

CONVERSATIONAL IMPLICATURE IN INTERVIEWS
WITH MALAYSIAN TRANSWOMEN

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**CONVERSATIONAL IMPLICATURE IN
INTERVIEWS WITH MALAYSIAN TRANSWOMEN**

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CONVERSATIONAL IMPLICATURE IN INTERVIEWS WITH MALAYSIAN TRANSWOMEN

ABSTRACT

Stigma and discrimination against transgender (also known as transphobia) has become prevalent in Malaysia over the years. A common problem faced by transgender is accessibility to healthcare and many have experienced deliberate discrimination (Lombardi 2009). Discussing healthcare issues for Malaysian transgenders is considered a sensitive topic as the topic requires them to discuss their identity as well as many health related matters which are usually not similar to what the general public are facing. Thus, based on the Paul Grice's Cooperative Principle and maxims, this study aims to investigate the notion of implicatures to help uncover how transphobia becomes a factor in influencing healthcare access for this community. The data is based on narrative interviews of nine transwomen, working in various places in urban Kuala Lumpur. Findings reveal that the participants observed and not observed all of the maxims in the interviews. The participants employed several strategies to flout the maxims such as 'hedging', 'circumlocution', 'evasion' dan 'ignoring the question'. Further, the findings also reveal that the adjacency pair of question and answer can influence the participants to observe and not observe maxims. The findings of the study will benefit the general public to understand the predicaments that the transgenders in Malaysia are facing in terms of healthcare access. Also, it will help people to understand that the adjacency pair of question and answer can become a factor to motivate people to observe and not observe maxims in conversations.

KEYWORDS: transgender, transphobia, implicatures, Grice's Maxims

IMPLIKATUR PERBUALAN DALAM TEMUBUAL BERSAMA

TRANSWANITA MALAYSIA

ABSTRAK

Stigma dan diskriminasi terhadap golongan ‘transgender’ (‘transphobia’) telah menjadi semakin berleluasa di Malaysia sejak kebelakangan ini. Masalah utama yang dihadapi golongan ini ialah akses ke perkhidmatan perubatan dan ramai dalam kalangan mereka yang mengalami diskriminasi secara sengaja (Lombardi 2009). Perbincangan tentang masalah-masalah kesihatan yang dihadapi golongan transjantina di Malaysia dianggap sebagai satu topik yang sensitif kerana topik ini memerlukan mereka untuk membincangkan identity mereka serta banyak masalah yang berkaitan dengan kesihatan mereka, yang tidak sama dengan masalah-masalah kesihatan yang dihadapi masyarakat umum. Oleh itu, berdasarkan prinsip kerjasama Grice (1975), kajian ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji implikatur yang wujud disebabkan kepatuhan dan ketidakpatuhan prinsip kerjasama Grice (1975) untuk memahami isu transfobia yang menjadi satu faktor mempengaruhi akses kepada perkhidmatan kesihatan untuk golongan ini. Data dikumpulkan melalui temubual naratif bersama sembilan transwanita yang bekerja di pelbagai tempat di Kuala Lumpur. Dapatan kajian menunjukkan kesemua maksim dipatuhi dan tidak dipatuhi oleh peserta kajian. Selain itu, peserta kajian menggunakan beberapa strategi untuk tidak mematuhi maksim perbualan seperti ‘hedging’, ‘circumlocution’, ‘evasion’ dan ‘ignoring the question’. Dapatan kajian juga menunjukkan jenis-jenis soalan dan bentuk soalan mempengaruhi peserta kajian untuk mematuhi dan tidak mematuhi maksim perbualan. Hasil dapatan kajian dapat memberi faedah kepada masyarakat umum untuk memahami masalah golongan transjantina serta mengetahui yang kepatuhan dan ketidakpatuhan implikatur perbualan boleh juga dipengaruhi oleh bentuk-bentuk dan jenis-jenis soalan.

KEYWORDS: transgender, transphobia, implikatur, maksim-maksim Grice (1975)

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Communication is the process of exchanging information between interlocutors. It is expected that the speakers are conscious of their roles in ensuring the smooth flow of communication as well as preserving the meaningfulness of such exchanges. It is also understood that both speaker and hearer share the identical cooperative belief, in certain contexts, when it comes to producing ideal interaction which largely means avoiding any misunderstanding that can take place in a communicative process.

In order to be cooperative in a conversation, the interlocutors will have to observe to a set of rules and conventions which in Pragmatics is known as the Cooperative Principle. Cooperative Principle (hereafter CP) is introduced by Paul H. Grice and according to him, this principle is governed by four maxims namely Quantity, Quality, Relevance and Manner which will be further elaborated in the review of relevant literature. While the term 'cooperative' does not connote that the interlocutors will end up agreeing with each other in a conversation, this term, as introduced by Grice, attempts to explain what the speaker and hearer 'do' with their utterances to accommodate each other. This also means that the interlocutors will not usually, explicitly or directly express their thoughts through the literal meaning of words. Rather they might be involved in a process of 'implying' their utterances' meanings through several strategies which involve breaking the maxims. This breaking of maxims may or may not be done deliberately for one common goal: for the speaker to put forward the intended meaning so that it can be captured by the hearer and thus creating an ideal communication setting.

The discussion about controversial issues have caught all modes of communication such as social media and face to face interactions. Topics such as politics and the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer (hereafter LGBTQ) have captured the notion of interaction or discursive constructs in the field of linguistics. The intensity of such issues, controversial issues in particular, is based on the number of readers who go online or post and chat online. This is evident through the heated debates on political issues and LGBTQ matters that can be seen on social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter.

Creating an ideal communication setting is important in a society because it usually has the ability to solve any arising issues and to ease the discussion of topics which are otherwise deemed as 'sensitive' or 'taboo' in a particular society. Over the last few years, the LGBTQ community has been a subject of interest around the world. In many parts of the world including Malaysia, this community has received unfavorable response from the general public. This is due to the fact that LGBTQ is either seen as a criminal offence or a negative propaganda which threatens the society ("LGBTQ + Panic Defense", 2019). 'Gay panic' clause (committing crime because they felt provoked by a person who is gay, lesbian or bisexual) is maintained in certain parts of the world (Lee. C, 2008) and people are allowed to use it as a defense when the members of the LGBTQ community commit crime ("LGBTQ + Panic Defense", 2019). The existence of transphobic laws and attitude make the lives of the transgender group difficult as well. This has been found and proven in many academic investigations dedicated to understand this community (Human Rights Watch Report, 2017), (Teh, 1998). In Malaysia, transgender face many obstacles in life which include their fight for equal human rights as well as their struggle to gain access to proper healthcare services; the context of the current study. As a minority group in Malaysia, their voices are usually unheard but when they are heard, they invite negative reactions from the general public (Sa'adan, Jaffary & Nur Farhana, 2018). Thus in the attempt to minimize the negative reactions, this group may or may not observe the

maxims, generating implicatures, in a communicative setting particularly where discussions about their healthcare issues are concerned.

Thus, it is important to see how the observance or non-observance of maxims that generate implicatures take place in transgender discourse. It is anticipated that the outcomes of the research will allow the general public to comprehend the plight of the transgender group in getting proper healthcare access. From these findings, people might be able to engage in a healthy discussion with the transgenders in order to make their voices heard and thus, solving the struggle transgenders have to go through in continuing their lives as citizens in the country.

The concept of health has been expressed as a holistic state. WPATH¹ (2011) recognizes that health is “promoted through public policies and legal reforms that promote tolerance and equity for gender and sexual diversity and that rejects prejudice, discrimination, and stigma”. The importance of receiving proper healthcare access is recognized a necessity for human beings to continue to exist. According to Wong and Mohd Amin (2005), Malaysians have better accessibility to health services due to the growing number of healthcare providers (doctors). However, there is a limited healthcare accessibility for the transgender community in Malaysia as they experience a whole range of negativity when seeking treatment (Human Rights Watch Report, 2014). The embarrassment, stigma and discrimination (hereafter transphobia) has led a large number of transgenders to self-medication or not seeking treatment (Human Rights Watch Report, 2014, p. 46). This also means that the Malaysian transgenders face difficulty in bringing forward their healthcare issues to the responsible bodies due to the fear of transphobia.

¹ WPATH is an acronym for the World Professional Association for Transgender Health.

Among the reasons why transgenders generally experience such stigma in Malaysia as reported by the Human Rights Watch is that the lesbian, gay, bisexuals and transgender (henceforth LGBT) community is treated as citizens who demonstrate behavioral characteristics which are 'against the law of nature'. The National Center for Transgender Equality's two large scale researches done separately in 2011 and 2015 revealed that the stigma and discrimination experienced by the transgenders significantly impacted their quality of life and these experiences are attributed to their chosen gender identity. The transgender community does not fit neatly into either of the gender identity, i.e., male or female binary option. The Malaysian society labels the transgender community as *abnormal* (Teh, 1998) and a 'third gender' in the society is unacceptable. A survey conducted among 100 university students to measure the level of acceptance towards the transgender community in Malaysia revealed that 69% of the respondents did not accept the transgender community for various reasons and 3% of this population did not accept them on the basis that they have *lost their minds* (Wei et al., 2012).

The second reason for the transgender community to experience stigma and discrimination is attributed to the constant battle between human rights and religious beliefs in Malaysia. The transgender issue is a social phenomenon and every social phenomenon is associated with some social practice that is often predisposed by the religion when it comes to transgenderism issues (Wei et al., 2012). A recent statement released by a government official in July this year created an outcry among certain quarters when he suggested that transwomen are allowed to use women's public toilet or the handicapped toilets. Many were worried about the safety of women in a secluded place like a public toilet. On the other hand, LGBT activists continuously demand for basic human rights to be granted for them such as access to proper education, public facilities, employment and healthcare. For the general public, they hold the perception that the trans-community is facing obstacles living in the society due to the choices they

make in deciding their gender (Wei et al., 2012) which goes against religious beliefs. All these issues create further ripple between the cisgender and transgender communities which fuel the stigma and discrimination against the transgender community.

Academic investigations about this phenomenon found that the transgender community in Malaysia has experienced stigma and discrimination in all aspects of life (Human Rights Watch Report, 2014; Wei et al., 2012; Teh, 1998). This includes limited employment opportunities due to low academic qualifications and the most crucial access to proper healthcare services (Bauer et al., 2009). Transphobia carries this definition; emotional reaction towards the change of sexual characteristics. The transphobia phenomenon has highlighted many health-related problems to the transgender people. High rates of depression, suicidal thoughts, substance abuse and several other mental illnesses are identified within this population, caused by transphobia which is a typical experience for transgender women. A common problem faced by transgender/transsexual individuals is getting access to equal healthcare while many also experienced deliberate discrimination within healthcare settings (Lombardi, 2009) which includes deliberate use of inappropriate pronouns, being insensitive when giving treatment, giving judgmental statements, and the unwillingness of healthcare providers to provide care (Gibson et al., 2016).

1.2 Problem Statement

United Nations' "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" outlines 30 articles pertaining the rights of a human which includes the "rights to life, rights to freedom without division of any kind such as race, colour, sex, language, religion , political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status, right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services" and few others.

Malaysia's Federal Constitution reflects most provisions outlined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which includes "the right to life and liberty, equality before the law and equal protection of the law, freedom of movement, freedom of speech, assembly and association, freedom of religion, the right to education and possession of property" These are covered in Articles 5 to 13. What can be deduced from these is that human rights are fundamental for every person in the society to live harmoniously.

Conversely, the climate of human rights is totally different when it comes to LGBTQ community in Malaysia. Currently, a transgender has been appointed as a representative into a committee under the Health Ministry to help the government to tackle HIV/AIDS issue in Malaysia. This appointment received a mixed reaction from the general public with some criticizing and some others praising the move (see NST Online, 9th July 2019). In another instance in September 2018, it has been quoted that Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, Malaysia's present Prime Minister reiterated that Malaysia observes human rights. However, Malaysia will not subscribe to Western values. He further added that while he respects the suggestions made by Suhakam to improve Malaysia's human rights, Malaysian citizens need to be reminded that 'some things are only meant for the west' (The Star Online, 2018).

This incident serves as one of many proofs of how the LGBTQ community is perceived in Malaysia. Due to the stand that Malaysia has on LGBTQ community, this group is subjected to transphobia. Transphobia is extended to all parts of their lives; employment, law regulations and most prominently, healthcare settings. The LGBTQ community, particularly the transgender group is deprived of quality care and consultation in healthcare settings. This situation is problematic as the transgender community has specific healthcare needs that if otherwise made unavailable, has a huge potential of becoming a threat to their lives such as advice on hormone intake and counselling for the transgenders who are still deciding on 'transition'.

Thus, this study aims to look at what takes place in healthcare settings when the transgender community seeks medical help. In order to understand the issue, interviews with transgenders are conducted by the researcher. From these interviews, the manner in which the participants observe and not observe the Grice's maxims are analysed. The manners in which the transgender community attempts to observe and not observe the maxims in interviews about healthcare has the potential to serve larger purposes; something bigger than just merely as a tool to ease the communication process. This study will look at the realization of such observations and non-observation in order to reveal these purposes.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

For the purpose of looking at transgender talk, this study focuses on two objectives:

- 1) to establish what maxims are observed and not observed in transgender talk.
- 2) to look at the implicatures of the (non) observance of the maxims in transgender talk.

1.4 Research Questions

The current study aims to answer these research questions:

- 1) What maxims are observed or not observed in interviews about healthcare with transgenders?

Access to proper healthcare is a crucial issue among the transgenders. Thus when given the opportunity, the transgenders will most likely observe the maxims in order to answer the questions or use implicatures when sensitive issues are discussed. In discussing this issue, it is vital to find out how the transgenders talk about their healthcare issues during interviews. Using the adjacency pairs of

question and answer would enable the analysis of observance and non-observance of maxims.

2) What are the pragmatic strategies used in the non-observance of conversational maxims?

When interlocutors deliberately flout the maxims, the intention not to observe the maxims is regarded as conversational implicatures (Archer, Aijmer and Wichmann, *Pragmatics*, 2012). To understand these reasons, it is important to also look at the conversational implicatures generated by the obvious non-observance of maxims done by the participants in the interviews. The manner in which the implicatures are realized denotes the sensitivity and intensity of the issues discussed or the questions asked.

1.5 Significance of Study

By attending to the research questions, this study will be able to show the usefulness of conversational implicatures in analyzing transgender talk which is vital because their position in the society has limited their chances of putting forward their thoughts explicitly without being misunderstood or stigmatized by the larger group. Transgender issues in Malaysia has become a social phenomenon, attributing this to the fact that the larger society only recognizes two genders; male and female. Anything that falls in between are considered 'abnormal' and therefore, rejected which affects the access to healthcare for this group. Thus, it is appropriate to study this social phenomenon and arrive at a conclusion based on both personal experiences of the transgender group as well as theoretical perspective of the Pragmatics field.

This study will also fulfill the gap for transgender discourse study in Malaysia that explores their healthcare issues through the use of Grice's Cooperative Principle as well

as conversational implicatures. This study will allow people to see their issues from a linguistic perspective apart from medical and sociological perspectives.

Finally, this study will help to reveal that adjacency pair of question and answer and questioning method have the ability to motivate interlocutors to observe and not observe Grice's maxims in communicative settings.

1.6 Limitations of the study

The current research only includes nine educated transgender women in urban Kuala Lumpur. The result of this study, therefore, does not represent the entire educated transgender population in Kuala Lumpur.

Finding more participants proved to be a challenge as many transwomen feared exposure to transphobia. It has also been found that the transwomen had this fear that their information might be misused by the researcher as they have experienced this situation before. Therefore, this made the effort to get more participants challenging.

Another major limitation is that the questions formulated for the interview are 'leading'. This means that the questions are shaped and asked in a certain manner to elicit specific responses. This is unavoidable due to the sensitivity of the topic for the transgender community. In order to get them to share their opinions on the healthcare issues in Malaysia, some questions were 'shaped' and asked in a certain way to ensure that they are comfortable as well as to maintain the topic on healthcare so that they will not talk about anything that does not concern the context of the study. Nevertheless, the responses given were genuine and the participants had no problem sharing their opinions confidently.

The current study is also limited to analyzing the realization of conversational implicatures in interviews with nine educated transgenders who work in urban Kuala Lumpur. It will not focus at transgenders from other states in Malaysia. This is due to the

time constraint faced by the researcher during the data collection process. The analysis of conventional implicatures does not contribute towards understanding the issue of the current study. Therefore, only conversational implicatures will be taken into consideration.

1.7 Definitions of terms

It is essential to explain a few key concepts that appear in this research before proceeding with the study.

1.7.1 Transgender

The word “transgender” refers to an extensive variety of social identities and gender presentations (Billard, 2018). “Transgender” is an umbrella term for people who do not match their assigned gender at birth and live as the opposite gender. This includes those who have gone through sex reassignment surgery to ensure that the sex associated to their gender identity aligns with their bodies; transsexual men and women or transmen and transwomen (Billard, 2018), people who do not conform to traditional gender binary definition that includes only man and woman (non-binary) (Billard, 2018), cross-dressers or transvestites (those who dress as the opposite gender as a means of self-expression), drag performers (male or female impersonators) and those who may describe themselves as bigender or genderqueer (Bockting et al., 2013). For the current research, the term ‘transwomen’ is used to discuss about men who live their lives as the opposite gender; including those who are in the process of transitioning to woman and have successfully transitioned as a woman.

1.7.2 Transphobia

Transphobia is an emotional disgust directed towards people who do not adhere to traditional gender binary system (Hill & Willoughby, 2005). Transphobia is a strong hatred towards women who are masculine, men who are feminine, cross-dressers, transgenders and transsexuals. This phobia entails the fear that one's friends or families may be a transgender or revulsion upon coming across a trans-person (Hill & Willoughby, 2005).

