CHAPTER 2  REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.0 Introduction

A non-native writer in English functions in two traditions. In psychological terms, such a multilingual role calls for adjustments. In attitudinal terms, it is controversial; in linguistic terms it is challenging, for it means molding the language for new contexts. (Kachru, 1986: 12)

The literature on non-native writing and the nativization strategies used by non-native writers have been steadily growing over the years. Kachru (1986) states that a number of these studies have lacked a sense of balance because they have overemphasized either the linguistic aspect or the literary aspect of the work. He suggests that future studies take on a more integrative approach, which will produce a more realistic view of the relationship of language and its use in society.

In keeping with that, this study will take on an integrative approach by carrying out a linguistic analysis of three short stories by K.S Maniam and then, treating each story as a case study, conclusions will be drawn about the effects these nativization strategies have on Maniam’s expression of his culture. The analysis will be made based on a framework designed by Kachru (1986).

This review will be divided into two broad sections. The first section will deal with the literature on nativization strategies and how others have studied those strategies. Even though this study is based on Kachru’s framework for analysis, the other studies have perspectives that are relevant to this thesis. However, the scope of this study does not permit a lengthy review of each of these studies. The review will therefore present the issues and insights, which will aid in the understanding of the research design and interpretive framework for the analysis of the data in this study.
Since this study is about the types of nativization strategies used by K.S Maniam in his short stories, the following areas will be reviewed: the definition of nativization strategies and the different frameworks that have been used to study these strategies.

The second section of the review will focus on culture and how nativization strategies affect the writer’s expression of his or her culture. Since culture is a broad term, I will provide a definition of culture and present aspects of culture that have been identified by others as crucial to one’s understanding of a literary work. Having provided a definition of culture and perspectives on aspects of culture, I will present a brief sketch of insights from previous literatures that have looked at the non-native writer’s expression of culture.

2.1 How Nativization Strategies Have Been Studied

Before looking at nativization strategies and how they have been studied by other scholars, it is important to define the term “nativization.” According to Pandharipande (1987), the term “nativization” has been described differently by various scholars. Stanlaw (1982) described it as “acculturation” while Richards (1982) referred to it as “indigenization” or the “hybridization” of a language in a non-native sociocultural context.

Pandharipande (1987) clarifies the confusion surrounding the definition by referring to Kachru (1985: 11), who states that it is “the changes which English has undergone as a result of its contact with various languages in diverse cultural and geographical settings in the Outer Circle of English which includes South Asia, South East Asia, West Africa, Malaysia etc.” (Although Malaysia is part of South East Asia, in
this direct quote from Kachru, he makes a distinction between Malaysia and South East Asia).

These changes that have affected English occur at various linguistic levels, meaning that they could be at a semantical or phonological level. For the purpose of this study, my focus will be restricted to the semantical changes that occur via nativization, and its effects on Maniam's expression of his culture.

Besides providing a definition of "nativization", Pandharipande (1987) has also pointed out some major issues that have come to light as a result of the process. She states that over the years, a growing body of literature has been devoted to the study of "nativization" strategies and their impact upon linguistic and sociolinguistic issues. She states that several scholars such as Ferguson (1978), Kachru (1965, 1966, 1980), and Strevens (1980), among others, have called for more studies on the form and function of non-native varieties of English. She points out that Sridhar (1982) in particular, has called for more studies looking at the impact of "nativization" on non-native literatures. It is with that call in mind that this study focuses on analyzing nativization strategies used by Maniam and, through such analysis, makes conclusions about their effects on Maniam's expression of his culture.

This study will be carried out based on Kachru's (1986) framework. However, other studies will also be reviewed to provide a glimpse into how other scholars have studied nativization strategies. Also, an explanation will be provided as to why Kachru's (1986) framework was chosen compared to the other frameworks reviewed in this section.
I have included five studies in my review, namely:

1) S.N Sridhar (1983)
2) Ann Lowry Weir (1983)
3) Bidoun Goke-Pariola (1987)
4) Rajeshwari Pandharipande (1987)
5) Braj B. Kachru (1986)

The above studies were chosen for the invaluable insights and perspectives they have given to the field of discourse analysis of non-native literatures. Furthermore, they serve as a platform from which I will embark on a similar and (based on Kachru’s (1986) framework for the analysis of rhetorical strategies in non-native texts) more systematic linguistic analysis of three Malaysian short stories.

2.1.1 S.N Sridhar (1983)

In his article entitled *Non-native Literatures: Context And Relevance*, Sridhar raises several issues, among them the question of English as a medium of creativity by non-native writers. He states that English has emerged as the non-native writer’s choice because in former British colonies it served as a link language between a diverse population of various ethnic groups. Also, he quotes Rao (1943) who refers to the role of English as the language of “intellectual make-up” (Sridhar 1983: 293). Sridhar points out that it is the emerging intelligentsia in the former colonies who used English for the expression of national feelings and thus, sparked change during the struggle for independence. Furthermore, he points to the international spread of English as being responsible for the growth of non-native English literatures.
Sridhar also discusses various nativization strategies by non-native writers and it is this section of his paper that is of interest to my study. However, he does not present a clear framework for analysis. Instead, he presents examples of nativized words and groups them under different categories. For example, he states that words like “dhobi” (washerman), “kum-kum” (vermillion mark) and so on should be grouped as borrowings.

