in Mangaluru’

Conjoining two clauses: Two clauses representing two incidents are conjoined by a comma.

*Teenager killed, friend injured in accident*

Conjunction: The comma also functions as a conjunction.

*Call for unity between Kapus, SCs*

This NH can be rewritten as ‘Call for unity between Kapus and SCs.’

Cause-effect: In this case, the function of the comma is to link two clauses, one of which states the cause and the other the effect. Ex.

*Bhalswa landfill fires, smog have residents in chokehold*

The NH can be rewritten, interpreted as ‘smog has residents in a chokehold as Bhalswa landfill is fired.’

**Colon**: The colon “:” is used for listing, to indicate a sub-title or subdivision of a topic, but in NHs, it performs different functions in a different position.

Speech-speaker: NHs having two clauses conjoined by colon stating a speech-speaker relationship between the clauses. Ex.

*Beating up of teenager: mother to launch indefinite fast*

The given example can be rewritten as ‘mother is going to launch indefinite fast for beating up of teenager.’
Topic-Information: In this case, one clause denotes the topic and the other denotes relevant information (progress/regress).

*Businessman murder case: No arrests yet*

The first part of the NH, i.e. ‘Businessman murder case,’ states the ‘topic’ and the second part ‘No arrests yet’ informs about the progress.

*Semi-colon:* The semi-colon ‘;’ is used for listing, however, NHs also use it to join together two clauses, each stating different things about a scenario; one states an incident and the other states the result. A comma is also used when the editor has more than one outcome to list.

Incident-result relation:

*UP police back in encounter mode; 1 killed, 5 injured*

**Miscellaneous**

Graphological devices play a significant role in ephemeral texts such as newspaper headlines. Apart from the interesting usage of punctuation marks, few other stylistic techniques are used while creating an NH. Some of these are discussed here.

**Short Forms** Short forms shorten words by clipping. Ex:

*Maharashtra govt. ads draw flak*

**Abbreviations** Abbreviations are shortened forms of phrases and are the most useful technique with which to minimize space crises.

*South China Sea, Rohingya on ASEAN map*

**Code-mixing** Code-mixing refers to the melding of linguistic elements from two (or more) languages or dialects. In the given example, the Urdu word ‘talaq’ meaning divorce is used in an English NH.

*AMU professor’s wife alleges talaq on WhatsApp*

**Capitalization** English capitalizes the first letter of a sentence, but in NHs, the entire word or the headline is capitalized mostly to get the reader’s attention.

*Ear SHOT ashok rajagopal*

*TWO DEAD DURING JALLIKATTU IN TN*

**Metaphor** NHs are often crafted metaphorically, to add some color or likeness between the story and the real-world event.

*It is raining groundnuts*

**Ambiguity** NHs introduce ambiguity deliberately so as not to give away any clear idea, but rather to draw the reader’s attention to the NHs and to compel them to read the articles.

*Medical services in Mysuru likely to be hit today*

*‘To be hit’ can mean either ‘will be successful,’ or ‘will be affected,’ or ‘will start from today.’*
**Personification**: NHs creatively attribute human characteristics to non-humans.

*Facebook says technical error caused vulgar translation of Xi Jinping’s name*

*Here, the app ‘Facebook’ is personified for the people running the app.*

**Puns with Homophones**: Homophones are words with similar sounds but different meanings.

*Hiding in ‘Plane’ sight.*

The idiom ‘hiding in plain sight’ has been twisted to intend the pun it generates through replacement with ‘hiding in ‘Plane’ sight.’ ‘Hiding in plain sight’ means to be unnoticeable. By hiding in ‘Plane’ sight the authors intended to suggest that it is hard to find an airplane in the picture of the article.

**Article Omission**: Article (A, An, The) omission is the most commonly used technique in NHs, deliberately used to save space or intentional concealment of specificity.

*Biker dies in mishap*

**Scare-Quotes**: In NHs, editors’ use of quotation marks for a non-standard, irony.

*Road map to regaining ‘cleanest’ tag*

**Quotes Without Speaker**: An NH could sometimes be a mere quote. Editors intentionally drop the speaker in such NHs so as to generate curiosity and to compel the readers to read the article.

*‘Aggression, violence are a reality of the world we live in today’*

**Conclusion**

This paper has deliberated upon the linguistic analysis of news headlines from three Indian English newspapers. A news editor’s perception is different from that of gramarians or linguists, the lack of space and need to grab readers’ attention leads to very creative usage of language in the form of headlines. The study found that all three newspapers follow the same linguistic patterns. From contextual compounding to using present tense for past events news editors take creative liberty to construct well crafted NHs. Dropping of phrases, nouns, pronouns, determiners and auxiliaries, using short forms, abbreviations along with usage of rhetorical devices like metaphor, personification, and so forth, render NHs attention-grabbing. One of the most fascinating points is the creative usage of punctuations, as editors render the punctuation marks as speaking more than the basic form. NHs appear to be becoming increasingly informal, a suitable exemplar for which will be the use of code-mixing and scare quotes. NHs use short forms and can also be found with ambiguity, personification and homophonic puns.

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From Verbal to Three-dimensional Digital Visual Texts: A Construction of a Javanese Prince

Harry Nuriman a
"Institut Teknologi Bandung, Indonesia"

Nia Kurniasih b
"Institut Teknologi Bandung, Indonesia"

Setiawan Sabana c
"Institut Teknologi Bandung, Indonesia"

Intan R. Mutiaž d
"Institut Teknologi Bandung, Indonesia"

Rikrik K. Andryanto e
"Institut Teknologi Bandung, Indonesia"

Abstract

Visualizations of the body of the famous Javanese Prince Diponegoro appears in various media, ranging across sketches, paintings, sculptures, banknotes and coins, shadow puppets, stamps, theatrical performances and electronic devices. All these visualizations mostly follow previous visualizations influenced by artist imaginations.

This research seeks to present Prince Diponegoro in three-dimensional animated visualization using a motion capture technique. To complete this, the project draws from authentic manuscript research from the autobiography of Babad Diponegoro. Further, the project employs intertextuality as a method with which to interpolate the data, and hence to obtain a satisfactory overall visualization. The physical features, gestures and paralinguistic elements contained in the verbal text of Babad Diponegoro have been employed using motion capture data based on events written in the Babad Diponegoro. Many existing representations of the prince exist. However, this study attempts to rethink these existing visualizations, so as to produce a much more accurate, if not completely new, icon, thus differing to existing representations.

Keywords Prince Diponegoro, intertextuality, verbal text, digital visual text, motion capture

Background

Babad Diponegoro of Diponegoro’s Chronicle is the autobiography of Prince Diponegoro (1785-1855), a Javanese aristocrat, an Indonesian national hero and a Pan-Islamist. Diponegoro’s chronicle was written during his exile in North Sulawesi in 1831-1832, and is a personal record of Prince Diponegoro as a key figure in the
history of modern Indonesia. This text is deemed an autobiographical document in modern Javanese literature, which shows an unusual sensitivity to local conditions and experiences.

The credibility of biography and autobiography as historical sources are often questioned due to the fact that they are written for a specific purpose and with low memory capacity accompanied by the writer's high subjectivity factor. The perks of biography and autobiography, however, are seen in their ability to narrate social conditions of, among others, a given time, social stratification, perceptions and attitudes of various social strata towards invaders and modernization, cultural values and cultural notions, traditions of noble family life. Equally important is their function as a source of information that come from first hand or historical actors (Kartodirdjo 1992).

Babad Diponegoro manuscript, an autobiography, can serve as an authentic source for visualizing the physical body of Prince Diponegoro. Diponegoro’s chronicle was recorded as a manuscript of the UNESCO Memory of the World in 2013. According to historian Peter Carey, as quoted in Tempo magazine (2020), the original text was lost, after being copied and translated into Dutch.

The Babad at the National Library is a copy of the original manuscript. Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen borrowed it from the Diponegoro family after he died on January 8, 1855. The manuscript was returned after being copied. But Carey did not find the document when he visited the Diponegoro family in Makassar in September 1972.

The copy was translated by Balai Pustaka in 1983 and was first translated into Indonesian by Narrative Publishers, Yogyakarta, in 2016.

There have been many attempts to visualize Prince Diponegoro in various media, ranging from sketches, paintings, sculptures, paper money and coins, shadow puppets, stamps, stage performances and electronic devices. All visualizations regarding Pangeran Diponegoro are demed to have been baseless or only followed previous visualization works which are also based only on the artist's artistic imagination. Assuming that there is no authentic text translation of the Babad Dipadegoro, which is a reference for artists to visualize the body of Prince Diponegoro until 2016, coupled with the controversy related to his figure, the visualization of Prince Diponegoro becomes very diverse. Prince Diponegoro's postures, gestures, facial characteristics, clothing and accessories are always predictable. The turban, scarf, prayer beads, krisses and horses are almost always seen in works of art. The expressions and gestures are adjusted to the artists' alignments. Interpretation of the physical body and gestures of the text is interesting to study.

This study aims to identify the characteristics of Pangeran Diponegoro as depicted in the chronicle Babad Diponegoro, what aspects in intermedia art can be used to embody the characteristics of Pangeran Diponegoro, and what characteristics of Pangeran Diponegoro can be depicted through intermedia comprising embodiment, moves, gestures, voice, lights, and interactivities.

Visualization of a written text into various other forms is deemed an intersemiotic translation process as proposed by Roman Jakobson. The notion of intersemiotic translation itself has been widely applied to the process of theorizations of multimodal practices across cultures and languages in various ways (Kurniasih 2019). Translation involves the transfer of ‘meaning’ through one set of language signs into another set of language signs and a whole set of extra-linguistic criteria included in the process. It is far more complicated than a mere linguistic process (Bassnett 2002).
Method

This study uses a qualitative biographical approach. Winfried Marotzki (2017) describes that assumptions are elaborated in different disciplines such as the sociology of knowledge, symbolic interaction, ethno-theory, ethnomethodology and conversation analysis. Qualitative biographical research accepts that an individual's biography can always be understood as a construct. The main focus is on examining individual forms of specific social and environmental experiences.

This study also uses Roman Jakobson’s intersemiotic translation to depict the process of transferring a historic figure as written in the chronicle, i.e. Pangeran Diponegoro, into a 3-dimesional form. This research attempts to describe the elements that affect the process of intersemiotic translation of a verbal language into a visual language, taking into account cultural context in the process. By employing this method, it is expected that the details of the translation process and whether shifts or changes have occurred during the translation can lead to greater insights into and novelty in the existing means of translating a figure from a written into a visual text.

The first step of the process was to find ideas in the verbal text, the chronicle, which would be expressed visually, followed by the researchers finding an appropriate idiom to be displayed as a semiotic expression. The second stage was conducted to uncover the symbolic narrative by analysing the text, studying it using semiotics, and then translating it visually with focus on shapes, colours, textures, moves and gestures and other aspects that correlate with the narrative contained in the Diponegoro chronicle. The third stage required translating the symbolic narrative to fit the ideas to convey to the public or audience. This process was carried out with the aim of re-defining the narration that was presented in the composition of visual elements. The visual scheme presented was ‘form following ideas,’ and not vice versa. Gestures displayed as visual elements were chosen based on the ideas to be conveyed. Although technology was used as the main tool, the presentation and performances of the result prioritize visual simplicity, displaying what is essential and important. The researcher has not only reproduced and appropriated texts, but has also reproduced meanings and has opened up the possibility of introducing other meanings of a visualized reality.

In connection with the creation of this work, the researcher also used the foundation of Wallas’s theory outlined that proposes that the process of creative thinking involves four distinct stages of control:

1. Preparation: A problem is investigated consciously and systematically;
2. Concentration: Focus on one topic or idea;
3. Incubation: A period of abstention from conscious thought about the problem;
4. Illumination: The creative idea appears in a sudden flood of inspiration, following a series of subconscious associations;
5. Verification: The validity of the new idea is tested, and the idea is reduced to exact form (Karakas 2010)

To limit the scope of this study, following Leedy and Ormrod (2013), a number of assumptions was made:

a. The body of Prince Diponegoro is that visualized as being during the time of his arrest while negotiating with the Dutch.
b. Prince Diponegoro’s visualization was based on information in the Babad Diponegoro chronicle manuscript, as an autobiography.

Referring to the above formulation, the use of digital technology to interpret texts about the body of a character into a 3-dimensional model was found to be helpful for accurate visualization. However, when the text describing the body was presented as a 3D image, there were shifts or changes, including the emphasis in
the process of the body and technology integration. Not everything described in the text, including myths and charisma, could be accurately visualized with the same representation, meaning and effect in the digital body.

The use of the Babad Diponegoro autobiographical text as a reference for the visualization of Prince Diponegoro has never been conducted prior to this study. The Babad Diponegoro text is an authentic text as it was written based on the direct narrative of Prince Diponegoro during the exile, and is worthy of being used as a reference. Utilization of three-dimensional technology to visualize the body of Prince Diponegoro is yet to be widely explored. The visualization of Prince Diponegoro was based on the work of previous artists. An interactive visual presentation of the performance of the arrest of Prince Diponegoro also has never existed to date. Thus, this research is expected to lead to the production of a new Prince Diponegoro visualization and to open up possibilities for future use by providing a new experience for audiences.

Discussion

To create a digital 3-dimensional model of Prince Diponegoro, it is deemed essential to first make an interpretation picture of Prince Diponegoro from various angles. Prince Diponegoro has been portrayed in a slightly sideways position, as in the stamps and banknotes of the Republic of Indonesia. While the profile of Prince Diponegoro’s face is depicted on a coin.

![Figure 1. Pangeran Diponegoro in banknotes of Rp1000 and coins of 26 cent](image)

To create a 3-dimensional model of Prince Diponegoro’s head, the researchers had to make an interpretation of the existing visualization and hence pictures of Prince Diponegoro front view and side view profiles were obtained. The results are as follows.

![Figure 2. Impressions of Pangeran Diponegoro front view and side view](image)
Following completion of Prince Diponegoro’s front and side view appearance, the next step is to create a 3-dimensional model using software Character Creator version 2.2 for iClone; the results obtained are as depicted below.

![3-dimensional model of Prince Diponegoro](image)

**Figure 3.** The Process of modelling 3-dimensional head of Pangeran Diponegoro

After obtaining a 3-dimensional head model of Prince Diponegoro, the next step is to make a 3-dimensional model of the body of Prince Diponegoro. The result is as below.

![3-dimensional body model of Prince Diponegoro](image)

**Figure 4.** The process of modelling the body of Pangeran Diponegoro

Next, the head and body of Prince Diponegoro were combined.

![Combined model of Prince Diponegoro](image)

**Figure 5.** Result of modelling the body of Pangeran Diponegoro
Prince Diponegoro’s 3D body construction was tested using Blender software. To animate the body, it is necessary to ‘rig’ the 3D model. When the rigging process is complete, the model is driven by iClone software from Reallusion.

![Process of rigging Pangeran Diponegoro](image1.png)

*Figure 6. The process of rigging Pangeran Diponegoro*

Face mapping is done using Face Generator software. The model used for the visual construction of Prince Diponegoro’s face is Kii Roni Sodewo’s face, with the permission of the people concerned. The selection of Ki Roni Sodewo’s face as a model was based on the fact that he was the seventh descendant of Prince Diponegoro.

![Process of modelling Ki Roni Sodewo’s Head](image2.png)

*Figure 7. Process of modelling Ki Roni Sodewo’s Head*
Conclusion

The results of this study indicate that the multidimensional visual construction of a character that is built based on text plays an important role in being able to give a new impression to the image of a character who previously felt monotonous because it was not based on authentic evidence. In addition, the use of digital art and motion capture technology is very useful so as to provide the expected effects and to provide new experiences in enjoying art. A number of paralinguistic aspects, such as the charm and charisma that are suggested by and constructed from the text cannot always be visualized, either through two-dimensional and three-dimensional media, intermedia and even through motion. Even so, there are many other aspects that cannot be provided by the text, but can be offered by visual work, for example, light, color, shape, motion and special effects in the performing arts.

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Vanishing Landlordism in Madhes, Nepal: Missing an Opportunity for Development of Capitalism

Shyam Sundar Prasad Yadav

*Tribhuvan University of Nepal, Nepal

Abstract

This research examines the misinterpretation of feudalism and its protective qualities over families in Madhes with large amounts of land. The misinterpretation of feuds between families invited mistreatment, and as a result, the Nepali state imposed land-reform program policies in 1964, more so due to pressure by the communist movement. This pushed the feudal farmers into poverty. The study highlights historical ways of failure of development of organic capitalism in Madhes. Contemporary work in Marxism, especially in Madhes, tends to focus on interpretation, and understanding of feudalism/landlordism among communist leaders, scholars, workers and activists. Marxist discourses and precepts have reflexively impeded the development of capitalism in Madhes. This paper thus highlights the interactions of Marxist discourse and the issues among Madhesi families in Nepal.