1.7.3 The Cooperative Principle

“Make your contribution such as required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged” (Grice, 1975). Grice's (1975) general idea behind the Cooperative Principle is that the speakers and hearers are trying to be 'cooperative' in conversation. This means that the interlocutors make the effort to ensure that their utterances are fitting to the context. Being cooperative requires the interlocutors to be honest, brief, relevant and clear in the communicative settings. In other words, Grice (1975) posits that a conversation works best when both interlocutors try to be cooperative; attempting to make their contribution appropriate to the conversation they are engaged in.

1.7.4 Grice' Maxims

Grice's (1975) Cooperative Principle consists of the four maxims. The maxims are the sub-principles of the Cooperative Principle which are Maxim of Quality, Maxim of Quantity, Maxim of Relation, and Maxim of Manner. The Maxim of Quality requires the interlocutors to make contributions that are true, refrain oneself from giving false information and 'to not say that for which you lack adequate evidence' (Liu, 2017). The Maxim of Quantity requires the interlocutors to make their contribution as informative as

required and to not make the contribution more than what is needed in the context of the conversation. The Maxim of Relation is to make the contribution relevant to the context of the conversation. The Maxim of Manner entails the interlocutors be brief and orderly and to avoid ambiguity and obscurity in their utterances.

The maxims are usually regarded as guidelines to achieve successful communication. The typical assumption is that the interlocutors will adhere to the maxims in their conversations. In certain situations, the speakers will resort to not observe the maxims in order to 'imply' certain meanings of their utterances that might be difficult to be expressed directly otherwise. Non-observance of the maxims will generate implicatures. According to Grice (1975), non-observance is defined as either blatant or unostentatious failing to observe the maxims i.e. corresponding to flouting or violating maxims (Brumark, 2006). Other strategies of non-observance of maxims include infringing, opting out, and suspending.

1.7.5 Conventional and Conversational Implicatures

Conventional implicature is an implicature that arises because of the conventional features attached to a particular lexical items and/or linguistic constructions (Huang, 2007, p. 54). In other words, a conventional implicature, according to Grice (1975), is associated with the literal meaning of the lexical items and is not derivable as a conversational inference (Salmon, 2011). On the other hand, the conversational implicature is something which is implied in conversation; that is something which is left implicit in actual language use. Grice (1975) describes conversational implicatures as inferences that arise as a result of non-observance of the four maxims which are achieved through flouting, violating, fringing, suspending and opting out the maxims. Besides looking at the literal meaning of the lexical items in utterances, conversational implicatures also take into account the context in which the utterances take place in order

to come up with inferences of the particular utterances. For the current study, only conversational implicatures will be considered.

1.8 Scope of Study

The current study will only look at flouting of maxims as the non-observance strategy as this strategy is used most frequently by the participants in the interviews about healthcare. Other non-observance strategies, thus, shall not be included in the current study.

1.9 Summary

This chapter has provided background information regarding the research such as research problem, objectives, questions, and significance of the research. The key concepts introduced in the abstract have also been explored. In the following chapter, the review of relevant literature will be explicated to provide further background on the framework and its relevance to the current study

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the related theories and reviews of relevant literatures. It begins by looking at the theory of Cooperative Principle and Grice's Maxims. Next, the notion of conversational implicature will be introduced and discussed extensively. Non-observance of maxims will be deliberated after that and the discussion focuses on the flouting of maxims. Some instances for the flouting of each maxims will be provided. A number of academic investigations examining Cooperative Principle, non-observance of maxims and conversational implicatures will be explicated and the relevance of these studies to the current study will be shown. Next, question and response techniques in interviews will be discussed, paying special attention to the utilization of the techniques in political interviews. Subsequent section will discuss the linguistic strategies that are used by the participants which helped to realize the conversational implicatures, namely, hedging, evasion, ignoring the question and circumlocuted strategy. Finally, a summary of the chapter will be included at the end of this chapter.

2.2 The Cooperative Principle

“Make your contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of talk exchange in which you are engaged” (Grice, 1975, p. 45). The quote above explains how the Cooperative Principle revolves around the linguistic behavior of a speaker in a communicative setting. This means that the theory is an attempt to explain how meanings of utterances are constructed by the speakers and understood by the interlocutors in a communicative setting. According to Grice (1975), conversation is not merely a sequence of disengaged remarks but is a mutually and

naturally accepted direction between the speaker and the listener. A conversation can only work due to the fact that both interlocutors are being cooperative; to make their contribution appropriately fit the conversation at hand (Grice, 1975). This entails that the interlocutors do attempt to make their utterances appropriate in context, even if it means they are having an argument. The argument will still be an attempt of them being conversationally cooperative since they will stick to the topic of the argument, utter things are interpretable in a reasonably brief way and ensure they complete their thoughts without mentioning irrelevant details (Birner, 2013).

The main goal of communication, according to Cooperative Principle, is to reduce miscommunication that may occur in a communicative setting which requires people to speak in an accepted way. This largely means that in a communicative process, it is assumed that the utterances are true, possess adequate information, are relevant and are clear and not ambiguous in any ways. However, lack of any elements mentioned does not mean that the utterance will lose its meaning altogether and becomes a nonsensical utterance. There appears to be the existence of implied meaning that must be deciphered by the hearer. As put forward by Grice, an utterance is not to be understood solely based on its literal conventions such as lexical items and linguistic constructions but also within the context it occurs.

The discussion on Grice's Cooperative Principle will not be complete without the mention of the four maxims namely, Maxim of Quantity, Maxim of Quality, Maxim of Relation and Maxim of Manner. This will be explicated in the next section.

2.3 Grice's Maxims

It has been mentioned that a conversation can only work when both interlocutors are being conversationally cooperative. In order to decide whether the interlocutors are being cooperative, the utterances must be interpreted. The problem with interpretation is the possibility of misunderstanding what the other says. Therefore, Grice (1975) formulated the Cooperative Principle consists of four conversational maxims: Maxim of Quantity, Maxim of Quality, Maxim of Relation and Maxim of Manner. Adherence to these maxims entails that adequate information is given and the exchange is done in a truthful, relevant and an ambiguous manner. A brief description for each maxim are explicated below.

2.3.1 The Maxim of Quality

The maxim of Quality requires the interlocutors to provide truthful information. They should try to make their contribution one that is correct. They should not say what they believe to be false and/or say that for which they lack adequate evidence.

Example 1:

- A. Where is Juliet?
- B. She is in her room, I'm sure.

(Agnes, 2013, p.44)

In Example 1, the answer provided to the question is truthful because B gave the information on Julie's whereabouts. Therefore, B adheres to the Maxim of Quality.

2.3.2 The Maxim of Quantity:

The Maxim of Quantity requires the interlocutors to give sufficient information in a communication. They should make their contribution as informative as is required for the current purposes of the exchange. The information should not be more informative than

is required. No important piece of information should be excluded in order to aid the hearer's comprehension of the utterance.

Example 2:

A: What's your name?

B: My name is George.

(Lu, 2014, p.7)

In Example 2, the response was enough to answer the question without any unnecessary information. Thus, B adheres to the Maxim of Quantity.

2.3.3 The Maxim of Relation

According to Grice Cooperative Principle, this maxim requires people to be relevant in their conversation. As the name suggests, the participants need to provide information that is only relevant to the conversation subject.

Example 3:

A: Where are the car keys?

B: They are on the table in the hall.

(Shu, 2012, p.1186)

In Example 3, B clearly observed the Maxim of Relation because the response is relevant to the question in which B directly told A the location of the car keys. The answer provided, therefore, adheres to the Maxim of Relation.

2.3.4 The Maxim of Manner

Based on this maxim, the participants have to be clear brief and orderly. The participants must also avoid complexity of expression and vagueness in a conversational exchange.

Example 4:

To obtain a ticket, insert a 20p coin into the machine.

(Cruse, 2000, p. 360)

In this example, the information was very clear and brief without any redundancy. Therefore, the Maxim of Manner is successfully adhered to.

Apart from looking at observance and non-observance of Grice's Maxims, the current study is also looking at conversational implicatures generated from the non-observance of the Maxims. The next section will discuss the non-observance of maxims.

2.3 Conversational Implicatures

In the previous section Grice's maxims and examples that observed the maxims were discussed. However, Grice (1975) noted that people do not usually adhere to the maxims all the time in a conversational exchange. In many occasions and contexts in life, people may fail to observe the maxims. This failure to observe the maxims can be attributed to many reasons. Some of the factors would be the incapability of people to speak clearly due to some internal factors such as anxiety, nervousness, lack of knowledge about the topic of discussion or maybe they are trying to hide some information on purpose (Ayasreh & Razali, 2018). Hearers, on the other hand, shoulder the responsibility of inferring or understanding the implied meaning of the speakers' utterances when the speakers fail to adhere to the maxims. Grice is more interested in finding out the reasons

behind the intentional failure to observe the maxims by speakers more so than the observance of the maxims. When they do not observe the maxims, usually implicatures will be generated. This shows that speech has multiple layer of meanings and definitely cannot be only deduced from the literal meanings of the utterances. This layers of meanings are known as ‘implicatures’.

Implicatures, therefore, are concerned with the idea that what has been literally said and what is clearly meant are often distinct (Chapman, 2011, p69). Grice was fascinated on two versions of meaning; *what is said* and *what is implicated*. Although the notion of ‘what is said’ was never fully explained by Grice, it has been agreed that this carries the weight as understanding an utterance in terms of its literal meaning. Understanding ‘what is said’ is crucial because in order to decipher speaker’s intention in an utterance, the literal meaning must first and foremost be understood. This is the starting point, although it will not be able to provide the full explanation behind an utterance. It is up to the hearer to fit in information about what is implicated or about any implicatures that are put forward by the saying of ‘what is said’ (Chapman, 2011, p.70).

Consider this example:

Example 5: He is poor but honest.

What can be understood from this example is that firstly, it is not implied anywhere that poor people are not honest. However, the addition of the word ‘but’ implies that, in this case, poor people are indeed dishonest. *But* has a contradicting sense to it, which means whatever idea that follows will contradict the idea that comes before the word. Regardless of the context, ‘but’ will always carry the same sense. This is an example of a conventional implicature.

According to Lubis (2015), an utterance may evidently comprise an implicature. When engaged in a communicative setting, the speaker will usually have other intentions and meanings to their utterances. That is, the speaker usually opt to not say things directly but rather resort to implying what they really want to put forward and it is the hearer's responsibility to infer this intended meaning of such utterance.

When discussing implicatures, Grice divided this notion into two main parts; conventional implicatures and conversational implicatures. Conventional implicatures are concerned with the literal meanings of words and the utterances have to be taken at the face value. As this study is more interested in the implied meanings of utterances in interviews with transgender, this notion will not be explored further. This study will be focused on conversational implicatures.

Conversational implicatures are inferences or implied meanings that can be deduced from utterances based on the contexts of the communicative settings. This implicature is independent from the conventional meaning of the words. Its core business is the principles or regularities concerning how people use language in general (Huang, 2014, p.73). Knowledge about language plays a great role in helping us to fully understand an utterance besides having the knowledge on the conventional meanings carried by the lexical items and linguistic construction of that particular utterance. This means that a conversational implicature is heavily dependent on the context in which an utterance is uttered. Consider this example:

Example 6

Charlene: I hope you brought the bread and the cheese.

Dexter: Ah, I brought the bread.

(Yule, 1996, p. 40)

From this conversation, it can be seen that Dexter clearly implies that he did not bring the cheese. Charlene, as the hearer, is in need to infer this information despite Dexter clearly responding to her. One can only infer this conversation if they have the contextual knowledge. This inferred meaning is said to be conversational implicature.

This study aims to look at how conversational implicatures take place in interview with transgender in healthcare context. While it is clear that the transgenders face difficulties in accessing proper healthcare services, to be able to explicitly talk about it might be a problem to this group of people with the fear that they might be misunderstood. Therefore, this study will look at the strategies of non-observance of maxims that produce conversational implicatures in interview with transgenders about healthcare.

2.4 Non-Observance of Maxims

It has been reiterated that it is impossible for people to observe the maxims in daily conversations. Sometimes, people will intentionally fail to observe the maxims so as to put forward a different meaning to their utterances and hope that the hearers will be able to infer them.

When discussing non-observance, Grice introduced several types namely flouting, violating, fringing, opting out and suspending. Flouting of maxims occurs when the interlocutors intentionally fail to observe the maxims to motivate the hearer to infer the intended meaning behind the utterances. A speaker who flouts the maxims are conscious of the Cooperative Principle and the maxims but the speaker opt to choose an indirect way to observe them (Black E., 2006:25). According to Grice, there are a few criteria of flouting of maxims; flouting maxim of quantity, flouting maxim of quality, flouting maxim of manner and flouting maxim of relation. Violation of maxims happens when the speaker wants to mislead or provide improper information. Infringing of maxims takes place when the speaker is unable to speak clearly due to some factors that affect his

performance such as anxiety, nervousness, being drunk, lack of knowledge on the conversation subject and etc. Opting out a maxim simply means that the speaker decide to not cooperate although the speaker refuses to appear uncooperative. A speaker may opt out due to when the speaker is unable, on the possibility of a legal or ethical reason, respond in the usual, expected manner or when providing the requested information has the potential to hurt a third party (Thomas J., 1995, p. 74). Suspending a maxim entails no expectation for the participants that they should observe any of the maxims under certain situations (Thomas J., 1995). This research concentrates on flouting of maxims as that is the strategy most frequently used by the participants in the interview.

2.5.1 Flouting maxim of quantity

For a participant to flout the maxim of quantity is for them to not explain to the point by producing information that is more or lesser than what is required in the conversation. A participant may also flout this maxim by producing incomplete words when conversing. Consider the following example:

Example 7:

A: Well, how do I look?

B: Your shoes are nice. (Cutting, 2002: 37)

In this illustration, it can be clearly seen that B talked about A' shoes instead of giving opinion on A's appearance. From the question, it can be seen that A clearly wanted B's opinion on how he/she looks. This deliberate way of not directly answering question is flouting the maxim of quantity because B gave less than the required information.

2.5.2 Flouting maxim of quality

There are three possible ways for a participant to flout the maxim of quality. One possible strategy would be the participant deliberately distorting the information given. Another strategy would be saying and denying something that is assumed to be false. A participant may also use an ironical statement to flout the maxim of quality. This can be seen in the example below:

A: Teheran's in Turkey isn't it, teacher?

B: And **London's in Armenia** I suppose. (Levinson, 1983: 101)

B used sarcasm to flout the maxim of quality. In this exchange, B provided false information; London is in Armenia so that A will understand that his/her statement is incorrect.

2.5.3 Flouting maxim of relation

Flouting maxim of relation is when a participant provides information that is unrelated to the subject of the conversation. This usually happens in the event that the participants desire to conceal something or wanting to state something in an indirect manner. This type of flouting can also take place if they desire to change the direction of the conversation. Look at this example:

A: Where's Bill?

B: **There's a yellow VW outside Sue's house.** (Levinson 1983: 102)

There is a possibility that the yellow VW belongs to Bill which is why B talked about the car instead of directly answering A's question. By doing this, B has flouted the maxim of relation because he/she did not contribute information on Bill's whereabouts directly.

2.5.4 Flouting maxim of manner

The use of ambiguous language and sometimes, the use of foreign language can motivate the participants to flout maxim of manner. They can also flout maxim of manner when they fail to be brief and orderly.

A: Where are you off to?

B: I was thinking of going out to get some of that **funny white stuff for somebody**.

A: OK, but don't be long – dinner's nearly ready. (Cutting, 2002: 39)

'Funny white stuff' here is known to be ice cream and 'somebody' here connotes their daughter. The exchange between the husband and wife here shows a deliberate flout of manner to ensure the daughter does not know about the ice cream so that she will not want to have ice cream before dinner.

All the examples discussed above are instances of flouting of maxims because flouting is done to motivate the hearers to infer for additional meanings more so than what is said. Flouting of maxims is deemed as a strategy to put forward the intended meanings of their utterances without explicitly saying it. In communicative settings, flouting of maxims is important to achieve a successful communication purpose without having to put so much effort into 'organizing' one's thoughts or always being careful with the selection of words that they have to use.

2.6 Studies examining Cooperative Principle, Non-Observance of Maxims and Conversational Implicatures.

Among the most popularly investigated area of research for Cooperative Principle and non-observance of maxims are political interviews, TV shows and humor. Academic investigations done on political interviews will be explicated as it is related to the context of the research.

Ayasreh, Sabti, Awwad, Mansor, & Razali (2019) investigated the violation and flouting of the maxim by Gadaffi in interview during the Arab Spring. The researchers aimed to discover the reasons of the Arab leader, Gadaffi flouting maxims in the interview. The findings revealed that the leader consciously flouted four maxims by using several strategies such as deliberately shifting the topic by producing answers that are irrelevant to the topic, giving too much information by making exaggerated statement, making rhetorical questions and producing ambiguous statement (Ayasreh et al., 2019). The researchers explained that the reason behind the floutings of maxims is to convey intended meaning and it exposes how this Arab leader intentionally ‘carved’ the meaning of his utterances to gain the public’s support. This research shows how flouting is done deliberately to convey certain meaning behind the utterances to achieve a certain communicative goal. Gadaffi flouted the maxims to hide the truth from his people, to show that he was innocent and justify the actions of their government (Ayasreh et al., 2019). The current study is similar to this research because the current study aims to look at the strategies used by the participants to observe and not observe the maxims. The strategies used to non-observe the maxims will generate conversational implicatures and help to enlighten the reasons the participants flouted the maxims in the interviews about healthcare settings in Malaysia.