One of the nativization strategies he discusses is called “contextualizing” which is a method whereby the non-English item is embedded in a passage that makes the meaning of the item self-explanatory. To illustrate this type of nativization strategy, Sridhar quotes a line from Elechi Amadi’s *The Concubine* (1965), “The *okwos* tore the air, the drums vibrated under expert hands and the *igele* beat out the tempo melodiously” (Sridhar 1983: 295). Here, Sridhar quotes Young (1976), who states that the context makes it evident that *okwos* and *igele* are different kinds of musical instruments. According to Sridhar, this strategy presents the nativized items in an unobtrusive manner.

Another nativization strategy is known as calquing or loan translation, which is a method “... of conveying modes of feeling and thinking peculiar to the writer’s cultural milieu.” (Sridhar, 1983) Furthermore, this method is said to have the quality of transparency, even though the loan translations are from a non-native culture. Examples of loan translations can be seen in Raja Rao’s “crow-and-sparrow story (for cock-and-bull story) and Narayan’s “If I hear your voice, I’ll peel the skin off your back.” Not only does this strategy add local colour to the text but it also reveals how well an idea has been expressed in the writer’s own language.

Besides words and phrases, nativization strategies also include the variety of proverbs used by non-native writers. Sridhar (1983: 298) quotes Lindfors (1968) who
claims that proverbs are important to the non-native writer because "they provide shorthand character sketches, or quintessential statements of motifs and conflicts; they mediate between authorial comment and objective description; and they serve as objective corollaries of crucial, sensitive developments in action." An example of a proverb in a non-native text can be viewed in Chinua Acebe's novel, *Things Fall Apart* (1959) where a character named Okonkwo says, "If a child washes his hands, he could eat with kings" (Sridhar 1983: 298). Here, Acebe uses a proverb to illustrate Okonkwo's characteristics of discipline and perseverance that have led him to achieve a high and esteemed place in his community.

Besides discussing the nativization of words and phrases, Sridhar also discusses the nativization of literary forms. For example, instead of writing a novel based on the conventional form, some non-native writers prefer to rely on their traditional literary heritage. One such writer who has experimented with literary forms is the Indian writer Raja Rao who has written his novel in the form of a sthala purana (local legend). This form "embodies such traditional devices of oral literature as the tale within a tale, frequent autobiographical asides, injections of direct address to the listener, and rhetorical questions concerning the right or wrong of individual actions." Hence, this is a strategy that breaks away from the traditional form of the Western novel as we know it.

In the final analysis, it is evident that Sridhar has provided a glimpse into the various nativization strategies used by non-native writers. While it is a useful study and paves the way for more detailed work in future studies, it is rather vague and limited because it does not capture the wide range of rhetorical strategies that is part of any speech community. Nevertheless, its strength lies in the various examples provided which
in turn would help future scholars to gain an understanding of some nativization strategies used by non-native writers.

2.1.2 Ann Lowry Weir (1983)

In her paper entitled *Style Range In New English Literatures*, Weir examines the novel in new, non-native contexts, in particular, the Indian and Caribbean contexts. She states that non-native writers face the challenge of creating new styles in new settings. To shed light on these new styles, Weir (1983: 310) says that the focus of her paper will be "the language of the fictional characters themselves, and the methods and contexts in which that language is conveyed." Her method of analysis is that of the case study approach. She restricts her study to three writers: R.K Narayan, Mulk Anand Raj and V.S Naipaul.

She begins with an analysis of Narayan’s novel, *The Financial Expert* (1959). However, she does not refer to any particular framework for analysis. Instead, she lists out nativized words and discusses them. According to Weir, one of the ways Narayan makes his work accessible to a wider audience is by providing footnotes for readers who are from a different sociocultural background. For example, the Hindu goddess Saraswathi, mentioned in passing, is explained in a footnote to readers who are unfamiliar with Hindu mythology.

Weir also discusses the fact that all characters in the book speak grammatically correct English, regardless of their level of education. For example, a peasant in a South Indian village says, "We should not talk about others unnecessarily." and a police inspector announces that one of the characters, Margaya “has come after his son Balu,
about whom a card has emanated from here" (Weir 1983: 311). Weir claims that these flawless sentences are typical of Narayan’s style but it fails to reflect the speech style of a South Indian villager.

The second novel examined is Mulk Raj Anand’s *Untouchable* (1970). Weir compares Anand with Narayan and observes that while Narayan’s English is accessible to an English-speaking readership, Anand’s is peppered with so many Hindi words that the non-Indian reader may be at a loss. Weir also notes that Anand has a tendency to translate certain words, particularly swear words from Hindustani into English. As a result, it is not uncommon to discover dialogue with swear words like “Ohe, lover of your mother”, “you illegally begotten”, “cock-eyed son of a bow-legged scorpion’ and others. Although Weir’s observations are interesting and add a new perspective to the increasing list of nativized words analyzed, her study tends to be sketchy and merely glosses over Anand’s novel.

