

APPENDIX A
Social Attitude Survey

Please spend several minutes on the following questions. We appreciate your honesty and cooperation. There are no right or wrong answers. All information will be kept confidential.

Please tick your age group 25-34 () Sex: Female/Male
35-45 () Educational Background: Secondary ()
College ()
University ()

1. I read books and magazine in the English language.
Always () Sometimes () Rarely () Never ()
2. I watch the following programs in English (More than one choice can be accepted)
News () Movies () Musical Programs () Comedies () Documentaries ()
3. I often think in English.
Always () Sometimes () Rarely () Never ()
4. I can speak the following languages fluently (more than one choice can be accepted)
English () Chinese () Malay () Other languages ()such as _____
5. I can read and/or write efficiently in the following languages:
English () Chinese () Malay () Other languages ()such as _____
6. I am educated in : Malay () English & Malay () Chinese & Malay()
7. In which language do you talk to friends and colleagues?
English () Chinese () Malay () Other languages ()such as _____
8. In which language do you talk to your brothers and /or sisters?
English () Chinese () Malay () Other languages ()such as _____
9. In which language do you talk to your parents?
English () Chinese () Malay () Other languages ()such as _____
10. My dominant language of communication is:
English () Chinese () Malay () Other languages ()such as _____

Questions 11-20 require you to tick the appropriate numbers to indicate your answers.
Strongly Agree (SA)=1 Agree (A)=2 Unsure (U)-3 Disagree (D)=4 Strongly Agree (SA)=5

	SA	A	U	D	SD
11. With filial piety, not only the family but society will have less problems.	1	2	3	4	5
12. Education is the key to success and good living, therefore It should be the pursuit of every individual.	1	2	3	4	5
13. It is important to respect elders and their views.	1	2	3	4	5
14. Not to give a man face is the highest of all insults.	1	2	3	4	5
15. My family comes first in all my decisions.	1	2	3	4	5
16. A man should exercise self control and emotional restraint in every aspect of life.	1	2	3	4	5
17. Humility should be practiced by everyone as it is a measure of a lady or gentleman.	1	2	3	4	5
18. Moral values are an integral part of a child's upbringing.	1	2	3	4	5
19. Laws should prioritize the interests of the society above the interests of the individual.	1	2	3	4	5
20. Heaven will reward everyman for his actions.	1	2	3	4	5

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION

APPENDIX B

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

1. In analyzing the data, MC refers to Malaysian subject with Chinese as a first or predominant language while ME refers to Malaysian subject with English as a dominant language.
2. The number in parenthesis refers to a “chunk” number in accordance with the process of chunking utterances developed in the Chafe(1997b) project. Thus, Malaysian subject number 3 with English as the dominant language, chunk 33 is written as ME3:(33).
3. “I” refers to the interviewer and the number in parenthesis refers to a chunk. Thus, interviewer, chunk 7 is written as I: (7)
4. The following are symbols used and what they signify:
 - . indicates sentence final intonation
 - = when there is no interval between adjacent utterances, the second being latched immediately to the first (but without overlapping it), the utterances are linked with equal signs.
e.g. Tim : I used to smoke a lot =
Ivy : =You think you're real tough?
 - :: A colon indicates an extension of the sound syllable it follows. The number of colons indicate the length of the extension. e.g. :: is longer than : and ::: is longer than ::
 - ___ Emphasis indicated by underlining
e.g. Anne: This happens to be mine
 - Truncate (e.g. what ti-time is it?)
 - (()) A double parenthesis is used to enclose a description of

some phenomenon with which the transcriptionist does not want to wrestle.

e.g 1. Tom: I use to ((cough)) smoke a lot.

e.g.2. Jan: This is just delicious! ((telephone rings))

Kim: I'll get it.

or various characterization of the talk

Ron: ((in falsetto)) I can do it now.

Max: ((whispered)) He'll never do it.

() A single parenthesis where no hearing can be achieved from the string of talk or item in question.

e.g. Tad: My () catching.

(@@) laugh quality

(XX) Uncertain hearing

- Capital letters is used to indicate an utterance spoken much louder than the surrounding talk.

e.g. Announcer : an the winner izes (1.4) RACHEL ROBERTS

- Bold letters highlight the statements for discussion

e.g. From the view of the **Chinese community**, the man is the leader.

[] The researcher's insertion

> < When part of the utterances delivered in a pace quicker than the surrounding talk, it is indicated being enclosed between "less than" signs.

Steel: The guardian newspaper looked through >the manifesto< last week.

[[utterances starting simultaneously are linked together with either double or single left-hand brackets.

Tom: I used to smoke a lot when I was young

Bob: I used to smoke camels

APPENDIX C

Narrative Interview 1

I: Please tell me what happened in the VCD clippings you have just watched.

Structured Interview 2

Stimulus 1: Your sister is in deep financial crisis, would you invite your sister and her family to stay with you and your family to alleviate their financial problems?

Stimulus 2: Of all codes, filial piety comes first. Is filial piety important and what does it require one to do? Please comment with regard to the saying just expressed about filial piety.

Stimulus 3: “wang cer chen rong, wang ni chen fong” Hoping for the future generation to obtain excellence in education. Could this saying be applied to the Chinese family?

Stimulus 4: Chinese people place face value highly- “Mianzi” literally means face value has long been observed by most Chinese. As the saying goes, “Man live for face as trees grow for bark. Please comment on the newspaper clipping about “face.”

APPENDIX D

Group 2 subjects' use of singular pronouns as markers of self-identity

ME1: (1).. I think I would lah if she is really in desperate need... (3)But it'll be better if you do not stay together... privacy and space is of utmost importance to **me** lah.

ME2: (1)Mm: ok: aa: now I have to say it would depend on the circumstances... (3)But if they have no necessity for shifting house, I may help them financially... (4)yes, I would offer them my home, but I would also make it clear that it would be temporary...(5) But I would also tell her mm: what are some of the things I would expect from her if she lives under my roof...

ME3: (2)But of course, if I have a little bit more money, I wouldn't mind getting a house for her, you know... I have not qualms about it.

ME4: (1)... I would extend my full aa: help and assistance in whatever way I can to my sister and her family. (2)However, I strongly believe that before we can come together and live as a family, I need to discuss aa: certain prime areas ...

ME5: (1) Er: **my** first reaction would be "No" if she has her own family... (3)And if I had the means, I will rather that I would rent a room for her family to stay. And if she is in a very bad financial crisis I would probably try as much to help. (4)But the last thing I would do is to invite the family to come over...

ME6: (1)Well if the financial problem is bad enough, I will do that. She's my sister, somebody have to do that. Why not **me**?

ME7: (4)Ya, if I have a sister and her family is in a bit of a crisis financially speaking, ya, I would welcome her provided I have the space in my house. Aa: certainly so because I I I would be: I would love my sister so much and I would be very protective...to set rules that's the important thing. (7)I love my sister so much that I would not let that happen. So, setting the rules is the important thing.

ME8:(1) I wouldn't invite them but they have to make their intentions known to **me** lah. And aa; I will: I think will be able to accommodate them as I have said, for a short term period but not for long term, ok?