A study done by Ayasreh & Razali (2018) which analyzed the flouting of maxims in interview with Bashar Al-Assad reveal that the main reason behind his violation was to convey meanings in his favor. In this study, the authors emphasized the importance of understanding the context in which the speech is made. This is to enable the hearer to identify underlying meanings produced by a speaker. Since the authors had clear understanding of the context, they were able to differentiate between what was said and what was meant by Bashar. He flouted the maxims to show that he is not against his people and he wanted to imply that the country is safe and there is nothing to be worried about. He also tried to portray that the country is safe to stop international interference in the country by committing such violations. Similar to the previous study, as a politician, the purpose of flouting of maxims is to gain the support and trust of the people. Further, he used similar strategies as Gadaffi to flout the maxims which include making the answer irrelevant to the question, denying the question made by the interviewer and giving ambiguous and lengthy reply (Ayasreh & Razali, 2018).

This research showed obvious relationship between context and the utterances which take place in the given context and how they influence each other. People, political leaders especially, have the tendency to color their choice of responses to produce intended meanings which are otherwise unconceivable to hearers without adequate background knowledge about the context. The implicatures generated from the floutings were effortlessly captured because the interviewer belonged to the same community as Bashar Al-Assad (Ayasreh & Razali, 2018). In the current study, for the researcher to capture the intended meanings of the transgender participants, the understanding of their issues with Malaysia's healthcare settings is utmost important as this enables the researcher to differentiate between what was said and what was meant by the participants.

In another similar research conducted by Buddharat, Ambele, & Boonsuk (2017), the study analyzed the strategies used by politicians to violate Cooperative Principle in presidential debate, the functions of such violations and the relationship between the violations with cooperation in political discourse. The authors pointed out that the violations of maxims are regarded differently from one scholar to another. In this paper, violations is taken as holistic concept 'to mean any kind of non-observances of maxims, including violation of maxims, maxim clash, opting out and flouting of maxims' (Buddharat et al., 2017). The findings reveal that in political debates, maxims can be violated by opting out of a maxim, clash of maxims (observing one maxim by not observing another maxim), flouting of maxims and violation of maxims. One interesting point that this study pointed out is that the politicians only flouted the maxims of quantity, quality and relevance which helped to generate implicatures. The flouting of maxim of manner was rarely found. This research also highlights how political discourse is not cooperative and untruthful, attributing these to the situations where the politicians engage in non-observance of maxims to portray a good image of them in order to gain the public's attention and support.

For the current study, one of the reasons for the participants to flout the maxims is to put forward a positive image of themselves and this is utmost important because they are a marginalized group in Malaysia. For their opinions to be taken seriously and indirectly allowing them to gain proper access to healthcare services, they are in dire need to produce their image in a positive light and therefore, they flout the maxims in interviews about healthcare settings in Malaysia.

Al-Qaderi (2015) investigated conversational implicature that takes place in Arabic language. For this purpose, semi-structured interviews with 15 participants who spoke Yemeni dialect were analyzed by focusing on flouting of maxims. The participants were

given pseudonyms to protect their identity. The interviews were audio-recorded with the consent of the participants. After the interviews were transcribed and translated, the transcripts were printed and handed back to the respective participants from them to check the accuracy of the translations. After receiving feedback, the author amended the transcripts and analyzed the interviews. The analysis illustrated that the Maxims of Quantity and Manner were flouted the most. This was followed by the flouting of Maxim of Relation. Maxim of Quality was the least flouted maxim in the research. The author concluded the research by explaining that the reasons behind the participants flouting the maxims was to ease the interview process and it was not done to mislead the interviewer. This research is similar to the current study in terms of the methodology employed and the analysis process conducted. Further, this research has small number of participants, 15. This is also similar to the current study which interviewed 9 transgender participants. This research helps to prove that flouting of maxims is a common strategy employed by the speakers to generate implicatures which eases the communication process as well as to minimize any possible misunderstanding that might occur in a communicative setting, particularly interviews where there are only the interviewer and the interviewee.

Lubis (2015) conducted a study on conversational implicatures of Indonesia Lawyers Club Program on TV One. The data of the study were the corpus document of some conversation on *Indonesia Lawyer's Club* program on TV One. The TV program revolves around the discussion of law and politics and it attempt to discuss hot issues in the society from different points of view. Experts of the fields related to the discussed topic are usually invited to the show. In this research, the researcher chose the topic *Ecstasy Driver and 9 Souls*. This episode is about a reckless driver who caused accident because he drove under the influence of drug. The victim's family and the drug user met in this episode to confront each other and to discuss this issue. A representative from the police department was also invited to provide government's view on the same issue. The researcher

converted the video of the conversations into written text for analysis purpose. Findings reveal that all the maxims were violated by the speakers but the maxim that was mostly violated was the maxim of quantity. This means that the speakers provided more information than they are required to. This is attributed to three main reasons as revealed by the analysis which are ‘to show up pain and core of the problem to the audiences, to save ones face and to defend certain group and blame the government’ (Lubis, 2015).

The implicatures produced from the speakers’ non observance of maxims are almost similar to the current study as the issue discussed is a social problem which involves many parties. This requires the speakers to be ‘cautious’ with how they arrange their thoughts so as ensure the communication flows uninterruptedly and to not cause any misunderstanding. For the current study, the issue of healthcare access is regarded as a social problem as it involves the transgenders who are members of the society and it also requires the transgenders to be careful with providing responses to the interviewer’s questions. While the study focused on violations of maxims, it helped to shed light on how any kind of non-observance of maxims is able to generate conversational implicatures. When the interlocutors decide to consciously not observe the maxims, they have intended meanings to their utterance in which they encourage their hearers to infer.

In the next section, the question and response techniques in interview will be discussed. This discussion is important as the manners in which questions are shaped have the tendency to ‘coerce’ the participants to flout the maxims in order to produce responses that are deemed appropriate to the questions.

2.7 Question and Response Techniques in Interview

From the academic investigations discussed in the previous section, it can be clearly seen that the non-observance of maxims are done to generate implicatures. Further, they

are also deemed as linguistic strategies that are goal oriented in a communicative setting. This means that when an interlocutor does not observe maxims in a naturally occurring interaction, there is a distinct meaning intended from the literal utterances. In the context of this study, the floutings are done by the participants for several factors which includes their effort to not be misunderstood, to establish a positive image of the transgenders and to speak their mind without being held accountable for what is uttered. These can be clearly seen in their responses for the questions posed.

It has been noted in the current study that the floutings of maxims are motivated by the way the interview questions are 'shaped' and asked. It has been established that being a transgender in this community is challenging due to many factors and therefore, putting forward their concerns and opinions to the general public becomes a daunting task which is why they do not observe the maxims when they discuss issues that surround them, particularly in healthcare settings. While this is an undeniable fact, the way questions are shaped also plays a role in encouraging them to observe and not observe the maxims. The instances of the notion can be clearly seen in political interviews. The current study does not deal with any political ideology. However, there are constraints experienced by the politicians to answer questions in interviews due to the nature of questions such as questions about controversial issue, questions that need them to protect confidential information and questions that need them to address a complex issue in a brief time (Bull & Mayer, 1993). These constraints are similar to what has been experienced by the transgenders in interviews about healthcare. Thus, it is appropriate to look at the way questions are shaped as well as answering techniques in political interviews to further understand how conversational implicatures are realized in the current study.

The function of questions comprises controlling the direction of talk which include limiting the range of the topic, setting up opposing positions, inviting specific kinds of

answers, and more. Similar to the questions formulated for the study, the questions function as a guide to control the direction of the interview and to invite particular kinds of answers. This is done in order to get the interviewees to provide information regarding their experiences and opinions on healthcare. It is important to note that the interviewer appears neutral through careful arrangement of word choices when asking questions to not be held accountable for being biased or partial. The interviewees, on the other hand, ensure that they answer the questions and do not challenge the interviewer's role. In other words, both parties attempt to adhere to the interview conduct's institutional framework and make communicative efforts to maintain the interaction order and institutional identities of this framework.

In political interview settings, the interviewee usually exerts power and authority over the interviewer due to their social status. In the current study, the interviewer adopts the universal role of an interviewer; having power over the agenda of the interview. This means that the researcher controls the direction of the interview and ensures the discussions do not go out of the context of the research; healthcare. A typical interview will be started and ended by the interviewer. In the event where the interviewer have to make a statement, he will usually make the statement using a question or close it with a tag in the form of "isn't it?" or "wasn't it?" (Bull & Mayer, 1993). This format of question and answer allows the interviewer to probe for more insights and opinions from the interviewee while maintaining the neutrality. This is also done by the researcher in the current study to achieve similar aims.

It is also useful to look at the classifications of questions and how these classifications influence the type of answers provided by the interlocutors. Questions can be classified into three types which are *polar questions* (for yes/no questions), *alternative questions* ("Is this a novel or a play?") and *variable questions* (for wh-questions) (Huddleston &

Pullum, 2002). Huddleston and Pullum (2002) revised the categorization terminology of questions to provide better classification in order to cater for semantic and pragmatic dimensions of the type of answers expected. They further classified the question types into two: closed and open questions. These classifications take into account the interlocutor's answering preferences and "the question's degree of constraint or coerciveness" (Ilie, 2015). Closed questions are those of yes/no questions and alternative questions while open questions are represented by interrogative type question. Open questions enable the interlocutors to respond in a broader range of possible answers compared to closed questions. It has been noted that the type of questions asked do not merely serve the function of getting information. Closed questions, for instance, when used by attorneys in courtroom, aim to limit the witnesses' replies. Wh-questions are deemed as less coercive because they offer the flexibility of possible replies. However, it has been observed that 'why?' question can be taxing for the interlocutors to answer. For example, a witness will not be able to respond to this question without self-incrimination if asked in a legal context (Ilie, 2015). Tag-questions and declarative questions, on the other hand, can be coercive because the questions require a confirmative answer (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002). Questions and prompts in the interview with the transgender participants are both open and closed questions which elicited various responses depending on the type of question asked; either *polar questions* (for yes/no questions), *alternative questions* and *variable questions* (for wh-questions) as can be seen in the analysis of the research data.

Looking at questions from a pragmatic perspective, the standard and non-standard questions are deemed to be distinct from each other in terms of the types of speech acts enacted and the connection between their illocutionary force (speaker intention) and their perlocutionary effect (effect on hearer of the utterance) (Ilie, 2015). On a very surface level, questions or syntactically interrogative sentences are usually understood as a

method to seek answer or information. This would be categorized as standard question. However, this is not only the case as questions may be used to elicit certain responses such as confirmation, permission granting, acceptance and others which are deemed as non-standard questions. Further, questions have the ability to fulfill several other context specific function (Ilie, 2015) such as a complaint, a warning, a threat, an accusation, an invitation and many others. The classification of questions in the interview of the current research is of non-standard questions. Besides gathering information and the participants' general opinions on Malaysia's healthcare settings, the interview sessions seek to reveal their underlying emotions and thought processes when it comes to issues they face in healthcare settings in Malaysia. Therefore, this shows that the interview questions have the power to encourage the participants to observe and not observe the maxims due to their nature and functions they want to fulfill which result in generation of conversational implicatures.

The interviewees are expected to answer questions posed to them. In political interviews, this is what the politicians do not do. Instead they commit to many pragmatic strategies of providing responses to the questions such as 'ignoring the question', questioning the questions, evasion, hedging and etc (Bull & Mayer, 1993; Al-Rassam, 2010; Fadhly, 2012) which are similar to the ways in which the participants of the current study attempted to respond the questions in the interview.

One of the most insightful work done on political interviews is by Peter Bull and Kate Mayer. Their research was primarily to develop a coding procedure to characterize the ways in which politicians fail to answer the questions (Bull and Mayer, 1993). Amongst the research objectives was to understand the way politicians exchange (and not exchange information) in televised political interviews. They noted that the exchange of information in interviews like this is influenced by rules that regulate the interaction. This

is similar to what Grice (1975) suggests when discussing Cooperative Principle. They discussed turn-taking as a one of the rules that regulate the interaction. Turn-taking is an important aspect of interaction discussed in the field of Pragmatics.

Bull and Mayer's findings are useful to understand how conversational implicatures are realized in interviews because the strategies that the politicians employ to provide and (not) provide information follows the rules of interactions. When they decide to give or not give information, there are underlying reasons behind such decisions. This is in line with the notion of conversational implicatures; implicatures are generated in conversations when the interlocutors do not observe the maxims and there are factors that motivate them to not observe the maxims. Hence, the current study will use some of the strategies outlined by Bull and Mayer (1993) to explain the realization of conversational implicatures in interviews with transgenders about healthcare settings in Malaysia. Apart from that, two other academic investigations' findings that reveal the strategies in which politicians flout the maxims such as hedging and evasion will also be adopted by the current study to discuss the realization of conversational implicatures as these strategies appear to be used by the participant in the interviews.

Bull and Meyer (1993) in their study, analyzed eight televised political interviews video-recorded during British General Election Campaign in 1987. The researchers recorded the interviews off-air. Questions in the interviews were identified and the replies of the politicians were coded either as a reply (requested information is provided), a non-reply (part or none of the requested information is provided) and answer by implication (the politicians make their views without clearly stating them). They also outlined eleven superordinate categories of non-replies in interviews such as 'ignores the questions', 'attacks the interviewer', 'questions the question', etc, which are further divided into 30 subcategories such as 'criticizes the interview' under 'attacks the interviewer'

superordinate category based on the analysis. The non-replies categories are outlined in the table below with examples provided by Bull and Mayer (1993).

Table 2.1: Typology of non-replies

Typology of Non-replies	Examples (Bull & Mayer (1993))
<p>1. Ignores the question</p> <p>The politicians simply ignores the question without making any attempt to answer or acknowledge the question.</p>	<p><i>Margaret Thatcher: . . . that is the only power you have the power from the ballot box at every election you submit yourself to the judgment of your people on your stewardism David Frost: but that back on January 27th though why did you say that?</i></p> <p><i>Margaret Thatcher: and then don't forget I also have another submission to make to the judgement of my party and that is every single year I'm the first leader to whom that's happened ...</i></p>
<p>2. Acknowledges the question without answering it.</p> <p>The politician acknowledges that the interviewer has asked a question but then fails to give an answer.</p>	<p><i>Margaret Thatcher: . . . they also will get housing benefit which meets their rent they will also get rate rebate and also may I point out that when er we come to. ...</i></p> <p><i>Jonathan Dimbleby: [interrupts] would you accept they live in poverty Prime Minister? Margaret Thatcher: please there's just one other thing when we get</i></p>

	<i>bad weather the Labour Party only gave...</i>
<p>3. Questions the question.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Request for clarification. <p>The politician asks for further information about the question.</p>	<p><i>Jonathan Dimbleby: . . . and I should be glad if you would ask Mrs. Thatcher what advice she can give me in order to spend the extra 15p. She awarded me in the budget to my best advantage what is your advice to her?</i></p> <p><i>Margaret Thatcher: the 15p. awarded in the budget? Jonathan Dimbleby: I thi I think she was probably referring to the April practice which in fact gives her I think</i></p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reflects the question back to the interviewer. 	<p><i>Robin Day: if you have an overall majority Mr. Kinnock say with about 350 proportion of those will be on the hard left?</i></p> <p><i>Neil Kinnock: well you tell me</i></p>
<p>4. Attacks the question.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The question fails to tackle the important issue. 	<p><i>Robin Day: but do you accept that Western freedom the freedom of Western ultimately assured by the nuclear weapons behind NATO?</i></p> <p><i>Neil Kinnock: I think the fact that nuclear weapons exist and they're a fact of there</i></p>

	<p><i>are two superpowers each counterpoised against each other is the predominant issue</i></p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The question is hypothetical or speculative. 	<p><i>David Frost: but given that scenario there I mean could Labour cope if if that could you cope or would you be shot out of the water in in a guff of wind?</i></p> <p><i>Neil Kinnock: it's the stuff of which novels are made I don't think that it could be or should be regarded as a serious proposition</i></p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The question is based on a false premise. 	<p><i>Robin Day: . . . and he asks the question how balmy do you have to be to believe that or believe that the Kremlin believes that? Margaret Thatcher: yes but you see so many of Enoch's arguments stem from the starting place he chose and the starting place he chose isn't the right one this has always been one of Enoch's problems . .</i></p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The question is factually inaccurate. 	<p><i>Jonathan Dimbleby: in the present circumstances do you think that those 2 million or so pensioners who rely on the</i></p>

	<p><i>basic state pension have enough to live a decent life?</i></p> <p><i>Margaret Thatcher: but they don't have to rely on the basic state pension</i></p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The question includes a misquotation. 	<p><i>David Dimbleby: what about your attitude to trade unions you've said you're going to give a massive return of power to trade unions if Labour come back isn't that something again that people are fearful of that is going to lose you votes?</i></p> <p><i>Neil Kinnock: yes I haven't said by the way that we're going to give massive return of power I've never used such a phrase in my life...</i></p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The question includes a quotation taken out of context. 	<p><i>Jonathan Dimbleby: what do you make of this statement if I can quote it to you "irrespective of whether or not we win the election there's a major struggle coming about the kind of Labour Party we want to see..."</i></p> <p><i>Neil Kinnock: I've read the question and you have taken it out of context</i></p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The question is objectionable. 	<p><i>Jonathan Dimbleby: the one you didn't mention were books and magazines does</i></p>

	<p><i>that mean they're the ones that might be...</i></p> <p><i>Margaret Thatcher: no you're going to try...you're going...yes and that's exactly a typical question.</i></p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The question is based on a false alternative. 	<p><i>Robin Day: which would you regard as a greater evil a coalition between Thatcherism and the Alliance and others or letting in a Thatch a a Kinnock minority government committed to socialism and unilateral disarmament?</i></p> <p><i>Margaret Thatcher: I do not accept I do not accept that that is the alternative</i></p> <p><i>Robin Day: supposing it was?</i></p> <p><i>Margaret Thatcher: I think you have possibly posed a false alternative</i></p>
<p>5. Attacks the interviewer</p> <p>Criticizes the interviewer as distinct from attacking the question.</p>	<p><i>Margaret Thatcher: look if anyone tried to put Value Added Tax on children's clothes and shoes they would never never never get it through the House er ...</i></p> <p><i>Jonathan Dimbleby: so that's out?</i></p> <p><i>Margaret Thatcher: . . . now I'm not going any further than that Mr. Dimbleby for a</i></p>