Keywords: Capitalism, communist, feudalism, landlordism, madhes, marxism, misinterpretation, organic capitalism

Introduction

This paper is an ethnographic study of the Madhesi landlord (zimidar) of Rautahat and Bara district of Nepal. It investigates the process of vanishing landlordism in Madhes. This study also provides information on the failure of development of capitalism in Madhes.

In the European context, landlord families have contributed to the development of capitalism. Yanagisako (2002) in her study of the capitalist families of Italy states,

Bourgeoisie ‘economic’ actions, like all culturally meaningful actions, are incited, enabled and constrained by sentiments that are themselves the products of historically contingent historical processes. The Como silk industry is the result of continuous generation and regeneration family capitalism by people whose desire for capital accumulation have been incited by sentiments of family unity and communalism, but also by the sentiments individualism and competition. As sentiments in play at different moments in the development of histories of family firms, firm competition and the creation of new firms. They are on one hand, products of the working of Italian family capitalism. However, they operate as force of production of Italian family capitalism.

More so, as Sugden (2013) suggests, to facilitate transition to an equitable economic formation is not ‘more capitalism.’ Nepal requires a deeper structural transformation, directed by social mobilization against capitalist and pre-capitalist class contradictions at multiple geographical scales on economic and political levels. If a state
attends to its structural transformation towards a dynamic economy, then a nation could develop its own organic capitalism. Despite this, there has been no research on how misinterpretation of feudalism is possible on wider scale and as a result, how hardworking farmers were pushed into poverty by imposing the land reform program 1964.

For the purpose of this article, I am concerned with how generalized concerns around Madhesi landlordism manifest in their real lives, which is quite different to the definition of feudalism. To this end, this article contributes to greater understanding of the misinterpretation of feudalism regarding the so called Madhesi landlord.

This study observes how the state-led land reform program 1964 diverted Madhesi landlord’s toward poverty, and at the same time, how Nepali Marxists, non-Marxists scholars, communist leaders, workers, activists, Nepali media and the Nepali state itself, is defining normal and poor Madhesi peasants as real landlords/feudal.

In the Nepali context the term ‘feudal’ is defined as an individual who loses his property on religious festivals, weddings and funereal ceremonies, including for the purpose of aristocracy, which is quite different to analysis by renowned scholars of feudalism. In Nepali communists, workers, activists, both Marxist and non-Marxist scholars, are defining landlordism as based on their own opinion rather than on real definitions of landlordism. Lenin (1960: 504) states,

The capitalist class includes persons whose remuneration may come nominally in the form of a salary, but which is in fact due to their position in the capitalist class (e.g., the directors of large companies). It also includes persons who are not employers, but who serve the capitalist class in high administrative positions.

While analyzing the capitalist class in the Madhesi context through a Lenin lens, it is difficult to find a family associated with the likes of directors of large companies or those in high administrative positions. As such, work on Nepal is on capitalism rather than Nepal in the age of capitalism. As Sugden (2013: 21) states,

levels of employment and wages rates remain at levels that competition for tenancies remains high despite industrial development, favoring landlords. In this context, tenants’ necessary labor time is carried out on both the land and in the non-farm sector.

Methodology

Over a two month period, I visited the houses of three zimidars and two other landlords in the Rautahat district, and the house of one zimidar and one other landlord in the Bara district. In addition, students and Patwari were interviewed about the perspective of zimidars and landlords families toward their own community, toward landless people and toward poor peasants. Zimidars and other landlord families were questioned about their relation with and access to the state, and about the impact of the land reform program 1964 over their families. They were also asked questions about their families attitude toward the poor peasants and landless people. Key informant interviews including a case study conducted with family members of the zimidars and landlords. Students were asked about roles, responsibilities and investments of the zimidar families for school construction and education.
State-led Land Reform Program 1964 and its Impact

In the early eighteenth century, the development of capitalism slowly expanded and succeeded in capitalism, an opportunity which Madhesi landlords missed. Mis-interpreting feudalism, both Nepali Marxist scholars and non-Marxist scholars defined Madhesi big farmer and hardworking landlords, who were politically powerless as landlords, which played a catalytic role for missing the opportunity to enter to Madhesi landlord into capitalism. The land reform program 1964 was taken as an instrument of departure toward industrial development, but due to the imposition of the land reform program on Madhesi landlords, their mentality moooed away from gaining more property, as they questioned themselves as to why they accumulated more land through hardwork. Mishra (2013, 2015) suggests that a state which was a leading exporter of rice till early 1960s is systematically importing foodgrain beginning in the 1980.

Many landlords agreed to that the passion of farming was terminated by the imposition of land reform. As a result, landlords left their lands barren for many years and at the same time, started to sell their farming lands rapidly for unproductive works such as dowry, feast and festivities. Just after activating the land reform act, another act named “Dhanahi” was imposed. The taxation discouraged landlords to not invest Due to the dhanahi taxation, landlords began to leave their farming lands barren.

After the imposition of the so called land reform, all landlords and peasants lost their land mainly due to two factors. First, the government announced that farming land cultivated by peasants would become peasant land, but later, the government announced that those peasants who did not have citizenship could not cultivate these land. The land captured by peasants and landlords came under the control of the state. Because of the hill-culture-oriented definition of citizenship, Nepalese tenants tended to be people of hill origin.

Zimidarship was a periodic authority sold by state on agreement between landlord and state, but with the state’s choice, rather than with the choice of landlords. So, all Madhesi landlords were not zimidar. On the day of tax collection, the officials of the state would come in order to collect the land tax collected by the zimidars. Many zimidar’s families accepted that although they were nominally being benefited by their zimidarship, they were buying zmidari for their social prestige.

Misinterpretation of Feudalism

The term ‘feudal’ has determined the fate of the Madhesi landlords. The defeat of the Nepal Communist party is often attributed to its handling of Feudalism. The communist idea of feudalism is instrumental, as a way of garnering votes from the poor, turning feudalism into an electoral strategy rather than an ideal. The communist adherence to feudalism is seen more as pseudo-feudalism, a form of political correctness, and a ritual of table manners. The term ‘pseudo-feudalism’ is working wonderfully for the Nepali communist party as the whole debate on feudalism must be transformed into a debate on fairness and history so that development of organic capitalism in Madhes would be possible. A misinterpreted feudalism, apologetic or snobbish about itself, is not matching for the so called Madhesi feudal lords in which majority of Madhesi feudal lords are victims of the Nepali state. Feudalism has been mis-interpreted by both the Nepali state and scholars since the eighteenth century, which has become an obstacle for the development of capitalism in Madhes. In this period, largely owing to the barrenness of each the farming land, escapist peasants failed to pay land tax and were willing to pass their lives, thus remaining as laborers and peasants.

The number of Madhesi farmers as landlords declined, becoming a major obstacle for the development of organic capitalism in Madhes, Nepal. There was surplus land for accumulation by all people, as there were not
restrictions for accumulation of land, where people were always being encouraged by the state to accumulate land. Regmi (1978, 164) argues that India nationals were invited by the state and given free allotment of agricultural land, in addition to a homesite, and free supplies of building materials. Non-resident Indians were permitted to cultivate land in the Tarai region of Nepal, and including zimidarship.

Picture 1. Order of Gorkha Dakshin Bahun provided by Late king Birendra to Satahi Devi wife of landlord Ramcharitra Jaywal

Picture 2. High school constructed by late landlord Ramcharitra Jaywal

Picture 3. A temple and water tank constructed by landlord Ramcharitra Jaywal.
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Poetics
Conceptualizing Religions (Confucianism and Buddhism): From Poetic-Stories to Reality in Indochina

Nguyen Phuong Lien

"Vietnam National University, Vietnam"

Abstract

Influenced by being situated between China and India, two historical giants, the people of the three nations of Viet, Lao and Khome exhibit strong histories of imported cultures. The religions of these regions, which closely connect to people’s lives, offer strong symbolisms of lifeworlds and enculturations. People in Indochina assign great significance to living and to interpersonal relationships, more so than toward deities and spiritual agents, as well as to the creation of the cosmos. Here, folk stories frequently include the ‘first man,’ the messages from which serve to educate society.

This study aims to present that Indochinese poetic stories exhibit imported theories, the moral messages within which have reached levels of mastery in the literary genre, that is, the poetic story. These moral lessons emerge in texts such as Luc Van Tien (Vietnam), Thao Hung Thao Chuong (Lao) and Tum Tieu (Cambodia). Based on historical facts, these texts expose people’s attention to humanity’s opinions of Confucianism (China) and Buddhism (India). The stories also present differences and similarities, the descriptions of which can offer pathways to explaining social dynamics in modernity. As such, locating markers within figurative talk in this literary genre may inform theories in larger narratives and philosophical texts.

Keywords: Concepts of religions, Confucianism, Buddhism, Poetic stories, Indochina

Introduction

As a result of being between China and India, two large mainstays of civilization, the people of the three nations Viet, Lao and Khome have heritages and religions predicated on imported ideologies. These imported ideologies have significantly moved societal structure in Indochina, thus developing heritage values evident in folk literature.

Buddhism ultimately replaced Hinduism, thus reinvigorating opinions of death and life, as did Confucianism. Buddhism arrived in Indochina prior to Confucianism, and hence had greater popularity. Similarly, Buddhist concepts remain highly influential toward life values, brought to significant prominence in nineteenth century texts.

Lao’s Poetic Stories

From the 15th to the 19th centuries, the Lao people were divided into two parts. As the older part, the Kingdom of Luang Phrabang conveyed innovations in music, and in art in general. Musicians were assigned the role of singing praise of the king’s victory and the beauty of the palace. As such, the music was divided into two in
Laos: folklore and royal music. Dramatic texts were based on the Indian epics from royal musicians, thus giving life to poetic-stories in Lao folklore in the 19th century. Musicians were required to travel far from their places of origin (‘muang’), thus inspiring the creation of songs describing homesickness. These were a new genre of song, but now not songs of happiness, rather, about Lao culture. Analyzing the lyrics to these songs substantiates knowledge of sadness in slavery life. Symbols well appeared in the poetic stories. For example, the evil bird in poetic stories symbolized the Thai king. The spirit of forgiving Xin Xay, emanated from descriptions of the Buddha’s spirit. Here, Confucian concepts appeared as a standard for the leaders of revolutions in Laos, inspiring the development of stories and myths of heroes, represented through music.

Cambodian Poetic Stories

In Cambodia, the Kh’mer ethnicity was the central group in its development of civilization. Building temples, history, and recounts of heroes and Indian epics (Mahabharata, Ramayana) were the daily passions of society, thus contributing to the creation of theatrical productions, but reflexively connected these to Buddhist and Confucianist philosophies. This emerged in poetic stories such as Tum Tieu, which was applied to life in many respects. Standards of Chinese heritage and Confucianism were adopted by the folklore tales of Kh’mer. The plot within Tum Tieu was similar to that of the “novel” of Ming-Thanh dynasty in China. This was also the case with Diem Vuong in the famous poet-story, Pham Tai- Ngoc Hoa, in Vietnam.

Vietnamese Poetic Stories

The influence of Chinese culture to Vietnam was longer than that of Cambodia. As such, both Confucianism and Buddhism were influential. Concepts such as ‘the loan’ became increasingly popular for leaders. In fact, the Hindu and Buddhist concept of ‘darma,’ and the Confucian concept of ‘duc’ have parallel characters, reflexively moving to larger society and in leadership. As a result, when Vietnamese literature passed the period of Chinese influence, modern authors began to again draw from ancient literature, that is, from Indian literature. Sita by Luu Quang Vu in the 1980s and Rama by Nguyen Ba in 1991 are the result of that mixture. These then became moral lessons in works such as Luc Van Tien (Vietnam), Thao Hung Thao Chuong (Lao) and Tum Tieu (Cambodia).

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The Symbolisms and Poetics of the Japa Mantra in Yogyakarta, Indonesia: An Anthropological Study

Michael Hadzantonis*
*Independent Scholar

Abstract

The heritage of Yogyakarta and other urban centres throughout Java, Indonesia, is such that their religions have become highly syncretic (Geertz). Here, animism, Hindu roots, and Islam, have been mixed to fashion modern spiritual practices. One of these is the Japa Mantra, a type of prayer used as a spell as white (and sometimes black) magic. The practitioners of the Japa mantra employ Javanese poetics to shape its poetics, in the belief that these mantras are magical and convey the will of deities and other spirits, who empathie with people and whose will allows these spiritual requests to amaterialize. This paper presents an early stage in describing the symbolisms and poetics of the Japa Mantra, through the documenting of several hundred practitioners, priests, and others, in Yogyakarta and other urban centres. The analysis of the poetics of the Japa Mantra practiced by these communities draws on symbolic anthropology, and describes junctures between spiritual speech communities and symbolic representations of a modern Java guided by a sustained heritage, in the face of an institutionalized Islam.

Keywords: Yogyakarta, Spirituallism, Symbolic interpretation, Japa Mantra, Clifford Geertz

Introduction

Largely owing to the influences of late capitalism, rituals on the island of Java, Indonesia, have waned in religious, philosophical and cosmological significance, and yet, have become increasingly connotative of old practices, as cultural activities, and of national identity. purpose to the ritual. Similarly, oral tradition has also undergone significant semiotic shift, evident in the Japa Mantra, the recited Mantra spell, which has strong cosmological foundation. The Japa Mantra was a science, in the past, requiring temporal calculation and spatial positioning, that is, a chonotope; these Mantras must be recited in specific locations, at specific times, and during specific actions. Further, these mantras are organized in certain sequences, clusters, and groupings, so as to facilitate the success of the intended prayer. The Mantras combine Javaense, Hindu, animist and Islamic elements, becoming highly syncretic (Geertz). As such, the symbolisms of these Japa Mantras become significant in that their symbolisms evidence both light and deep levels of linguistic and visual practices of Javaense heritage.

Reciting the Mantra has become fully integrated into Javaense culture, and have been accepted as aligning with current mainstream religions, such as Christianity and Islam. The Japa Mantra is not always explicitly read, but is always an option as an integration with main religion, and concurrently a resort during times of desperation. In Java, no law currently exists restricting the use of the Japa Mantra, and cultural mores allow for its use as a back up resource. Main religions are prioritized within these cultural mores,
thus relegating the Japa Mantra to a second but crucial position. As such, a hierarchy of religion has formed; Religious leader → magician (dukun/pawang) → private and domestic practitioners. Here, the Japa Mantra does not necessarily symbolize good nor bad, but rather, becomes a semiotic device with which the agent can convey intention. More so, the Japa Mantra spells have emerged as artifacts with etic properties, as basic frames conveying intention, and emic properties as specific frames with which to direct the intentions of the person. As an example, the Jaran Goyang love spell, intends to redirect a love target towards the spell giver. The intentions of the lover are key which then authorizes the agent.

Every city in Java has its own specific set of Japa Mantras, owing not least to localized language and speech communities, and to localized ritualistic and cosmological patterns. However, the Japa Mantras traditiona has seen intensification around the Yogyakarta region. Following a crack down on black magic practitioners in the late 1990s, by the Indonesian government, most if not all practitioners quickly began to very explicitly announce their adherence to mainstream religion, and hence that the Japa Mantra spells were designed and intended to aid practices of Islam and Christianity. The patent affiliation to mainstream religion became a disclaimer, and more so a life saver, where practitioners were sure to inculcate their refusal to practice these spells without the blessing of God, and that these spells gain potency with appeals to mainstream deities, such as God, Buddha, Shiva and Allah.

The calendar for using the Japa Mantra combines the Roman calnder, the Hijri calner, and the local calender of five days per week, where each day has a specific value (Naptru Dina). The local ‘Feng Shui’ system is Pasaran, which spans these five days. Each day is afforded a certain strength and a specific function for practicing the prayer rituals as recited mantras. Ultimately, this becomes a system of permutations of intention, where ritual and cultural design undergo permutations, integrating combinations of symbolisms, combining the chronotope with symbolisms to become a signochronotope. The human becomes a mediator of the intention of the deity, and thus the effectiveness of the Japa Mantra becomes contingent on this intention. Both human and deity (conveyed through the human agent) alike agree to that speech alone is ineffective as simply etic. The speech ritual must be accompanied by other practices, such as slamatan, showering, dance, visual symbols, interpersonal actions, specific substances, and so forth. Furthermore, these practices must be aligned with cosmological systems, and with the titmetable of the body.

Interactions in Java

Over several years, I interacted with Javanese communities, and sectors of these communities involved in the performance of these Japa Mantras, at various levels. These communities were explicit about the restoration of the Mantras from their apparent diversion to the ‘dark side, and who had intention on using conventional non occultist religion to ward off black magic and to align themselves with God, and with government mandate. As such, much of this ethnographic time was spent visiting ritual performances, documenting, and becoming active in these cleansing rituals, as oral and visual performances. The symbolisms of these rituals were at times intense, as largely spiritual and eventful, and, according to the guides, supernatural.