ME9:(1)I've stated from the beginning that I am English educated. (2)Umm: to the Chinese, to the Chinese, aa: if a sibling is in financial crisis, probably the rest of the brothers and sisters are required to help alleviate the problems lah. (3)But er: as I've said, I'm English educated, and I think it has a lot to do with the relationship among the sibling themselves. Now this is universal then ...

ME10: (1)First choice, NO. (2)I would avoid living with them because I believe my family comes first... (3)So I'll rather lend them the money if I have the money than ask them to come and live with **me**.

ME11: (4)To **me**, helping them to find another place and paying for their rental until they could stand on their own. I would rather do that ...(5)And since the place is a place to stay, I believe they also would prefer to be on their own. They would have their own freedom. (6)I would be prepared to rent a place for them to stay.

ME12: (1) Well, they really need help I will do whatever I can to help...

ME13: (1)Okay, **my** thought for question 2 is general. That's what I see nowadays in the society. (2)But on **my** part... I will extend my hand to help her

ME14:(1) Aa: ok. First of all, I would like to know what status is their financial problem, ok? I **would-I** would sit down and talk about it ...(2)But er: inviting them to come over to stay at my place... I would not propose that yet...aa: personally I do not like er: even though its my brother or sister to come over to stay with **me** and **my** wife and my family.

ME15: (1)Ye-s:, I would. But they probably have to sleep on the couch. (2)... If it's a long term measure: problems will probably arise and that's the point when ((inhalation)) probably [I] will ask them to move out to another house. (3)Maybe [I] will even pay for-pay for the rental but ((tongue click)) move out!

[emphasis by the researcher]

APPENDIX E

COMMUNICATIVE PATTERNS FOR THE ASPECT OF EDUCATION

6.3.1 Use of Pronouns as Markers of Identity

In the discussion of the above, singular pronouns and its related forms have been used by both groups of subjects to indicate self-identity. The singular pronoun has also been used to indicate group identity by Group 2 subjects too. However, use of the singular pronoun which is in line with Rosemont's view which viewed the self to be part of the "we" or collective is not significant for this aspect.

6.3.1.1 Group 1 subjects' use of singular pronouns as markers of self identity

Use of the singular pronoun "I" and its related forms were also observed in 2 or 13.3% of Group 1 subjects. Below are excerpts of their responses:

MC3: (11)I think it is very much a-a hope in the family that to see what it is literally means that the guy should excel in his er: er: what ever he is doing. Like he is expected to be a dragon or the phoenix for the lady lah. (12) Er: I think it is sometimes good aa: for the Chinese family to have that kind of a hope. At least there is a driven power there.
MC12: 23)Umm: yes, yes, it still does. Nowadays it still does I would say. I would say it is a very tradition-al: mindset lah...(24)I don't believe-I don't believe education is everything. I believe that education system is wrong today. So: um: in terms of if you are looking at the proverb from the education point of view, as in as in what you call that, school education, college, university education, I would totally disagree about it lah.

6.3.1.2 Group 1 subjects' use of plural pronouns as markers of collective identity

Six or 40% of Group 1 subjects indicated their identification with Chinese society through the use of the plural pronouns "we" and "our." In response to the question posed, MC5 stated agreement and explained using the plural pronoun "we" to indicate how Chinese parents bring up their children with the hope that they will achieve success in education. To conclude, she emphasized the important role of education in providing this hope, "we put our hope in our children: our younger generation."

Likewise, MC6 indicated her identification with the Chinese through her explanation about the importance of education to the Chinese by focussing on the Chinese family, "in our Chinese family..." For MC10, she stated that all Chinese parents want their children to be dragons and phoenixes therefore, "we, the parent pressure our children..." in order for them to excel in their academic performances. In saying thus, she was in fact identifying herself with Chinese parents who do so. Below are excerpts of both their responses:

MC6: (10)“wang zi cheng long, wang nu cheng feng” I think can be applied in Chinese- in our Chinese family because aa: sure every parents would like their children to perform well and excellence in their education.

MC10: (8)Er: Yes. Er: This is true and this is a very typical Chinese way of thinking and practice. (9)All Chinese parents want their sons and daughters to be dragons and daughters to be like phoenix “fong” which symbolize great success. (10)Aa:m so, we the parent pressures our children and send them to many tuition classes, just to make sure that they are successful in education.

In the response of MC13, he stated agreement to the saying by stating that excellence in education has been a practice observed by the Chinese for a long time. He however, felt that the practice could be less restrictive, “of course, we can have some not so tight [regulations]” and “we couldn’t ask them to study...” The plural pronoun “we” when used in this context, suggests that MC13 included himself as one of the Chinese who are not overly strict with regard to the disciplining of their children in their studies. On the other hand, MC15 indicated his identification by referring to Chinese society as “our Chinese society,” to indicate the practices of the olden Chinese society in hiring teachers for females as they were not given the freedom to attend public schools.

MC13: (15)Ok, um: what I can say in the Chinese family now, they really hope their future generation will get good results... So: um: I believe this has long [been] put into the Chinese family. (16)But er: of course, **we** can still have some not so tight [regulations]. I mean, not so tight to the future generations to just er: keep their studies well. If they couldn’t do well, **we** couldn’t just ask them to study or: I mean, stress them to perform well or not.

MC15: (31) For the aa:m last time, **our** Chinese society, they will think the girl come from the rich one, the family er: the father or the parents, how to say, they “upah” one, they will hire, they will hire a teacher come to the house to teach the daughter, hoh?

[emphasis by the researcher]

6.3.1.3 Group 2 subjects’ use of singular pronouns as markers of self-identity.

In the use of the singular pronoun “I” and its related forms as a marker of self-identity, nine or 60% of Group 2 subjects employ it to indicate their individualized views and thoughts with regard to the aspect of education. Below are excerpts of their verbalizations.

ME1: (8)Oh, definitely I strongly think so. Most Chinese place great emphasis on education and it is a matter of pride to parents when their children do well in their exams.

ME2: (17)Yes, I see that’s the trend nowadays. All parents are putting pressure on their children to excel academically and may not be necessarily a good thing. (18)All parents want their child to do well in school, to be in the best class...

ME6: (11)All Chinese family believe that saying. That is why the parents ...work day and night so that the children will have a better life, a better education. (12)Eh: sometimes to us quite excessive-excessive, er: sometimes they do it quite excessively, yes. (16)Once you are educated, you are able to think for yourself. If you are uneducated, you just follow blindly. (17)So in that case people, I think most Chinese know that education is very important.

ME7: (22)Ya, you know why the Chinese are so obsessed with education? (23)First of all, they defined education as the road to riches. And they defined riches as material wealth. (24)I don’t.

ME8:(9) I feel that up till today, aa: the Chinese hold on aa: strongly to this lah. Education is aa: the most important thing lah. (10)But then again as for me, I do not subscribe to this

lah. Aa: but I would –I would rather that aa: my children do their best in whatever they can and find their way in life.