	<p><i>very good reason yes people like you will try to go on and on and the moment we say one thing you'll find another and then another.</i></p>
<p>6. Declines to answer</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Refusal on the ground of inability. 	<p><i>Robin Day: if you're reelected for another four or five years will inflation be brought down to zero?</i></p> <p><i>Margaret Thatcher: it will be our aim to bring down inflation further we shall run our financial policies in that way I wish I could promise it would be brought down to zero I can't</i></p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unwillingness to answer. 	<p><i>Robin Day: the hypothesis I was discussing wouldn't you regard that as a defeat? Margaret Thatcher: I am not going to prophesy what will happen on Thursday and I'm not going to be tempted along this route</i></p>
<p>7. Makes political point.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • External attack <p>Attacks opposition or other rival groups</p>	<p><i>David Dimbleby: . . . are you saying that a third of the people are supporting is revolutionary and quite different and militant and unacceptable Party used to be that they've all been conned?</i></p>

	<p><i>Margaret Thatcher: they have done everything possible to hide their real plans during this election</i></p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presents policy 	<p><i>Robin Day: that is why I'm asking what you would do</i></p> <p><i>Neil Kinnock: . . . it is a government a Labour government that is committed to combatting inflation to fighting poverty</i></p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Justifies policy 	<p><i>Jonathan Dimbleby: well what sense of negotiations is that then?</i></p> <p><i>Neil Kinnock: . . . Cruise weapons have never enjoyed the majority support of the British. People they don't enhance our security they're weapons of first use</i></p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gives reassurance 	<p><i>Robin Day: . . . don't you think some of them are worried about the hard left wing of the Labour Party who advocate things that people?</i></p> <p><i>Neil Kinnock: . . . I think the British people have come to know me well enough to know that there is nobody on what you describe as the hard left or any of those elements that may or may not be</i></p>

	<i>in or around the Labour Party that exercises any influence</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Appeals to nationalism 	<p><i>Jonathan Dimbleby: wouldn't it lead to they should have the right to do so as well?</i></p> <p><i>Margaret Thatcher: no I'm not talking about the logic I'm talking about Britain's history I'm talking about the fact that Britain hung on when the rest of Europe surrendered I'm talking about the fact that Britain was right in the beginning of the atomic weapon</i></p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Offers political analysis 	<p><i>Jonathan Dimbleby: . . . wages are running at seven per cent at the moment do you regard that as too high from the point of wages?</i></p> <p><i>Neil Kinnock: . . . where does inflation come from most of our inflation is imported in er inflation it comes from movements in commodity and import prices and the effects of our currency</i></p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self-justification 	<i>Robin Day: does it surprise you or upset you when you see yourself or hear</i>

	<p><i>yourself described as a hard woman uncaring and out of touch with the the feelings of ordinary folk?</i></p> <p><i>Margaret Thatcher: Margaret Thatcher: . . . I certainly hope they would not level it at me personally because as you know both Dennis and I spend a great of deal of time working for our own favorite causes my my own the National Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children.</i></p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Talks up one's own side 	<p><i>David Dimbleby: do you think it does you political damage do you think that's why the Tories are not making the advances that you must have hoped when you came into office eight years ago they would be making?</i></p> <p><i>Margaret Thatcher: no but I think we have made the advances there is I think that we have actually transformed Britain</i></p>
<p>8. Incomplete answer</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Partial answer <p>Answers part of a single-barreled question</p>	<p><i>David Dimbleby: is it still your position that nobody earning under 500 pounds a week is going to be damaged in any way financially by the return of a Labour government in terms of tax?</i></p>

	<p><i>Neil Kinnock: they won't be worse off in income tax that's for certain</i></p> <p><i>David Dimbleby: well that's not the full answer because income tax is only one part of the tax people pay.</i></p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Half answer <p>Answers one half of a double-barreled question.</p>	<p>David Frost: but do you regret the leaking of that letter was that a black mark against the government?</p> <p>Margaret Thatcher: well I indeed I indeed I indeed said that I regretted the the leaking of that letter I said so at the time</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Starts to answer but doesn't finish 	<p><i>David Frost: but why not then because of your principles?</i></p> <p><i>Margaret Thatcher: because the health service is run look Mr. Frost you use the private health service as well you exercise your freedom of choice...</i></p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Negative answer 	<p><i>Robin Day: would you have no incomes policy?</i></p> <p><i>Neil Kinnock: . . . what I'm setting aside is the idea either the the guiding lights of Selwyn Lloyd or the legislated incomes policies of Mr. Jenkins and Mr. Wilson in the sixties or the incomes policies of fixed</i></p>

	<p><i>norms or Ted Heath's counter-inflation incomes policy those whilst having possibly an initial impact never managed to last and all they did was store up difficulties for the future much better to follow through ...</i></p> <p><i>Robin Day: [interrupts] that is why I'm asking what you would</i></p>
<p>9. Repeats answer to previous question.</p>	<p><i>Neil Kinnock: what I've said is that the U.S. president whoever the U.S. would only take a decision to commence or to respond to nuclear war according States priorities</i></p> <p><i>Jonathan Dimbleby: well supposing he decided to respond what would you do then?</i></p> <p><i>Neil Kinnock: . . . even our strongest allies the United States of America would only take a decision to use their nuclear weapons either for themselves or on behalf of others according to their own priorities</i></p>
<p>10. States or implies that the questions has already been answered.</p>	<p><i>Neil Kinnock: . . . as far as secondary picketing is concerned er in pursuit er of</i></p>

	<p><i>a trade dispute in connection with that trade dispute the same kind of right that workers enjoyed for 70 years in this country is a right that should be enjoyed in order to be able to do that and the reason why it was awarded ...</i></p> <p><i>Jonathan Dimbleby: [interrupts] that means you do approve of secondary picketing restored or not?</i></p> <p><i>Neil Kinnock: to well I think I made that pretty clear</i></p>
<p>11. Apologizes</p>	<p><i>David Dimbleby: . . . isn't one of the difficulties for the Tories that your way of govern- ing and talking about government gets up the noses of a lot of voters?</i></p> <p><i>Margaret Thatcher: well I'm sorry if it does it's not intended to I'm very sorry if it does</i></p>

The findings show that Margaret Thatcher and Neil Kinnock fail to respond to a large proportion of the questions in the interview. It has also been found that Margaret Thatcher attacked the interviewer as a strategy to avoid awkward questions while Neil Kinnock was deemed defensive as he sometimes answered in the negative, which made him appear

evasive. This prominent work on strategies in which the politicians utilized to provide and (not) provide information in televised political interviews are useful for the current study as this study provides the tools to understand the realization of conversational implicatures in interviews. Further, both this and the current study deal with the same mode of interaction; interviews. However, the current research is done in a private manner without presence of audience so it would be interesting to see how the participants may or may not adopt similar techniques to tackle the questions posed to them. Therefore, adopting the strategies found in this study will aid the data analysis of the current study and provide appropriate explanations for the realization of conversational implicatures in interviews with transgenders.

Al-Rassam (2010) analysed four Iraqi interviews from the perspective of performance to look at how politicians utilize pragmatic strategies to maneuver between being truthful and cooperative in political interviews. Consequently, the analysis show that indirectness is a vital segment of any political discourse. Strategies such as evasion and circumlocution are used by the politicians to flout the maxims which help to generate implicatures.

Fadhly (2012) studied the presidential interviews between the Indonesian President, President Susilo Bambang Yudoyono and eight Indonesian journalists to explore the manner in which the president flouts the maxims of Cooperative Principles and look at the functions and realization of the flouts in the interviews. The topics covered in the interview were extremely controversial; topics in which appeared in the media headlines and public discourse at the time of the interview (Fadhly, 2012). The results showed that President Susilo Bambang Yudoyono flouted all the maxims of Cooperative Principles and he repeatedly flouted the maxim of Quality. Further, Fadhly discussed the four strategies in which the maxims are flouted such as “hedging”, “indirectness”, “open-answer” and “detailed element” (Fadhly, 2012). Fadhly (2012) found that there are eight

functions of flouts of maxims; “face-saving act, awareness, politeness, self-protection, interestingness, control of information, elaboration and ignorance” (Fadhly, 2012). It was concluded that ultimately, the floutings of the maxims had one goal; to create speaker’s political image that is positive over the public (Fadhly, 2012). The findings of this study is relevant to the current study as it discussed the realization of conversational implicatures in interview via strategies such as hedging and indirectness.

Combining the non-reply typologies outlined by Bull and Mayer (1993) and strategies of the three initial studies, the current study will attempt to explicate the manner in which conversational implicatures are realized in the interviews with transgenders. Since the non-reply typologies are explained in Table 1, the other categories are explained in the coming sections with examples found in previous studies.

2.7.1 Circumlocuted Strategy

Circumlocuted strategy is when the politician use many words to say something that can be explained in a simple manner. There are many other terms for circumlocution which are ambage, circumduction, circumvolution, periphrase, or periphrasis (Al-Shemmary & Ubaid, 2016). Circumlocution can also be defined as the process of discussing about topics indirectly. One of the most important factor motivating a person to employ circumlocution in their speech is politeness. By making their responses ambiguous, this enables the interlocutors to save their face (Goffman, 1967).

Politicians use this strategy in interviews for various factors such as protecting themselves, countries or governments they represent (Al-Arbawi, 2017), steering away from potential hazard and complications, preserve their careers and to protect their image as well as the governments they represent. Further, it has been noted by Obeng (1997) that politicians perform circumlocution in their utterances by going around the subject,

being unclear in their utterances and infringing Grice's conversational maxims (Al-Arbawi, 2017).

Consider the following example:

“I didn't come across such reports, though sometimes I get such reports...because we are not an executive authority and our job is merely to keep security and defense offices stay track, and we are not an executive authority to demand such reports because our job is to supervise security and defense offices ... this does not mean that these reports do not exist, so we can't say "yes" or "no" because we are not an executive authority as you know ...”

(Al-Rassam, 2010)

In this example, the interviewer questioned the politician whether he thinks that Iran has any connection with Iraq's present condition based on the reports he received as a head of the security and defense. In response, the politician repeated the point that they are not 'executive authority and flouted three maxims (Quantity, Quality and Manner) in his attempt to respond to the question. Eventually, the hearer will be lost and may consider that the politician had difficulty understanding the question. However, this strategy is not to mislead the interviewer but rather to protect his face as well as an attempt to address to the question which is deemed delicate for him to answer.

2.7.2 Evasion

Another popular pragmatic move in political interview is evasion. Evasion is defined as “responses that do not answer the question” (Rasiah, 2007). Evasion is to evade directly responding to a question or confront a real, distinct or 'tricky communicative or discourse issues' (Al-Rassam, 2010). Evasion has many functions in utterances; steering away from

problems, reducing negative reactions and avoiding dilemmas in communication (Abdulzahra, Al-Umaishy, & Al-Arbawi, 2017). This strategy is used by politicians in political interviews when the only option present for them to respond to questions posed by the interviewer is verbal. Further, when politicians desire to avoid from giving honest and important information, they will tend to evade the questions. Also, it is important to note that the level of evasion in interviews is also influenced by the manner in which the interviewers adhere to question politicians (Al-Arbawi, 2017).

The interviewee might refuse to answer the question by means of mitigation or with or without explanation. Consider the following example:

A: How much is your salary? How much do you get?

B: (Laughing) does it mean I am the only person who takes a salary! They are all taking salaries and you didn't ask them ... Generally speaking I am sharing my salary with about 60 families including body guards and employees ...)

(Al-Rassam, 2010)

Evasion of this question is done by mitigation by laughing. It can be clearly seen that through this strategy, the politician has successfully evaded the question. As far as evasion is concerned, there are many ways in which politicians evade a question. Since the current study is looking at the manner in which conversational implicatures are realized in interviews with transgender participants, only the most basic definition of evasion will be adopted which is “responses that do not answer the questions”.

2.7.3 Hedging

Hedges are defined as words or phrases whose main function is to modify the meaning of utterances in relation to truth-condition (Teng, 2015). Hedging is a frequent pragmatic

move employed by the participants to help generate conversational implicatures. Hedging is a popular move that the politicians used for various intentions, such as reducing the responsibility of being responsible of their utterances, avoiding from facing criticisms (Schäffner, 1998), protecting themselves, establishing politeness, concealing the truth, lessening the effect of their statements, and keeping away from arguments (Fraser, 2010), lessening their own opinions and to show that they are not sure with what they are saying (Abdul Majeed, 2009).

Hedging is used to indicate that our utterances may not be totally accurate (Yule, 1996) and it serves as a mitigating device to weaken the strength of an utterance (Fadhly, 2012). According to Nawrass (2013), hedging is a strategy aimed to protect speakers from undesirable condition such as answering questions. There are several factors for speakers to use hedging as a linguistic strategy in conversations. Firstly, hedges are used to attenuate claims, complaints, requests and commands, performatives and criticism. Another factor is it is used as cooperative devices in conversation (Nawrass, 2013). It may be used to ensure speakers' participation in conversations, to discuss sensitive topics or to reinforce or attenuate statements. Also, hedges are used as a strategy of politeness; to lessen an unwanted effect on the hearer.

Hedging each maxim in a communicative setting conveys certain meanings. Quality hedges might imply the speaker's desire to not be held accountable for the truth of his utterance. Quantity hedges may indicate the information provided by speakers is not as accurate as it is expected to be. When unrelated information are mentioned in the middle of a conversation done by the speakers, these are taken as relevance hedges. Manner hedges are identified by the use of phrases such as what 'I meant were', 'more clearly', to put it more simply and others.

Since the use of hedging is an indicator of awareness, a conversation that has this strategy tends to flout the maxims. Hedging is characterized by the use of words such as ‘sort of’, ‘I think’, ‘may’, ‘probably’, ‘assume’ and etc. In Fadhy1’s (2012) study, the Indonesian President, Susilo Bambang Yudoyono, used hedging in his interviews as an indicator of awareness that his utterances and statements may not be absolutely precise. He flouted the Maxim of Quality in his response and the realization of the implicature was through the use of hedging.

There are also other strategies that are frequently used by politicians which give to implicatures in interviews such as metaphors and indirectness. These strategies are found in the academic studies discussed earlier.

2.7.4 Metaphors

Metaphors are defined as any kind of words used in indirect ways (Karimova, 2015). Hurford et al. (2008: 331) explains that metaphors are “conceptual operations reflected in human language that enables human to structure and construe abstract ideas of knowledge and experience in more concrete experiential terms”. In political interview setting, metaphors are used by the politicians to avoid direct (face-threatening and over – revealing) references.

In the study conducted by Al-Rassam (2010), metaphors such as ‘blood showers’ and ‘killing machine’ to refer to violent acts as well as ‘partner’ and ‘brothers’ are repeatedly used by the politicians in the interviews. Metaphors like these are used because they are easily understood by the hearers. The use of metaphors that are not widely accepted by the audience may hamper their understanding of what is being said.

2.7.5 Indirectness

Indirectness is any verbal or non-verbal communicative behavior that expresses something more or different from the literally meaning. (Brown & Levinson, 1987). This is achieved through several strategies such as evasion, circumlocution, hedging, metaphor and innuendos (Obeng, 1997). There are many reasons for indirectness with the most popularly cited factor being politeness (Hussein, 2017; Brasdefer, 2005; Leech, 1983).

Where political interviews are concerned, indirectness is utilized by the politicians for several factors such as protecting their career and to be at advantage over their political opponents; both politically and interactionally (Fadhly, 2012). Politeness also plays a role in motivating the politicians to use indirectness. As mentioned by Fadhly (2012), the politicians used indirect utterance as a way of being polite in the interviews.

2.8 Summary

This chapter has illustrated the theories of Grice' Cooperative Principle, its maxims, implicatures and conversational implicatures. The non-observance of maxims, particularly the flouting of maxims are explicated as well. Question and answer method in interviews were explained to show how realization of conversational implicatures in interviews take place. Some strategies and categories found in Bull and Mayer's (1993), Al-Rassam (2010) and Fadhyl (2012) were adopted to explain the motive behind the floutings of maxims in interviews. Review of relevant literature and the relevance of those studies to the current study were also explained in this section. In the following section, the methodology employed for the current study will be discussed in detail.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research design details of the current study and the background information on the transgenders' situation in healthcare settings in Malaysia. This is followed by the participants' profiles, procedures of data collection and method of transcription, theoretical framework and the analysis of the data. A summary of this chapter is also included in the final section.

3.2 Research Design

This study is a qualitative research in which it employs in-depth interview method with the participants of the study to gain further understanding of how and why the transgender participants flout the maxims in interview about healthcare. Also, qualitative research is the appropriate method for this study because the very nature of qualitative research is to comprehend a particular research problem or topic from the viewpoints of the local population it includes. As the current study is interested in uncovering the implicatures that arise from the interviews about healthcare, this method is the most suitable strategy to carry out this research.

Besides, qualitative research is particularly useful in gaining information that is related to a particular culture about the values, opinions, behaviors, and social contexts of the target populations. In order to comprehend in depth how and why the transwomen flout maxims in interviews, qualitative research is deemed appropriate. Qualitative research is primarily explicative and it permits researchers to examine a social phenomenon from various viewpoints and come out with a "conclusion about its meaning personally and theoretically" (Creswell, 2003, p. 182).