The third writer discussed by Weir is V.S Naipaul. She refers to two novels written by Naipaul and they are *The Mystic Masseur* (1964) and *A House For Mr Biswas* (1969). Weir begins her analysis by giving a brief summary of each novel and then proceeds to analyze the language. According to Weir (1983: 315), Naipaul uses a three-part system in *A House For Mr Biswas* (1969) and this system consists of:

1) standard (educated English dialogue standards for Hindi speech, unless otherwise noted; 2) English dialect is conveyed as spoken; 3) in a few rare cases English dialogue is spoken by one of the characters, but the hesitation and and care with which he/she speaks is always noted by the narrator.

Besides that, Weir (1983: 316) quotes Fishman (1982) to point out that there are certain situations which lend themselves easily to the use of vernacular language such as “bargaining, joking, lying, swearing” and in these situations, the non-native speaker

> This insuranburning,” Mr Biswas said, and his tone was light, “who going to see about it? Me?” He was putting himself back in the role of the licensed buffoon...
> Mrs Tulsi began to splutter. “He want,” she said in English, choking with laughter, “to jump – from – the fryingpan – into – into”
> They all roared.
> “- into – the fire!”
> The witty mood spread

In the final analysis, Weir quotes Hammer (1973) who observes that Naipaul’s dialogue is not only reflective of the sociolinguistic setting (which is the Caribbean) but also extremely readable because he transfers aspects of the native language that are simple and eminently readable for people living outside the Caribbean. The linguistic situation in the Caribbean is complex. Due to migration, the population consists of African, European and East Indian immigrants, all bringing with them their own distinct languages. While English is the primary language, the influence and popularity of African and Indian languages and speech patterns did not perish.

Weir’s study may be lacking in depth and does not provide a clear framework for analysis but the approach that she chooses, which is the case-study approach, is relevant to my study. Her study has paved the way for other studies like this study, which is carried out from a Malaysian English perspective. While Weir focused on Narayan, Anand and Naipaul, I will focus on one author, namely Maniam but I will select three short stories by him and treat each story as a case study. This is to ensure that my study does not lack depth and detail.
2.1.3 Bidoun Goke-Pariola (1987)

In his article entitled *Language Transfer And The Nigerian Writer Of English*, Pariola focuses on the processes of language transfer used by Nigerian writers. His article is relevant to my study because he examines how two non-native writers struggle with the problem of expressing their native culture in English. Pariola investigates this by analyzing the processes of language transfer that occur, particularly in the noun phrase, verb phrase and word formation categories. By stating this, Pariola gives his study a framework for analysis, which is organized and systematic, unlike the two studies discussed thus far.

He begins his study by making a distinction between language transfer that is valid and creative and errors that are due to a language user’s interlanguage. ("Interlanguage" refers to a learner’s developing second language knowledge that may have characteristics of the learner’s native language, the second language and some general characteristics which occur in all interlanguage systems. (Lightbrown and Spada, 1993) ) Pariola states that interlanguage transfer in the context of creativity occurs in unique situations where people are compelled to use a second language in their home environment as is the case with English in Nigeria.

Another perspective that Pariola highlights and which is of relevance to my study is the fact that English is a contact language in non-native English-speaking countries and the point of contact is the bilingual individual. This has great implications for the bilingual writer and I have discussed these implications with reference to the Malaysian bilingual writer in the previous chapter. As mentioned earlier, the non-native writer is in the unique position of balancing two or more languages, each with its own cultural and
linguistic influence. According to Pariola, speakers in Nigeria often switch back and forth between their mother tongues and English. This has implications for both conscious and unconscious attempts at nativization.

To shed light on nativization strategies due to language transfer, Pariola focuses on two Nigerian novels. First, he examines Amos Tutuola’s *The Palm-wine Drinkard* (1966). Pariola states that although Tutuola’s style was creative and fresh, some critics thought he wrote bad English. However, Pariola defends Tutuola’s style by stating that the “contextual dislocation of English was a valid reason for ‘deviation’ and innovations.” (Pariola, 1987: 130)

Pariola’s analysis of the novel is very systematic indeed. First, he examines the noun phrase in the novel. Based on his analysis, Pariola states that “Tutuola omits an obligatory modifier from his noun phrases.” (Pariola, 1987: 131) To illustrate this, Tutuola gives several examples. One such example is Tutuola’s omission of the proper determiner “any” as seen in the phrase “other money” as opposed to “any other money.”

Next, Tutuola examines verb phrases and word formations by giving examples that reflect the Nigerian writer’s attempts at nativization. This section appears brief and sketchy because Pariola selects and discusses only a small number of examples. He follows the similar framework for analysis in his examination of the next novel, Chinua Acebe’s *Arrow Of God* (1965). Once again the examples are brief.