ME9: (13) Definitely this apply to the Chinese family-to the Chinese family and also to my family because I am a Chinese. (14) I will want my daughter to be successful, to have some kind of achievement in life...

ME11: (30) Yes, generally, yes. Aa: for my own family, yes. (31) My father was not very educated, so: one of his desires was for us all to be highly educated. And: I think he has been quite successful, ok? I think my father would be reflective of Chinese family lah in their generation.

ME12: (9) Aa:m depends on the culture, I suppose...so if you look at those who are more closely tied to the Chinese culture, then it would be something very important to them. (10) On the other hand, if you look at the Chinese who have been overseas for a long time...then you will see that their values are different and they don't subscribe to the same thinking so: its more of a cultural thing than race or genetics.

ME15: (10) Yes, I expect my children to be excellent in their education but sometime it is not possible. Aa:m but I do believe excellence in education is not the only route to success.

6.3.1.4 Group 2 subjects' use of both the singular and plural pronouns as markers of collective identity

Although most Group 2 subjects displayed a pro-individualistic orientation, 40% of Group 2 subjects demonstrated that at times, they do identify themselves with the group such as being members of the family or being identified as Chinese. However, a distinctive difference between both groups is observed when some Group 2 subjects tended to personalize their responses by referring to their own family and personal views using “I” instead of the “we” to represent their identification with the Chinese community at large. For example, ME8 indirectly indicated his identification with the Chinese. In speaking about the Chinese holding strongly to educational excellence till today, he used a “but” to represent an opposite idea, “but then again as for me,” he stated, “I do not subscribe to this lah.” This indicated that although he identified himself as a Chinese, he did not share such views. ME7 also adopted a similar pattern when he criticized the Chinese for being obsessed with education as it was perceived as a road to riches. In stating, “I don't,” he indicated both his identification and his exclusion from the Chinese who do as he did not subscribe to such ideas. Excerpts of their responses are given below:

ME7: (23) First of all, they defined education as the road to riches... (24) **I don't**. (25) If you're talking about education, I am talking about life education...

ME8: :(9) I feel that up till today, aa: the Chinese hold on aa: strongly to this lah... (10) But then again as for **me**, I do not subscribe to this lah. Aa: but **I would –I would** rather that aa: my children do their best in whatever they can...

[emphasis by the researcher]

In response to the question posed, ME9 identified himself as a Chinese and being Chinese in stating, “I am a Chinese.” He indicated strong agreement to the saying as he stated that it could be applied to the Chinese family as well as to his family. Thus, he reasoned that he “will want” his daughter to be successful. However, at chunk 15, he changed his mind,

as he felt that wanting their children to be successful was “a universal thing” and did not accrue to the ethnic Chinese alone. Excerpts of his responses are given below:

ME9: ((13)Definitely this apply to the Chinese family-to the Chinese family and **also to my family because I am a Chinese.** (14)I will want my daughter to be successful... (15)it is a universal thing isn't it? Whether you are Chinese or not, as parents you want to see your children do well and be successful in life.

[emphasis by the researcher]

Three Group 2 subjects indicated identification with the Chinese through the use of the plural pronoun “we” and its related forms. ME11 indicated indirect identification with the Chinese when he answered the question by applying it to his own family, “As for my own family, yes,” instead of focusing on the Chinese in general. For further emphasis, he stated that, “in our generation” which refers to the present younger generation of Chinese which indicated the inclusion of himself as one of the younger generation Chinese, which also suggests inclusion of the speaker and hearer, success in career and work hinges on educational achievement. On the other hand, ME6’s use of the plural pronoun “we” indicated his identification with the Chinese. This is observed in his previous statement about the history of the Chinese which was followed by his reference to “we” which referred to his reference to himself as being part of the ethnic Chinese.

ME6: (12)Eh: sometimes to **us** quite excessive-excessive, er: sometimes they do it quite excessively, yes. (13)You look at the history of Chinese people. **We-we** actually, my grandparents, my grandfather came from China...

ME11: (30)Yes, generally, yes. Aa: for my own family, yes. (31)... I think my father would be reflective of Chinese family lah in their generation. (32)And all the more in **our** generation where with the advent of technology, you don't have an education you can't go far in terms of career and work.

ME15: (13)So: I gues-ss excellence in education IS something **we** hope for but ((inhalation)) >sometimes, **we** hope in vain!<

[emphasis by the researcher]

Similarly, in order to answer the question, ME15 focussed on his own family as representative of the Chinese family. He stated, “I expect my children to be excellent in education...”

This suggests that there is identification on the part of Group 2 subjects with the practices of the ethnic Chinese especially in the matter of educational motivation and achievement. Although the percentage of difference between both groups were insignificant in the usage of the plural pronoun “we,” a distinct difference is observed when Group 2 subjects personalize their accounts by referring to themselves or their families as stated earlier. Although Group 2 subjects discussed about the relevance of education to the Chinese, they did not refer to Chinese society to validate their views or feelings. On the contrary, Group 2 subjects’ usage of the plural pronoun “we” reflect the distinctive presence of the individualistic “I” with its independent thought patterns and behaviour.

6.3.2 Use of Explanations

The three aspects subsumed under the above pattern are: Chinese culture and practices, past historical events and occurrences as well as Chinese sayings.

6.3.2.1 Reference to Chinese culture and practices by Group 1 subjects

Most Group 1 subjects with the exception of MC12, spoke positively about education. The views forwarded by most Group 1 subjects indicated that their views were in keeping with the Chinese societal view with regard to education. In striving to fulfill the task, Group 1 subjects gave either a short or detailed explanation of the saying and the practice of the traditional society.

In contrast to Group 2 subjects, 73.3% of Group 1 subjects mentioned about emphasis on education as a cultural practice thus it is a source of hope and pride for the parents and is reflected in the Chinese saying discussed. In line with this thought, MC1 stated that education represented a “general hope” for most Chinese families and parents as parents hoped that through education, their children would excel. Similarly, MC2 stated that parents harbor the hope for the next generation to be successful and wealthy and be able to enjoy a life of ease and prosperity to the family. According to MC3, it was good that education was emphasized as it served as a form of “driven power” to encourage children to bring “good back to the family.” Excerpts of Group 1 subjects’ responses follow:

MC1: (17)What they want is: they will try very, very best to educate their children, hoping that one day the children will excel in aa? They will try their very best to give the best education...

MC2: And aa: and aa: only through gaining power and authority, then a person can only say a successful man in those aa days and that is why Chinese emphasize so much on education for their future generations ...

MC3: 11)I think it is very much a-a hope in the family that to see what it is literally means that the guy should excel in his er: er: what ever he is doing... (12) Er: I think it is sometimes good aa: for the Chinese family to have that kind of a hope. At least there is a driven power there.

MC4: (33)So so so in here, as in what we say, they hope that the the children achieve something in their life. You know, because eventually, it carries their name ma. (34)Because people will ask, who are your parents you know. So so eventually, they will ask. They will take pride.

MC5: (16)Yes, because we: as parents, we bring up our children, we hope that one day, they will success in their -their-their ((click)) what do you call that? Career. They have-they do well in their living, and they can take good care of their folks.