Throughout the ethnography, I documented over 2000 oral recitable Japa Mantra rituals, a small sample of which I present in this paper, and which are specific to Yogyakarta. The informants were generally highly cautious, and frequently demanded anonymity, while being intent on the fact that their loyalty was to mainstream religions. The study becomes partly an anthropology of symbolisms (Geertz), and partly an anthropology of intentions (Duranti), thus to inform understandings of ritual processes in Java, Indonesia.
Data

The Japa Mantras are categorized as follows:

1. Intention Matras: Mantras expressing intentions, and concerning themself such as learning and cleansing. These must first be recited as the deities will only assist after agreeing to the legitimacy of the intentions of the speaker, and that these intentions are altruistic. Following this, the prayer becomes embodied in the practice as a whole.
2. Japa Mantras: Mantras that heal. These are only possible if deities accept that the intentions of the spell giver are pure.
3. Cleansing Mantras: Mantras that comprise the actual doing of rituals, and which are most common
4. Attraction Mantras: Mantras that are recited to effect attraction from others, be it romantic, sexual, commercial, filial, and so forth
5. Self Improvement
6. Good Children
7. Prosperity
8. Self Benefit / Charisma
9. Longevity
10. Closing Statements
11. Invincibility
12. Wise Living

Category 1 - General Intention

Example 160: Pujine Wulu Marifat Suci Liar Batin

Mantra: Nawaitu’abies manjing wulu langgeng bauku karo
kuku watu dawa cendak
kult daging oto getih balung sungum
puji jasmani limpa ati jantung kupng pucuk pok bongkot manjing lal-lakaningsum
kang manjing sesotyaku karo sifat muktamad sampulla kapir kabe.

Pujine Wulu - praise
Marifat – reach the highest level
Suci liar batin – heart and body are all pure

The first paragraph describes an intention to gain the level of the prophet, that us the highest level of purity. As sush, if your heat and body and emotions are physically clean, you are almost at the same level of the prophet. The prayer then moves to describe the improtant of balance metaphically and within the physical body, which must be connected to intention. I will thus use these elements of my body to perform my intended altruism to myself and others. Here, this becomes an explication of the state and achievements of the person after righteous practice.

Example 166: Pujine Jinabat Arep Kewejang Ilmu

Mantra: Niyatingsun jinabat adus banyti kudratul’lahab, ngedusi sadulurku papat, kalima badan, nenem nyawa, pitu suksma, sah badan , · I kari · sampuma.

Category 2 - Japa
Example 180: *Japa Kanggo Nambani Iara Bengang*

*Mantra: Sang hyang padanyangan*
*kang ambareksa ing ..... anu ..........,
aku anjaluk sanyata pitulung,
si · · · · · · · · · · rang p.ti kabilangan
kariya kawarasane.

The tendency of these prayers seem to be more hindu oriented. He rpayers says the alimgity god who contrilas the univivere. Tat is, the almighty, Sang hyang padanyangan - as this is for a lntic who is always lookignat the sky as a lunatic, the prayer is for te person who is always lokgin at the skyp and hence the god of the sky, . The prpare then says that the name of the person must be inserted. After anu …. and then asks for, or begs for, help to give the eerosn si …. who is lising their mind. One element here that accompanies the ritual is the green coconut. The decription describes this, ad that the coconut must be used with boiling actions and sugar, where the person who is sick must drink this and this becomes a culinary part of the ritual.

**Category 3 – Cleansing**

Example 185: *Mantraadus Damas Kaping 3 Ing Dai.Em Salapan Dina*

*Mantra: Ingsun adus telaga kalkaosar
ancik-ancikku wattu gegilging kinedusan kinramasan sakehing supata
iya ingsun anak pandita -ti
tur lanang sajati
kang apurba jagad iki kabei*

Description: This is a spell you use whilst taking a shower for cleanings the self. Before to takgi et shwer, you need to read this antra, on 3 specific days, and each tiem you must read this mantra

**Category 4 – Attraction Spells**

Example 193: *Mantra Pangasihan Kun Jali Katujokake marang wanito*

*Mantra: Allahumma
kun-jali
kun-jali asib
si .... anu .... teka welas asib menyang aku
nabi waline iya teka welas asib menyang aku asib saka karsaning Allah.*

Description: This is a spell to attract women. This requires the placing of the name of the target woman in the prayer. Here if you have the target, you use the spell, and insert the name, and the target will feel attraction to the interlocutor, and hence will develop feelings in the name of God. Here there is a merger between classic Javanese and the Islamic era, becoming highly syncnretic. This thus satisfies the religious disclipliner given at the statfo the book where these spells will only work should God accept that they are allowable, andhence according to the wil of God. The spell also suggests that the paents or guardians of the person will also have affection for me, but in the name of the almighty god. The spellgiver explained that prior to meeting the woman; the spaker must say the words by holding their breath. IN that way, the speaker will retain the words in heir heart.

Example 230: *Mantra Paiaiusan Kanggo Wong Dagang*
Mantra: Semar dahar
Gareng ngengeng
Petruk celuk-celuk
Srikandi kang ndodoli
Janaka kang nukoni
laris-laris laris daganganku

Description: To attract people for business so as to have many customers. Like the above, this is still an affection spell, but on a different target. This is for business, and aims to have other businesses develop affection for the interlocutor. Using metaphors. This using Wayang character, such as Semar. Here, everyone must praise and respect the business giver, and will come to respect the business giver, and will find character and beauty in the business. As such, the spell uses metaphorical speech. As each word has a metaphorical character, the semiosis of the spell is highly expansive. However, the key phrase in the spell is the final sentence, “Janaka kang nukoni, laris-laris laris daganganku” which translates to ‘what I sell, everybody will buy.”

Category 5 – Self Improvement

Example 197: Mantra-Ajuijaya Purusaiya. Ianang Sajati
Mantra: Niyat Ingsun kahananing Jayapuusa
kang jumeneng Raja Kaska ya
teg-geng teg-geng dadi rosa santosanin jaluni-gsun
lanang sajati
kalawan kucratingsun

Description: Spell to make a man more powerful or charming so that everyone respects the man

Category 6 – Good Children

Example 200: Mantra Aji Anuwubake Putra
Mantra: Ingsun sifatu1lah sifating cahya
kang dadi wiling cahya
kang kawasa angimun salirirrg cahya nucnaya, cahya nurbuwat nurMuchammad, tumbia dadi nukat gaib, suwarna surupa, ing yoganingS In kalawan kudratu1lah kudratingsun.

Category 7 – Prosperity

Example 201: Mantras Muinb Manising Calaid (Aji Siu Widara)
Mantra: Ajiku si Sri Widara, esemku Dewi Supraba liringku Dewi Ratih, . . sing-a-ndulu sing-a-ndeleng teka welas teka asih, taka demen teka kangen, menyang ing jiwaku, sasaking karsaning Allah.

Category 8 – Self Benefit / Charisma

Example 202: Mantra Pangir Uping Daya
Mantra: Al-hu cahya mulya, sira sun-kongkon, sira irupen cahyane Wong Agung kang disuwitani amora lan cahyaku La ilaha ila'llah, Muchammad Rasulu'llah, sir sir sir sir (kapi, tg 5).

Description: This spell suggest that I ned to have acharisma like th prophet mohammad.
Category 8 – Longevity

Example 204: Mantra Kanggo Panyuwun Da Waning Umur
Mantra: Ya walikut ya walikut ya alikut ya walikut (kaping 5) Allahu -sir!
Description: This will give me longevity and a healthy life, with a good life. My family will be prosperous and in good condition. This spell will also render me invincible.

Category 9 – Closing Statements

Example 214: Mantra Sapu-Jagad
Mantra: He sang sang sing jati ana sab ing suring wewayangan sir teguh saciptaku lupa lembu sakilan.”
Description: The almighty deity to clean everything we do and say which must be fro mthe almighty deity. This is susally also a closing statement. The amoight who controls the whole universe. I wish athat everything I said to happen. Here, thisis for requiresting blessing from the gid and prohet and that they agree to everything requirested na dtheat they bless this, while cleaning everything done by the interclitur.

Example 239: Aji Pangasillian Cajiya Mulya
Mantra: Cahya Mulya inuyaningsun wripingsun, iya iku kang ngimpun nyawane si ........ anu .............. wis k-werigku dening nyawaku, teka kedep teka lerep teka nurut teka manut si .......... : anu .............. menyang aku Cahya Mulya mulyaningsun, wripingsun, iya iku kang ngimpun nyawane si........ anu ...... wis kakekep dening nyawaku, teka kedep teka lerep tek11 nurut teka manut si ........ anu menyang aku-, nurut.manut salca karsaning Allah.
Description: This is a love spell, in general, for man to woman or woman to man.. to enter another rperson’s dream. The person will feel as though tey have been feeling about the interlocutor. The interlocutor must fast, and the room must be fully dark, pitch black, for one day and one night, htat is 24, .. the paerson must stay awake without food for 24 horus, in pitch black. The eyes must be open wide for all that time. The spell must be memorized and repeated throughout all that time. This can be said any number of times, as there is no sequence or preset number of times for it to be said. It must be felt. Thus the speech must be emdied and felt as intensely as possible.

Example 259: Ajijayengkatong
Mantra: Bok Randa Kasihan duwe anak lanang loro, cenger-cenger anangis ana satengahing pasar anangis anjaluk apa, anjaluk tumurune gandane si Jayengkaton, mangka tinurutan tinururan kang anggawa widadari satus-patang-puluh, ayo embanen aku, junjungan darajatu’ilah, la ilaha ila’llah.”
Description: Give myself higher charisma, so as to attract angels. That is, I want my charisma to be so strong so as to even even attract angels. I ask for my charisma to be increased. The person must fast for 24 hours again, although the room must not be pitch black.

Category 10 – Invincibility

Example 227: Istimu Pambunietan Belall
Mantra: Bayu tutup brojo maturub, t-t buntet, dening Sang Mulyafati Wisesa, hib pit hib pit hib pit, glo amasanaka.
Description: The people’s guns shooting at the interlocutor will malfunction, and hence their guns will malfunction. For this, the internlocutor must fast for three days fasting for 3 days. not necessarily not eating, but good fasting.

**Example 313: Nyate Ados Murill Teguh Rumiya Yu Sanfosa**

*Mantra: Niyate Ados Murill Teguh R.MIA.YU Sanfosa, Niyatingsun adus, manjing teguh rahayu kang santosa kagunane Allah*

Description: This is for entering the bathroom that is, for specidially prior to takeing a a shower, and for giving me a good life and prosperity. The spell will allow me to enhance my life. Manjing is a word that can not be translated to otherlanguages, but is really an instantaneous click which will produce for me a good life. The interlocutor must show at exactly 11PM.

**Category 11 – Wise Living**

**Example 282: Ilmu Iman**

*Mantra: Bismi’llah’irrahmani rrahimi; mancur-mancur cahyani- Allah getih daging rasaning Pangeran, balung SULjSUm-rasfnum Pangeran, otor lamat rasaning Pa , WilliTrasan-ing Pangeran, iya insun murub mancur ing Allah, ya hå khak”*

**Example 283: Ilmu Tauidd**

*Mantra: Sajatine manusa ulesu putih, Mucha,rmad lungguhe_ Allah, kang putih ingran rob, clap wening badan Allah, kalebut putih, iya iku nagara kang mulya, langgeng sampuma, ya hu khak.

**Example 234: Ilmu Majufat**


**Example 317: Pasrah Sare**

*Mantra: Sun aturu lawan suksma, insun linggih lawap. cahyane raja bahning, tekenku jungfat Nabi Adam Allahu ila’llah.*

**Example 319: Panetep Sanzosaning Iman**

*Mantra: Ashadu alla ilaha ila’llah, wa ashadu anna Muhammada’ rrasu’llah.*

**Example 383: Ilmu Kara’ Toning Waij Piju**

*Mantra: Iki Ilmu Karatoning Wall Pitu, waris saka panjenengane para Wali kang pada sumare ing tanah Jawa Kabeh :

Kang dingin,

1. Waris saka Ingkang Sinuhun Ngampeldenta
2. Waris saka Kanjeng Susuhunan Benang.
3. Waris saka Kanjeng Susuhunan Prawata
4. Waris saka Kanjeng Susuhunan Lependjaga
5. Waris saka Kanjeng Susuhunan Adi
6. Waris saka Kanjeng Susuhunan Kudus
7. Waris saka Kanjeng Susuhunan Badagas*
These classifications were devised by residents of Kraton palace, in Yogyakarta, as royal priests called the Inur, who were akin to the Dukun, but more highly ranked. The Inur had specific knowledge of metaphysics. There were seven of these priests, who together, devised 30 mantras, which generally speak on health, life, prosperity, fate, open mindedness, acceptance of others and healing, countering negative attacks on our health, black magic, charisma and attraction, all of which are white magic. All mantras generally emphasize the Islamic orthodox way.

Discussion

Though the mantras are not to be used in entirety, nor exhaustively, certain sequences across the categories do exist. These sequences evidence the symbolic intentions of Javanese spiritualism. The ethnography has found that there exist five categories of Japa Mantra which must be traversed sequentially so as to change the person. I separate these into macro and micro symbolisms.

The moving across categories becomes in itself a macro symbolism, whereas transcendence from the work in performing the mantra of each category (intention prayer, cleansing, healing) then becomes a microsymbolic operation, yet differs to deep structures found in both the macro and micro symbolisms. The macro symbolisms become the general intentions of the agent conducting the rituals, and which symbolize the overall progress toward the desired goal.

Many of the Mantras have evolved so as to acclimatize to Javanese shaping cultural patterns, where the mixing of Islamic, Hindu and Animist elements suggests that the Mantras have been (re)shaped as recently as 200 years ago, that is, as early as the Machapat era, and as late as the Mattaram era. Here, Islam reappropriated Javanese heritage during the introduction of Islam into Java.

These spells still predominate in rural areas, owing to several factors. The use of these in villages is much higher than in urban centres, such as Yogyakarta. In rural centres, communities still resort to tradition in order to survive, as animism and natural resources predominate. Urbanization and modernization have forced reversion away from traditional animism, resulting in a change in prayer patterns. More so, as most village communities have limited education, and only complete basic schooling, their interest is the day to day attending to family and basic life needs, such as rice fields. Marriage and child bearing occur at a young age, generally at 15. Generally, by the age of 35, women are thus usually grandmothers. By their mid to late teens, women generally move to the city to become maids, helpers, factory workers or prostitutes. This sequence reflexively sustains a limited education system, and hence reflexively encourages a reversion to animism and to the use of these spells.
Narrative and Metanarrative
Narrative Constitution of Identities and Profiles of Multinational Corporations of China: A Case Study

Wang Li
*Universiti Putra Malaysia, Malaysia
Fuyang Normal University, China

Ang Lay Hoon
*Universiti Putra Malaysia, Malaysia

Sabariah Md Rashid
*Universiti Putra Malaysia, Malaysia

Hazlina Abdul Halim
*Universiti Putra Malaysia, Malaysia

Abstract

Under the context of the ‘Trade War,’ Chinese multinational corporations are experiencing difficulty in overseas markets due to retarded globalization. Therefore, they have become increasingly aware of the significance of presenting themselves to foreign markets through ‘telling good stories.’ Narratives in these contexts are reframed from Chinese into English corporate profiles of these multinational corporations, so as to present the corporate identities of these corporations as more acceptable to target foreign stakeholders.

This paper purports to investigate how profiles of Chinese corporations in the domestic market are reframed for overseas markets. This paper thus creates a case study of English corporate identities of the corporate profiles of the CRRC (China Railway Rolling Stock Corporation), the world’s largest supplier of rail transit equipment. A combination of content analysis and thematic analysis is used in the data analysis. Narrative reframing strategies from source to the target texts are examined and analyzed by content analysis. Thematic analysis is employed for identifying the corporate identities constructed through this data.

Keywords: Narrative, reframing strategies, corporate identities, corporate profiles, multinational corporations

Introduction

Since joining the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001 *China Going Global: between ambition and capacity* 2017: 3, China has become “the new champion of economic cooperation, trade and globalization” (Lu 2018). As early as 2009, China replaced Germany as the world’s largest exporter of commodities (Diego Trindade d’Ávila Magalhães 2018: 4). An increasing number of multinational corporations in China (MNCs) are looking into expanding into markets abroad. Nevertheless, the road to new markets has not been easy. Rising protectionism (*2017 Report on the Sustainable Development of Chinese Enterprises Overseas*, 2017: 54), fear of

To cope with the challenges, the Chinese government called for telling ‘China’s stories’ well in international communication (Xinhua 2018), in which China’s corporations are important subjects (Niansheng and Ao 2017). For MNCs, corporate profiles enjoy prominence in corporate communications among others (Capriotti and Moreno 2007: 88). More of Chinese MNCs are attaching importance to the translation of their corporate profiles.

Literature review

Narrative Reframing

Narratives, in sociology, are “storied ways of knowing and communicating” (Kohler Riessman 2005: 2), not only representing but also (re)producing reality (Mura 2015: 226). Any text in any subject, written or unwritten, could be one of the four types of narratives proposed by Somers and Gibson: “ontological (personal), public, conceptual and meta-narratives” (Somers and Gibson 1994: 30). Corporate profiles are public narratives, according to this categorization.