Flexibility is the biggest advantage of the qualitative method. It allows the researcher to probe participants' responses; to ask why or how which is deemed useful for the current study as the interview deals with a sensitive topic that requires the researcher to clarify the participants' responses in order to understand the participants' intended meanings when they respond to the researcher's questions.

While the biggest weakness cited for in-depth interviews is that the results are not generalizable to the whole population, it helps to obtain detailed and insightful information on a given issue; in this context, the healthcare settings. This is important as the data obtained from the interviews will be useful for future researches to be conducted in the same area. Besides, in-depth interviews can be completed using fewer participants and can be conducted in informal environments. This study deals with the transgenders, a group that has received stigma and discriminations (transphobia) even in the academic research settings where their information were exploited. This was revealed by the participants in the interviews. There is now a growing social gap between the educated and the lower educated transgenders where studies usually include both groups under a generic category of lowly-paid or as having dubious jobs. The current study focuses on only the educated group.

3.3 Profile of the Participants

The participants of this research include of nine transwomen who are all Malaysian citizens and presently living in urban Kuala Lumpur as the current study focuses on revealing the fact that transphobia is still affecting the transgender population despite them living in urban area such as Kuala Lumpur.

The participants come from several academic and professional backgrounds. All of the participants have completed their higher education and one of the participant is pursuing her postgraduate studies locally. In terms of their professions, they currently hold

different positions in various industries and some of them are doing their own business. These professions include lecturing, secretarial work, administration and management. One of the participants is currently a lecturer in a local private university. The participants have the ability to converse fully in English in the interviews. The participants for this study are anonymous to protect their identity. This is to ensure that they are safe and protected from transphobia and other possible threats they may receive if their identities get exposed. The participants are coded and listed as the following in this study:

Table 3.1: Participants' Profiles

Participants' Codes	Background Information
1. J	Works in PayPal Company.
2. MS	The head of admin for Quarters Sdn Bhd. She is a small time activist for LGBT.
3. R	Works at a sandwich bar in Kuala Lumpur.
4. MU	Used to be a tuition teacher and a volunteer at the SEED Foundation.
5. MA	Works in a government centre.
6. V	A trans activist.
7. H	Works for a start-up company
8. N	Works for a US company.
9. M	A former lecturer and currently pursuing PhD.

In the analysis, the participants are coded according to the codes in Table 3.1. Further, the code is preceded by the turn number in which the extract is taken from to ensure that reference can be made easily to the data whenever required. For example, '30R' means

that the extract is taken from the 30th utterance in the data and 'R' is the code for the participant. The researcher is coded as 'N' and similar number coding is applied for the researcher too.

3.4 Data collection and Transcription

The data was collected with informed consent from all the participants. The data is based on interviews of nine transwomen, who have all received formal education and are working in various places in urban Kuala Lumpur. The participants are those who were suggested by a friend. This friend has contact with prominent people in SEED² Foundation. In addition, SEED Foundation with the assistance of the participants were approached and the objective of the study was explained. The participants were happy to answer and narrate their experience and opinion and all interviews were conducted at the SEED Foundation in Kuala Lumpur. The data was collected over a period of a year (2016) as finding the participants who are willing to participate in the study was definitely challenging. SEED Foundation accelerated the process by helping to find the participants and providing a 'safe' space for them to be interviewed without getting exposed to the public.

The first step of the data collection was to design research questions that were general but sufficient to cover all the pertinent areas such as treatments in healthcare settings and questions about their identity. This is important as the questions need to be able to capture the actual essence of transgenders' experience in the healthcare settings. To serve this purpose, a pilot study was conducted with a prominent figure in SEED Foundation to get the background of transgenders and their issues with the healthcare settings in Malaysia.

² SEED or *Pertubuhan Kebajikan dan Persekitaran Positif Malaysia* is the first Trans-Led community-based organization in Malaysia, established in 2014.

Based on the pilot study, the interview questions were formulated and then compared with several studies in similar areas. A study that was conducted in the similar area was Zieger (2016). This study explored the erasure of transgender people's experiences, misunderstandings of transgender identities, and inaccessibility of appropriate, comprehensive and supportive care for transgender individuals in healthcare settings because their experiences was largely crafted by doctors who control access to healthcare. There were three major themes that emerged from the analysis which were transgender identities are non-binary, the need for public education and exposure to gender diversity and non-binary thinking and the need for care as recognition and supportive action (Zieger, 2016). Zieger (2016) concluded this study by suggesting the possibilities for the healthcare providers and general public to support respectful interactions with transgender individuals in healthcare settings. Comparatively, this study was the most current study at the time of the data collection. Hence, the interview questions of the current study were compared to the information obtained from the pilot study and amendments were made accordingly to suit the needs of the current study. There are a total of 14 questions which is available in Appendix B. All the questions were open-ended to provide the participants with the flexibility to share their experiences thoroughly. Though they are given the chance to skip questions that they deem inappropriate or difficult for them to answer, all the participants were fully cooperative and answered all the question. They even responded to additional questions that were posed by the researcher for clarification purposes.

The interviews were audio-recorded in a room provided by the SEED Foundation. All the participants were alone with the researcher to ensure the maximum protection of privacy information disclosed by them. All the participants were given a code in this study as they requested for their identities to be protected. After the interviews were done, the interviews were transcribed verbatim by the researcher. A total of 360 minutes of

narrative was transcribed verbatim with each participant taking up time between thirty minutes to one hour. The actual interviews were transcribed without correcting any grammar to ensure that the essence of the insights were maintained as the original intentions of the speakers. While transcribing, the researcher picked up a few common themes that emerged from the interviews.

As the study is interested in looking at how and why implicatures are realized from the interviews, these common themes were compared within the participants' responses to see if they produce similar answers. Analysis reveals that all the responses had the participants flouting the maxims for various reasons which will be further explicated in the findings section.

3.5 Theoretical Framework

This study aims to show how transgenders attempt to observe and not observe maxims of Grice's Cooperative Principle in interviews which require them to talk about issues they face in healthcare settings in Malaysia. These non-observance of the maxims generate Conversational Implicatures which help to illustrate the problems they face in the healthcare settings in Malaysia.

This framework is relevant for this study because it has been established that implicatures are generated in conversational settings (Lubis, 2015; Davies, 2008; Grice, 1975). While the current study is looking at interviews, the researcher and the participants are constantly in need to be cooperative to ensure the communication process is possible and smooth. It is also understood that in order to be cooperative, there are cases where the interlocutors are required to not observe the maxims (Massanga & Msuya, 2017) which is attributed to various reasons such as inability to comprehend the speaker's real intentions or the misinterpretation of idioms of the language and to name a few. It is suffice to say that conversational implicatures are generated because the participants will

deliberately not observe the maxims to put forward the real intentions behind their speech without literally saying them.

3.5.1 Grice's Cooperative Principle

The current study adopts Grice's Cooperative Principle as the framework. Grice (1975) postulates that in an exchange, the interlocutors are supposed to "make your conversation contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged". If the participants do not 'cooperate' with each other, it may be challenging for them to steer their conversation and have achieved successful communication. Grice presented four categories of maxims to further explain the Cooperative Principle. These maxims will be utilized to analyze the data for the current study.

The Maxim of Quantity:

1. Make your contribution as informative as required.
2. Do not make your contribution more informative as required.

The Maxim of Quality:

1. Try to make your contribution one that is true.
2. Do not say what you believe to be false.
3. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

The Maxim of Relation:

Be relevant.

The Maxim of Manner: Be perspicuous, and specifically:

1. Avoid obscurity of expression.
2. Avoid ambiguity.
3. Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity).
4. Be orderly

(Grice, 1975, p. 46)

These maxims, when not observed will generate implicatures. There are five ways of not observing the maxims which are flouting, violating, opting out, infringing and suspending the maxims. This study will only focus on flouting of maxims as that is the strategy most frequently used by the participants in the interviews. Flouting is to deliberately not observe a maxim; not to misguide the hearer but to create a conversational implicature. In the current study, understandably the participants flout the maxims to ensure that the researcher captures the intended meaning which otherwise is difficult to be put forward literally without inviting negative reactions from the hearer.

3.6 Procedure and Data Analysis

The research questions are interested on discovering the types of maxims observed and not observed as well as the implicatures generated from non-observance of maxims. Therefore, in order to adequately answer both research questions, the data were analyzed based on Grice's Cooperative Principle and its four maxims. This analysis is further continued by explicating the conversational implicatures produced through the non-observance of the maxims.

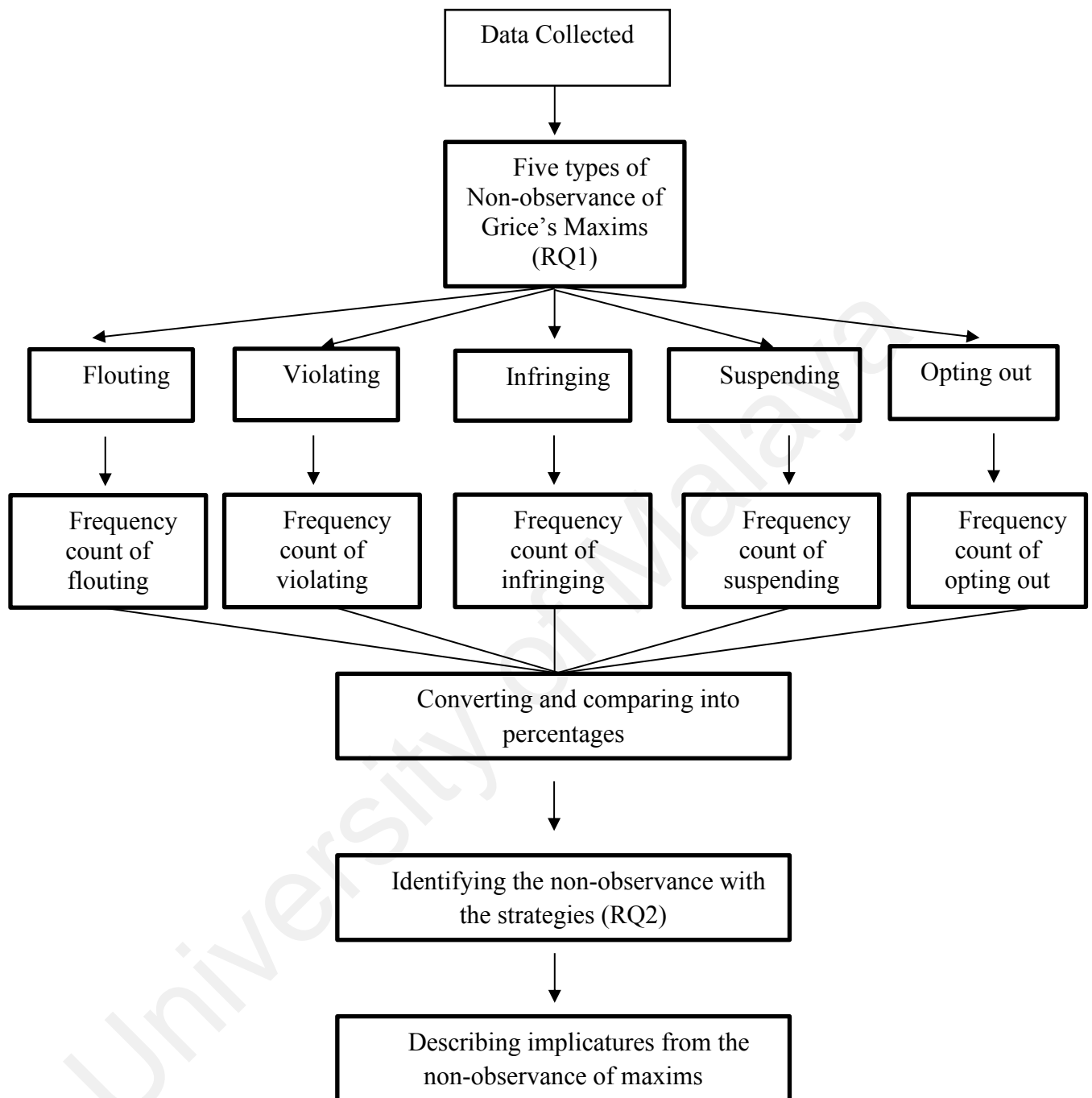
The data analysis experienced the process of: classifying the conversations into five types of non-observance of Grice's (1975) maxims; categorizing the conversations with four maxims of Grice's (1975) Cooperative Principle; looking at the frequency in which the participants mostly flouted the maxims; identifying the non-observance with the strategies of non-observance (Bull & Mayer, 1993; Al-Rassam, 2010; Fadhly, 2012);

describing the implicatures arising from the non-observance; and finally a summary of findings.

Before the interviews were recorded, the researcher had a chat with all the participants and the participants posed several questions related to the research and the reason the researcher chose the transgender community as the sample for the current study. These parts of the conversation are not included in the recordings. The purpose of these off-record chats was to create a more comfortable setting and to gain trust between the researcher and the participants throughout the sessions when sharing or discussing the healthcare issues with the researcher. The procedure of data collection and data analysis is shown in Figure 3.1 below.

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Figure 3.1 Procedure of Data Collection and Data Analysis



First, the data was coded according to the five types of non-observance of maxims (flouting, violating, infringing, suspending and opting out). Then, the data was analyzed and categorized according to these codings. The analysis was verified by the researcher's supervisor. Next, the frequencies of non-observance were calculated and converted into percentages. The findings will show which non-observance type was mostly frequented

by the participants. Following this step, the data was identified according to the pragmatic strategies used in the non-observance of the conversational maxims. Finally, the implicatures arose from the non-observance based on these pragmatic strategies were discussed.

3.7 Summary

In this chapter, the research design and methodology used for the analysis were discussed and justified. The current study focused on the implicatures that appear from the interviews with transgenders in the healthcare settings. Data were collected based on the in-depth interviews with nine transwomen whom are all educated, working in reputable jobs and reside in urban Kuala Lumpur. This qualitative study employed Grice's implicatures to answer both research questions that the study triggered.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis and findings of the current study. This chapter is divided into two major parts to answer two research questions posed by the study. Sections 4.2 and 4.3 attempt to answer the first research question; what maxims are observed and not observed in interviews about healthcare with transgenders. Section 4.2 discusses the observance of maxims by the participants and two samples of data for the observance of each maxim are discussed. Section 4.3 illustrates the non-observance of maxims. A sample from data for each maxim are discussed in depth.

The second research question; pragmatic strategies used in the non-observance of conversational maxims is answered by explaining the findings according to combination of flouting of maxims and also single maxim flouting. This will be covered in section 4.4. Finally, a summary of the chapter is explained in section 4.5.

4.2 Observance of Maxims

This section will attempt to answer the first research question: What maxims are observed and not observed in interviews about healthcare with transgenders.

The first part will focus on the observance of maxims by the participants in interviews about healthcare. Two examples of observance for each maxim, namely, Maxim of Quality, Maxim of Quantity, Maxim of Relation and Maxim of Manner are analyzed and explicated.

4.2.1 Observance of the Maxim of Quality

According to Grice (1975), adhering to Maxim of Quality means that the interlocutors are expected to be truthful. They should not deliver information that is believed to be false or say something that they lack of evidence for. This can be seen in Examples 1 and 2. In Example 1, the participant (**R**) was asked about the doctor's treatment. Her response is shown below.

Example 1

30N: so did the other doctor treat you well?

31R: **yeah**

This short example shows how the question was answered truthfully. The response is brief but it is enough for the researcher to understand that (**R**) is satisfied with the doctor and therefore, the response does not need any further clarification.

In Example 2, the participant (**MU**) shared her experience with healthcare providers when she went in to seek for medical help. The participant managed to adhere to the maxims as the participant found the need to be truthful about how she was treated at the government clinic. Also, she observed the Maxim of Quality to show how her being female is not a problem with the cisgenders around her. This can be seen in Example 2 (**MU**).

Example 2

- 35N: have you tried government?
- 36MU: no, I never go to government. Only once I did go to *'klinik kesihata* is consider government clinic?
- 37N: yeah government.
- 38MU: So, I did present female there once so I never had problems
- 39N: ohh they don't mind?
- 40MU: erm... because they are friendly and I do my HIV testing there so I never had problems from the front counter until the doctors.
- 41N: so, they are quite okay about it?
- 42MU: yeah quite okay.

Both examples are clear instances where the participants adhered to Maxim of Quantity in order to provide truthful responses to the questions posed by the researcher.

2.3 Observance of the Maxim of Quantity

Maxim of Quantity requires the interlocutors to be as informative as possible. This means the interlocutors are only needed to give adequate information; nothing more and nothing less. This shall be illustrated in Examples 3 and 4.

In Example 3, the participant (**H**) explained about her blending in with the society by not wearing female clothing or adopting any female mannerisms. When asked for further

clarification, she answered adequately. She adhered to this maxim by providing enough information for the question posed to her.

Example 3

82N: Why do you feel compelled to actually blend in... wearing the mask...why so?

83H: Um...one of the reasons is because I don't look good if I don't and the second one is that I know how society will treat me, and I rather not, life is hard enough as it is. I don't want to go out and face all of this discrimination...um...yeah that's...that's...that's the reason.

In Example 4, the participant (V) explained how the receptionist at one of the clinic that her friend went to used a derogatory pronoun to refer to her. Her responses to each prompt were brief and informative. Despite the researcher having to prompt her, her responses were sufficient to address the issue of the discussion.

Example 4

71N: oh wow. Have you ever heard them using the pronoun 'it'?

72V: no because they basically use Malay word.

73N: oh but Malay would be "dia" kan?

74V: 'dia' atau 'itu' because they don't know how to call us.

75N: oh wow. So at that point...this was not experienced by you? Your friends right?

76V: Ya I heard a lot.