MC7:(15)...Chinese emphasize so much on education for their future generations because they usually do that (16) but majority usually think that these are the ways that they can change their life for the better, ((laugh)) ok?

MC9: (8)Aa: this saying is totally 100 percent apply to the Chinese family because the Chinese want to be successful and excellent in education. Aa:m and also not in education only but in their life too

MC10: (8)Er: Yes. Er: This is true and this is a very typical Chinese way of thinking and practise. (9)All Chinese parents want their sons and daughters to be dragons and daughters to be like phoenix “fong” which symbolize great success. (10)Aa:m so, we the parent pressures our children and send them to many tuition classes, just to make sure that they are successful in education. I mean they are doing well in exams...

6.3.2.2 Reference to past historical events and occurrences by Group 1 subjects

In responding to the question posed, three Group 1 subjects explained about the Chinese view on education, in particular the traditional view. MC7 in particular referred to the “history point of view” to explain the importance placed on education. This is in keeping with what was discussed earlier in section 6.2.2 that it is a Chinese habit to constantly draw upon history to explain the present (Yen Mah, 2003). Similarly, Yow (2006) is of the view that as cultural roots and mindset are derived from history, Chinese history is a valuable source for insight into Chinese cultural values, wisdom and philosophical thought. This is observed in the recurrent reference to the past and the traditional practice of the Chinese by Group 1 subjects. Below are excerpts of their verbalizations:

MC2: (11) Yes, for Chinese parents er: in general. So they are traditionally regarded as the Chinese parent to create ideal environment to discipline their children’s education especially, education. (13)They hope that their next generation will be success[ful], more wealthy, have an easy life and bring prosperous[prosperity] to their family lah.

MC7: (13)Okay, um: I guess everyone hope that is future generation do well in the future. (14)Er: where as in the Chinese family, aa: as far as I am concern because of the history’s point of view, from the history point of view, because if a person want to become an official, holding high post in the government, um: he has to be good at studying. (15)He has to pass examinations which may not be relevant to his future work...

MC15: (31) For the aa:m last time, our Chinese society, they will think the girl come from the rich one, the family er: the father or the parents, how to say, they “upah” one, they will hire, they will hire a teacher come to the house to teach the daughter, hoh?...

6.3.2.3 Reference to Chinese sayings by Group 1 subjects

5 or 33.3 % of Group 1 subjects chose to explain about the Chinese saying to indicate its relevance and importance to the Chinese family. Excerpts of their responses are given below:

MC1:(16)Aa: Chinese, I think, “wang cer chen rong, wang cer chen fong.” Sorry aa: “wang cer chen rong, wan ni chen fong” is the –I think is the general hope of all-of most of the Chinese: Chinese family, parents. (17)What they want is: they will try very, very best to educate their children, hoping that one day the children will excel in aa?

MC4:(30) I: because the the the you know, proverb comes from Chinese lah, you know. In a way, it is applied to the Chinese family. (31)I guess, the thing is that what the: you see: the the the Chinese society, you know, your first question is family is so important. It is the foundation of everything...

MC6: (10)“wang zi cheng long, wang nu cheng feng” I think can be applied in Chinese- in our Chinese family because aa: sure every parents would like their children to perform well and excellence in their education. (11)Aa: they also hope heir children will be successful in their future...

MC11:(17) Yes, this er: proverb is for the Chinese family. And er: it speaks of hoping that the son will be a great person or successful person and the daughter to be also one. (18)And er: we parents, I mean Chinese parents, hope that our children will become successful and great persons who will contribute to er: the country or nation or to the family. So: they are referred to as dragons and phoenix...

MC15: (43)So "wang cer ceng rong, wang ni chen fong" hoh aa:m for our Chinese society now all the Chinese people can, all the Chinese accept. They also want their sons or daughter be success in all the functions, all the functions, hoh? Everything.

6.3.2.4 Reference to past historical events and occurrences by Group 2 subjects

In contrast, only three Group 2 subjects explained about the importance of education to the Chinese as a cultural phenomenon for economic upliftment :

ME3:(11)aa: for the Chinese, for them it is very important. I guess for the westerners, once they reach a certain age, they-they-they are free to go on their own. (12)So, but for the Chinese, you are a pride to the family, if you do well :, you are a scholar especially in the Han dynasty times, er: you are a scholar, you will be feasted if you come back from Beijing.

ME5:(17)This is certainly Chinese family. One generation is better than the other. (18)Yes, ya education because to the Chinese, education is er: a forward, a first step and: which is why they would invest a lot in their children in terms of education. Because from their education then children get better jobs and from there, their material standing will get better in the eyes of their neighbors or society.

ME14: (10)Aa: yes, actually, er: it does apply to a Chinese family or to any Chinese family. (11)Why? It actually aa: it gives hope and encourage on the family itself. To be looking forward and be more positive and everything. So: that they are looking forward for their children to be much more better.

6.3.2.5 Reference to past historical events and occurrences by Group 2 subjects

While ME6 and ME13 of Group 2 explained about the importance of education in the historical past which is carried over till today:

ME6: 13)You look at the history of Chinese people. We-we actually, my grandparents, my grandfather came from China. And-and at that time, the life is very-very hard over there. You have famine, you have drought, you have things like that... (14)So in order to make themselves better, they would go into another country. But if you go to another country, you just become laborers and people bully you all the time. So you just work harder so so that the future generation will have a brighter future. (15)And education is actually the key to a brighter future.

ME13: (10)As you know in the past, in the Chinese, er: in the olden Chinese society, a family will just-can could sacrifice anything just to have one member in the family to have good education. (11)That's why they say, when there is one *chong yin* in the family, it is a pride of the parents concerned. And in this modern society, from the list of important things, education, I suppose takes the top placing.

6.3.3 Direct and Indirect Modes of Communication

The above pattern of communication encompasses: expressing disagreement to the views discussed, negative statements, sharing of personal information, regrets and shortcomings as well as indirect modes of communication.

6.3.3.1 Group 2 subjects' disagreement to views on education

Although education was highly viewed by the Chinese, it is observed that this view was not unanimous among Group 2 subjects. Instead, there were mentions of a number of negatives related to ascribing education top priority. Some Group 2 subjects stated their disagreement towards education being the most important priority for the Chinese family. Contrary to the general view, a few do not think that it is the only route to success nor should it be given the top priority. Consequently, it has been linked to negative attitudes such as obsession, excessiveness, pride, arrogance and belittling others. In short, it indicated their non-conformity to the high regard for education which is conventionally valued by Chinese society.

Another instance where non-conformity to the general societal view on education was seen in the stand adopted by 5 Group 2 subjects. The following views expressed indicated their disagreement: education is not the most important thing nor should it be given the top priority, education is not the only route to riches and success or even self-worth. Following are their verbalizations:

ME2: (18)... the modern parent are realizing the importance of education. (19)Ya: : but : : it shouldn't be THE top priority... (20)...I understand perfectly well the desire to want your child to excel acade- academically. (21)But what if they don't? So its a fine balance that you have to: to know your child's worth and not to place so much importance on education so that they do not feel useless if they are not academically good. (22)so : I feel that there are other ways to prove self worth.