The narrative approach is an umbrella term in research as it does not have a unified methodology and as it could be joined with tools borrowed from other areas. Mona Baker introduced framing theory into the narrative study in translations, and for the first time she mentioned the idea of “(re)framing” (Baker 2006: 111), employing ‘reframing’ to refer to the mediating and adapting process from source texts which are already framed to the target texts which are to be framed again “to present a movement or a particular position within a certain perspective” (Baker 2006: 106). Further, she put forward four key (re)framing strategies in narratives of translation and interpretation, including temporal and spatial framing, selective appropriation of textual material, framing by labelling and repositioning of participants. Mona Baker’s theoretical framework was based on analyzing media translation. But how the four (re)framing strategies are used in different registers of texts, for example, corporate profiles, and whether there are new ones that could influence the (re)framing of narratives, remains to be seen.

Narrative Constitution of Corporate Identities

In social science, identity is a difficult term (Steph Lawler 2014). Some scholars consider it to be “a unique and individual possession,” while some consider it to be “a social and collective process” (Steph Lawler 2014: 2).

To identify how identities are constituted by narratives, Somers (1994) stated that narrative identities are constituted within “relational settings of contested but patterned relations among narratives, people, and institutions” (Somers 1994: 626). According to Somers, a relational setting is “a pattern of relationships among institutions, public narratives, and social practices” which “must be explored over time and space.” Here time does not refer to the time indicators, but to the “shifting relationships among the institutional arrangements and cultural practices” (627). Likewise, space in the relational setting refers to “the cross-cutting character” “contingent on the interaction” of institutions linked to each other in a matrix (627). In Figure 1 below, the relational setting through which narratives constitute identities are shown.
Methodology

Narrative study is an umbrella term with reduced unified methodology. Therefore, it borrows tools from other fields. In this study of the narrative constitution of corporate identities, a combination of content analysis and thematic analysis is employed.

Content analysis is “the systematic, objective, quantitative analysis of message characteristic,” including “both human-coded analyses and computer-aided text analysis” (Neuendorf 2012: 19). Thematic analysis is the process of identifying patterns and themes within qualitative data (Maguire and Delahunt 2017). Content analysis is efficient in detecting explicit messages such as reframing strategies in this study, but with “little focus on exploring relationships and connections between categories” (Robinson 2011: 199). In contrast, thematic analysis deals with latent level themes beyond what has been said (Maguire and Delahunt 2017).

Data Collection and Analysis

The study samples Chinese corporate profiles, and the English translated corporate profiles of the CRRC. The CRRC is the world’s largest supplier of rail transit equipment, and is a centrally-owned multinational corporation, based in China, with headquarters in Beijing, with 46 wholly-owned and majority-owned subsidiaries, and over 180,000 employees. U.S. lawmakers targeted the CRRC, casting the rail car maker as a threat to U.S. cybersecurity and industry, at a time when the corporation was bidding on the Washington D.C. subway project in 2019 (Alper and Lampert 2019). In all, it is a typical example of a multinational corporation of China going global.

The motives for selecting factors influencing its corporate profiles are:

1) CRRC is a railway construction multinational corporation based in Beijing, China.
2) CRRC has an average transnationality index in the top 100 multinational corporates list (CEC and CEDA 2019).
3) Both profiles have a complete structure with a holistic organization. Both are written in clear and conventional language for a corporate profile. From a preliminary survey of the two texts, it is clear that the English profile is translated from the Chinese profile.

The data collection process was conducted with a combination of Atlas.ti and manual coding. For data analysis, this study used a combination of content and thematic analysis. Details of reframing strategies employed are recorded and analyzed by content analysis. Themes are gathered and analyzed through thematic analysis.
Results

**Narrative Reframing Strategies from Chinese to English Corporate Profiles**

The proportions of narrative reframing strategies for the CRRC corporate profile translated from Chinese to English are presented in Figure 2 below. Of the four reframing strategies stated by Baker, reframing through selective appropriation is mostly used in the translation, whereas temporal and spatial reframing is the least employed. Aside from these four, two new strategies emerge; narratives are overstated in translation, and the number of staff in the target text does not match with that in the source text.

![Figure 2 Proportions of reframing strategies from Chinese to English in the CRRC corporate profile](image)

In Table 1 below, the strategies and content related to the strategies are analyzed. Relevant to reform and innovation, the narrative in the present tense in the Chinese profile is changed to future tense in the English profile. Though a small change, coherence in the text is achieved as it resonates with the future aims in the subsequent paragraph. Through selective appropriation, details about what the corporation can do for the target market are added. By contrast, policies and slogans familiar to Chinese stakeholders but confusing to foreign stakeholders are deleted. In reframing through labelling, generalization and specification, the two commonly used strategies (Zhang and Qin 2017: 8) are employed. Business scope and innovation aim are stated in a more general way, while future mission is specified in the target text. By repositioning participants, the quality of several listed products is understated, and the spontaneity of the corporation is mitigated. Contrary to this, the global ranking of the corporation is strengthened, as is the number of staff.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strategies</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Temporal and spatial reframing</td>
<td>Present tense -- future tense in stating reform and renovation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reframing through selective</td>
<td>Addition: Revenue, corporate social responsibilities and reform and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appropriation</td>
<td>innovation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Deletion: policies and slogans</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Reframing through labelling

| Generalization: business scope and innovation aim
| Specification: future mission

Repositioning of participants

| Products as a representative – products as part of the whole
| CRRC as a builder – CRRC as a becomer

Other strategies

| Overstatement: upgrade the level of the corporation
| Inaccurate figures: number of the staff (more)

**Table 1 Reframing strategies and contents**

*Identity Constitution through Narratives*

Identity constitution occurs within a setting of temporal and spatial relationships in narratives (Somers 1994). The temporal aspects of this relationship indicate the shifting among institutional arrangements and cultural practices, where the spatial aspects indicate a cross-cutting character among institutions in a matrix. Therefore, the themes of the two dimensions of a relational setting are explored and analyzed.

The shifting within the English corporate profile of CRRC is simple. Following descriptions of the present achievement in manufacturing, the profile goes on clarifying the future aim of “innovation, reform and internationalization” ([CRRC > About Us > Company Profile](#)). The shifting from present successes in manufacturing to aiming at becoming a high-end producer is set here.

The cross-cutting character in the narrative of the English profile is more obvious. The narrative in the profile relates to three institutions in the matrix with which it is involved: Global ranking, the world and the stakeholders. Of the three, the profile cites more of global ranking as an objective benchmark to foreground its capacity. This relates to the world as well to show its openness. Relating to the stakeholders, though less than the previous two, is appealing in that the stakeholders are addressed as the second person listener directly.

Viewed in the relational setting of time and space, the corporate identity presented in the English profile of CRRC is clear. CRRC wants to project itself as a robust, open, responsible and qualified rail manufacturer to its foreign stakeholders.

**Discussion and Conclusion**

This paper takes an empirical approach in order to examine how narratives in the Chinese corporate profiles of Chinese MNCs are reframed in their English profiles to fit into the target market. The paper discusses the corporate identities of Chinese MNCs constituted in narratives in their English profiles. The results show that Chinese MNCs employ diversified reframing strategies in telling stories of themselves. In addition to the strategies widely used in news translation, new strategies such as overstating and using inaccurate figures are adopted. To face the challenges in going global, Chinese MNCs relate to other institutions by more than just stating intra-organizational shifts. They emphasize their global ranking and willingness to shoulder more corporate social responsibilities.

Attempting an empirical case study is efficient in that it identifies the reframing strategies and corporate identities constituted. However, identities cannot be categorized unless the entities share similar narrative identities and relational setting (Somers 1994). Judging corporate identities from only one case study, irrespective of the extent to which the sample becomes representative, is accompanied by a high level of risk of bias. Therefore, more samples must be studied to obtain a holistic and systematic view of the corporate identities of Chinese MNCs.
References


Ideologically Reviving Javanese: Romantic Intellects, Signage Prayers, Linguistic Solidarity

Michael Hadzantonis*
*Independent Scholar

Abstract

The Javanese language has, as of late, seen a flux in its revival. The Javanese government sees the revival of Javanese as a very necessary identity marker, as a reflexive stance to transnationalism. Here, various sectors of Javanese society are contributing to the revival of the language, such as the arts, poltics, commerce, and domestic environments.

The paper seeks to document Javanese in various sectors, buy observing its use in the above sectors, and elsewhere. The study observes the engineering of this language revival, and from which, the ideologies of Javanese are extrapolated, so as to expose anthropological patterns. The study thus contributes to work on language revitalization, linguistic landscapes, language ideologies and linguistic anthropology in general.

Keywords: Javanese, language ideologies, linguistic landscapes, linguistic anthropology, identity

Introduction

The fluctuation of the spread and use of a language is influenced by a multitude of factors, such as imperialism, linguistic and cultural encroachment, (post)colonial intentions, language mixing and contact, technology, endangerment and revitalization, language planning and policy, neoliberal and transnational patterns, and so forth. These fluctuations can move national and regional bodies to alter their language policies and to deploy languages as strategic tools with which to reaffirm (or contest) local, national or regional identity. At times, this deployment requires that historiography is rewritten or distorted, thus substantiating the heritage-language binary so fundamental to the current era of geocultural boundedness.

Such has been the case with the Javanese language, in Indonesia. The Javanese language has had a long and somewhat tumultuous history, following migration of groups throughout a larger India, the spread of Sanskrit, a mixing with local influences, and with Islamic, British and Dutch influences, colonialism, war and independence, and the development of capitalism, late capitalism, neoliberalism, and so forth.

This presentation and paper expose ideologies that mediate the current and developing state of the Javanese language, in and around Java, Indonesia. The Javanese region, that is, roughly Central to East Java, Indonesia, has seen the language fluctuate in form and dispersion, to produce two recent waves of revitalization, through popular resistance to other languages such as Bahasa Indonesia and English, and through the government’s tug of war with its intentions to invest political, economic and societal resource. The study draws on clustered semiotics in Javanese communities, in various urban centres and in various villages, to employ a comparative ethnography of these localities, and more so a ‘compound’ ethnography,
that is, a documenting of people’s own observations, thus increasing the ideological component of the revitalization of Javanese language and community.

A General History of Javanese

The Javanese language has undergone a multitude of shifts over the past millennium. Following its Sanskrit and Hindu early influences, language contact of early Javanese with languages local to what is now modern Java profoundly shaped the language. Javanese mainly exists between Bali (island), through Surabaya, Banten, Pesir Lor, Banyumasan, Tengger, Jambong, Banyuwangi, Solo, Salatiga, Yogyakarata, Surakarta, Bandung, and as far west as (almost) Jakarta and the Lesser Sunda Islands. However, its use is sporadically more widespread. The language and its script have been used for historical accounts (babad), stories (serat), ancient verses (kakawin), divination guides (primbon), and for spiritual purposes such as with the Japa Mantra, yet for much of its life it has not been used for printed materials such as newspapers or magazines, but rather, for simple signage.

The Javanese language has experienced patent decline over the past few centuries, liminalized by Indonesian post World War II independence, at which time the Latin script was institutionalized for the now national language Bahasa Indonesia, and where work by those such as Asmah Haji Omar, who developed an articulate phoneme system for Bahasa Indonesia (and other parts of the Malay world), ensured that Javanese was less accessed, owing to its more complex vocabulary and writing systems. During World War II Japanese occupation of the Dutch East Indies, the use of many indigenous scripts was banned, in order to suppress connections to heritage. As such, for over half a century, Javanese in all its forms was forced to liminal boundaries of fragmented use in the occult, music and street signage, though pockets of education have included the language. Javanese has developed into several forms, the older version being the Kawi. Later Javanese is classified into: Ngoko (ꦧꦶꦸastle), as informal speech used between friends and close relatives, and by powerful and higher status figures towards lower status subordinates; Madja (ꦩꦺꦶja), an intermediate level of speech used between those people who appear to be of similar status but who are unsure of each other’s status, as a sociolect that becomes a balance between formality and informality; Krama (ꦏꦴꦶma), which is the most polite an poetic form, used by those lower status people toward higher status people, and is the official style for public speeches, announcements, etc.

Revitalization Efforts

Java is currently experiencing a second wave of Javanese language revival. The first wave appearing between 2002–2010 was followed in 2012 and has lasted until the present. This attempt at revitalization is in part a reflexive stance against transnationalism and hence cultural encroachment. Commerce, education and general societal interaction, as well as government efforts to establish international policy tend to use Javanese costumes, customs and mores, thus reflexively encouraging an increasing use of the language, reinforcing growth in Javanese art and music (e.g. gamelan). This has also been influenced by Undang Undang 13 Tahun 2012 tentang Keistimewaan Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta, a law issued by local government. This law has impacted on the revival of Javanese language and culture, where government funds have been funneled to local cultures and languages. As such, localized bodies seek to invest their resources into locally rather than to foreign cultural forms, such as to local music, dance, and other performance. This has had marked effects on culture, where, to effect innovation, local music has attempted to mix Javanese Kromo, Ngoko and Madiya registers, in an effort to beautify the music.
In recent years, as a preservation effort, the Indonesian government has set as curriculum for many elementary and high schools in Javanese speaking regions the compulsory teaching of the Javanese script, eliciting mixed reactions and consequences from students, parents and teachers. The fact that Javanese had remained somewhat ‘underground,’ domestic and occultist for centuries, has rendered these efforts arduous. Throughout however, Javanese has remained alive through practices such as in the Occult (e.g. the Jaran Goyang love spell) and through musical forms (Dangdut). Several efforts have sought to document and contribute to the revitalization of Javanese, including The Javanese Dialect Mapping Project. As part of the revitalization of Javanese, these projects expose the variety and growth potential of Javanese, and ‘debunk’ the myth of a standard Javanese language based on the Surakarta and Yogyakarta varieties. With over 100 million speakers, there is tremendous variation among at times mutually non-intelligible dialects.

The stance of Javanese communities toward external influences and transnationalism (tourism, education, professional sectors, art, media) has well influenced Javanese speakers to react positively toward ideologies of revival. The inclusion of Javanese language education in schools has allowed the Javanese to maintain a stronghold during its push to liminality until such a time as when this reflexive stance has taken root. Here, street and store signs, buildings names, art and music have progressed to counter this liminality, and to incorporate Javanese in the aim of reaffirming Javanese identity.

General Framework

This study and presentation at The GLOCAL CALA 2020 have aimed to expose the linguistic landscapes and ideologies of current Javanese populated regions toward the varieties of the Javanese language, and hence the (counter) subversive pathways through which Javanese language is experiencing a revival. The study observes the current typologies of signage in 25 cities throughout central to East Java, Indonesia, and the correlation of these sign semiotics with current efforts to develop Javanese vis-à-vis the encroaching Bahasa Indonesia, English and other languages.

Discussion

Most Javanese heritage communities in Jogjakarta speak Javanese from birth, and hence maintain some use of Javanese. At a broad level, the study located a predominant use of Javanese on signage and in vernacular Ngoko in urban centres among youth, whereas rural centres have continued the push for Ngoko Javanese at the vernacular and Occult levels. These patterns are predicated on a hierarchy of factors, some of which I discuss below.

Ideologizing Elements of Revival

A significant revival of Javanese is occurring through arts and music in central Java, and elsewhere. This revival has mediated government interest in the language, thus motivating the growth of a wave of Javanese pop, electronic and even traditional and crossover music. Over the past five years, there has been a flux in Javanese music produced, raising government awareness of that the language is thriving, and thus motivating the government to invest in the artform. As a consequence, the local government has raised awareness of the ‘beauty’ of the Javanese language to outsiders, that is, Kalimantan, Sundanese speaking communities, and so forth.

Local ideologies indicate that the expressive nature of Javanese far exceeds that of Bahasa Indonesia. In order to express themselves and to develop new youth languages and to strengthen speech communities, Javanese youth draw on a mix of the Javanese or English languages, thus replenishing youth dialects, music and other cultural forms. Popular ideologies amongst Javanese youth suggest that the youth draw on a mix
of Javanese and English as these languages have complex grammars, metaphorical and semantic networks, and that the semantic strengths of these languages surpass that of Bahasa Indonesia. As such, these languages allow for multiple interpretations, i.e. a polysemiosis, instilling in the listener ideologies that the artist using these languages is a ‘romantic intellect.’ Owing to the novelty of English in Java, and to the polysemiosis of Javanese, these two languages are drawn on for use in art, music, and so forth. The junctures between romantically ideologizing Javanese language and musical intentions in central Java, have elicited potency in the language as a worthy component of Javanese song and music. Furthermore, Krama, in its politeness construct, contributes to the distancing requirements of romance music, where the speaker distances the target, and hence elevates interlocutors through intentions of politeness and romance, something which Bahasa Indonesia could not accomplish. This is intensified by the stratification and class construction that accompanies Javanese language and heritage communities. Here, urban communities have made inroads into reviving the language through pop or Dangdut music as they attempt to romanticize social strictures through language and ideological class, through the distancing and elevating intentions of the music toward the target lover. Hence, the romance and the sadness in music, a common trend in Indonesia (and South and Southeast Asian music for that matter) is effectively accomplished through the use of Javanese (Kromo and Ngoko) linguistic allusion, that is, metaphor and complex semantic networks. Many young singers now use Javanese to convey emotion. The inclusion of Kromo renders the music more polite as it distances lovers, and hence summons romantic respect between the singer and the target. This is more the case as Kromo represents a respectful register / sociolect and hence better fits the enactment of love songs. Kromo has greater metaphorical content owing to ideology toward the language and not Javanese metaphorical networks. Owing to the highly respectful intentions of Dangdut toward the lover, in Kromo, the musical style renders the singer as more approachable, and lowers the masculinity of the singer. Men draw on Kromo in romantic songs as it elevates the target so as to instill in the woman conceptions of importance. As such, the language in love songs elevates the target.