Pariola concludes by stating that the nativization of the English Language occurs at two levels, the conscious as well as the subconscious level. Furthermore, he emphasizes that “the search for translation equivalents of culture-bound items and forms
in Nigerian English is a necessary stage in the processes of nativization of English in Nigeria.” (Pariola, 1987: 134)

2.1.4 Rajeshwari Pandharipande (1987)

In her article entitled *On Nativization Of English*, Pandharipande states that English has changed due to contact with diverse languages. Her study is of great relevance because she examines some processes of nativization. However, her study too (like Sridhar (1983) and Weir (1983)), does not have any particular framework for analysis. Instead, she lists out various nativization processes such as adjustments, borrowings and transfer, giving examples to illustrate these processes.

Besides that, Pandharipande poses a very important question regarding nativization processes. She asks what is a plausible hypothesis for language transfer. She attempts to answer this question by stating that when the logic of a local language or thought patterns of a native culture are transferred to the nativized English, then it is plausible. To support her hypothesis, Pandharipande gives examples of word formations from Hindi, which have been transferred to nativized English. She states that “Indian languages have a high number of processes which transform a clause or a verbal phrase into a nominal phrase. Therefore, formations such as “fact-finding committee” and “India-watchers” fit in the general logic of Indian languages.” (Pandharipande, 1987: 152)

Another important issue discussed by Pandharipande is the question of variation within the nativized varieties of English. She states that “there exists variation within the nativized varieties of English depending upon their sociolinguistic function(s).”
Pandharipande, 1987: 154) Here, Pandharipande is referring to the fact that an educated bilingual non-native speaker has the ability to use the formal (less nativized) and informal (more nativized) varieties of English in his or her repertoire depending on the sociolinguistic context. This has implications for non-native writing. These implications include the need for non-native writers to provide accurate characterization and dialogue so that it becomes evident that they are writing about people and places that are far removed from native English settings. Instead, their writing should be reflective of the new transplanted sociolinguistic setting where English functions as second language.

In conclusion, Pandharipande’s paper offers insights into the rationale behind nativization strategies and offers some examples of these strategies. However, her paper fails to provide a framework for the analysis of a large corpus of data like a non-native literary collection of short stories or a novel.

2.1.5 Braj B. Kachru (1986)

Unlike the other scholars reviewed in this section, Kachru not only discusses the processes of nativization but actually provides a systematic framework for analysis. Kachru begins his chapter entitled The Bilingual’s Creativity And Contact Literatures by stating that in contact literatures, the bilingual writers’ creativity includes a transfer of discoursal patterns from a native culture to English. This transfer does not conform to monolingual Western theoretical and methodological frameworks. Therefore, Kachru urges a multi-layered approach towards understanding and interpreting the bilingual writer’s linguistic realizations. He states that “this altered meaning system” of such English texts is the result of various linguistic processes including nativization of context,
of cohesion and cohesiveness, and rhetorical strategies. Nativization of context and of cohesion and cohesiveness refer to the overall effects of nativization such as the "contextual nativization of texts" (Kachru, 1986: 165) On the other hand, nativization of rhetorical strategies are "consciously or unconsciously devised strategies according to the patterns of interaction in the native culture, which are transferred to English." (Kachru, 1986: 166)

My study is concerned only with Kachru's framework for the analysis of nativization of rhetorical strategies because such an analysis is detailed in nature. Unlike Sridhar (1983), Weir (1983) and Pandharipande (1987), Kachru's framework for the analysis of nativization of rhetorical strategies goes beyond merely listing out these strategies. Instead, he investigates micro-linguistic innovations created by the non-native writer and provides a systematic framework for analysis under the categories listed below:

(1) the use of native similes and metaphors
(2) the transfer of rhetorical devices for "personalizing" speech interactions
(3) the translation ("transcreation") of proverbs, idioms etc
(4) the use of culturally dependent speech styles and
(5) the use of syntactic devices

Each of these categories will be defined and exemplified in the next chapter.

Kachru's study is important because unlike several earlier studies on nativization processes, Kachru provides a framework for detailed linguistic analysis of the non-native text. Furthermore, Kachru points out that the non-native writer's linguistic realizations mirror non-native cultural thought patterns. Unlike traditional Western thoughts patterns,
the way an African Indian or Chinese thinks is not in linear progression. By using a Western model for linguistic analysis, scholars fail to take into account "cultural norms and the 'meaning system' of a society which uses English." (Kachru, 1986: 170)

Kachru concludes his study by discussing its implications on further research into the area of the bilingual's creativity. He states that the universalization of English can be viewed from two angles. Firstly, it can be seen as a vital tool for cross-cultural communication. This is largely due to the effects of colonization whereby English had been introduced to non-native societies and over time, these societies have maintained and increased the use of English in various domains in the post-colonial era. Secondly, the universalization of English has resulted in various changes which Kachru refers to as "the introduction of new Asian and African cultural dimensions to the underlying cultural assumptions traditionally associated with the social, cultural and literary history of English." (Kachru, 1986: 171) Due to this change in the uses of English, Kachru believes that there arises the need for understanding local varieties. An excellent resource for such learning is the national English literatures of non-native countries.