ME7: :(22)Ya, you know why the Chinese are so obsessed with education? (23)First of all, they defined education as the road to riches. And they defined riches as material wealth. (24)I don't.

ME8: (9) I feel that up till today, aa: the Chinese hold on aa: strongly to this. Education is aa: the most important thing lah. (10)But then again as for me, I do not subscribe to this lah.

ME12: (16) ...umm: it's not so much Chinese as a race, but as culture. So if you look at those who are more closely tied to the Chinese culture, then it would be something very important to them...

ME15: (9)Modern Chinese family, debatable.

On the other hand, 3 Group 2 subjects indicated their disagreement to the view of education being the route to riches, success or self-worth. ME2 stated that other ways exist to prove self worth rather than education. ME7 stated in no uncertain terms about education not being the road to riches or material wealth which is also reflected in ME15's responses. Excerpts of their responses follow:

ME2: (22)so : I feel that there are other ways to prove self worth. Its more humanity than self intelligence because there is emotional quotient, EQ and IQ and I think there are other quotients in life.

ME7: :(22)Ya, you know why the Chinese are so obsessed with education? (23)First of all, they defined education as the road to riches. And they defined riches as material wealth. (24)I don't.

ME15: (10)... Aa:m but I do believe excellence in education is not the only route to success.

6.3.3.2 Group 2 subjects' sharing of personal information, regrets and disappointments

Seven Group 2 subjects revealed personal information about themselves and some even shared about personal disappointments. For example, ME6 spoke of education being important as it was thought to be the key to a brighter tomorrow with special reference to the humble beginnings of her grandparents and the difficult past experiences undergone by them in their struggle for a better tomorrow:

ME6: (22) ...my grandparents, my grandfather came from China. And-and at that time, the life is very-very hard over there. You have famine, you have drought, you have things like that...(23)So in order to make themselves better, they would go into another country. But if you go to another country, you just become laborers and people bully you all the time. So you just work harder so so that the future generation will have a brighter future. (26)So in that case people, I think most Chinese know that education is very important.

Similarly, ME11 talked about his family, with special focus on his father who had little education and his subsequent stand on education:

ME11: Aa: for my own family, yes. (52)My father was not very educated, so: one of his desires was for us all to be highly educated. And: I think he has been quite successful, ok? I think my father would be reflective of Chinese family lah in their generation.

Likewise, ME7, ME8 and ME9 spoke of their personal views and hopes with regard to education:

ME7: :(22)Ya, you know why the Chinese are so obsessed with education? (23)First of all, they defined education as the road to riches. And they defined riches as material wealth. (24)I don't.
ME8: (9) I feel that up till today, aa: the Chinese hold on aa: strongly to this. Education is aa: the most important thing lah. (10)But then again as for me, I do not subscribe to this lah.
ME9: (13)Definitely, this apply to the Chinese family...(15)it is a universal thing isn't it? Whether you are Chinese or not, as parents you want to see your children do well and be successful in life.

While ME15 discussed about education and his personal views and experiences with regard to its importance. He even shared about his son being unable to fulfill the target of academic excellence because of his persistent failure in exams:

ME15: (30)My son: I think he has failed almost every single one of his exams for the past ((inhalation)) the past three years in school. So: definitely in terms of aa: education his not excellent...

Similarly, ME2 discussed about her view of not placing priority on education and sharing about having a child who "has some problems with school." Below are excerpts of her responses:

ME2: (29)I-I am speaking as a parent because I have a child who has some problems with er: school. So I understand perfectly well the desire to want your child to excel academically.

6.3.3.3 Group 1 subjects' disagreement to views on education

Directness of expression such as in expressing disagreement with regard to the view on education is also observed in the verbalization of 2 Group 1 subjects, MC8 and MC12. MC8 stated clearly that excellence in education is not only prioritized by the Chinese family as he viewed it to be a universal trait:

MC8: 6)Hmm: not really to Chinese family. But I think can be applied to overall-universal.

MC12, however, took a totally different view from the rest of Group 1 subjects. In fact, he was very direct and openly criticized the Chinese view that "education is everything." In the words of MC12, today's, "education system is wrong," because it is not a sure guarantee for success in life:

MC12: (23) ...I would say it is a very tradition-al: mindset lah. Traditional mindset. (24)I don't believe-I don't believe education is everything. I believe that education system is wrong today. So: um: in terms of if you are looking at the proverb from the education point of view, as in as in what you call that, school education, college, university education, I would totally disagree about it lah. (25)Um: but er: the Chinese family still holds very strongly in this lah. But for me, its more the education is just a training for you lah. I-I it doesn't mean anything... it doesn't guarantee you to be a success in the future lah.

6.3.3.4 Group 2 subjects' negative statements with regard to saying on education

Six Group 2 subjects were direct in voicing their negativism. ME2 alluded to the negative aspect of the present trend of Chinese parents putting pressure on their children in order for them to excel academically and her disagreement to putting top priority on education:

ME2:(26)...All parents are putting pressure on their children to excel academically and may not be necessarily a good thing...(28)Ya: : but : : it shouldn't be THE top priority.

Similarly, ME6 voiced her negativity with regard to parents' overemphasis on education which could result in excessiveness. Below are excerpts of her responses:

ME6: They work day and night so that the children will have a better life, a better education. (22)Eh: sometimes to us quite excessive-excessive, er: sometimes they do it quite excessively, yes.

In a related matter, ME15 expressed his concern about the negative side of hoping for excellence in education which could result in regret, as parents' hope for their children's academic excellence may be misplaced as some may just hope in vain:

ME15: (29)Yes, I expect my children to be excellent in their education but sometime it is not possible. Aa:m but I do believe excellence in education is not the only route to success...(32)So: I gues-ss excellence in education IS something we hope for but ((inhalation)) >sometimes, we hope in vain!<

From the paralinguistic cue manifested such as his inhalation of breath before his final statement of hoping in vain, ME15 seemed to be indicating a regret in the possibility of hoping in vain.

On the other hand, ME7 was outspoken, critical and judgmental about the Chinese's attitude towards education. He defined the Chinese attitude on prioritizing on education as "an obsession" which connotes of an unhealthy state of mind. Excerpts of his responses are given below:

ME7: (41)Ya, you know why the Chinese are so obsessed with education? (42)First of all, they defined education as the road to riches. And they defined riches as material wealth ...(44) If you're talking about education, I am talking about life education - learning to live as a good person, learning to do God's work, learning to glorify God...

Over emphasis on educational excellence and its negative consequences has also been alluded to by a few Group 2 subjects such as ME13, ME4 and ME3:

ME13: (26) ...And in this modern society, from the list of important things, education, I suppose takes the top placing. (27)As you can see from the number of er - tuition classes are mushrooming all over the place now. And from the VCD2, as you can see, how this aunty look down upon the boy who was demoted in his class.