- 77N: so your friends, did they talk about how they feel?
- 78V: they feel very bad because they say if this happen again, they will not come again.
- 79N: okay so did that happened so many times?
- 80V: Ya.
- 81N: here in KL? Was it in KL?
- 82V: Ya KL. And also in other states like....urmmmm...Perak. but we have really friendly clinic in KK Taiping. That's a good thing.
- 83N: that's a good thing. But yeah basically even in the Southern part of...sorry Northern part of Malaysia is still a problem?
- 84V: still a problem.

These two examples are clear instances where the participants adhered to the Maxim of Quantity in order to supply enough information for the questions being asked, leaving no room for more questions to be asked regarding the subject matter.

4.2.4 Observance of the Maxim of Relation

Being relevant is the requirement of this maxim. The interlocutors are expected to say things that are pertinent to the discussion. Examples of adherence to this maxim are explicated in Examples 5 and 6.

This rather long excerpt for Example 5 shows how the participant (**H**), despite having a long response for the question, managed to stay relevant throughout.

Example 5

151N: Okay...um...so...um...In light of all this situation that we're facing right now currently in Malaysia, right...um...What do you think we need to improve in terms of our healthcare policies regarding, regards, in regards to the transgender community? What do you think we need to improve?

152H: Um...I think the doctors have to know first of all because I'm...I'm...I do not know the medical policies whether they're allowed to treat us or not. So, the...the...the first thing that probably needs to be very clear is that there needs to be a meeting between the regulators and the doctors themselves. They need to find out can they actually treat us. If they know that they can, are they allowed to then they should probably meet with...ah... other practitioners from around the world and come out with a study that...or come out with a committee, so that we can all discuss the best practices for us. If they aren't allowed to treat us, then they need fight and find out why are they not allowed to treat us, why are other countries allowed to treat us and why are they not. So...um...that is probably what I think would...you need to do. Yeah.

In Example 6, the participant (N) provided related answer to the question posed. She did not talk about anything else apart from the kind of health related problems she went it for.

Example 6

25N: okay. So erm...when you are sick..emm... you get professional help right? What problem do you usually go for...go in for?

26M: Just like the normal few...standard you know...standard health issues. Lucky for me I am ...I have not had any major issues yet. Hopefully never...hmm...so it's just flu, cough, fever...nothing major la...nothing major.

Examples 5 and 6 shows clear instances where the participants managed to adhere to the Maxim of Relation by providing responses that are relevant to the questions posed to them.

4.2.5 Observance of the Maxim of Manner

This maxim requires the interlocutors to be perspicuous, according to Grice (1975). This entails the interlocutors to be clear in their utterances. They are to avoid ambiguity and obscurity of expression. They are also required to be brief and orderly. Examples 7 and 8 will be explicated to further clarify how the participants observed this maxim.

In Example 7, the participant (V), the participant was asked to identify herself.

Example 7

7N: alright....urmmm... so can you tell me something about your identity? It doesn't necessarily have to be tied to your gender.

8V: My gender is female. I born as a male...so I am a transwoman.

9N: Alright. So you identify yourself as a woman?

10V: Woman. Yeah.

Her responses were clear and brief. It was not ambiguous and the researcher had no follow up questions after that.

In Example 8, the participant (J) explained a situation when a doctor refused to treat her because she is a transgender. She asked around and her friends recommended her to another doctor who could and was willing to treat her. This was followed up by this question from the researcher to which she answered in a brief and clear manner.

Example 8

129N: So, you did your research and you found another doctor?

130J: Yes, I did my own research.

Thus, based on the two examples for the observance of the Maxim of Manner, it is clear that the participants observed this maxim in their responses in interview about healthcare and their experiences in the setting.

In the next section, the non-observance of maxims and the generated implicatures from the non-observance will be discussed and explicated through excerpts from the data.

4.3 Non-observance of Maxims

In this section, the second part of the first research question will be explained. This section will focus on the non-observance of the maxims.

It has been revealed in the analysis that all the participants flouted the maxims in their attempt to answer questions about healthcare. Therefore, only this type of non-observance of maxims will be discussed and illustrated.

4.3.1 Flouting of the Maxim of Quality

Example 9

11N: okay...so umm let's talk about our healthcare policies and healthcare context in Malaysia. So, what do you know about healthcare policies in Malaysia? Umm in regards of transgenderism... not regards in transgenderism, whatever that you know.

12R: **...And I'm not sure if they're legally umm able to provide prescription... hormone prescription, you know, so, we can't actually do it legally.... I don't**

think they had that knowledge yet... And, on the other hand umm when we talk about transgender, people always talk about umm sexual reassignment, affirmation surgery. Which is, **I think it is illegal now in Malaysia**, since there was... the fatwa counsel brought it up.... brought up apart.. I think fatwa against the surgery, and since then it's been... **I'm not sure if it's gazetted** , but I think it legally binding...

Example 9 is a clear instance where the participant (**R**) flouted the Maxim of Quality. This maxim requires the speakers to provide truthful information and they should avoid from giving information that are not true or information that they lack of sufficient evidence for. The participant is not sure whether the healthcare providers are allowed legally to give hormone prescriptions or not and whether or not sex reassignment surgery and affirmation surgery are gazetted in law as illegal procedures. The participant concluded by saying that she 'thinks' the procedures are 'legally binded in some sort of way' due to Malaysia's pluralism legal system'. This can only be regarded as the participant's opinion as she is not able to prove that her statement is a fact nor did the participant attempt to convince the researcher that she knows what she is talking about. Therefore, the participant has flouted the Maxim of Quality by not having enough evidence for her statement.

4.3.2 Flouting of the Maxim of Quantity

Example 10

131N: So now why do you think the doctor is reluctant?

132J: I think...um...coming back to what I said, I believe the doctor, well...uh...they refused to do it, reluctant to do it because they have their own, their conflicting basically with themselves because, I believe that much of it are them coming to

the reason because we understand that the...the...the...the... they are saying that we don't want people to, they don't want to involve or encouraging transgender to receiving such treatment or maybe it's a way for them not to supporting us, to get a proper treatment. That I feel that I should...um...get an access too, basically, yeah. Something that like if people are keep self-medicating we don't know, for me the previous doctor has been so supportive so she did...a... give me coun- ...proper consultation, everything, how long that I should go, what is actually the..., how I should stop...uh...how...what...

Example 10 is an instance of how the participant (**J**) flouted the Maxim of Quantity. To adhere to this maxim, the participant is required to provide information that answers the question. The response should not be too long by providing excessive information or not be too brief. However, in this example, the participant answered more than what she was required. The question was pretty straight forward. The participant, though at first answered the question, proceeded to talk about her experience with another doctor who provided her with service that she preferred. The second part of her answer did not answer the question and it was also not required. Therefore, the participant has flouted the Maxim of Quantity.

4.3.3 Flouting of Maxim of Manner

Example 11

25NR : okay, so tell me about it, when you went for a problem. What was the problem?

26N : I am very lucky that I don't have a critical disease. I am completely healthy. I am very thank god for that but if you're talking about my experience with doctor or overall, because I only have a normal pain like "sakit gigi" and then like fever, just a normal...I don't think so I have a problem generally and I am equally

entertained by the doctor. It is just only because I am like this, and people will look at me because you know actually it's not because I'm in clinic but just because I'm like this so even though I'm not in the clinic people will always look bias.

Example 11 shows how the participant (NR) flouted the Maxim of Manner. The question required the participant to explain her health related problem. She started her response by talking about how she was lucky and that she was healthy at the point where she went in to see the doctor. She proceeded talking about the good treatment she received from the doctor. Further, she continued to talk about how she might be perceived in the clinic by the general public.

The question was very clear and it only required her to explain the problem. She has flouted the maxim of manner by not being brief, by being ambiguous at the very last part of her responses and she was also not orderly in providing her response because she jumped from one topic (how she is completely healthy) to the perception of the general public towards the transgender people in general.

4.3.4 Flouting of Maxim of Relation

Example 12

46M: There's one time when the nurse doesn't wants to touch her, and say that 'I can't touch you'...because you are a transgender and everything.

47N: Oh, the nurse says it explicitly?

48M: yes.

49N: oh wow! So, what did your friend do then?

50M: **erm my friend at that time... because I watch this trans awareness video explaining about health care and one of them said this and she didn't say it is a nurse but she says in response to the video they are making, she said 'Oh, is it some kind of sickness that you cannot touch me?'. So, I think because as I told you about how endos (endocrinologist) actually perceive us in government clinic and that's why a lot transwomen don't go through to a proper hormone treatment in hospitals because of erm...**

Example 12 shows how the participant (MU) flouted the Maxim of Relation. The participant was sharing her friends' negative experience with the medical healthcare providers. Upon sharing, the researcher prompted her to explain what her friends did when they received the negative treatment. She did not respond directly to the question and instead proceeded to explain about an awareness video and how generally the transgender group are treated in government hospitals. The explanations diverted the focus from the original question. Therefore, this is a clear example of flouting of Maxim of Relation.

The analysis shows that the participants resorted to flout the maxims instead of other types of non-observance. The flouting of maxims are done to encourage the hearers infer further meanings other than the literal meanings of the utterances. The participants' primary aim in the interviews was to provide information and insights on their experiences in healthcare settings in Malaysia. As been established in the review of literature, this topic is not a topic that they can easily approach or explicitly explain. In order to give truthful, relevant, concise and clear information, they choose to flout the maxims. Under no circumstances were their responses given to deceive or mislead the researcher. This can be verified based on the off-record exchanges that took place

between the researcher and each participant in which the participants touched on matters that are highly sensitive and if these matters are said explicitly, they have the tendency to be misunderstood. Therefore, to avoid misunderstanding whilst touching on sensitive matters in regards to the treatment they receive in Malaysia's healthcare settings, they decided to flout the maxims.

4.4 Conversational Implicatures in Interviews

The second research question is answered based on combinations of floutings of maxims found in the data. The floutings of maxims can be divided into a combination as well as flouting of one single maxim. In the previous section, the flouting of maxims was singled out in order to provide clear example for each flouting of maxim. However, it has been observed that in a naturally occurring interaction, the flouting of maxims will be in a combination of at least two maxims as found in the data. The realization of the conversational implicatures will be explained using the categories and pragmatic strategies outlined by Bull and Meyer (1983), Al-Rassam (2010) and Fadhyl (2012). Further, the questioning method that motivated the floutings will also be discussed in this section.

4.4.1 Type 1-Circumlocuted Strategy

Circumlocution or circumlocuted strategy (Al-Rassam, 2010) is when the interlocutors use many words to say something that can be explained in a simple manner. In other words, it is a strategy commonly used in speech to go around the subject matter instead of directly addressing the issue.

4.4.1.1 Combination of Flouting of Maxims of Quantity and Manner

Example 13

19N: So just briefly tell me...maybe in detail... you tell me what you know about health care policies in Malaysia both just general terms and what you know about how trans people are perceived?

20J: health care in Malaysia basically you can divide it into two. One that is government and the one that providing public hospital or public clinic and the second one is the private one. **So far I've been so lucky** that I'm never been **admitted** before into a hospital due to any illness as well but for my experience there's a few friends, transgender friends of mine that been **admitted** and then because they don't have any insurance for them to go to be **properly admitted**...then they have **been admitted** into this general hospital and what I can see is quite uncomfortable because my friend is actually pre-op transgender means that he already make surgery to remove his genitalia and also to do her breast. So but when he **was admitted** because of this illness that needed her to get a surgery he was admitted into male room, so basically for me is a bit, yeah I understand the re...re...reason they doing it because **they admitting it** based on the persons IC's...

Example 13 shows a combination of flouting; Maxims of Quantity and Manner. The participant (**J**) has already answered the question by talking about the types of hospitals and clinics; government and private. However, she decided to continue providing long winded explanations which made her flout the Maxim of Quantity. This means that the participant used circumlocution strategy; to use many words to say something that can be explained in a simple manner; to provide her response. The implicature generated from this flouting is that the healthcare in Malaysia is influenced by the gender binary system.

She also talked about insurance being a determining factor for them to get proper healthcare services. She finally talked about the ward assignment for her friend in which her friend has gone through sex reassignment surgery and yet she was still placed in male ward. Notice the repetition of the passive form for the word “admitted”. The participant could have explained in a straightforward manner instead of going around the same idea. The participant was trying to show the influence of the gender binary system in determining the kinds of protection (insurance, in this instance) and healthcare services they are allowed to acquire. The word ‘admitted’ that has been used multiple times by the participant created a ‘feel’ of coercion. The participant was trying to show that the assignment of ward is forced and they were not able to choose where they want to be placed. In addition, the participant also flouted the Maxim of Manner. This maxim was flouted when she said that she felt lucky that she had never been admitted to the hospital. The answer was perspicuous as it did not directly address the question. Instead, the participant implied that she did not face stigma and discrimination by saying she is ‘lucky’. Another implication from this response is that she is aware of the stigma and discrimination that surround her community.

Based on the analysis, it can be clearly seen that the participant flouted the maxims of quantity and manner by using circumlocuted strategy. A careful look at the information provided by the participant reveals that the participant was more comfortable in giving an example of situation as the response to the question instead of directly addressing it. The participant clearly wanted the researcher to understand the implied meaning of the response which is the existence of transphobia in healthcare settings in Malaysia that impacts their lives.

Another example of flouting of maxim using the same strategy is explicated in Example 14 below.

Example 14

85N: So urmmmm this receptionist...why do you think they do that? Why do you think they react that way?

86V: if they don't have any knowledge, do not how to deal with it, I don't blame them

because I'm quite sure that every people is willing to educate themselves whether they like it or not because they are in that situation....work with people, you know. The thing is happen because of the higher position...

The participant, (V) flouted the Maxim of Manner. The researcher inquired the participant about the way the receptionist in a clinic treated the participant when she went in for a medical treatment. The participant responded by talking about how she does not want to blame them if they reacted negatively to transgender people due to their lack of knowledge. She also talked about how people are actually willing to learn about how to treat others better because their work requires them to deal with people. She ended her response by blaming the clinic's higher management. While the response was relevant, her opinion on why the receptionist to react the way they did was not clear. She immediately talked about how she was not blaming their reactions and how people will always want to learn how to do their work better.

The flouting of maxims were done through circumlocuted strategy. While the final part of her response answered the question, she did not answer the question directly and instead resorted to go around the subject. Circumlocution strategy is sometimes used by the interlocutors to talk about issues that are able to pose offense. She did not immediately say that the higher management is the reason for people with lower ranks in the clinic to behave in a certain way towards the transgender patients. While this can be purely her own opinion, stating it directly can be offensive to the higher management in the clinic.

Therefore, she resorted to go around the subject, softening the response before finally giving her answer. The implicature that arise from this flouting through circumlocution strategy is that some of the healthcare institutions in Malaysia has limited or probably no knowledge in dealing with transgender patients need because the higher management in those institutions are not educating their staff. While guidelines from the Ministry of Health has been distributed to the healthcare institutions, many places still do not treat transgenders patients properly as they would for the general public.

Therefore, from this analysis, it can be clearly seen that the implicatures arise from circumlocution strategy. Similar with the previous excerpt, the participant clearly wanted the researcher to understand the implied meaning of the response which the stigma and discrimination still exist in the society which impacts the healthcare access for the transwomen in Malaysia.

4.4.2 Type 2-Hedging

Hedging is the use of words or phrases to modify the function of utterances and is usually used in conversational settings to protect speakers from unwanted conditions such as answering questions. Further, it may be used to ensure speakers' participation in conversations, to discuss sensitive topics or to strengthen or weaken their statements.

4.4.2.1 Combination of Flouting of Maxims of Quantity and Quality

Example 15

56MA: It's not a special units for transwomen. For me, for the general treatment it will be no problem, except for the name calling and ward assign. But, if you are seeking for a special transwoman treatment and example, like the hormone treatment and everything, or anything concern about the transness. I don't think you can get that in Malaysia.

57N: oh, you don't get it in Malaysia.

58MA: no.

59N: why not? //

60MA: especially..//

61N: //from your understanding.

62MA: umm, we talk about this in the workshop, we are not really sure yet whether it is ...umm... documented or outline somewhere in the regulation that doctor in Malaysia are prohibited to treat trans umm people. But, from what me and our friends my friends has experienced when you go to the clinic, for hormone treatment, you don't get consultation, you just buy the hormone from like, for example, from Thailand. You bring the ampoules to the clinic, you pay them for certain ringgits and they inject you, that's all. If you want to measure your hormone level or talk about your trans-ness about your ummm umm what your hormone level is going to affect your blood pressure, your mood swing or anything like that. Basically, you won't get that. Maybe.... I don't know, maybe I only heard like one story from my friend who met a friendly doctor, but he's not a specialist, he just umm advised her that okay umm careful with your hormone intake. Because your high blood.. your..your blood pressure is a bit high blood pressure, maybe due to your hormone intake. Umm, So the thing are like that, just a general.. very general thing, nothing specific, no specialist and I don't know, maybe umm the doctors.. most of the doctors are Muslims and they still you know, umm even the non-muslim..maybe they are afraid, I.. like I told you, is not sure... I'm not sure maybe in the

law to not treat trans community. But, maybe they're afraid if they treat trans they will lose their licence to practice or certificate or whatever.

The participant, (MA) flouted the Maxim of Quantity by explaining in a lengthy manner to the question posed by the interviewer. Earlier, she talked about how in Malaysia, the transgenders will not get the treatments that they require. The interviewer continued by asking 'why not' to which she provided a lengthy explanation which started from the hormone treatment to the doctors being Muslims which made the doctors hesitate in treating them because, in her opinion, she felt that the doctors are afraid they might lose their license. The response could have been made shorter by providing a straightforward answer as to why the transgender community are not able to enjoy their desired medical services instead of explaining the kinds of medical services they do not get in Malaysia. The question was very clear but she failed to address adequately to the question posed to her.