Other Media

Javanese is thus now witnessing a resurgence, largely owing to this need for youth expression. This is also the case in social media, where groups seek expression. The famous song style now, Campursari (lit. mixture of essences), as a crossover of contemporary genres (Langgam Jawa, Dangdut). This was popularized greatly by artists such as Didi Kempot, known as the ‘Godfather of the Broken-Hearted.’ The generative semantic properties of Javanese renders the language structures of Javanese much deeper than those of Bahasa Indonesia. Campursari music is thus frequently not literally translated but rather, deciphered, as Javanese language codifies inside of itself a multifarious set of meanings rendering the language highly contextual.

Socialization into the Javanese Language

Ngoko almost always constitutes a first step in people’s learning of the Javanese language and its social systems, owing to its simplicity relative to Kromo. This is usually followed by a gradual stepwise expansion into Kromo. Furthermore, as Kromo creates ideologies of distance between speakers and interlocutors, those listening to speakers use Kromo question the communal intentions of the Kromo speaker who appears to be establishing distance between the speaker and the interlocutor. This is similarly the case in household environments. International schools mostly employ BI and not Javanese owing to the presence of multicultural groups.

Household Language
Outside of school, you then frequently revert to the use of Ngoko. In the past, parents expressed little discontent with children’s refusal to include Kromo, but rather, with children’s unwillingness to maintain heritage. At present, parents generally exhibit a lowered concern with Javanese heritage, evident when children do not use Kromo in the household. Ngoko is welcomed due to a need for closeness in a multicultural climate, and hence, as a reflexive stance towards the pull of children away from families. As such, parents currently express intentions to empathize with their children. Parents are content with the use of at least some Kromo in the domestic setting, which differs significantly to the past. Here, the reliance of parenting skills alone to socialize children into Kromo has become increasingly difficult, and the efforts of parents to socialize children into Kromo, more so vis-à-vis opposition in larger speech communities which use Ngoko, limits the success of parents to convey Kromo to children. Here, parents have become complacent in teaching Kromo and settle for Ngoko. Similarly, interaction between spouses requires the use of mainly Ngoko owing to the linguistic solidarity and egalitarianism emerging from its use.

Interethic marriage in urban centres such as Yogyakarta also dilutes the language, further popularizing Ngoko owing to its facility and purity in use, whereas Kromo is mixed into Bahasa Campur. The multicultural element has increased significantly in urban centres such as Yogyakarta, thus forcing the development of a much simplified Javanese, thus allowing for a bias toward Ngoko. For Javanese heritage societies within multicultural centres, the ease of Ngoko renders the language a preference for younger generations. Here vernacular amongst friends is almost always Ngoko, owing to its simplicity and the intention of speakers to establish and to maintain closeness and social cohesion. Ngoko is more widespread as it represents a non-complex ‘point-of-entry.’ Ngoko allows speakers to ideologically establish closeness, where the heightened difficulty and formality of Kromo positions its speakers as distant interlocutors who develop an incomplete competence.

Youth requirement in these urban centres to, at times, resort to polite and deferent language toward elders, summons the need to develop knowledge, where small groups of youngsters who have interest in institutionalized politeness and romance music do have interest in Kromo. In urban Javanese households, the incomplete knowledge of Ngoko in young people requires a code shift to other languages in order to compensate for lowered competence in the language. Resorting to Ngoko would constitute patent disrespect owing to its symbolic representation of a communicative device between speakers of similar and lower class, or to those subordinate to the speaker. Additionally, knowledge of Bahasa Indonesia predominates over that of English, though English is attained through socialization into education and western media. Youth in these multicultural urban centres are now strongly influenced by a multitude of global influences framed as cool. The learning of other languages and the consequent socialization into these languages, further draws younger generations away from competence in Kromo. Consequently, in these Javanese heritage households in urban multicultural centres, Kromo has significantly lost its purity. Owing to that youth are being socialized into maintaining hierarchy yet needing to establish communication with family members, urban centres have seen a transformation of Javanese into a Bahasa Campur, that is, a mixed language, which has thus made its way into societally popular discourse among youth, musicians and others. Some teachers connotine to teach Kromo, during which, they generally begin a low level of Ngoko, yet with reference to Kromo.

The Occult

Much of the Occult in Java requires the use of a Bahasa Gaib Campur, that is, an occult language mixing. Here, traditionally, love spells, Kejawen, and so forth, predominantly employed Kawi, the older and very poetic form of Javanese, and with tinges of Kromo and Ngoko. In large multicultural urban centres such as Yogyakarta and Surabaya, few practice or become involved in the Occult, in comparison to villages and
rural areas, where the Occult is popular. This is largely owing to the economic practice differentials between the two centres. In urban centres, much focus is given to economic gain, and status is obtained through this economic gain. Consequently, love spells and other Occult practices become less necessary, but are only practiced on special occasions. The relevant ritual languages, employed only for these occasions, thus become infrequent in urban settings. Impressing status upon target lovers emerges from economic gains in urban centres. Without these economic restrictions and requirements, rural and village societies are patently socialized into the Occult as central. Consequently to this distinction and differentiated intensification of Occult practice, the poetic language necessary for the involvement in the Occult remains distant from that of the big city, further reinforcing the dominance of Ngoko in urban centres, thus framing socialization in rural and kampung life. As such, this may well constitute a strategy by governments to sustain the Occult and hence Kejawen in villages. This ritualized practice in certain rural areas similarly sustains this difference in language. As such, the capitalist ideologies of Javanese societies force the use of lower forms of Javanese in urban centres.

**Signage**

Currently around Yogyakarta, the Javanese labeling of signs, stress signs, stores and buildings, and so forth, is becoming intensified. These signs use both Javanese language and the script as a transliteration from other languages. Many storefronts now resort to Javanese nomenclature and signage, owing partly to its novelty over English, and partly to its heritage value. Names of stores in English (Starbucks, MacDonald’s, Big Burger), Bahasa Indonesia, Italian (La Luna, Giovanni’s, Little Italy) symbolize simplicity and novelty. A majority of Javanese store names symbolize good wish and optimism. As such, a pattern emerges in restaurants and store names, in that the meaning in Javanese is pervasively positive and altruistic, where building, store and restaurant names must represent an altruistic wish, or rather, a prayer. Transliteration in signage emerges through an almost exact pronunciation. Some buildings which have two names; the common name and the Javanese name. Questions emerge, such as how multiculturalism affects store signs in Javanese, how patterns emerge in the names of stores. Here, the pattern is largely in the semiotic value of the name. For example, the name of the Expo Centre symbolizes ‘house of light,’ where builders sought a building which is full of light and visionary.

![Figure 1](image-url)
In General

The revitalization of Javanese must include cultural heritage, and one that aligns with the romantic intentions of central Indonesia, yet one that maintains the hierarchical structure of Java(nese). Appropriate interpersonal distancing and tensions become significant in the ideologies of the revitalization and modern use of Javanese. The infiltration of Bahasa Indonesia so as to maintain ideologies of social structure informs the construction of development Bahasa Campur, and in return, instills upon speakers and speech communities ideologies of cosmopolitanism. Secondly, this process increases the urban centre-rural class differential, yet romanticizes rural life, as that which is connected not only to the Occult, but also to traditional poetic forms of the language. Thirdly, Yogyakara is ideologized as the musical and cultural art centre of Indonesia, largely influenced by that there is an intensification of musical performance in the
city, but also owing to the fact that Javanese, as a language considered to have a significantly higher poetic value than Bahasa Indonesia and English, is pervasive throughout this urban centre. Yogyakarta is considered to be a melting pot of Javanese where multicultural societies conform to the poetic aspirations of the city. Those who do not conform remain as outsiders, where according to work by Zane Goebel, language practices create ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’ and social expectations throughout Javanese Indonesia. Goebel describes that kampung (village) communities have become important sites for the formation of poetic identities, in realization of government projects that seek to infiltrate people’s societies through these kampung projects. This can be seen as a subservice attempt by the government to develop this differential, as was the case with Mahathir’s very disturbing Malaysian policies separating the “uncivilized and backward rural people and the civilized urban Malays.”

The urba centre–village differential contributes to the romanticizing of traditional culture and its poetics, thus framing the hvilleage, and its cultural heritage and Occult practice as a cultural representation of Javanese identity, consequently establishing a system of Javanese heritage where the Javanese are ‘progressive’ in their efforts to accommodate urban settings, and have traditional heritage to which reversion is possible for reasons of grounding Java in a legitimate cultural history. This thus patently ideologically legitimizes Java as a cultural heritage system in its own right. The social relations within urban centres and in villages allow for the establishment of various identities, all within the societal and seriously rocking diversity that is Jogjakarta, Surabaya, and so forth, yet all within the confines and requirements of that which is Java. In order to maintain this heritage, and hence a differential between the urban vernacular of Ngoko and the village poetics of Kromo, urbanities opt for code shifting and switching between Ngoko and Bahasa Indonesia, so as to ideologize the full development of Javanese cultural heritage in a modern age. These semiotically replete registers then assist in the constitution of a Javanese identity, both ideologically and sociopolitically, as highly necessary in a modern transnational era. Language, migration and identity seek to address the question: 'how do people go about establishing and maintaining social relations in settings characterized by diversity and transience?' as per work by Zane Goebel. The move towards Ngoko, Goebel argues, was not gendered but related to the frequency of interactions and the particular context of interaction. Goebel found that some speakers avoid using Ngoko because they believed it would affect their status or make them appear too emotional. Here, norms and ‘systems of expectations’ are co-created through talk in urban centres, As Indonesian (in contrast to Javanese—njoko or krama) comes to represent the language spoken by outsiders and deviants in the neighborhood, Indonesian is shunned upon by families in Urban centres, except in Campur contexts, as Javanese communities pursue the maintanence of heritage.
Language in Real and Virtual Spaces
Sociocultural Imperatives of Collaborative Interactions among Malaysian Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Children in an Educational Environment

Mohamad Ibrani Shahrimin Bin Adam Assim
\textsuperscript{a} Universiti Putra Malaysia, Malaysia

Mohamad Maulana Bin Magiman
\textsuperscript{b} Universiti Putra Malaysia, Malaysia

Abstract

This paper seeks to describe the vital traits of sociocultural artifacts within collaborative social interactive patterns exhibited by indigenous and non-indigenous children in a computer environment. The case investigative method was used in one pre-primary centre in metropolitan Perth, Western Australia, to examine the patterns of collaboration among young children whilst working with computers. To assess the children’s current social skills and computer competence, and their general social interaction with peers, the researcher interviewed the children and their teacher through a semi-structured interview, to guide the discussion. Both observational comments, descriptions and data analyses were presented with anecdotes. 243 interactions were identified and classified into 16 interaction patterns. The frequency of occurrence of identified interactions was analysed in the form of descriptive statistics. Factors facilitating the collaborative interaction of children whilst engaged in computer activities were found to be related to the sociological imperatives of the immediate contexts of the social interactions involved. Associated with the main findings were three major variables: (1) The classroom teacher variable (philosophy and educational beliefs, task-structure and computer management); (2) the software variable (sociocultural appropriateness, developmentally appropriateness, content, design, and programmed task-structure); and (3) the child variable (computer competency and attitude towards computer, social goals, social skills, and personal relationship with collaborators). By identifying the imperatives of sociocultural traits of collaborative social interactions of children, and factors that may facilitate or inhibit these interactions, sociologists, social anthropologists, educationists, linguists, and early childhood educators will be in a better position to integrate the computer into their classroom and to promote positive sociocultural-appropriate prosocial interaction among indigenous and non-indigenous children whilst engaged at the computer.

Keywords: Sociocultural imperatives, collaborative interactions, indigenous children, non-indigenous children, educational computer environment.

Introduction

In the context of the changing nature and texture of early childhood settings into culturally diverse environments, educators need to be sensitive and knowledgeable about cultural diversity and specifics of cultural
traditions and attitudes that may affect learning (McCallum and Demic, 2001; Reid and Percell, 2004). Jamrozik, Boland and Urquhart (1995) argues that lack of cultural sensitivity of early childhood, can affect the implementation of the education programs as well. Gonzalez-Mena (1997) extends the argument by stating that it might result in a communication gap between parents and educators or conflicts over child rearing patterns and lowered parental participation. Moreover, Ramsey (1991) believes that when teachers lack a clear understanding about cultural behaviours and when one’s behavioural responses do not match with the other person’s cultural norms, misinterpretation of cues and eventually misunderstandings and communication gaps can occur. Therefore, the sociocultural perspective of the current study seeks to impart education from the perspective of enhancing children’s capabilities as well as creating a collaborative and reciprocal relationship between home and school, whereby teachers and administrators need to understand and appreciate the cultural values associated with development and education of children from culturally diverse backgrounds (Larke, 1990; Rohaty Mohd Majzub, Salasiah Hashim, H.S. Elis Johannes, 2011). Furthermore, the outcomes of the current study perhaps, could provide early childhood educators with information regarding the types of discourse involved in collaborative interactions that develop between young indigenous children when engaged with educational computer programs.

Information about these discourses may assist educators to make informed judgments on the learning benefits and potential of educational computer software packages, and their suitability and potential to foster positive collaborative behaviour among young rural indigenous children (Rohaty Mohd Majzub, Salasiah Hashim, H.S. Elis Johannes, 2011). Also, information pertaining to the patterns of collaborative interaction occurring between these children whilst engaged in educational computer programs will assist in providing guidelines for the development of children’s educational software, particularly in a specific culturally appropriate (Jamrozik, Boland and Urquhart, 1995), and culturally sensitive environment (Percell, 2004). It is important to ensure that future educational computer software packages are structured and developed so as to best maximise young children’s collaborative behaviour, so they may scaffold one another’s learning, where it has been cited that collaborative interaction may benefit young indigenous children in most educational settings.

Appropriate computer use may provide unique opportunities for scaffolding and supporting children with special learning needs, or children from culturally or linguistically diverse backgrounds (Plowman and Stephen, 2005). Good software can allow children to engage in self-exploration and tailor the software to their individual needs in a way that traditional print-based material cannot necessarily match (Bolstad, 2004). For example, Castellani and Tsantis (2002) researched the way teachers used software in an English as a Second and Other Language (ESOL) summer school learning programme for 5–12-years-olds in the United States of America. The software offered opportunities to explore basic concepts such as colour, numbers, and shapes in children’s native language, as well as offering the English language equivalent of these concepts, thereby providing teachers with opportunities to structure the learning environment in culturally inclusive ways. Brooker and Siraj-Blatchford (2002) studied the experiences of 3 and 4-year old children using a computer at an ethnically and linguistically mixed urban nursery school. They described computer use by bilingual children as “especially valuable.” Visual cues and animation embedded in the programs prompted ESOL children to use English words to talk about what they were doing. The researchers regularly noted instances of language learning, and children repeating words and phrases in response to computer-spoken prompts.

Given this positive assessment of the computer’s potential, Whalley et al. (2001) argued that computers can also be used as a way of bringing children’s home culture and experiences into the early childhood education centre. Whalley et al. (2001) described a United Kingdom early childhood centre where parents were able to borrow the centre’s video camera to film children’s experiences in the home. These could then be viewed and
discussed between parents and early childhood educators, as a way of supporting parents’ involvement in their children’s learning.

Proposed study on cognition as a collaborative process

The following section is the explanation of the first of two models which present the analytical approach of a proposed study on implicit social cognition and social interaction of indigenous Orang Asli children in Malaysia. Each section focused on the analytic tools and assumption systems which were addressed by Rogoff and Angelillo (2002) and Rogoff (1998, 2003). Importantly to the nature of analysis of the current study, Rogoff and Angelillo (2002) argues that cultural analyses which focuses on coordinated, multifaceted practices may provide a better understanding of human development in the context of people’s participation in pervasive cultural institutions such as schooling and societal changes such as industrialization. The authors further their arguments by stating that “.. researchers need to consider cultural processes as dynamically integrated constellations of cultural practices-even (or especially) when analyses may be served by identifying some aspects as ‘variables’ “ (2002, p. 213). The analytic tool of the first model of the proposed study is premised on the notion that sociocultural approach may lead to a further understanding of the assumption on cognition as a collaborative process (Rogoff, 1998).