ME4: (7)...Because the Chinese family place a lot: of aa: importance and respect on education. (8)I think aa: er: a person's self worth is based on how high they achieved academic excellence.

ME3: (22) ...I guess for the westerners, once they reach a certain age, they-they-they are free to go on their own. (23)So, but for the Chinese, you are a pride to the family, if you do well :, you are a scholar...

6.3.3.5 Group 1 subjects' use of indirectness in communication of ideas

To the question of whether the saying on education is applicable to the Chinese family, MC7 and MC15, tended to be rather verbose and indirect. Below are excerpts of their responses:

MC7: (29). . .Okay, um: I guess everyone hope that is future generation do well in the future. (30)Er: where as in the Chinese family, aa: as far as I am concern because of the history's point of view, from the history point of view, because if a person want to become an official, holding high post in the government, um: he has to be good at studying. He has to pass examinations which may not be relevant to his future work, you see...

MC15: (61) For the aa:m last time, our Chinese society, they will think the girl come from the rich one, the family er: the father or the parents, how to say, they "upah" one, they will hire, they will hire a teacher come to the house to teach the daughter, hoh? If the daughter come from a poor family, they don't have the chance to go for school...

APPENDIX F

COMMUNICATIVE PATTERNS FOR THE ASPECT OF FACE

6.4.1 Use of Pronouns as Identity Markers

In the discussion of pronouns as identity markers, three aspects are discussed: use of singular pronouns to indicate self identity as well as collective identity and use of plural pronouns to indicate collective identity.

6.4.1.1 Group 1 subjects' use of plural pronouns to indicate collective identity

In response to the question posed, subject MC1 responded by using a Chinese phrase, “wo men chiang...” which he translated as, “we have been taught, we have to maintain...” It could be seen that MC1 identified with the Chinese community’s view through the use of the plural pronoun “we” to include himself as a member of Chinese community. Moreover, in stating that, “we have been taught,” he was alluding to the fact that he has been socialized according to the numerous beliefs, expectations, norms and values of Chinese society. Below is an excerpt of MC1’s responses:

MC1: (19)Here, the saying is: man live for face as trees grow for bark, ok? “Wo men chiang, ren ser liu ming, su cher liu pi” “Na mer” [therefore]- for this, for generation, we have been taught, we have to maintain “mianzi,” ok? we must show ok? (20) In one way, “mianzi” is good in the sense that it will teach you, do not do something bad aa? So that you won’t be criticized. Your family won’t be criticized. That’s the important thing.

Likewise, to indicate her membership in Chinese society, MC5 stated that to the “Chinese people, including myself,” face value “is very important.” She further reinforced her stand by using “our” and “we” to refer to the good names which the Chinese focus on:

MC5: (18)...to them, er: the Chinese people, **including myself** aah ((chuckles)) face value ((tongue click))> very important.< (19)It means **our-if we**: have something bad and people know about it lah, that means **our-our** good names even though **we** have done something good for all along and - all these good names can eerh? Can JUST SWEEP AWAY by just one mistake **we** have just done.

[emphasis by the researcher]

Her extra volume and stress on the words, “sweep away,” indicated her stress on the extremity and seriousness of the consequence in which one’s good name could be lost through a single negative action. Similarly, MC6 stated that face is “important in our Chinese society.” The use of “our” again indicated her identification as a member of Chinese society:

MC6: (12)Aa: face value is quite important in **our** Chinese society. It represents their reverence - (13)aa: **our** Chinese society also worry others will-people laugh at them...

MC9: 9)Aa: I agree that um: er: I agree that face is very important because aa:m um: because er: **we** must not let people look down on **us**.

[emphasis by the researcher]

MC9 shared the same sentiment when she identified herself with the Chinese and the practice of face in her reference to “we” not allowing people to look down on “us.” Another

clear indicator of collective identification is observed in the response of MC10. In stating, “when we say...” she was in fact indicating herself as a member of the Chinese community who holds to a certain view sanctioned by the Chinese community. She concluded by stating, “this is how we Chinese view face,” to indicate again, her identification with the Chinese view of face. MC15 referred to the Chinese community as “our Chinese community,” which also indicated his identification as a member of the Chinese community spoken of. It is also seen in his reference to the Chinese women as, “our Chinese women.”

Below are excerpts of their responses:

MC2: (18)So: face show up in many ways. So it begin early in our life. As a child grow up in many ways. So it begin early in **our** life.

MC3: (17)So, I think er it is: if **we** don't regard er: it as something that is so important then it is still alright. Em: em: because this face thing is how you regard about yourself. And **our** success and whatever you have gone through:

MC9: (9) Aa: I agree that um: er: I agree that face is very important because aa:m because er: **we** must not let people look down on **us**.

MC10: (13) Er: when **we** say, when - when we say, aa: “yan yu min” or “shi yu pei” it means, aa: without face, you cannot survive and aa: all: your weakness will be exposed to people in society. (14)And this is how **we** Chinese view “face”lah, “mianzi”.

MC13: (20) Even though: aa: ok, people say I have no face anymore than that: at least ok, at least aa: even though **we** don't know, just tell-just tell that **we** don't know or anything. As long as **we** just tell the truth what actually or who actually we are.

MC15: (44) “Mianzi” hoh, **our** Chinese society community, they also say “mianzi” the “mianzi” neh is very important than his life, I think. Life itself...(50) **Our-our** Chi- last time, Chinese **our** Chinese woman huh, if you don't marry huh, some people left you one, ok?

[emphasis by the researcher]

6.4.1.2 Group 2 subjects' use of singular pronouns to indicate both self and Collective identity

Eleven Group 2 subjects used the singular pronoun to denote self identity which is in line with the Western view of the self as being unique and distinct. Below are excerpts of their responses:

ME1: (15)Er: yes, I think it is true. Em: Chinese people place face value highly. (16)To scold a person publicly will be viewed as to shame a person publicly and not to give him face. Mm: generally this is felt not only by the Chinese but by other people, races and culture too.

ME2: (24)I think that it is true that face is very important for the Chinese but it is equally important to everyone. There should be a measure, er: having er: self-pride, you know, but not excessively, not too much importance upon such a thing, depending on the circumstances.

ME3: (14)Ya: this “mianzi” is very important. Because I'm Chinese, I also feel that I need a lot of “mianzi.” You know, I don't like it when people don't give me face lah.

ME5: (20)This er: this one certainly live up to its day... (21)But its er: something I would not hold on to because at the end of the day, what is important is a reflection of who we are and we'll be more comfortable with ourselves.

ME6: (19)When you talk about face, Chinese- I notice that the Chinese society do have this problem. And this is actually a problem. (20)In the video clip 1, a lot of problems occur because this guy thinks that the girl doesn't want to marry him and so it brings shame to his family...

ME7:(32)I give you a counter to this. Um: man looks at man from the outside, God looks at man from the inside. (33)I think the face thing is synonymous with the word, “pride” which you find also in your interview here, right? (34)So, I think that man lives to look proud and look that they are as perfect. Um: well done if you are.