The participant also flouted the Maxim of Quality. It can be clearly seen from her response that she was not sure whether the doctors were prohibited from treating transgender patients and whether they were afraid to treat transgender patients, harboring the fear that they might lose their license. Throughout the interview, she was not able to prove her confidence on the claims she made. The flouts imply the participant felt that the non-existence of 'special unit' for transwomen in healthcare setting was unfair and was motivated by the government's perception towards them which was reflected through the attitude of the medical healthcare providers towards the transgender group. She also used the word 'Muslim'. This implies that the religion plays a role in shaping the general public's perception towards them, particularly, those who are Muslims, which obstructs them for getting the proper access to healthcare.

These implicatures were realized through the use of hedging. The use of the phrases such as 'I don't know', 'maybe' and 'I'm not sure' definitely demonstrated her

unsureness. Nonetheless, this hedging was not to display her unsureness but rather a strategy employed to talk about controversial issues that surround Malaysia's healthcare settings. Similar to the previous example, the participant did not want to be made accountable for her opinions but feels the need to talk about the issues such as religion and government's stand on the transgender community.

Another example with similar combination of flouting is explicated in Example 9.

Example 9

11N: okay... so umm let's talk about our healthcare policies and healthcare context in Malaysia. So, what do you know about healthcare policies in Malaysia? Umm in regards of transgenderism... not regards in transgenderism, **whatever that you know.**

12R: ummm okay. From my knowledge, umm the healthcare...uumm the..the healthcare provider in Malaysia umm they actually don't recognized my gender identity... **And I'm not sure if they're legally umm able to provide prescription... hormone prescription, you know, so, we can't actually do it legally.... I don't think they had that knowledge yet...** I think fatwa against the surgery, and since then it's been... **I'm not sure if it's gazetted , but I think it legally binding** but then in some sort of emm ummmm you know, what did you call umm a pluralism legal system here we have in Malaysia in a way the 'fatwa' actually contradicts with the you know... human rights policies in the constitution...

The obvious flouting of Maxim of Quantity in Example 9 here implies that the participant, (R), is trying to clarify transgenders' challenging situation when it comes to getting proper access to healthcare. Her wanting to explain it in a lengthy manner showed

that she did not want to answer the question in a straightforward manner as it was difficult subject for her to approach. She was trying to ‘soften’ her response by subtly shifting the blame onto the healthcare providers’ lack of knowledge in treating transgenders as well as their negative attitude towards the transgender group. Maxim of Quality was flouted in two places when she said she was not sure if the doctors are able to provide prescription and whether or not they are equipped with the knowledge. She was also not sure if the sex reassignment surgery was legally banned and whether the law had been gazetted. These statements implied the troubling situation of the healthcare settings in Malaysia which do not cater to transgenders’ needs and the inconsistency of the system when it comes to dealing with transgenders’ healthcare issues.

The participant utilized the strategy of hedging in order to provide her response. She used a lot of phrases such as “I’m not sure”, “I don’t think” and “I think”. Despite displaying an obvious unsureness, this strategy is employed to soften her arguments. She felt the need to do so because she was aware she did not have enough knowledge on her arguments and they were not accurate but her opinions were relatable to the question of healthcare policies. This is verified through the off-record conversation the researcher had with the participant prior to the recorded interview. The realization of conversational implicature in these statements are through this strategy. Her provoking opinions made her hedge in order not to be made accountable on what she says. By using the phrases “I’m not sure”, “I don’t think” and “I think”, she has successfully implied the troubling situation of the healthcare settings in Malaysia and how it does not favor the transgenders.

Therefore, based on this excerpt, it can be concluded that this combination of flouting together with the strategy of hedging imply that the healthcare policies in Malaysia do not favor them and this brings a lot of problems to their community. To sum up, from these two examples, it can be clearly seen how the floutings of maxims and the implicatures generated from the floutings are motivated by the strategy of hedging.

4.4.3 Type 3 – Evasion

Evasion is to avoid directly responding to a question or confront a real, distinct or ‘tricky communicative or discourse issues’ (Al-Rassam, 2010). Evasion has many roles in utterances such as steering away from problems, reducing negative reactions and avoiding dilemmas in communication.

Example 16

4.4.3.1 Combination of Flouting of Maxims of Relation and Manner

29NR : so in that private clinic when you get to the reception and you present your IC, did they ask you any questions? The receptionist...how was the receptionist's reception towards you?

30N : so far there are nothing in me, so far if you're talking about the medical assistant or the receptionist or the doctor I am very thank god that **I don't have any problem with them** and so far I believe that they did a very good job because they didn't look twice to ask which is very...very good because you know when we are really sick we don't want people to judge us just because we are different but still sick. It's nothing to do with my fever or my “sakit” or anything.

In Example 16, the participant, (N), flouted the Maxim of Relation when she said she did not have any problem with them (the healthcare providers). The question required her to answer about the receptionist' acceptance of her and she did not directly answer the question. She also flouted the Maxim of Manner when she talked about not wanting people to judge them when they go in to any hospitals or clinics to get help. Her answer was not brief nor did it clearly answer the question. The implicature of such flouting was that in certain healthcare settings, the healthcare providers have begun to show acceptance towards the transgender group. When she said that the healthcare providers did not look twice at her , it shows that in other places, the transgenders are stigmatized because the

phrase 'look twice to ask' suggested that the transgenders are being judged for showing a contradicting appearance that what they are supposed to be. This statement also reveals that in certain places the stigma still acts as a barrier for them to get proper access to healthcare. She was also trying to convey that these kinds of mistreatments and misjudgments were still ongoing and it needed to stop because though they were different, they still need help when they have health problems.

The realization of these implicatures was through the strategy of evasion. She said that she did not have any problem with the healthcare providers instead of talking about how the healthcare providers view her. She then continued to talk about how people did not like to be judged when they need help. The evasion strategy used by the participant helped the researcher to understand that despite the healthcare providers showing acceptance, stigma against the transgenders in healthcare settings still exist. The participant felt relieved that she did not have to face the stigma to get access to healthcare services which clearly shows that the stigma in healthcare settings in Malaysia is still taking place.

The questions were double barreled; two questions were posed simultaneously within a turn. The first question was a yes/no question. The second question was a -WH question. Firstly, this has the tendency to confuse the participant as to which question she should address first. While the former question only provided the participant with limited option of answers, being a close-ended question, the latter required the participant to answer in detail since it was an open-ended question. Secondly, asking multiple questions within a turn can be deemed as adversarial questions; a questioning method in political interviews which pushes the interviewee to provide desired answers of the journalists. Hence, it is evident questioning method can motivate the participant to flout the maxims.

Another example of flouting of maxim through evasion is explicated in Example 17 below.

Example 17

11N: Okay. Alright. Erm.. in that sense...when are talking about health care policies for trans people ahh..do we have a clear one.a clear..like a clear guideline saying that okay this is how trans people health care policies gonna look like or is it the same with everyone?

12MI: Okay. Considering that the...even the status 'transpeople' it's not recognized yet in Malaysia, they will just look at the biological gender of a person...biological sex sorry not gender, Biological sex of a person. So it is person was born male and later on transition as a transman..we will look at the IC number and see the gender marker there proceed with the same gender marker. So the policies gonna be as such..aaandd..I am not sure how that works because a transman is living as a man has taken testosterone injection to confirm..or to transition into a transman and pretty sure that it is start you know..ahh..prescribing medicines for women, some complication will happen but unfortunately, that's how the policy is. Same goes with transwomen, when they said that the IC stated as male they proceed with the standard policy for male. Reason being number 1..the status of transgender it's not recognized in Malaysia, number 2 likely the person is self despite is not getting anny...prescription from a certified medical practitioner and..it's not being monitored..the intake of their hormone is not been monitor which understandably insurance company will tell it that it's gonna be a risk but then again...when your medical claims are being rejected on the grounds that you are taking hormones something is not a...example ahh...there was a case where a trans women was involve in an accident was hospitalized..okay..anndd..when she made her medical claim it was rejected on the grounds that you already had sex change. So..when I heard the case I was like...how do you relate getting involve

in an accident with having a sex change..I mean sex change does not change your mental capacity..so...how does that works?

The participant, (MI), flouted the Maxim of Quantity. The question was about the existence of transgender healthcare policies in Malaysia. She did not respond to the question and instead explained that the transgenders' status is not recognized in Malaysia and proceeded to talk about how they are treated in healthcare settings in Malaysia; that they are treated based on their IC number even when they have done full sex-change surgery. She continued by talking about how this does not help the trans people because they might go through complications if they have transitioned but are still being treated based on their biological gender. Also, she talked about how medical claims can be rejected because they have taken hormones to alter their biological gender and gave an example of a situation that a transgender had to go through when her medical claims got rejected because she changed her biological gender. She also ended her response by talking about sex change does not change one's mental capacity. She gave more information than what is required when the question warranted a 'yes' or 'no' from her. Therefore, she has flouted the Maxim of Quantity.

The implicatures of this flouting are first, the fact that the transgenders' status not being recognized pose a difficulty on the transgenders to obtain medical services such as medical card. Secondly, the lack of knowledge of the healthcare providers in providing the correct medical treatment for the transgenders make them go through health complications. The medications prescribed based on their biological gender will not help them and instead has the tendency to make their health condition worse. Finally, because their status is not recognized, they are not able to make insurance claims on the grounds that they have altered their biological sex. Flouting the Maxim of Quantity has given rise to these implicatures.

A closer look at the question will reveal that the question type is a yes/no question which means it warrants for an answer with either option. When she proceeded to explain her answer instead of saying 'yes' or 'no, it made flout the Maxim of Quantity.

The implicature is realized through evasion strategy. Her answers are indeed truthful and seemed like they are relevant to the question but a closer look at her responses would expose that the responses did not answer the question. The evasion strategy has helped the researcher to understand important the recognition of transgender people in Malaysian society will be greatly helpful for them to get access to their desire medical treatments as well as insurance claims. Her flout of the Maxim of Quantity was done so that the researcher will be able to capture the intended meaning of her response which is to highlight the importance of the recognition of transgender people which will be really helpful for the in healthcare settings in Malaysia.

4.4.4 Type 4 - Ignoring the Question

Ignoring the question is a strategy found in Bull and Meyer (1993) study where it explains how the politicians simply ignore the question without making any attempt to answer or even acknowledge the question. They would shift the topic to move the attention from the original intent of the question. This strategy was also used by the participants in the current study. The difference between this strategy and evasion is that ignoring the question is used by participants when they shift the focus of the question while evasion is done when the participants blatantly do not want to answer the question.

4.4.4.1 Combination of Flouting of Maxims of Relation and Manner

In Example 18, the participant (MA) flouted the Maxims of Relation and Manner.

Example 18

11N: okay, sure, **whatever that you know** about how health care works in Malaysia and how it perceives the trans community and what are your thoughts about them.

12M: basically, from my own experience, **I don't face any hard treatment**, I went to clinics or hospitals or anything and...I'm not bragging but I'm not the person who got sick easily. So, previously is not like I went to hospital for many times, I went once or twice when I was... errrr...when I had fever or anything. But I don't know, maybe I dress up accordingly nothing flamboyant or anything, I didn't get any bad treatment...urmm... during the...the time, umm... so do you want to know about other trans experience?

The Maxim of Relation is flouted when the participant failed to answer the question directly. She did not share her knowledge on healthcare settings and instead talked about how she has never been treated badly. She also explained how she did not get sick easily and also how she did not dressed flamboyantly so she did not receive any bad treatment. The implicature generated here was she was trying to say that healthcare settings are discriminative towards the transgenders which is why her first response to the question was about how she was treated. She flouted the Maxim of Manner when she talked about how her not dressing flamboyantly allowed her to escape the bad treatment. This answer is ambiguous because it did not show how this is related to healthcare policies. The implicature is that she is clarifying that the transgenders way of dressing influences the way they were treated by the healthcare providers. If they dressed normally, in a socially

acceptable way (a male is expected to dress as a male and same goes to female), they will get to escape the stigma and discrimination as the participant.

The strategy used here is 'ignoring the question', one of the superordinate category for non-replies outlined by Bull and Mayer, 1993. The participant did not answer the question in which it required her to talk about healthcare policies. Instead, she shifted the focus of the response on her and explained her own experiences. She also ended her response by asking if the interviewer wanted to know about other transgenders' experiences in healthcare setting. She talked about not receiving 'hard treatment' and her dressing normally had saved her from discrimination. All these clearly show that she does not want to answer the question but in order to be cooperative, she offered to talk about other transgenders experiences instead. By ignoring the question, she implied that the transphobia in healthcare settings still exists and she had been lucky enough to avoid all that unpleasant experience by employing several strategies such as dressing moderately and only getting help when she is sick.

The floutings were also done through the question in which the interviewer asked the participant to share 'whatever she knows' about the healthcare settings in Malaysia. She deemed that talking about transgenders' appearance and how rarely she obtained help from medical healthcare providers were appropriate information to answer the interviewer's question because of the open-endedness nature of the question.

Therefore, this example implies that the healthcare policies are influenced by the gender binary system because not dressing to their assigned gender automatically exposes them to stigma and discrimination. This information was also provided by other participants in this study in their interview sessions. This implicature was realized through the participant's strategy of 'ignoring the question'.

Flouting of Maxim of Relation using the same strategy is explained in Example 19.

Example 19

29N: so, umm since this name calling and umm this issue. Do you think is **fair or unfair** for the other people to react that way? I mean...

30M: oh, by the way, umm from the recent... umm.... workshop that umm organized I attend...attended there, umm some of our friends updated that now, they don't really call your name anymore, they just give your numbers, so you just approach them on your number are called. So, basically is... some places not is...is a not an issue anymore.

The Maxim of Relation is flouted when the participant (**MA**) did not answer the question. The question was very clear in which it required her to talk about the reaction of other people in the waiting room of clinics and hospitals when they see transgenders. She did not respond to that and instead resorted to talk about the number system which exists in the hospitals and clinics to call out the patients. She brought the focus of the conversation to the number system to imply that the number system has saved the transgenders of the embarrassment that they have to go through in waiting rooms. Therefore, this name calling issue was a non-issue.

In terms of her response, it can be clearly seen that she totally ignored the question and proceeded to address an issue that is deemed related to the question posed. They are aware that the society blames them for making choices that go against the natural system of the society. Thus, the question was ignored and rather the plausible solution of the issue being discussed is brought into attention, making the interviewer forget about the original intention of the question.

The way the question is shaped also encouraged the floutings of the maxims. The question type was a yes/no question. The question used the words 'fair' and 'unfair',

leaving little but no choice for the participant to decide on an issue which was sensitive to be publicly discussed. Though she might have felt that the treatments were unfair, uttering it explicitly might put her in a dangerous situation because it is an unpopular opinion as the general public already has negative perceptions towards them. Criticizing the treatments they receive will further drag them into a negative light. All these claims are proven through many studies done on how the transgenders are perceived in the society which are explicated in the literature review section. Therefore, she decided to ignore the question by means of shifting the topic.

4.4.4.2 Combination of Flouting of Maxims of Quantity and Relation

Example 20

187R: I have been gone through my ummm I have been going through my transition. So, yeah, I kind a like thinking about it umm because I was talking about it during that Chinese New Year gathering, yeah, nobody actually knows, you know what gonna happens,....

188N: I mean....when you.... you are deciding to transition right?

189R: yeah.

190N: fully transition? So during the transition ummm if you decide to transition, then, don't you think that umm insurance company would have an issue with that though?

191R: ummm... when you said fully transition//

192N: I mean as it that you want to...you want to change, is it like?

193R: like transition...

194N: what are the transition that you talking about..?

195R: this... this are you know, when you said transition, umm of course people gonna talk about the sex reaffirmation surgery. But umm not me personally, I don't think, I am quite, I understand enough that gender is in my mind,.... define me what's gender that I have. Ummm yeah I think for me personally, since I don't think it should be an issue because hormone is just to actually to help me obtain secondary, you know female has characteristic. It doesn't effect to my health, I don't think so...//

The topic of the discussion was the participant's decision on transitioning (sex change surgery or sex reaffirmation surgery). Initially, she said that she was going through the transitioning process. When the researcher inquired what kind of transition she was talking about, she did not answer the question. Instead, she explained how she will not go through the sex reassignment surgery since she understood the fact that 'gender is what is in the mind' and proceeded to talk about how the hormone intake will make her obtain female characteristics and this will not affect her health. In no way did she talk about the type of transition until the end of her response. By responding this way, she has flouted both the Maxims of Quantity and Relation. Firstly, her answer was more than what is required, which is the flout of Maxim of Quantity and secondly, she talked about hormone and gender instead of explaining what she meant by transitioning which is the flout of Maxim of Relation.

The implicatures realized through the strategy of 'ignoring the question'. When she ignored the question, it implies that whenever a transgender talks about 'transitioning' immediately what comes to people's minds is sex reassignment surgery. She wanted to imply that not all transgender women would want to change physically and some of them do prefer to stay as the way they are but define themselves as a different gender. This is

what she meant by 'the gender is the mind'. If they are affirmed with their gender, then they would not opt for a full sex reassignment surgery. She flouted the maxims to respond this question instead of directly addressing it is because sex reassignment surgery is a sensitive topic both to the transgenders as well as the general public. For the transgenders, they do not want to explicitly talk about it because for them, whether they fully transition or not, it is not for people to know. Further, they do not want the general public to always associate a transperson with sex reassignment surgery. They do not like this stereotype that lingers their community. They would like people to understand that not all transpeople want to change physically. This was discovered by the researcher during the pilot study conducted prior to the actual data collection process and the off-record conversations with the participants. Hence, to make this point clear, she flouted the Maxims of Quantity and Relation.