It is the aim of my study to heed Kachru's suggestion so that the new discourse strategies and patterns used by a Malaysian writer writing in English will be understood and appreciated. I am adopting Kachru's framework for analysis because his study has paved the way by providing me with the relevant theoretical and methodological framework for analysis. This framework will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

2.2 Towards an Understanding of Culture

Quirk in Smith (1987) states that language and culture have to be studied together
because when we use English in an international context, several cross-cultural factors would influence our discoursal strategies. This has great implications for the non-native writer who is writing in English because he or she has to successfully represent a native culture to an international audience.

Culture has been studied by a number of scholars and in my review I will provide a definition of culture and present aspects of culture that have been identified as being transmitted through language. For this purpose, I will refer to Jong’s (1996) chapter entitled *Aspects Of Cultural Difference* and Strevens’ (1987) article entitled *Cultural Barriers To Language Learning*.

Jong (1996) quotes Hofstede (1991) who defines culture as the “software of the mind” which are “the set mental rules that govern our everyday behaviour.” Since human behaviour covers a wide range of actions, it is important to identify areas of human behaviour covered by culture. According to Jong, Riley (1989b) has identified three areas of human behaviour that are influenced by culture. The first is known as “know that” which refers to things that people believe to be true, such as religious and political beliefs. The second is “know of”, which refers to current events that are taking place in a particular community. Finally, the third is “know how” which encompasses skills and abilities such as appropriate behaviour and communicative competencies. Based on this framework, Jong (1996) stresses that culture is not something which is inherited but something that is learned through the process of growing up.

Having understood the definition of culture and the areas of human behaviour covered by culture, it is important to identify how it affects discourse, particularly, the
non-native writer’s creation of a text. For this purpose, Fairclough’s (1992) chapter entitled *Discourse As Social Practice* is particularly illuminating.

Fairclough (1992: 24) states that a text is produced by drawing upon a society’s “members resources” (MR) which refers to a society’s “knowledge of language, representations of the natural and social worlds they inhabit, values, beliefs, assumptions and so on.” This has great implications for my study because it helps in my analysis of Maniam’s expression of culture. In my study, I will examine how Maniam’s nativization strategies reflect and capture the MR of the Malaysian bilingual situation. To do so, I will clearly need a framework for analysis. It is for this purpose that I refer to Streven’s (1987) article.

Streven (1987: 174) states “It can be argued that the cultural presuppositions of a society, when they are transmitted through a language, relate especially to the expression of culture through its basic mechanisms and value systems…” He has identified six domains that reveal the cultural presuppositions of a society and they will be discussed in the following sections.

### 2.2.1 Philosophy and Religion

There are numerous cultural differences that are evident in this domain. Among the issues that distinguish one culture from another are animism and theism where people speak and behave differently depending on whether they believe in God or a number of gods within the universe. Secondly, the relation of Man to God, Man to Man and Man to Nature also affects the types of responses a particular individual would exhibit, depending on the culture he or she belongs to.
Thirdly, views on death, peace, war and the after-life are also cultural presuppositions that are deeply rooted in language and cultural expression. Fourthly, the ethics and morals of a particular society reveal a person’s ideas of right and wrong, the balance of good and evil and the nature and importance of “truth”.

2.2.2 Concepts of Nature

Each society has its own explanation for Man’s place in the universe. For example, certain societies believe in the existence of supernatural powers that have the ability to cause natural disasters. However, other societies would view the same instance as a situation that could be explained only via scientific means. Therefore, it is apparent that concepts of nature vary from culture to culture.

2.2.3 Notions of Government

Government is viewed as the highest level of social organization and has the potential to control people’s beliefs. These ideas of control are expressed by individuals in their views of whether control should be determined by monarchs, caste and class and so on. These ideas are a reflection of a society’s cultural presuppositions and notions of government and they too vary from society to society.

2.2.4 Concepts of Science

Western science is not the only science in existence. Each society has its own distinct tradition of mathematics, agriculture and architecture. These traditions affect the
cultural presuppositions of its members and often shock members who are not of the same society.

2.2.5 Literature

Some societies accord more value to oral literature than the written word. These societies are more focused on music and dance to convey their immediate reality. For example, in some societies, loud music is played to ward off evil spirits. Besides that, some societies interweave religion with literature. For example, English literature from the Western tradition is closely bound to cross references with the Bible.

2.2.6 Society’s “Ultimate Reality”

Another cultural element that serves to distinguish various cultures is the belief in magic and the magical properties or effects of plants, animals or even certain individuals who exist within their respective societies.

From the categories above, as identified by Strevens (1987), it is indeed clear that the expression of culture can be analyzed and examined through a perusal of discourse strategies like rhetorical strategies used by a non-native writer to convey cultural presuppositions. This rationale will provide the basis of the current study.

2.3 How Cross-Cultural Communication Has Been Studied

As pointed out in the previous section, there is obviously a relationship between
text, context and culture. With reference to non-native writing, this is indeed a new area for study. Nevertheless, several scholars have paved the way, and begun exploring the relevant issues.