In the study of cognition as a collaborative process, central themes to Rogoff’s theoretical, research and methodological approach are stated as:

“.. goes beyond regarding the individual as a separate entity that is the base unit of analysis to examine sociocultural activity as the unit of analysis, with examination of the contributions of individual, interpersonal, and community processes. Thus, analysis goes beyond the individual and the dyad to examine the structured relations among people in groups and in communities, across time”

(Rogoff, 1998, p. 729)

Rogoff (1998) further postulate that the analytical approach needs to emphasise the purposes and dynamically changing nature of events. She believes that the focus of examination is grounded in the notion that the analysis of cognition as a collaborative process need to examine the changing and meaningful constellations of aspects of events, not variables that attempt to be independent of the purpose of the activity (1998). Also central to the analysis is that:

“... cognition as a collaborative process is a focus on shared meaning in endeavours in which people engage in common. Cognition is not conceptualized as separate from social, motivational, emotional, and identity processes-people’s thinking and development is conceived as involved in social relations, with purpose and feeling central to their involvement in activities, and transformation of their roles as a function to participation”

(Rogoff 1998: 729)

Thus, significantly important for the proposed study, the employment of categories like ethnicity, socio-economic backgrounds and peer relationships are seen as helpful efforts to understand the cultural processes of the Malaysian Orang Asli contexts, in which to be interpreted from the perspective that they are historically and culturally situated concepts that fit a certain time and place, and not to be regarded as freestanding measures of the phenomena under study, which is the patterns of social interactions in a pre-determined ethnic environment. Therefore, it is acknowledge that the basis of the first analytical model of
the current study is partially premised on the functional pattern analysis, as suggested by Rogoff and Gauvain (1989), which were applied in the study of Rogoff, Minstry, Goncu and Mosier (1993). According to Rogoff, et al. (1998), functional pattern analysis examines generalities or patterns in a variety of similar cases (for example, individuals, dyads, events) while attempting to maintain the meaning of individual actions in their (see Mehan, 1979; Wellman and Sim, 1990, as cited in Rogoff, Minstry, Goncu and Mosier, 1993). The summaries of the analyses are as follows (Rogoff, Ministry, Goncu and Mosier, 1993):

1. The focus of functional pattern analysis is to unfold development of purposive acts within ongoing events. In relation to the categories involved, in which are functionally defined, the purposes of the event are viewed as a whole, and no steps are taken to define any superficial behaviours independently and separated from their context.

2. The nature of examinations involves the contributions of participants in the context of those of other individuals, in which the evidence for constructing an account of participants’ goals is available in the communication of participants.

3. Statistical methods are employed to analyse existing patterns, and employment of the examination of graphical arrays that allow tracking across multiple variables to examine patterns of interrelations and to account for anomalous or similar cases.

Acknowledgements

The arguments and findings of the current study reported in this article was developed from ideas originally depicted partially from the unpublished dissertation of the author during a doctoral research study in Monash University, Australia between the years of 2002-2006. The proposed further study mentioned in this article refers to the study of a Post-Doctoral Research Program intended by the main author at the Institute of Ethnic Studies (KITA), Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Bangi, Selangor Malaysia. The author highly appreciates the guidance and opportunities given by Distinguished Professor Datuk Dr. Shamsul A. B., Professor Dr. Mansor Mohd Noor and Dr. Hajah Ina Yassin.

References

Subtitle Translation Strategies of Dish Name in the Chinese Documentary—A Bite of China 1

Zhang Qi

"Universiti Putra Malaysia, Malaysia

Ang Lay Hoon

"Universiti Putra Malaysia, Malaysia

Abstract

With the implementation of “go globally” strategy of Chinese culture, a large number of Chinese films and TV programs have been produced to go abroad. As a medium and carrier of cultural communication, the quality of documentary subtitle translation determines whether Chinese culture can be appropriately disseminated or not. This paper aims to investigate the translation strategies of culture-specific items with special focus on name of dishes. The object of study in this paper is A Bite of China 1 produced by CCTV in 2012, which is not only about Chinese foods but also geography, local customs and dietary habit. Firstly, by using comparative approach, the linguistic characteristics are discussed to identify the similarities and differences between source and translated dish names. Then the translation strategies for dish name are examined. Next, such factors affecting translation strategies as cultural ideology is analyzed. The objective of this paper is to study what translation strategies are possibly adopted when translating Chinese dish name into English in the documentary. The findings show that in the process of dish name translation of Chinese documentaries, domestication and foreignization are two frequently used strategies which is complementary to each other.

Keywords: Documentary, A Bite of China 1, culture-specific items, dish name, translation strategies, domestication, foreignization.

Introduction

In the era of globalization, there is an increasing demand for cross-cultural communication among countries in the world. Documentary, as a kind of film and television production, records real people’s real life and renders them with an artistic style, thus playing an important role in disseminating one culture to another. Compared with traditional literary translation which is centered on the transference from written source text to target text, documentary subtitle translation can be regarded as a new branch of translation for its unique features. According to a reputed scholar whose main research interest is audiovisual translation, Qian Shaochang (2000) summarized five characteristics of film and television language: conversational, comprehensive, instantaneous, popular, and non-note (Zhang Shuyue and Wang Feng, 2019). More specifically, due to the finite size of the TV screen, the length of subtitles usually with no more than two lines can meet the audience’s viewing needs, which can be concluded as the limitation of spacial factors. Besides, documentary subtitles are also subject to temporal restriction which implies that the time allowed for displaying a subtitle is limited and the reading
speed of average viewers is considered lower than the talking speed of the person to be subtitled (Yu-Jie Cheng, 2014). As a result, the documentary subtitle translation should be as concise as possible.

Except for the limitation of documentary subtitle, the cultural elements should also be attached importance to for the high frequency of culture-specific items existing in documentary. Concerning the definition of culture-specific items, Valló (2000) and Vermes (2004) pointed out culture-specific items are context dependent as any kind of text element can become a culture-specific item so far as it carries a connotative meaning in the source culture, while Gambier (2007) asserted that culture-specific items should connote different aspects of life such as education, history, art, institutions, legal systems, units of measurement, place names, foods and drinks, sports and national pastimes. Although different scholars define culture-specific words variously, there is something in common among them towards this concept: the words of a language which refer to beliefs, social customs, historic events, symbols, foods and drinks, geographical formations and art and culture of a specific country are considered as culture-specific items.

Leppihalme (2007) asserted that the texts occur in a given situation in a given culture in the world and each has a specific function and an audience of its own. Specifically speaking, people belonging to similar linguistic communities are more likely to have consensus towards specific items or concepts, for the reason that they possess shared traditions, habits, behavior, and common knowledge about their society and many other aspects (Seyed Mohammad Hosseini Maasoum, 2011). However, the members from different linguistic and cultural communities have more difficulties to understand certain items, especially for the translation of cultural words. On the one hand, some words exist in one culture but absolutely can not be found in another culture. However, although there is synonym in another culture, they are not completely equivalent and have nuance such as the difference between Chinese word “Bodhisattva” (菩萨) and English word “goddess.” In short, the absence and non-equivalence of some words makes the translation of culture-specific items problematic.

In the light of high occurrence of culture-specific items in this documentary which is hard for target audience to understand, and at the same time considering the special features of documentary subtitle translation constrained by the limited time and space on the screen (Yu-Jie Cheng, 2014), it is necessary to investigate what possible translation strategies are likely to be adopted when translating Chinese culture-specific items into English in a documentary.

Literature Review

Looking back the previous studies on the documentary subtitle translation of A Bite of China 1, there is less research on it as the source language in this documentary is Chinese which is unfamiliar and difficult to understand for most of foreign scholars and researchers who don’t know Chinese. Searching from Proquest, Scopus, Web of Science, Google Scholar and other databases with the key word of “A Bite of China,” it can only be found less than 8 articles, among them most researchers explored this documentary from the perspective of mass communication, like visual anthropology, the power of media, the construction of China image, Chinese ideology constructing of national identity, etc, while others analyzed it based on narrative mode and aesthetic perception. In conclusion, there is few article about subtitling of A Bite of China 1 written by foreign scholars abroad.

Compared to western scholars, researchers at home paid more attention to subtitling of A Bite of China 1, because the source language of this documentary is their native language. Searching from CNKI with the key words of “documentary subtitle translation of A Bite of China 1,” we can find that there are about nineteen
papers available and they are related to relevance theory, functional equivalent theory or reception aesthetics to make analysis of specific translation strategies with specific cases.

As for main translation strategies, in the book of *The Translator’s Invisibility: A History of Translation*, Venuti (1995) proposed “foreignization is an approach that the translator leaves the author in peace, as much as possible, and moves the reader towards him” (Venuti, 2004:19-20). On the contrary, domestication refer to a type of translation which aims to produce a transparent, and fluent translation centered on target language readers in order to minimize the otherness of the foreign text for target language receptors.

Seeing that culture is a broad concept covering various contents and aspects, Newmark (1988) narrowed the sense and classified culture-specific items into five main categories, namely ecology including flora, fauna, hills, winds, plains, etc.; material culture like food, clothes, houses, towns and transport; social culture such as work and leisure; social organizations as well as gestures and habitual behaviors.

Methodology

This study is qualitative in nature, in particular, descriptive. It is mainly based on text analysis of the data collected.

The data is selected from Chinese documentary *A Bite of China 1* consisting of seven episodes. The source text is Chinese subtitle and target text is its corresponding English translation. Due to the fact that there is no existing textual subtitle available, the Chinese subtitle together with its English translation are transcribed by the researcher word by word, and a word format document with nearly 35000 English words and 49000 Chinese characters is created. After that, the transcript is scrutinized and checked back and forth in order to ensure the accuracy and correctness.

Then, with the purpose to collect various occurrences of cultural elements, the culture-specific items are searched and identified manually in the source text and its English version based on Newmark’s (1988) classification of cultural words. Because different views towards the same culture-specific item by different researchers, there is possibility to classify the same words into different category. Therefore, discussing the work with peers, colleagues and academics to comment and give feedback is utilized so as to achieve credibility and internal validity. The divergence towards the same culture-specific word is discussed further to ensure that the classification is precise and agreeable.

Finally, each cultural-specific items and its English translation extracted are aligned manually to analyze the strategies applied in the translation process based on Venuti’s domestication and foreignization.

Discussion and Findings

After doing statistics, it is found that the number of material culture-specific items is the largest among five categories of culture-specific items accounting for 54% followed by ecological ones. The frequency of occurrence of social culture-specific items is a little higher than that of social organizations. Compared with other types of cultural items, the words about gestures and habitual behaviors occur the least frequently with only 5%. In view of the high occurrence of material culture-specific items, the words in this category especially dish name are selected as sample of this research for their typical representativeness.

After analyzing the specific cases, as for translation strategies used in *A Bite of China 1*, domestication and foreignization are both applied when translating Chinese culture-specific items into English. However, it needs
to be pointed out that apart from the words belonging to gestures and habitual behaviors, the frequency of foreignization strategy used is much higher than that of domestication strategy in other four cultural category.

In what follows, some specific examples are given to illustrate further.

Example 1

ST: 嘉兴人的一天，却是从一个个肉粽子开始的。

TT: Jiaxing natives start their day with a meat zongzi, a traditional Chinese food made of glutinous rice.

In example 1, Chinese traditional food “粽子” is translated into “zongzi” according to its transliteration plus with an explanation of its ingredients rather than “glutinous rice dumpling.” Although “glutinous rice dumpling” is easier to understand compared with “zongzi” when target text readers watch subtitle, it is unable to maintain source language style, thus failing to convey original flavor of Chinese traditional culture. In contrast, “zongzi” preserves the foreignness of source language and is beneficial to get knowledge of Chinese food for foreign readers.

Example 2

ST: 任何盛宴都无法取代饺子。

TT: Dainties of any kind cannot replace jiaozi.

In example 2, Chinese “饺子” is rendered into “jiaozi” instead of dumplings in this sentence. Even though the English word “dumpling” is more commonly used and familiar by target text readers, the original flavor of Chinese traditional food is absent which is not conducive to disseminating Chinese culture. By means of foreignization, not only the language style of the original text can be maintained, which help the target language audience better understand the uniqueness and appreciate the charm of Chinese food culture, but also Chinese cultural connotation is able to be conveyed to the world.

Despite of the frequent utilization of foreignization, domestication is also an effective strategy to convey cultural connotation. Following example elaborates this point clearly.

Example 3

ST: 炸藕夹通常是这样制作的。

TT: A fried lotus root sandwich is always cooked this way.

Taken Chinese dish “炸藕夹” as an instance in example 3, the cooking methods and ingredients are listed and rendered it as “deep-fried lotus root sandwich” by the translator. As it can be seen, target readers are strange to “藕夹” (double-layered lotus root) while have an intimate knowledge of their daily food “sandwich.” Because lotus root filled with meat is very similar to sandwich, foreign audiences can not only know its cooking methods and ingredients, but also know its image by virtue of domestication translation.

Conclusion

The findings show that domestication and foreignization are two commonly used strategies in the process of translation of dish name in Chinese documentaries. However, in A Bite of China 1, the frequency of
foreignization strategy is much higher than domestication when translating Chinese dish name into English. Influenced by the cultural ideology of translator and dominant institution (Chinese official government) whose intention is to demonstrate the charm of Chinese cuisine and spread Chinese traditional culture to abroad, retaining original meaning and flavor of Chinese culture-specific words is primary consideration, which can be explained the reason why foreignization strategy is frequently used. On the whole, these two strategies are complementary to each other and supposed to be used alternately.

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Translation Methods of Sound Words from Weapon Collisions in 

*Legends of the Condor Heroes*

Zhu Hongxiang

*Universiti Putra Malaysia, Malaysia*

Ang Lay Hoon

*Universiti Putra Malaysia, Malaysia*

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**Abstract**

The purpose of this study is to identify the translation methods of sound words from weapon collisions in *Legends of the Condor Heroes*. This qualitative case study probes into how the sound words from weapons collisions are translated. The translation material of this study adopts translated Volume I and Volume II of *Legends of the Condor Heroes*. The sound words or expressions (n=120) of weapon collisions are collected based on purposive sampling method. Data is analyzed by inductive thematic analysis method. The finding illustrates that the sound words from weapon collisions are translated with the methods of omission with the figure of 48%, onomatopoeia of 29% and explication 23% in the translation version. In conclusion, the trend of translation method of sound words from weapon collisions in *Legends of the Condor Heroes* goes towards target language-oriented translation.

**Keywords:** Words, translation methods, weapon collisions, Chinese martial arts fiction.

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**Introduction**

*She Diao Ying Xiong Zhan* is written by Jin Yong (pen name of Louis Cha, 1924-2018), a contemporary master martial arts novelist. This fiction has been translated and published to English version in the name of *Legends of the Condor Heroes* since 2018. To date, together with *Fox Volant of the Snowy Mountain* (1976, 1996), *The Deer and the Cauldron* (1981, 1997, 1999, 2002) and *The Book and the Sword* (1976, 2004), in total, Jin Yong’s four martial arts fictions have already owned the English translation version.

Studies on translation of Jin Yong’s martial arts are conducted (Mok, 2001; Ren, 2016; Luo, 2016; etc.). For example, Mok (2001) examined the translation strategies of *Fox Volant of the Snowy Mountain*. Ren (2016) evaluated the degree of holistic adaptation and selection in the Mok’s translation of *Fox Volant of the Snowy Mountain*. Luo (2016) explored the translator’s positioning and cultural transfer with reference to *The Book and the Sword*. Still, little translation studies involve the translated two volumes of *Legends of the Condor Heroes* since the constrain of the recent publish time of its English version.

Most previous studies of translation methods of martial arts fiction focuses on translating the words or phrases related dates and periods (Mok, 2001), appellations in martial arts fiction (Mok, 2002), etc. However, there is scanty in the study on the sounds in the fiction. As a martial art fiction, *Legends of the Condor Heroes* embraces plenty of breath-taking scenes experienced through different sounds across the various weapons. While
the sounds in martial arts fiction are often accompanied with the weapons, the sounds not only bring the acoustic feelings but also demonstrate the features of the objects. Thus, how to translate the sounds of the fiction should be paid much attention. This study explores the translation methods of sound words from weapon collisions of *Legends of the Gender Heroes* to fulfill the translation studies of martial arts fiction.

Method and Material

This study is qualitative in nature since it entails examining the textual data using interpretive analysis to describe the translation methods of sound words of weapon collisions. A case study is adopted to gain insights into translating the sound of weapon collisions in one of Jin Yong’s martial arts - *Legends of the Condor Heroes*. Purposive sampling is adopted in this study. Those sound words that produced among weapon collisions and through weapon and other non-weapon objects are included into the study as samples. Because these sounds produced related weapons can reflect the different features among weapons or between weapon and another object. These sound words are coded manually because the coding process simultaneously is done on the fiction and the translation version. These data are analyzed with inductive thematic analysis method.