The question type in this exchange is wh- question. Since the question is an open ended question which accounts for all possible answers that are somewhat deemed related to the question, this question also made the participant flout the Maxims of Quantity and Relation. It can be seen that it is a straightforward question which wanted the participant to explain the kind of transition she was talking about. She provided more response than what is required of her as well as not answering the question at all. Therefore, this example implies that the implicatures are realized through the strategy of ignoring the question.

In Example 21 (H), the participant flouted the Maxims of Quantity by ignoring the question.

50N: Mm...so you **do** get advice from the medical practitioners?

51H: Uh...ah, okay, just to be a disclaimer, **I re...recently started transitioning, I did some research last year. A lot of research actually...um...and I decided to medical transition this year but unfortunately...um...the regiment a lot of...this is...could be a very controversial topic but a lot...a lot of...um** the regiments that I currently following is outdated....through one of the way trans-sisters out there, they introduced me to a forum...I tried to...um...find that in Malaysia, I wanted to do it right first...uh...so I went through a psychiatrist, I got a medical letter and then from there I used this letter to...uh...go to an endocrinologist and...um...by that time I've already done my research so when they...uh...wanted to treat me, I didn't believe in their treatment, I...but I had no discrimination cause the ones that I went...um. Okay, before I went to the psychiatrist, and before I went to the doctor, I was very, very worried that I would be discriminated especially on the psychiatrist level....

The participant obvious flouting of Maxim of Quantity is an attempt to clarify how she decided which medical practitioner she wanted to consult. This implies that the stigma and discrimination is still strong because she had to go through great lengths just to get a reliable doctor to advise her on matters such as hormone therapy. She went through the painstaking research process just to avoid stigma and discrimination from the medical practitioners and to be treated the way she wanted to be treated. The implicature is realized through the strategy of 'ignoring the question'. She did not directly answer the question but resort to explaining her journey of getting a good and reliable doctor to attend to her which encouraged the researcher to look for the answer to the question that was implied through her response.

The question in this excerpt was a yes/no question. In addition, the word 'do' that appeared in the question motivated the participant's floutings of the maxims because the

question warranted the participant to agree that she indeed consulted healthcare providers despite being worried of the stigma and discrimination. Instead of agreeing or disagreeing, the participant shifted the focus of the question to details of the processes she went through to get a reliable doctor who will attend to her case without being influenced by any negative perceptions towards the transgender group. This means she had ignored the original question. The researcher did not ask for details of her journey with medical practitioners. A straightforward ‘yes’ or ‘no’ would have sufficed. Thus, the analysis of this excerpt shows that the flouting of maxims was done through the strategy of ignoring the question which give raise to the discussed conversational implicatures.

4.5 Types of Maxims that are not observed

In this study, a total of 50 interviews extracts are divided into four non-observance of maxims. The distribution of data is presented in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1 Comparison of Non-observance of Grice’s (1975) Maxims

Four Maxims	Flouting	Violating	Infringing	Opting out	Suspending	Non-observance	
						Number	Percentage
Quantity Maxim	20	0	0	0	0	20	40%
Quality Maxim	2	0	0	0	0	2	4%
Relation Maxim	10	0	0	0	0	10	20%
Manner Maxim	18	0	0	0	0	18	36%
Total	50	0	0	0	0	50	100%

The table above indicates that the participants flouted the Maxim of Quantity the most which makes up 40%. In the analysis, it can be seen that the participants always provided more information than what is required as a mean to justify their thoughts and opinions on issues about healthcare settings in Malaysia. The second most frequently not observed is the Maxim of Manner which makes up 36%. The analysis reveals that the participants often provided information that is ambiguous, not orderly and not brief. This information are deemed as such because they do not directly answer the questions posed the researcher. The responses are intentionally given in such ways to help the participants communicate the intended meanings of their utterances. The Maxim of Relation is the third most frequently not observed maxim in the interviews which makes up 20%. The reason why participants flouted the Maxim of Relation is to talk about issues that surround the topic of the discussion. They did not answer the question directly but by means of flouting this maxim. Finally, there are only two instances where the Maxim of Quality is not observed which makes up 4%. These show that the participants always provide truthful information. This is verified by comparing the recorded interview to the off-record conversations.

4.6 Summary

In this chapter, the data analysis was provided. From the analysis, it was found that the participants flouted the maxims to generate several implicatures. The implicatures generated from the floutings of maxims illustrates that transphobia plays a pivotal role in influencing the kinds of healthcare services the transgender get to enjoy. Apart from that, religion has its own influence on the healthcare policies and this in turn, creates a challenging environment for the transgenders to seek medical help when they require it. Even when the participants experience positive treatment, they are constantly on the lookout for stigma and discrimination that can happen in healthcare settings. This shows that

they did flout the maxims to put forward their opinions in a non-threatening manner and also to explain why they say what they say. The authenticity of their answers match the information that they provided during the off-record conversations they had with the researcher prior to the recorded interview. The strategies and categories from three studies are also used to explain the manner in which conversational implicatures are realized. In the study, circumlocuted strategy, hedging, evasion and ignoring the question are the manners in which conversational implicatures are realized. Therefore, from the analysis it can be concluded that these four pragmatic strategies have helped the participants to put forward their intended meanings as well as helping people to understand the challenges they face in healthcare settings due to the influence of transphobia.

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CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This study is an analysis of realization of Grice's implicatures in interviews with transgenders about healthcare in Malaysia focusing on Grice's (1975) theory of Cooperative Principle. It can be concluded that the objectives of the study were achieved after the analysis process was completed. This chapter explicates discussions for the findings in the previous chapter. This chapter also focuses on realization of conversational implicatures through several strategies such as hedging, evasion, circumlocuted strategy and 'ignoring the question'. Further, the type of questions that assisted the floutings of maxims are also discussed. This is followed by some recommendations for future researches. Finally, this chapter deliberates the implications and contributions for future studies. To conclude, a brief summary of the chapter is also included.

5.2 Observance and non-observance of maxims in interviews about healthcare with transgenders

The first research question "What maxims are observed and not observed in interviews about healthcare with transgenders?" looked at the observance and floutings of Grice's maxims; Maxim of Quantity and Maxim of Relevance and Maxim of Manner. The focus was floutings of maxims as only floutings appeared in the data. Further, it has been found that all the participants did not flout the Maxim of Quality. This has been explicated in the analysis chapter of this study.

Generally, it had been found that the participants conformed to the Cooperative Principle. This observance applied to both the explicit meanings and the implicit

meanings conveyed by the participants in the interview. This can be seen in Example 1 to Example 8 discussed in the previous chapter. According to Grice (1975), interlocutors will generally adhere to maxims in a conversation as an effort to be cooperative. The first part of the analysis concurs with Grice's theory. The flouting of the maxims which were analyzed in the second part of the first research question also showed that the participants' effort to be cooperative as flouting is a deliberate strategy to encourage the hearer to 'look for' implied meanings of the utterances. This cooperative effort can be seen in Example 9 to Example 12 where one flouting instance for each maxims were thoroughly discussed. Further sample of flouting was explained in the second part of the analysis which discussed the strategy that they used to not observe the maxims.

Overall, the participants has appeared to be truthful in the information that they provide as responses to the researcher's questions. This shows that that participants explained real, challenging situations that they are facing in terms of accessing to healthcare services in Malaysia. The participants chose to only flout the maxims rather than other types of non-observance of maxims because they wanted the researcher to look for implied meanings to the information that they gave in the interviews. This can be attributed to the fact that they are all educated and thus, are aware of the impact of their insights on the hearers. Therefore, flouting the maxims will help them to achieve their communicative intent more so than other types of non-observance of maxims. The next section will discuss the strategies used by the participants which help to realize the conversational implicatures in the interviews about healthcare.

5.3 Strategies Used By Participants When Not Observing Grice's Maxims

This section discusses the second research question that concerns with the manner in which the conversational implicatures are realized in the interviews. It has been found from the analysis that the flouting of maxim took place both in an isolated manner and as

combinations of flouts. In the analysis, it can be found that the conversational implicatures were realized through several categories and pragmatic strategies outlined by Bull & Meyer (1983), Al-Rassam (2010) and Fadhyl (2012) which are evasion, hedging, circumlocuted strategy and ignoring the question. The excerpts discussed in this section were taken from data analysis in research question one as well as other instances of floutings that can be found in the data.

5.3.1 Type 1-Circumlocuted Strategy

Section 4.4.1 discussed circumlocuted strategy which entails the participant using too many words to say something that can be explained in a simple manner. Under this strategy, the combination of flouting found in the data were the flouting of Maxims of Quantity and Manner as well as flouting of Maxim of Manner.

From the analysis, it has been found that the participants in the current study used circumlocuted strategy for two major reasons; to avoid talking directly about issues that they deem to be uncomfortable to be discussed in public sphere and issues that may pose offense to the general public, particularly to the healthcare providers. Also, circumlocuted strategy was used to 'soften' their responses before giving their actual opinion on the issues that were discussed during the interviews.

Therefore, it can be concluded that circumlocution is a useful strategy to flout the maxims and generate conversational implicatures. It can be seen from the analysis that using this strategy will encourage the interlocutors to not observe the Maxims of Manner and Quantity. This is due to the fact that the interlocutors will have to go around the subject, which will 'force' them to speak more than what is required and to bring in subjects that may not be brief, perspicuous or allow them to be orderly in their contribution.

5.3.2 Type 2 –Hedging

Hedging is a frequent pragmatic move employed by the participants to help generate conversational implicatures. One of the use of hedging is to indicate that what we are saying may not be totally accurate. Also, hedging is used by the participants to protect themselves from undesirable condition such as answering questions. The analysis for this pragmatic strategy was discussed in section 4.4.2. The combination of floutings that was found in the data is flouting of the Maxims of Quantity and Quality. There were two instances of such combination found in the data discussed in this section.

The analysis reveals that the participants hedged in their response in order to lessen the influence of their utterances and reduce the responsibility of being accountable of what they say as they had to touch delicate issues such as the perception of Muslim healthcare providers on transgender patients and the healthcare providers' lack of knowledge in dealing with transgender patients to address to the researcher's questions. The participants are all educated transgenders. They are well aware of the impact of their opinions on the hearers. In order to be cooperative, which is also a factor for hedging to be used in conversational settings, as well as to make their contribution useful, they opt to hedge.

In the current study, when the participants hedged, they flout the Maxims of Quantity and Quality. As had been explicated in literature review section of this study, quality hedges might imply the speaker's desire to not be held accountable for the truth of his utterance while quantity hedges may indicate the information provided by speakers is not as accurate as it is expected to be. This is proven in the analysis.

The participants used phrases such as 'I think', 'I'm not sure' and 'I don't think' to express their opinion on the issues that were discussed during the interview. They

flouted the Maxim of Quality by doing so because to adhere to this maxim, the interlocutors must utter statements that are only true. By hedging, they hid their truthful opinion to not be held accountable for what they have said. Further, they flouted the Maxim of Quantity when they made more contribution than what they are required of. In order to justify their opinion, they have to explain themselves and this entails them speaking more than what is needed. When this happens, they expressed unsureness of their own statements by the use of phrases such as ‘I think’, ‘I’m not sure’ and ‘I don’t think’ which made the utterances sound less accurate than what they are supposed to be. It is important to note that this is not done to lie or hide the truth from the researcher. Rather, hedging is used to communicate intended meanings of their utterances. Thus, it can be concluded that hedging is a useful pragmatic strategy to help realize the conversational implicatures especially when it comes to discussing sensitive issues.

5.3.3 Type 3- Evasion

Evasion is to avoid directly answering a question of a strategy to face real, ‘different’ or complicated communicative or discourse issues’ (Al-Rassam, 2010). Evasion has many functions in utterances; steering away from problems, reducing negative reactions and avoiding dilemmas in communication. This is discussed in section 4.4.3. The combination of floutings found in the analysis is flouting of Maxims of Manner and Relation. Also, it has been found in the analysis that the participants had flouted the Maxim of Quantity.

From the analysis, it has been found that the participants evaded the researcher’s questions by means of talking about things around the subject of the discussion which made them flout the Maxim of Relation. For example, when one of the participant was asked about the clinic’s receptionist reaction towards her, she resorted to talk about how she does not have any problems with any medical healthcare providers. Also, the

participants avoided from directly answering the researcher's questions by being ambiguous in their utterances and providing responses that are not brief. This was also evident in the analysis. Maxim of Quantity was flouted when the participants provided more responses than what they are required off. Since evasion is to avoid from directly answering the questions, the participants have to justify their opinion carefully as to as to avoid dilemmas in communication. They also evaded the questions to reduce possible negative reactions from general public when their honest opinions about healthcare settings are provided.

Similar to hedging, evasion is used by the participants to help realize conversational implicatures so that the researcher will understand the implied meanings to their utterances and by evading the question, it made them cooperative in the conversation. In the attempt to provide their honest insights which are challenging for them to put forward straightforwardly, they resort to evade the questions. To sum up, the conversational implicatures were realized through the use of hedging and it is used by the participants to give their honest opinions indirectly.

5.3.4 Type 4 – Ignoring the Question

In the current study, it is shown that there are many reasons as to why a person might ignore a question. In the current study's context, the participants ignored the question due to its sensitivity. This is discussed in section 4.4.4. It has been found that the participants flouted the Maxims of Quantity, Manner and Relation under this strategy.

'Ignoring the question' is a strategy outlined by Bull and Meyer (1993). Bull and Meyer (1993) posited that a politician will resort to ignore the question while not attempting to address it or deliberately not acknowledging that the interviewer had asked any question. In the current study, the findings revealed that all the participants ignored

the question by the means of shifting the topic of the question. The participants also did not acknowledge that the researcher had posed the questions to them and they flouted the Maxims of Manner and Relation as well as Maxims of Quantity and Relation in the process. This strategy was adopted by the participants to put forward their opinions on matters surrounding the questions. These opinions, if put directly, have the tendency to be deemed controversial as they touched on religious issues and government-related issues in their response. Under no circumstances did the participants ignore the questions

Therefore, it can be concluded that the participants ignored the questions by means of shifting the topic of the questions and generated conversational implicatures through this strategy.

5.4 Adjacency Pair of Question and Answer

It has been found in the analysis that sometimes, the way the question is asked and shaped may assist the participants with their choice of pragmatic strategy to realize their conversational implicatures.

In the analysis, the questions are in the forms of *polar questions* (for yes/no questions), *alternative questions* and *variable questions* (for wh-questions). Each type of question warrants a specific type of response. For example, yes/no questions requires with either option of response and it does not need explanation. However, when the participants resort to explain their response for this question, it made them flout the Maxim of Quantity. When wh-questions are asked, the participants are expected to explain their answer and often times when they do, it made them flout the Maxims of Manner and Relation.

However, this is just a small finding that emerged from the analysis but it is worth mentioning. A much more elaborate work should be conducted to prove the strength of these findings.

5.5 Recommendations for Future Studies

There are several recommendations to improve the current study. Firstly, the data only covers a very small sample of educated transgenders and all the participants are based in Kuala Lumpur. This is not comprehensive enough to support for an all-inclusive results and findings related to transgender talk. Thus, the findings cannot be generalized. Future studies should have a larger quantity of participants ranging from different parts of Malaysia to allow the data to be analyzed more comprehensively.

Secondly, future studies that employ Grice's (1975) Cooperative Principle and its maxims as the framework to study interactions in interviews should take into account the types of questions and the intentions of such questions, particularly when the interviews are discussing about sensitive issues. It can be seen from this study that questions and the intentions of the question can motivated the observance and non-observance of the maxims. Moreover, more studies can be done to examine transgender talk under the light of Cooperative Principle in different contexts such as employment and education settings.

Last but not least, the future studies that employ Grice' (1975) Cooperative Principle and its maxims should look at the realization of implicatures in interviews through other strategies such as the use of irony, hyperbole, sarcasm and others when sensitive issues arise in naturally occurring interactions.

5.6 Implications

This study investigated the observance and non-observance of Grice's (1975) maxims in interviews about healthcare with transgenders. Data was obtained from 9 participants whom were all educated transwomen who live in Kuala Lumpur.

Academic investigations related to transgender is not something new. However, the study of transgender talk under the light of Grice's (1975) Cooperative Principle and its maxims is relatively new, particularly where healthcare is concerned. This is important as due to sensitivity of the issues, they are rarely discussed in public sphere. In order for a society to function as a whole, it is of utmost importance to understand issues that are deemed delicate to be discussed. Also, proper channels to discuss such issues must be found so that when the issues arise, it will not reflect negatively on any members of the society. Instead, possible solutions and healthy conversations can be conducted.

Further, the study looked at the way questions are shaped and the manner in which the questions motivated the floutings of the maxims. While studies employing Grice's (1975) framework focused on the manner in which non-observance of maxims generate implicatures, this study showed that even observance of maxims can be explained through the way a question is shaped. However, this was a minor finding in the analysis. A more detailed study must be conducted to strengthen this notion.

Lastly, transgenderism is not a novel issue in any part of the world. Investigations like the current study will open pathways for better methods of studying this marginalized group in order minimize the 'them vs us' phenomenon and focus on how to integrate everyone in a society harmoniously.

5.7 Summary

This study has answered the two research questions in Chapter 1: "what maxims are observed or not observed in interviews about healthcare with transgenders?" and "what are the pragmatic strategies used in the non-observance of conversational maxims?". Data were collected from nine transgender participants who work and live in urban Kuala Lumpur. The data suggested the floutings of Grice's (1975) conversational maxims and all of the maxims were flouted by the participants. The study adopted Bull's (2009)

classifications of questions in order to study the adjacency pairs of question and answer method.

The realization of conversational implicatures were done through four pragmatic strategies which are hedging, circumlocuted strategy, evasion and ignoring the question. The strategies are employed to generate implicatures in order for the participants to not explicitly talk about issues that are sensitive to both the transgender community and the general public.

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