In this section, I will review three such studies. The first is Yamuna Kachru’s (1987) study entitled *Cross-cultural Texts, Discourse Strategies And Discourse Interpretation*. In her study, Kachru looks at how cultural thought patterns affect the way syntactic structures and rhetorical conventions are presented in a cross-cultural text. Her study is important and relevant to this study because she identifies the types of competencies needed by readers of non-native texts. Ideally, a reader should be linguistically, culturally and textually competent.

The second study that will be reviewed is Virginia LoCastro’s Study entitled *Aizuchi: A Japanese Conversational Routine*. This is an important study because it is a contrastive analysis in the use of back-channeling in two cultures – Japanese and American. Her study is relevant to my study because it provides insights into the different conversational routines that occur in an Asian, non-native culture as opposed to a Western one. Lo Castro provides a framework for analysis and reveals that traditional conversational routines like “aizuchi” have a place in non-English cultures like Japanese and it is sometimes transferred into a second language like English.

The third study that will be reviewed is Dissanayake and Nicholson’s (1987) study entitled *Native Sensibility And Literary Discourse*. Using a Sri Lankan English text as their data, they show how a Sri Lankan writer writing in English transfers native metaphors, referential frameworks and literary conventions into English fiction. Their
study is relevant to mine because it provides valuable insights into the decoding of data from Maniam's short stories.

### 2.3.1 Yamuna Kachru (1987)

Kachru begins her study by clarifying some of the terminology used in the study. Next, she outlines the framework she uses to analyze the data. She states that in her study, "cross-cultural texts" refer to "a body of texts bilinguals (or multilinguals) produce in a transplanted language in a speech community that does not share the native cultural context of the transplanted language." (Kachru, 1987: 87) This means that, according to her, cross-cultural texts are those that do not depict native English contexts. Instead, they depict the context of a transplanted language, which is a non-native variety of English. In the case of Malaysia, the context would be the Malaysian socio-cultural context. This definition is relevant to my study because it illustrates the cross cultural context that exists in Maniam's short stories. Also, Kachru clarifies the meaning of "interpretation" with reference to her study, because to her, interpretation "involves, in addition to decoding, the imposition of one's knowledge, experience, beliefs and expectations on what one reads." (Kachru, 1987: 87)

Kachru's framework for analysis is very vivid and systematic. She begins by briefly discussing a selected range of differences between the syntactic structures of English and those of major Indic languages, paying special attention to the areas of clausalization and subjecthood. For this purpose, she refers to Bernado (1980) who states that "discourse largely involves the expression of conceptual material such as one's
knowledge, beliefs, on-going perceptions, memories of past experiences, etc.” (Kachru, 1987: 88)

Kachru points out that the manner in which conceptual material in a person’s mind is activated differs from language to language. For example, “the major Indic languages prefer to express a series of temporally sequential events in one clause” (Kachru, 1987: 88) as seen in the example below:

(1) jaldii se ghar aakar haath-muh dho kar parhne baith jaao (Hindi)
   quickly home having hand face having to read sit down (direct translation)
   come washed

   Come home and wash yourself quickly and (then) sit down to study. (restructured)

(2) vah tumhare kahne par bhii Dillii pahucte hii Sumit (Hindi)
   he your saying on even Delhi arriving as soon as Sumit (direct translation)
   se mil kar sab baatey tay karne ko taiyaar nahii hai (Hindi)
   with having met all matters deciding for ready not is (direct translation)

   Although you asked him/her to, he/she is not ready to meet Sumit and settle everything as soon as he/she arrives in Delhi. (restructured)

As illustrated above, unlike Hindi, English requires more than one clause. This has implications for the analysis of non-native texts because it exemplifies how cultural thought patterns influences a non-native speaker’s speech.

The second area examined by Kachru is subjecthood. Unlike English, Indic languages have few or no subject numbers, for example:

(3) baahar thand hai (Hindi)
   outside cold is (direct translation)

   It is cold outside. (restructured)
Having briefly discussed a selected range of differences between the syntactic structures of English and those of major Indic languages, Kachru focuses on some of the rhetorical conventions in major Indic languages.

One of the differences between an English expository paragraph and an Indic one is the way they are structured. Kachru points out that according to Kaplan (1966) and Clyne (1987), an English expository paragraph “is often described as having a linear progression, from the topic sentence in the beginning to the last sentence of the conclusion, a preferred structure said to be derived from a Platonic-Aristotelian model.” (Kachru, 1987: 90) However, Kachru points out that an Indic one is shown “to have a spiral-like and circular structure respectively.” (Kachru, 1987: 90) This difference is important because it reveals two very different cultural thought patterns at work. Kachru states that unlike English, the Indic languages have circular structure because the culture is one that is steeped in the tradition of oral narratives. To further support this idea, Kachru states that “it has been demonstrated that the patterns that occur in Hindi also occur in the English written by Hindi speakers no matter how high their competence in English” (Kachru, 1987: 90). Therefore, it is evident that linguistic patterns are highly influenced by a person’s culture and can be transferred from one language to another.