Sound words of weapon collisions produced in Volume I and II of *Legends of the Condor Heroes* (*Legends of the Condor Heroes 1: A Hero Born* translated by Holmwood Anna and *Legends of the Condor Heroes 2: A Bond Undone* translated by Gigi Chang) are selected in this study as the research objects since only these two volumes are translated and published till the start of this study. The translation version of *Legends of the Condor Heroes* has obtained a pretty fame and met with great favor, which is appreciated that “does accomplish what it set out to do, bringing Jin Yong’s martial arts world a little closer to English-speaking readers” (Roy, 2019). The already translated and published Volumes are typical as a case to study on translation methods of sound words of weapon collisions in *Legends of the Condor Heroes*.

Findings and discussion

Based on the data analysis, this study codes 120 sound words or expressions of weapon collisions appeared in Volume I and II of *Legends of the Condor Heroes*. Based on inductive thematic translation methods, these sound words are categorized into omission translation with the figure of 48%, onomatopoeia of 29% and explication of 23%. The analysis of these three translation methods is as followed:

**Omission**

Cases where source language is omitted in translation is counted as ‘omission’ translation. Omission often removes the traces of source culture specificity from the target text, which is often categorized into target language-oriented translation method. This section focuses on ‘omission in word or expression’ to investigate the translation from weapon collisions. From the findings, omission translation was most used in translating sound words of weapon collisions. The use of omission took up nearly half of the amount, more than any other translation methods. The examples (a-c) could be seen as follows:

a. 月光下只见一块圆盘似的黑物飞将出去，托的一声轻响，嵌入了那武官后脑。（Jin Yong, 2013, p. 12）
It glinted an inky black as it sailed through the air, drawing a curve and landing on the back of the
soldier’s head with a dull thud. (Holmwood Anna, 2018, p. 8)

b. 突然草堆中一柄断头马刀疾伸出来，当啷声响。 (Jin Yong, 2013, p. 99)
Out from the haystack popped a broken sabre to block his swing. (Holmwood Anna, 2018, p. 118)

c. 欧阳锋挥手弹筝，铮铮两下，声如裂帛。（Jin Yong, 2013, p. 610)
Viper Ouyang struck the zheng twice, sending forth a tremolo so violent that it could tear cloth. (Gigi Chang, 2019, p. 411)

In example a, the translation of “托” is omitted from the translated version. The sound produced by an inky black is used in source text to describe the collision between the weapon of an Eight Trigram disk and the head of the soldier. In example b, the sound of “当啷” produces between a broken sabre and the arrow, which disappears in the translated version. In example c, “铮铮” is used to describe the sound of the zheng (a musical instrument), which just keeps the number and omits the sound produced by the instrument. This happens between person’s hands and the instrument (the person uses this instrument as a weapon). In these three examples, the sound words are special in source language. All three examples indicate that the source flavors are lost in the target language. It may be assumed that such sound words cannot find equivalents in the target language and the translation intentionally omit the original words to keep the fluency of the transfer of the plot.

**Onomatopoeia**

As a form of sound expression, “onomatopoeia forges magical links between our words and our physical senses—sight, hearing, touch and taste” (Lassere, 2018). Onomatopoeia in the translation is used to retain the connection between words and hearing senses. Cases where use onomatopoeia to have equivalent translations are defined as ‘onomatopoeia’ translation in this study. The translation version uses onomatopoeia to take word-for-word translation to get similar equivalences. For example (d-f):

d. 南希仁一言不发，待铜缸飞到，举起扁担在空中挡住，当的一声，铜缸在空中受阻，落了下来。 (Jin Yong, 2013, p. 58)
_Clang!_ Woodcutter Nan said nothing, but stopped the censer with his shoulder pole. (Holmwood Anna, 2018, p. 68)

e. 忽听得飕飕两声，窗格中打进两枝袖剑。 (Jin Yong, 2013, p. 524)
_Whoosh, whoosh!_— two sleeve arrows hurtled. (Gigi Chang, 2019, p. 286)

f. 嘈嘈嘈三声，三枚飞燕银梭都打正她背心。 (Jin Yong, 2013, p. 620)
_Pop, pop, pop!_ All three darts bounced off her Hedgehog Chainmail. (Gigi Chang, 2019, p. 425)
In example d, the translations of “当” is treated with onomatopoeia Clang!. The sound is produced from the collision shoulder pole and censer (censor is as a weapon at this moment). In example e, the sound of “飕飕” is translated to Whoosh, whoosh!, which is produced when the arrows fly in the air. The same vein is also seen in the translation of the example f, “噗噗噗” is translated to Pop, pop, pop!, which happens between three darts and shirt named Hedgehog Chainmail. These three sounds are put in the front of the whole sentence, which gives a sound shock firstly. The emphasis on the sounds demonstrates the equivalence between source language and target language. Not like omission translation, onomatopoeia leaves space for the sound words, which means that the sounds can be translatable. Though the utilization of onomatopoeia could find the equivalence in the target text and preserve the original sound impact, the translation method still leans to target language-oriented translation since the translation uses adaptation which is familiar to source language to substitute the source language.

**Explication**

In this section, since explication is to explain or describe explicitly the sounds based on the context to the target readers, explication is regarded as a target language-oriented expression. Cases where the implied meaning of sound word is disclosed are categorized into ‘explication’ translation. It not only keeps the space of sound words but also conveys the meaning to the readers. For example (g-i):

**g.** 忽听得林外传来一阵铎铎铎之声。(Jin Yong, 2013, p. 11)

> At that moment a loud smack of wood against metal echoed around the woodland from beyond the tree line. (Holmwood Anna, 2018, p. 7)

**h.** 这口巨大的铜缸掷来时呼呼生风。(Jin Yong, 2013, p. 58)

> Just by listening for the rush of air around it. (Holmwood Anna, 2018, p. 67)

**i.** 两弹的一声，在空中撞得火星四溅，石子碎片八方乱射。(Jin Yong, 2013, p. 505)

> Crashed together in an explosion of sparks and shrapnel. (Gigi Chang, 2019, p. 258)

In example g, the translation of “铎铎铎” is explicated to “a loud smack of wood against metal,” which reveals the feature of the sound that is produced between a smack of wood against metal. In another example h, “呼呼” is explicated to “the rush of air,” which describes how the sound produced by censer stirs the air, representing the strong power of the weapon. In example i, the sound of “啪” is produced between two masonries, which is described to “crashed together” by explicating the real action at that moment. This translation method maintains the presence of sound words of source language and replaces the source words with phrase or term which is more readable for target text.
Conclusion

This study has identified translation methods adopted in the sound words from weapon collisions of *Legends of the Condor Heroes*. From the findings, it could be seen that sound words are translated by omission, onomatopoeia and explication. Omission translation accounts for nearly half of the amount, followed by onomatopoeia and explication with the similar percentage. The use of these three translation methods indicates that the trend of the translation of sound words produced from weapon collisions goes towards target language-oriented method, which omits, adapts or explains the source language. It is assumed that the omission, onomatopoeia and explication are to decrease the influence on readers’ understandings of the complex source language expressions, thus pushes the development of the plots. Further studies should be conducted to explore the reasons of the translation methods of sound words.

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Pleasing the ‘Bubble’: Abe Shinzō’s Strategic Self-Exhibition on Facebook

Marco Zappa
“Ca’ Foscari University Venice, Italy

Abstract

Not only is Abe Shinzō on the way to becoming Japan’s longest-serving Prime Minister in the country’s history. With more than 1 million followers on Twitter and slightly less than 600 hundred thousand fans on Facebook, he is by far the most successful Japanese political leader on social media. Commentators have described Abe’s turn to social networking services (SNS) as a “revenge” against “traditional” media against the background of a growing use of SNSs by other major Japanese political actors. At any rate, particularly through Facebook, combining text and pictures of himself on and off duty, Abe has successfully established his own mode to communicate with and “exhibit” himself to voters, citizens and the global community of netizens. This paper aims to address the following research question: on which themes and key concepts is this “presentation of the self” based? In other words, how is the Prime Minister communication staff constructing Abe’s “social” image and to which audience is this aimed? Based on Goffman’s theorization and later application of his work on the study of online social interactions, this paper illustrates the strive to ensure the consistency of Abe’s use of the SNS with previously expressed concepts and ideas (e.g., in the 2006 book “A Beautiful Country”), with the aim of pleasing the “bubble” of like-minded individuals constituting Abe’s (online) support base, and avoid issues that might possibly harm the Prime Minister’s reputation. Abe’s Facebook activity (a combination of text and pictures) during a critical time in his second tenure (2017), in which he faced cronism allegations while coping with gaffes and scandals involving cabinet members, provided a case in point for multimedia content analysis.

References


Keywords: Shinzō abe, Japanese politics, social network analysis.

Introduction

The rapid development of information technology since the 1980s and the massive diffusion of internet connectivity globally has created an unprecedented “espace citoyen” where the citizens’ “voice can rise at any moment” (Rodotá 2004, 4).
Conversely, the Internet has proven a useful means for politicians attempting to establish a “direct link” with the citizens. In particular, the massive diffusion of mobile Internet connections and the use of social networking services (SNS) has, on the one hand, favored the strengthening of certain democratic values, by, for instance, enhancing news consumption online and, to some extent, civic participation (Fenton 2012, 123; Gil de Zúñiga and Shahin 2015, 80). However, this transition has reshaped the role of politicians, that, thanks to SNS, have relinquished their traditional function of news sources to become media producers (Ekman and Widholm 2015). SNSs such as Facebook and Twitter, in fact, grant more autonomy to the communicator, as it is him who decides what and with whom to communicate.

This largely depends on the way in which social links are formed. Individuals tend to build personal relations with others based on a number of factors. In particular, what is relevant for the present discussion of political communication through social networking sites such as Facebook is the homophily hypothesis, that is, SNS users tend to build social clusters, or “bubbles” based on ethnicity and age are important components of what is referred to as baseline homophily, or life satisfaction, ideology, and organizational affiliation. Being arbitrary factors, these are in fact more decisive in further social clustering and, therefore, in information circulation (Gil de Zúñiga and Shahin 2015, 83; Hogan 2018). These social formations that Rojas call egocentric public, as the individual perceives to be at its center, are in between neighbourhood-like small communities and mass communication. On the one hand, they transcend specific spatial boundaries; on the other, being networked constituted act as filters for “system-level information” disseminated by the mass media, serving as “editors” (Rojas 2015, 95-97).

As in many other countries of the world, the diffusion of mobile Internet connections and SNSs in Japan in the second half of the 2000s has brought about changes in political communication (Tsuda et al. 2013; Nishida 2015). Japanese Prime Minister Abe Shinzō’s use of its personal Facebook page in time of crisis in 2017 is a case in point. According to a recent survey by Social Insight (2019), a social media analysis portal, he is currently the most popular public figure on Facebook (FB) in Japan with 590.995 followers and slightly less than 4600 friends (Facebook 2019). This paper aims to answer the following question: how has PM Abe as both a private and public individual presented himself on the SNSs at a critical time in his political career?

For politicians, SNSs structural features illustrated above offer several advantages in so far as they provide a more extensive control on their own narrative and its distribution than the mainstream media (Fenton 2012, 125-126). The intermittences typical of representative democracy are no longer at stake. In their attempt to gain “consensus at all costs,” politicians have borrowed communication models from advertising opting for immediacy (perceptions and emotions) over long term programs in order to bend their messages in relation to different audiences. The barriers between the private and the public spheres cease to exist. Meanwhile, politicians become nothing more than “goods” manufactured and consumed (Rodotà 2004, 25-26). Thus, the issue of self-presentation through SNSs has assumed greater importance for politicians at all levels. Drawing upon Goffman’s The Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life, scholars have identified patterns in the construction of an “electronic self” (Miller 1995; Papacharissi 2002; Bullingham and Vasconcelos 2013) often detached from the real self (Papacharissi 2002).

As opposed to everyday life situations, the online presentation of the self allows for more careful control of all the expressions that are usually given off through nonverbal communication. In fact, even though nonverbal communication online is possible, this can be more easily manipulated and, thus, more effectively managed (Papacharissi 2002, 644). An important factor in Goffman’s theorization is that the dramaturgy linked to the presentation of the self is bounded by space and time (Hogan 2010, 378). These boundaries cease to exist on social media. Specifically, Hogan (2010) defines the presentation of the self on SNSs in terms of an exhibition. As opposed to performances, exhibitions do not require real-time interactions among the actors, nor do they
involve the presence of a specific addressee. Furthermore, exhibitions are curated, that is, involve a third party that provides services like filtering, ordering and searching (Hogan 2010, 381).

Abe’s Exhibition of the Self

In light of the above-mentioned considerations, this article aims to shed light on how PM Abe as both a private and public individual has presented himself on the SNSs at a critical time in his political career. Although it is true that exhibitions transcend time-space boundaries and specific target audiences, the timing of exhibition of a specific item, particularly when a public personality does it, is worth analyzing.

In order to do this, an observation of the Japanese PM’s FB 2017 timeline has been carried out. The choice of 2017 as a case study is not coincidental. Throughout the year, Abe found himself under the pressure of public criticism and despite a cabinet reshuffle decided to call a snap election in October. In fact, the Japanese cabinet was hit by a series of scandals that caused a steep fall in the cabinet’s approval rate and forced LDP senior members to initiate discussions on a feasible post-Abe (Maeda 2017). On top of this, the PM found himself directly involved in at least two of the scandals erupted during 2017: the Moritomo Gakuen and Kake Gakuen “twin” scandals (Carlson and Reed 2018). This investigation has been carried out by combining content and visual analysis of Abe’s Facebook entries. Content analysis enables to detect through coding and categorizing text elements to identify main points and ideas expressed by the participants in a research and underlying themes (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005; Erlingsson 2017; Neundorf 2017). However, visual analysis, following Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006), sheds light on the social function of visual communication, thus enabling to better describe the “conceptual relations between the people, places and things depicted in images” and between their producers and viewers (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006, 114).

One important feature of SNS is multimediarity. In particular, the presence of different kind of texts (textual, photographic and so forth), facilitates the identification of the key ideas underlying one FB post (s. Neundorf 2017). In addition, these materials are dated and, on some occasions, located in space. This helps researchers triangulate the data and identify traits and motives behind what the political leader publicly displays (Winter 2005, 567).

Merging the Public and Private Spheres on Facebook

Abe’s “private” profile is directly linked to the official Cabinet Office (kantei) profile. Both pages are managed by the Cabinet’s PR Bureau (naikaku kōbō shitsu). Abe’s private profile, instead, was started in early 2012, months before Abe became Japan’s Prime Minister for the second time in his career and is supposed (though very unlikely) to be managed by the PM himself. In the pictures, however, he is often a represented participant, rarely an interactive participant (as apparent producer of the content) and never both the interactive (as the producer) and represented participant (e.g., in selfies taken by himself).²

¹ Specifically, Abe had to defend himself from allegations of favoring two private educational companies in the purchase of public soil for the building of a new elementary school (Moritomo) in Osaka and in the concession of a licence to open a Veterinary Medicine Faculty in a designated special economic zone (tokku) in Ehime Prefecture (Kake).
² Of the 169 posts appeared in 2017, only 68 bear an indication that the content has been designed by the kantei staff. Some pictures might actually have been posted by the PM himself (for instance, a picture of a cherry tree branch full of white cherry blossoms from early April 2017 or a picture of a bamboo sprout growing in the Official residence of the PM) as they bore no indication that they had been posted by a secretary nor were they centered around the PM’s figure.
In general, Abe’s FB Timeline is used mostly to sponsor Abe’s public activities in his double function of PM (in particular foreign diplomacy), and leader of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP).

Abe’s 2017 Facebook timeline is populated with pictures of him at bilateral meetings with peer foreign leaders (Russian President Vladimir Putin and US President Donald J. Trump above all) or at multilateral summits across three continents (like the UN General Assembly, the G7 in Taormina, the G20 in Germany, the ASEAN in the Philippines). The Japanese Prime Minister is also depicted in disaster-hit areas consoling displaced citizens affected by floods in South-Western Japan. Moreover, in particular in October, he is also followed in his electoral activities as leader of the LDP, upon his decision to dissolve the Diet and call snap general elections in late September. In this sense, the page works as a loudspeaker for the other official profiles. Personal or more intimate moments are rare and, in any case, related to Abe’s official role.

The graph in figure 1 presents the results of the analysis conducted on Abe’s FB timeline based on the content of the posts for the considered time period. The posts have been labelled based on the main macrotheme, i.e. “diplomacy” in case of missions abroad or meetings with other state leaders, or “action” when the PM’s activities are related to domestic duties. The graph clearly shows a preponderance of “diplomacy” posts.

![Figure 1. Themes in Abe’s posts on Facebook in 2017](source: Facebook 2017)

Diplomacy is followed by communications directed to the domestic audience (Communication), posts dedicated to the PM’s actions and activities in Japan (Action), to annual or recurrent events to which the PM takes part (Anniversary), and, to a much lesser extent, to arguments with political adversaries (Argument) and moments of relax and leisure (Leisure). Even though Diplomacy is the dominant theme, the managers of the PM’s FB profile shape these contents in a way that combines with the officiality (i.e., the official pictures and videos diffused by the kantei) and reflects the point of view of the page owner.  