ME8: (11)Aa: I-I believe this is aa: true among Chinese aa: where, where they place a lot of emphasis on face value. Which means that aa: a person must not be aa: fall flat on the face, ok? Or degrade himself, something to that extend. (12)Aa: but I think that over emphasis on face value also has its negative aa: aspect aa: I feel that if a: if a- if a person has er: done something wrong, I mean he must sort of admit it lah...

ME9: (16)Ya, “yan yu min, yu pei”. We live for face. I live for face. (17)If I want to stand out in society, I want to have some face...

ME10: (12)It's talking about face is important or Chinese people? (13)I think the face is important for all societies but I don't know why. The Westerner seems to think that it is always Chinese. I think every society wants face...

ME11: (33)Ok, face aa:? Um: I think aa: we should respect aa:m this value. We should respect it in the sense that it's cultural... (35)Aa:m on the other hand, if there is competing interests at play, you know, the video clipping, the lady, she did not give the father's best friend any face. But it was her father's life at stake, you know. (36)So: in that situation, I think aa: to me, she's not caused any offence lah. Basically, she has done a greater good lah...

ME14: (12)Ya, face value is actually er quite important for most Chinese. (13)Er, its like, example, you walk out, people see you that, do you have face or not? What does it mean by face? Are you rich? or in – are you a datuk or whatever? Or he is a great guy? That is face. (14) It depends that ya, it does have the value, from my point of view, its just that er: its not, it's not the most important thing...

On the other hand, nine Group 2 subjects also indicated collective identity through the use of singular pronouns. ME3 did not use the plural pronoun “we” to indicate her identification. Instead, she personalized her views with regard to the issue of face.

ME3: (25)Ya: this “mianzi” is very important. Because I'm Chinese, I also feel that I need a lot of “mianzi.” You know, I don't like it when people don't give me face ah.

In identifying and declaring herself a Chinese, “I'm Chinese,” she indicated how as a Chinese, she would feel towards face, hence her remark, “I need a lot of mianzi,” and “I don't like it when people don't give me face lah,” which indicated her sure and bold stand on her feelings with regard to receiving “face” from others. Likewise, ME9 indicated his identification with the Chinese:

ME9: (26)Ya, “yan yu min, yu pei”. We live for face. I live for face. If I want to stand out in society, I want to have some face. Aa: it is important to have some face. (27)Face has to do with your name. Aa: if your name is no good, your face is no good. So: aa: it has to do with it. And I think it is important, I agree.

ME9 indicated his agreement with the newspaper clipping by quoting the saying in Chinese and translating it as “we live for face,” which he affirmed by his next statement, “I live for face.” In stating so, ME9 linked the plural pronoun “we” to the singular pronoun “I,” in the practice of face. Thus, he was focusing on the Chinese at large who practice the observance of face, with the inclusion of himself, before focusing on himself. The plural pronoun “we” was used to indicate his identification with the ethnic Chinese and their

practice of observing face and was reinforced through reference to himself, "I live for face." Similar to ME3, ME9 talked about himself as representative of the Chinese people with regard to face and why he thought it was important, "If I want to stand out in society, I want face," is a clear indication that he was speaking of the Chinese society with himself in view. He personalized his stand with regard to the practice of face.

6.4.1.3 Group 2 subjects' use of plural pronouns to indicate collective identity

Eight other Group 2 subjects used the plural pronoun "we" in their responses which indicated collective identification. However, ME1's use of the plural pronoun "we" encompasses both the Chinese and others such as other "people, races and culture. Use of "we" in this situation probably refers to Chinese who publicly upbraid people in public and/or to the inclusion of the hearer and speaker as well:

ME1: (16)To scold a person publicly will be viewed as to shame a person publicly and not to give him face. Mm: generally this is felt not only by the Chinese but by other people, races and culture too. (17) We should not do that...

In response to the stimulus posed, ME4 stated that when "we" place high value on face, it would hamper progress in life. Consequently, she advocated that, "we should not" put such great emphasis on it. The use of the plural pronoun "we" when situated in the context of the stimulus, indicated her identification with the Chinese. In this instance, it could denote her advice to Chinese in general of whom she is a member, not to do what the Chinese has done as it could prove as a hindrance to progress. It is also possible that use of "we" by ME4 also indicated the inclusion of the hearer and speaker:

ME4:(9)In my opinion, if we are to place a very high value on on face, then it will hamper our progress in life. So therefore aa: we should not er: put such great emphasis on it.

Likewise, ME11 stated that face is a cultural phenomenon therefore in the words of ME11, "we do not want to consciously give offence to people because their face is affected..." The use of "we," in the prior sentence indicated that ME11 could have referred to "we" as a general collective reference which included himself, not giving offence to the people who are sensitive about "face." Later, he stated, "we should be considerate ...of other people and how they have been brought up." Again, use of the plural pronoun "we" could be viewed to be a general collective pronoun which is speaker inclusive and/or it could also be representative of Chinese who do not practice face:

ME11: (33)Ok, face aa:? Um: I think aa: we should respect aa:m this value. We should respect it in the sense that it's cultural, ok? respect in the sense because we do not want to consciously give offence to people because their face is affected, right? (34) If we have

such knowledge alright, aa: we should be careful, not to offend the person, not to hurt his or her feeling. Because that's how he or she has been brought up in the society.

In response to the question posed, ME12 stated that the saying is a good observation of the Chinese or “most people.” In his words, “people have been brought up” to observe “face” therefore, “we should be conscious of it.” ME12’s reference to “most people” and “people” probably points to the Chinese who do observe face, while “we” which was mentioned later suggests strongly of those who do not observe face which may also include the speaker or hearer or those Chinese who do not observe the practice of face:

ME12: (11)That’s a pretty good observation of the Chinese people. Once again, its more cultural rather than genetics. So its: but well its true for most people. (12) Not-not that it’s a good thing but then: people have been brought up by that. So: we should be conscious of that. (13)And if we’re conscious of that then we tend to avoid a lot of the issues...

However, ME5, ME8, ME9and ME13 indicated their clear identification with the Chinese through the use of the plural pronoun, “we.” Below are excerpts of their responses:

ME5: (20)This er: this one certainly live up to its day, this Chinese proverb because especially amongst the Chinese businessman. And also among prominent families. (21)But its er: something I would not hold on to because at the end of the day, what is important is a reflection of who **we** are and **we**’ll be more comfortable with ourselves. (22)If **we** have to live up to people’s aa: reputation just because **we** want face value then **we**’re only pushing ourselves to people’s expectation. **We** won’t be ourselves, **we** won’t be at ease at all. **We**’re just denying ourselves the truth of who **we** are in actual fact.

ME8: (13)But aa: I believe that **we** should give him face and not to expose him publicly lah with in the family. I think **we** should not aa: take away his face value lah but when it comes to a third party, I feel that **we** should keep it covered lah.

ME9: (16)Ya, “yan yu min, yu pei.” **We** live for face. I live for face. (17)If I want to stand out in society, I want to have some face.

ME13:(13) *Mianzi* is very, very important and observed by most Chinese. As this saying, *yan yu min si, shi yu pei*. What more when **we** are living among peoples? If **we** are not given face, where can **we** hide **our** face?