Having presented the differences in syntactic structures and rhetorical conventions between English and those of major Indic languages, Kachru mentions several factors that are involved in the production of discourse in Indian English. One
factor is "the habitual ways of encoding conceptual material in language." (Kachru, 1987: 97) She clarifies this point by discussing the position of English in India. As it is a second language, linguistic competence in English among Indians is acquired within the Indian socio-cultural and intellectual contexts. Unlike native speakers, Indians will not have the "Anglo-European, Judeo-Christian socio-cultural and intellectual milieu of the native varieties of English." (Kachru, 1987: 97) This is important because it has implications for discourse studies about non-native writing. With reference to my study, it is crucial that I take into account the fact that Maniam, being a Malaysian of Indian origin, acquired English within the Malaysian Indian socio-cultural and intellectual contexts. Therefore, his writing would be a reflection of such a multi-ethnic, multicultural background.

The second factor emphasized by Kachru is that, since Indian English discourse is acquired against the backdrop of the Indian context, it expresses "the experiences, beliefs and knowledge" of such a context. As a result, there will be a transfer, consciously or unconsciously, of Indic discourse strategies to Indian English discourse.

Kachru concludes her article by pointing out to scholars that the interpretation of Indian English involves two processes. Firstly, it requires the interpretation of "grammatical structures and discourse patterns of Indic languages and their influence on Indian English." (Kachru, 1987: 98) Secondly, the interpretation relates "to the sociocultural and intellectual traditions of India." (Kachru, 1987: 98) Hence, it is evident that the interpretation of non-native texts goes beyond a mere linguistic analysis. The implications for scholars are that they will have to be familiar with the socio-cultural context in which the non-native text is produced.
2.3.2 Virginia LoCastro (1987)

LoCastro presents a contrastive analysis of back-channeling procedures in the Japanese and American cultures. She states that according to Yngve (1970), back-channel refers to conversational settings “where the person who has the turn and his partner are simultaneously engaged in speaking and listening.” (LoCastro, 1987: 103) LoCastro points out that this can be seen when the listener not only listens but also utters short messages like “uh huh” and “yes” in the back-channel. In her study, LoCastro uses the terms “aizuchi” and back-channel interchangeably. LoCastro’s study reveals that native speakers of Japanese use “aizuchi” more often when speaking English or Japanese than Americans use back-channeling procedures when speaking English. Her study is important because the use of “aizuchi” is deeply linked to Japanese cultural thought patterns, which are manifested in speech interactions. This is relevant to my study because it points to yet another instance where culture and language are inextricably linked. (Also, LoCastro’s study provides perspectives on the importance of “aizuchi” and its role in speech interactions.)

LoCastro stresses the importance of social and cultural knowledge when analyzing speech interactions. This is important because is is relevant in the analysis of dialogue in non-native texts. LoCastro states that Gumperz (1982) believes that “socio-cultural norms determine all levels of linguistic production and interpretation.” (LoCastro, 1987: 106) Based on a study examining back-channel cues in ethnically mixed student groups in Berkeley, LoCastro states that Gumperz (1982) discovered that there was evidently a link between back-channel cues and speakers’ utterances and
interactional synchrony on a non-verbal level. The implication here is that the smooth flow of conversation between participants depends on the knowledge both know to initiate a conversation as well as follow the inferences necessary to maintain the conversation.

LoCastro concedes that her study is by no means a comprehensive one. Her data is based on personal observations, daily conversations and audiotape recordings. She focused on Japanese speakers speaking to each other and American speakers speaking to each other in various situations. Based on a contrastive analysis, she discovered that American English has back-channel cues like "right", "yeah", "um ... um", "uh huh ...", "OK", "oh, I see" and so on. However, Japanese English has more frequent uses of back-channeling. Also, LoCastro notes that back-channeling in Japanese English depends on certain variables such as "the types of discourse (narration, interviews, exchanges where the speakers turn consists of one utterance etc), the degree of intimacy between the participants, the subject, sex, age, socio-economic group, setting and level of education."

(LoCastro, 1987: 109)

LoCastro states that there is a higher level of "aizuchi" among the Japanese compared to the Americans because it is used to maintain group harmony and smooth relations between speakers and listeners. Furthermore, in Japanese society, it is considered rude to interrupt a speaker and therefore, "aizuchi" is used to indicate that one is listening to the speaker. In addition, it is the norm in Japanese and other Asian cultures to avoid giving a straight, direct answer when speaking, especially to someone who is considered of a higher status, hence, the increased use of "aizuchi."
LoCastro concludes her study by raising the issue of non-native speakers who carry speech interactions, conversational routines and expectations from their native culture into English. This reveals that intelligibility in English as an international language covers not only pronunciation, syntax and vocabulary, but also conversational routines such as aizuchi.

2.3.3 Wimal Dissanayake and Mimi Nichter (1987)

In their study, Dissanayake and Nichter aim to discuss "metaphors and referential frameworks and patterns of tacit communication in the work of Punyakante Wijenaike, a highly regarded Sri Lankan writer of English fiction." (Dissanyake and Nichter, 1987: 114) This study is relevant to mine because it focuses on metaphors, which is an area of nativization that I will be examining in Maniam’s short stories.