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3Two pictures announcing the PM’s arrival in India and Vietnam taken from inside the PM’s aircraft, for instance, as well as other “backstage” photos depicting Abe with other world leaders, in quite informal contexts, are designed to represent the actual PM’s point of view and provide a sense of intimacy with the viewers.
Abe’s Online Conservatism and the Strive for Acceptability

Looking in detail at the keywords used in Abe’s posts, as one might expect, *Nippon* 日本 is the most recurring one, followed by *kitachōsen* 北朝鮮 (North Korea) and *heiwa* 平和 (peace). Fig. 3 puts the keywords’ occurrence in relation to the average reactions — that is, the total number of likes, dislikes, happy or angry reactions and so forth — on the posts containing them. Based on the principle of “homophily” that guide the network formation on SNS (see above), it is not surprising to note that the posts citing *dentō* 伝統 (tradition) and *rekishi* 歴史 (history) rank first and second in terms of average number of reactions.

Figure 4 below shows the trend in the number of reactions attracted by Abe’s post on his personal FB profile. After a peak of 39,167 reactions in January with a New Year’s picture depicting the Prime Minister and First Lady in full figure outside the Prime Minister’s Office, the number of reactions per post is stable at around 10 thousand and rebounds in February 2017. This month deserves particular attention. Despite the emergence of a scandal involving him and his wife, online he avoids any direct reference to it. On February 24, a picture is posted that depicts Abe meditating in a dark blue kimono. He is sit on a cushion with legs crossed and hands laid on the lap, in the typical zazen posture. The look on Abe’s face is serious and focused. His eyes are shut,
and a sunray lights up the right part of his face. On the background, one can see the external structure of a wooden paneled door (shoji) can be seen.

A few points are noteworthy here. First, this is a rare case where the Japanese PM is not portrayed in a suit, but rather in a Japanese apparel. Second, the leader is caught alone (but one might suspect that he was not, in fact, having someone taking pictures at him meditating) from an oblique angle and slightly from below. These elements highlight a sense of detachment not just from the viewer, but from all the worldly agitations. Third, apart from aesthetic considerations, the timing of the post is worth analyzing. One day earlier, Abe was in the Diet to answer on MP’s questions on the sale of public soil to the private education organization. Moreover, less than one week earlier, during a House Budget Commission Meeting, Abe expressed surprise at one Democratic Party member, Fukushima Nobuyuki asking him about the Moritomo gakuen case, and declared that if his wife or he himself were somehow involved in it, he would resign. He never reiterated this statement on his social network profile. In this sense, his stance online is somehow decoupled from the one he adopts offline.

The same “dodging” strategy is adopted later in the year when other scandals emerge forcing the Prime Minister to defend himself in the Diet and sack cabinet ministers. After March no post has reached the number of reactions registered in the early weeks of 2017.

![Graph](image)

Figure 4. No. of Reactions per FB Post Throughout 2017
Source: Facebook 2017

There are various explanations to this trend. Apart from technical ones, such as changes in the FB algorithm, and less appealing posts (the majority of which is dedicated to Abe’s diplomatic duties) there might be a link with the falling approval rate that the PM and his cabinet had to face throughout 2017 (Fig. 5). Downturns from the initial 55.3 per cent, are visible in February (Moritomo gakuen scandal), April (sacking of Reconstruction Minister Imamura), May (Kake gakuen scandal) and July (GSDF South Sudan log scandal and Defense Minister Inada’s resignation), before a mild recovery around August (month of the government reshuffle) and November (inauguration of the fourth Abe cabinet; up to 43.6 percent but well below the 50 per cent threshold).

In sum, the “appearance of wrong-doing” by the Prime Minister might have been a factor influencing public opinion and affecting Abe’s online popularity even among like-minded individuals (Carlson and Reed 2018, 125).
Conclusion

As the discussion presented above has showed, FB is a useful tool of political communication. Its closed and more manageable environment allows the user to exhibit him/herself in the most suitable way facing his/her own audience, often composed of like type individuals. In other words, particularly for political figures such as Japanese PM Abe and others outside Japan, FB is instrumental to the formation of a political narrative which is directly transmitted by its producer to its receiver(s).

These narratives need not to be explicit nor has it to follow a real-life pattern. One might agree with Papacharissi (2002) when she argues that electronic selves and real selves end up being decoupled in the attempt to show to the online community a more acceptable version of one’s own character. It might be as in the case-study illustrated in previous paragraphs, implicit or silent. As has emerged from the analysis above, excluding the reposted official contents, PM Abe avoided references to politically sensitive issues, but, instead, he constructed a textual and visual narrative based on the following dynamics.

(1) Action/Reaction. The PM is always caught on action and even when he shows to one of the few relaxing moments in his frenetic activity (see for instance the zazen post), he says that he will do something eventually. In April, and later in August, he demonstrated his ability to quickly react to public criticism announcing the resignation of one of his cabinet’s minister (Imamura Masahiro) and the cabinet reshuffle, also displaying to the public his ability to make amends for his poor choices in cabinet appointments.

(2) Proximity. This effect is realized in a number of ways. We identified two. Ideationally: the pictures themselves are conceived, in terms of angle and level, to involve the interactive participant (viewer) or make him/her feel at the same level of the represented participants; figuratively: pictures posted on the occasion of international summits in order to show what happens beyond the curtains of official diplomacy, are exemplary. Furthermore, pictures portraying the Japanese PM in traditional Japanese outfits are designed to convey to the public a sense of “Japaneseness.”

(3) Strengthening cluster bonds. As discussed above, SNS communities are best described as informational clusters where the subject exhibits him/herself in front of like type individuals. As shown by the twin scandal
that saw Abe involved during 2017, external factors might affect the subject’s credibility thus requiring action from him/her to try to fix the situation. Attacks on common enemies, even referring to the previously omitted sensitive topics, might serve as glue and reinforce cluster bonds. As demonstrated in the analysis above, only rarely, on two occasions, he has tackled the issue on his personal FB page and he has done so eight months after the first revelations his possible involvement in a scandal emerged. He did so somehow strategically, that is, not in order to admit any responsibility in the affair, but in order to advance another point in his political agenda: discipline some media.

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Advertising Appeals in Baby Formula Commercials across Cultures

Zhu Li\textsuperscript{a}

\textsuperscript{a}Faculty of Modern Languages and Communication, Universiti Putra Malaysia
Department of Foreign Languages, Baise University, China

Ang Lay Hoon\textsuperscript{b}

\textsuperscript{b}Faculty of Modern Languages and Communication, Universiti Putra Malaysia

Abstract

Advertising, as a means of social communication, is seen as a reflection of cultural values, so does baby formula commercials. Advertising appeals, including both emotional and rational appeals, are an important strategy for advertisers to create effective commercials. This cross-cultural study compared the types of advertising appeals used in baby formula commercials of China, America, and Malaysia. It further investigated whether advertising appeals were related to the cultural values of these three countries using the Hofstede model, specifically individualism-collectivism. A comparative content analysis was used in this study. A total of 16 TV commercials on the same baby formula brand, S-26 Progress Gold, were identified and analyzed. The findings illustrated that advertisers tailor their advertising appeals, even in emotional appeals, different focuses of appeals are highlighted, to establish connections with their target customers in the global contexts.

\textbf{Keywords:} Advertising appeals, baby formula commercials, across cultures, individualism, collectivism.

Introduction

Advertisements are seen as a reflection of the prominent cultural values of countries (Hong, Muderriaoglu, and Zinkhan, 1987; Lamoreaux, 2008). Baby formula commercials are no exception. Advertising appeals are the top priority of advertisers or marketers, as they are closely linked to advertising effectiveness (Zhang et al., 2014). Advertising appeals can be divided into rational appeals and emotional appeals (Chen, Chang, and Gong, 2015; Cheong, Kim, and Zheng, 2010; Hornik, Ofir, and Rachamim, 2017; H. Zhang et al., 2014; Verma, 2009; Stafford and Day, 1995). Rational appeals are applied when advertisers stimulate intended customers' reasonable and rational ways of thinking and thus making (re)purchases, underlining functions of certain brands or products (Johar and Joseph Sirgy, 1991; Hornik et al., 2017; Albers-Miller and Stafford, 1999). Emotional appeals are “grounded in the emotional, experiential side of consumption” (Albers-Miller and Stafford, 1999, p.44). Advertisers rely on building affective or personal perceptions of products or brands, including positive and negative emotions such as humor, pride, joy, guilt, fear, nostalgia, love and sympathy (Albers-Miller and Stafford, 1999). Besides, Pollay's 42 appeals (1983) has contributed a lot to measure the cultural values of advertising strategy.

Plenty of previous studies have suggested that advertising appeals may be adapted according to target customers’ cultural values across cultures (Cheong et al., 2010; Beck, C. S., 2009; Wei and Jiang, 2005; Lin, 2001), which
may involve modifying the whole advertisement contents (Sidiropoulou, 2008). To analyze the relationship between cultural values and advertising appeals, Hofstede's cultural dimensions (De Mooij and Hofstede, 2010; Hofstede et al., 2010; Hofstede, 2001), particularly individualism-collectivism, have been adopted (Mortimer and Grierson, 2010).

It is noteworthy that when applying Hofstede's cultural dimensions into examining the relationship between advertising appeals and cultural values, more than two countries should be compared, whereas most studies did not (De Mooij and Hofstede, 2010; Chang et al., 2007). Scanty studies have explored advertising appeals of the same brand in the Chinese, American, and Malaysian contexts. Thus, this study aims to fill up this gap by examining the commercials of the same baby formula brand S-26 Progress Gold in these three countries, using the Hofstede model, specifically individualism-collectivism.

Methodology

A comparative content analysis was used in this study. The inclusion criteria included one baby formula brand that was widely accepted in the global markets, as its commercials may be more effective. Thus, S-26 was selected as it was one of the two American baby formula brands according to “Netherlands 50 Top Brand Values 2019 Ranking” (2020). And, S-26 ranked relatively higher than the other. Among 15 series formula of S-26, S-26 Progress Gold (for children 1-3 years) was selected due to its larger target audience, as health sectors recommend exclusive breastfeeding of children at least 6 months (Alnasser et al., 2018). Thus, S-26 Progress Gold baby formula was a good example to examine advertising appeals across cultures to satisfy the intended consumers’ cultural values. A total of 16 TV commercials (TVCs) on S-26 Progress Gold were identified and downloaded from youtube.com and youku.com. It is noteworthy that as Malaysia is a multiracial country with several languages, only the commercials in English were included in the samples.

Findings and Discussion

Hofstede's cultural dimensions

As stated before, Hofstede’s cultural dimensions (Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov, 2010; Greet Hofstede, 2001) as shown below in Table 1, have been frequently used by scholars to analyze cultural values across cultures. It can be seen that the individualism indexes are dramatically different from the U.S. and China, as well as between the U.S. and Malaysia, with the index disparities of 71 and 65 respectively. The individualism indexes of China and Malaysia are quite similar, ranking 20 and 26 respectively. According to Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov (2010), individualism-collectivism can be defined as “people looking after themselves and their immediate family only, versus people belonging to in-groups that look after them in exchange for loyalty” (p.89). Thus, individualism-collectivism was chosen from the five Hofstede’s cultural dimensions as the focus to analyze advertising appeals, which may provide more implications (Cheong et al., 2010).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultural Dimensions</th>
<th>China</th>
<th>U.S.</th>
<th>Malaysia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Individualism Index(IDV)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power Distance (PDI)</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncertainty Avoidance Index(UAI)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculinity Index(MAS)</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long-term Orientation (LTO)</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Hofstede's Cultural Dimensions
Source: Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov (2010).
Prominent features of these commercials

From these commercials (as shown in table 2), some prominent features can be figured out through comparisons between these three countries. For example, Chinese commercials on S-26 Progress Gold baby formula highlighted frequent use of celebrities, with singer Zhang Xueyou and actor Huang Lei as endorsers. American commercials preferred to depict a series of impressive characters—Tala, Khaled, Etem, Anna, and Daniel, with a drama-like style. Malaysian commercials emphasized learning and nutrition—children can be the expected person by parents if they drink S-26 Progress Gold baby formula (e.g. “nourish early learning 1, 2, 3”). It is noteworthy that Chinese commercials of this brand also introduced important foreign technology, important nutrition for babies’ brain development, sphingomyelin, and foreign expert in the white suit, Dr. Nicholas from Wyeth (commercial titled “important discovery of parenting and technology”). Also, Chinese commercials advertised two Wyeth brands together, Wyeth S-26 Progress Ultima and Progress Gold (commercial titled “Wyeth S-26 Progress Ultima and Progress Gold”).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>China</th>
<th>U.S.</th>
<th>Malaysia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Titles of TVCs</td>
<td>First day in kindergarten (Singer Zhang Xueyou)</td>
<td>Brain nutrition for little leaders (Tala)</td>
<td>Nourish early learning 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Expectations for daughter (Actor Huang Lei)</td>
<td>Brain nutrition for little explorers (Khaled)</td>
<td>Nourish early learning 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parent-child talent show (Singer Zhang Xueyou)</td>
<td>Brain nutrition for little explorers (Etem)</td>
<td>Nourish early learning 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wyeth S-26 Progress Ultima and Progress Gold</td>
<td>Brain nutrition for little thinker (Anna)</td>
<td>How to get the ship out of a barrel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>An important discovery of parenting and technology</td>
<td>Brain nutrition for a curious learner (Daniel)</td>
<td>Cultivate children’s learning potential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Think quick, learn fast</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 Titles of Chinese, American, and Malaysian TVCs on S-26 Progress Gold

Emotional appeals of these commercials

Emotional appeals were utilized by advertisers of this brand in these three countries, excluding Chinese commercials titled “important discovery of parenting and technology” and “Wyeth S-26 Progress Ultima and Progress Gold.” However, in Hofstede’s individualism-collectivism model and Pollay’s (1983) description of 42 appeals, the focuses of appeals have been different across countries.

In the individualism of Hofstede’s model, people are expected to behave uniquely and vary from situations (De Mooij and Hofstede, 2010). It can be seen from the American commercials of this brand, they depicted independent, distinctive, and confident characters (Pollay, 1983) in their commercials. Kids who have drunk this formula will become more intelligent as it has unique nutrition for their brain development. For example, Tala, a born leader, likes taking charge. She dragged her mother’s trousers to indicate that the water sprinkler was out of work. Khalad/Etem, a little explorer, even dared to go outside at night to experience adventure with an electric torch. Daniel, a curious learner, is always trying to dismantle toys after observing what adults do. Anna, a little thinker, sat alone in the yard and observed her surroundings. She even let a bird free from a cage.

In contrast, in the collectivism of Hofstede’s model, the self is closely related to the surroundings and the ideal self “vary by social role” (De Mooij and Hofstede, 2010, p.91). Thus, it can be seen from both the Chinese and Malaysian commercials of this brand, they highlighted affiliation, community, and family (Pollay, 1983).
For example, in the Chinese commercial titled “the first day in kindergarten,” the father (singer Zhang Xueyou as endorser) brought his son to see the wonderland of learning and playing. However, the father had to take his son back to drink the S-26 Progress Gold formula to be more intelligent and strong. Then, the boy went back to kindergarten and performed well with other children. Similarly, in the Malaysian commercials, a boy was practicing playing baseball in his yard with his mother around. He tied the baseball to the pottery jar to prevent it from flying around. His mother applauded for him, thinking of the S-26 progress gold formula he has drunk. He became a champion in baseball when he has grown up. The similar scene happens at school in a commercial titled “how to get the ship out of a barrel”

_Rational appeals of these commercials_

Different from American and Malaysian commercials of this brand, Chinese marketers utilized more rational appeals. As in commercials titled “important discovery of parenting and technology” and “Wyeth S-26 Progress Ultima and Progress Gold,” they just tell the “facts” or “truth” about this formula in a logical and clear way—with unique nutrition for brain development, indicating that it is a good choice for parents. This, however, attributes to target customers’ distrust of the Chinese dairy industry (Gong and Jackson, 2013). Thus, advertisers underlined that the formula has been imported originally from foreign countries, and the technology is unique and useful for children’s brain development, to persuade their intended consumers. Also, the use of celebrities as endorsers in the Chinese baby formula commercials is related to collectivism, as “the function of a celebrity is to give a face to the brand in a world of brands with similar product attributes” (De Mooij and Hofstede, 2010, p. 98).

_Conclusions_

The findings illustrated that advertisers tailor their advertising appeals to establish connections with their target customers in the global contexts, even in a single brand. In particular, different focuses of emotional appeals are highlighted in the S-26 Progress Gold baby formula commercials of China, America, and Malaysia. All commercials but two Chinese ones in the study utilize emotional appeals. Hofstede’s model, specifically individualism-collectivism, can contribute to the cultural values of the adaptation of the S-26 Progress Gold baby formula commercials. However, it does exist some other factors, such as the far-reaching influence of Chinese customers’ distrust of their dairy industry. To examine the relationship between cultural values and advertising appeals across countries, future studies can be done in the following ways. Firstly, more samples of baby care brands, or other products, can be collected. Secondly, the other cultural dimensions in Hofstede’s model can be utilized, such as power distance and uncertainty avoidance.

_References_