Dissanayake and Nichter begin by pointing out the link between metaphors and cultural thought patterns. Due to the nature of metaphors, a native English speaker may miss the deeper, indirect subtleties of meaning in a non-native text. To illustrate how a native speaker may miss these subtleties of meaning, Dissanayake and Nichter quote a native English scholar, Niven (1977) who states that the characters in Wijenaike’s novels are silent because of the “refusal to express outwardly one’s inner emotions, however intense.” (Dissanayake and Nichter, 1987: 116) However, Dissanayake and Nichter have a contrasting opinion. They believe that Niven (1977) fails to take note of the subtleties of cultural communication where in Sri Lankan culture, silence is a speech act. It is such situations of misunderstanding that illustrate Dissanayake’s and Nichter’s idea of native sensibility, which they define as “behaviour such as culturally accepted ways of thinking,
reasoning and feeling.” (Dissanayake and Nichter, 1987: 116) In their study, Dissanayake and Nichter state that they will examine the metaphorical frames in Wijenaike’s novels under three categories which are “her use of food idioms, her hot/cold dichotomy, (and) her character’s use of silence.”

Dissanayake and Nichter state that a popular image in Wijenaike’s novels is cooking and the serving of food which is a “metaphor for nurturance and growth.” The love between a husband and wife is also conveyed via food as opposed to verbal or physical demonstrations. This is evident in instances where a wife serves her husband his favourite food. Furthermore, certain gestures when serving food represent the status of the eater. For example, when a wife thickens her husband’s food with milk and sugar, it is a symbol of status because milk and sugar is equated with sustenance.

According to Dissanayake and Nichter, the food idiom is especially important in cultures where overt demonstrations of feelings are inappropriate. Therefore, individuals become used to non-verbal communication and look for “subtle cues which indicate particular moods or feelings. What may seem to an outsider to be silence, or what appears to be merely a casual glance, may be imbued with cultural meaning.” As illustrated above, Dissanayake and Nichter provide examples of several food items and the deeper cultural meaning they convey.

Another metaphor that is inherently connected to culturally determined patterns of thinking is the “hot/cold dichotomy.” Under this category, metaphorical expression can occur in diverse fields “such as medicine, food and personality types.” To illustrate this, Dissanayake and Nichter quote from Wijenaike’s novel The Third Woman (1963) where the protagonist has two wives and one is described as “all hot chili and fire” whereas the
other “remained cool and sweet as the milk rice she prepared in the morning.” Dissanayake and Nichter state that culturally “hot chili and fire” represent a woman who is full of feeling and lacks self-control. On the contrary, a woman who is “cool as milk rice” is in control of herself and is therefore virtuous.

Another aspect discussed by Dissanayake and Nichter is the use of silence as a speech act. In Sri Lankan and other Asian cultures, silence between characters is loaded with meaning. According to Dissanayake and Nichter, among the cultural meanings attached to silence is that of silence between husband and wife where overt expressions of feelings denote insincerity in Sri Lankan culture. Moreover, in the category of personality types, silence can denote a man’s character. In Sri Lankan culture, a man who talks a lot is considered weak and easily manipulated. On the other hand, a man who is silent is considered strong. To illustrate these metaphors, Dissanayake and Nichter present examples from Wijenaike’s stories.

Dissanayake and Nichter conclude their study by stating that they chose food idioms, the hot/cold dichotomy and silence as a speech act as categories to be discussed and analyzed because they wanted to indicate that it is this type of analysis which is currently lacking. According to them, this sort of analysis is important because it can aid in increasing a reader’s understanding of the influence of native sensibility on discourse strategies. It is with that in mind that I will examine and analyze non-native metaphors in Maniam’s short stories.

2.4 Conclusion

Based on the five studies reviewed on how nativization strategies have been
studied, it is evident that only two (Pariola 1987, Kachru 1986), provide a systematic framework for the analysis of nativization strategies. The other studies (Pandharipande 1987, Sridhar 1983, Weir 1983), offer interesting insights and perspectives by listing out various nativization strategies and giving examples to illustrate these strategies. Although these strategies are important, it is not within the scope of this study to examine all of them. Furthermore, such an examination lacks depth because it is conducted in a haphazard manner. On the contrary, Kachru’s (1986) framework is more systematic because he has summarized the nativization of rhetorical strategies and divided them into individual categories. This ensures that a more detailed representation of various nativization strategies are examined and discussed. His framework is made up of individual categories for analysis such as:

(a) native similes and metaphors

(b) the transfer of rhetorical devices for “personalizing” speech interactions

(c) the translation of proverbs and idioms

(d) the use of culturally dependent speech styles and

(e) the use of syntactic devices

Compared to the other studies reviewed in this chapter, Kachru’s (1986) framework for the analysis of the nativization of rhetorical strategies is the most suitable choice. Therefore, I have based my study on Kachru’s (1986) framework.