[emphasis by the researcher]

6.4.2 Use of Explanations

In the use of explanations, three areas such as Chinese cultural norms and practices, historical occurrences and events as well as proverbs and Chinese sayings are discussed.

6.4.2.1. Group 1 subjects’ reference to Chinese culture and practices

The use of explanations by Group 1 subjects serve to indicate their support and validation for the views discussed with regard to the aspect of face. In attempting to do so, 13 or 86.7% of Group 1 subjects explained about Chinese cultural norms and practices with regard to face. MC1 felt that “face” is good as it was viewed to affect the name and integrity of the family or society, thus, hindering one from negative activities. To MC1, “face” “plays a very important part in ...Chinese community especially the Chinese family,” to ensure that the individual and the family in particular, will not receive any criticism. In

short, he alluded to the fact that individual behaviour will reflect on the family's name and reputation as family reputation or 'face' is considered to be most important. An excerpt of his responses is given below:

MC1: (18)Er: in my opinion, "mianzi" plays a very important part – I mean er: in Chinese community, especially the Chinese family...(20) In one way, "mianzi" is good in the sense that it will teach you, do not do something bad aa? So that you won't be criticized. Your family won't be criticized. That's the important thing.

MC2 explained about Chinese cultural norms with regard to face such as not insulting or embarrassing a person consciously and the various manifestations of face in Chinese society:

MC2: (15)... face has to do with the image or the credibility of the person you are dealing with. I will say like that. You should never – (15) or for a Chinese lah, they feel that you should never insult or embarrass or shame a person, ok? If you do, they will lose face... (18)So: face show up in many ways. So it begin early in our life...

On the other hand, MC3 spoke of face as being a major issue in Chinese society and explained about what it is and how it affects the person:

MC3: (14)This face thing, of course is a major issue er: in er: all walks of life especially in Chinese er: society. (15)Because when you talk about face, I find that er: it is not just the face...It is the whole person involved. It is the part that you revealed much...

Likewise, the following Group 1 subjects whose responses are given below:

MC5: (18)Yes, its true that Chinese people they really aa: put this er: face value very high. 19)It means our-if we: have something bad and people know about it lah, that means our-our good names...Can JUST SWEEP AWAY by just one mistake... (20)That means our status in the society can drop down to the bottom.

MC4: (54)... Any Chinese er: aah: they want face one lah, you know. So, as in like like like ego and face lah... (60)And then it is again come back to to, to your, what you call, to the family and and all these things you know. Because eventually, even though you say you are an individual lah, but people don't tend to see you as just the individual...

MC6: (12)Aa: face value is quite important in our Chinese society. It represents their reverence (13)aa: our Chinese society also worry others will-people laugh at them and aa: Chinese society likes to show off, so we can –mostly we will-they will say that Chinese people are "kiasu."

6.4.2.2 Group 1 subjects' reference to historical occurrences and events

In explaining about the issue of face, some Group 1 subjects referred to historical events and occurrences to validate its practice and observance. Below are excerpts of their responses:

MC2: 16)So in ancient time in Chinese in China, China warrior after they losing in a battle, they might commit suicide because they lost the face, ok? (17)So in business world even now in the business world, also the same.

MC14:(24)I agree lah, that's why Chinese family place that, mm? Because for them, face is the most important thing lah. (25)... Because for this reason, that's why Chinese work very hard, they work very hard because they want to make sure that they can- they want their- their ancestor their-their parents, their family members feel proud of them lah. (26)So they work very-very hard, ya? This is the one thing motivated them to work hard in their life, to have a successful life, ya. (27)... So that's why, nowadays you can see so many Chinese

in all around the- in all around the world, you see. All very success because of this reason...

MC15: (50) Our-our Chi- last time, Chinese our Chinese woman huh, if you don't marry huh, some people left you one, ok? No, no some people rape you, right? You're not wrong, right? You're not wrong, right? But –but after this –this woman will commit suicide. You know why? It's about face-its about "mianzi," hoh.

6.4.2.3 Group 1 subjects' reference to Chinese sayings and proverbs

Subjects who made reference to Chinese proverbs and sayings to validate their relevance to the Chinese were all from Group 1 with the exception of ME13. Below are excerpts of their verbalizations:

MC1: (20)Here, the saying is: man live for face as trees grow for bark, ok? "Wo men chiang, ren ser liu ming, su cher liu pi" "Na mer" [therefore]- for this, for generation, we have been taught, we have to maintain "mianzi," ok? we must show ok?

MC9: (10)As the Chinese say that if a person's name is bad, so face will not be good also. Like er: like in Cantonese they say if, " kor meng chao chor chan hai mou min aa" [one loses face when one's reputation or face is called into question].

MC10: (13) Er: when we say, when - when we say, aa: "yan yu min" or "shi yu pei" it means, aa: without face, you cannot survive and aa: all: your weakness will be exposed to people in society.

MC15: (50) Our-our Chi- last time, Chinese our Chinese woman huh, if you don't marry huh, some people left you one, ok? No, no some people rape you, right? You're not wrong, right? But –but after this –this woman will commit suicide... It's about face-its about "mianzi," hoh. "Ni ren ni ren ter ching chier"...the purity of the girl is gone, is gone already.

ME13:(13) *Mianzi* is very, very important and observed by most Chinese. As this saying, *yan yu min si, shi yu pei*. What more when we are living among peoples? If we are not given face, where can we hide our face?

6.4.2.4 Group 2 subjects' reference to Chinese cultural norms and practices

The importance of face to the Chinese are discussed by five of Group 2 subjects. Excerpts of their verbalization are given below:

ME8: 11)Aa: I-I believe this is aa: true among Chinese aa: where, where they place a lot of emphasis on face value. Which means that aa: a person must not be aa: fall flat on the face, ok? Or degrade himself, something to that extent.

ME9: (16)Ya, "yan yu min, yu pei". We live for face. I live for face. (17)If I want to stand out in society, I want to have some face. Aa: it is important to have some face. (18)Face has to do with your name...

ME13: :(13) *Mianzi* is very, very important and observed by most Chinese. As this saying, *yan yu min si, shi yu pei*. What more when we are living among peoples? If we are not given face, where can we hide our face?

ME14: (12)Ya, face value is actually er quite important for most Chinese. (13)Er, its like, example, you walk out, people see you that, do you have face or not? What does it mean by face? Are you rich? or in – are you a datuk or whatever? Or he is a great guy? That is face. (14) It depends that ya, it does have the value, from my point of view, its just that er: its not, it's not the most important thing.

ME15: (14)Eh: : you mean face value aa? Yes: true, very true. Aa: Chinese do put a lot of emphasis on face. And: to a certain extend it is good because it also means that if you give your word, you keep your word ((inhalation)). (15)Em: its integrity and : I think it's a rule that has seen China progress for: : so many centuries. (16)((Inhalation)) yes, it is true Chinese place very high value on face. And: it is to their benefit.

Since face has been viewed to be social capital and is thus entwined with the face of others (King and Bond, 1985), a number of Group 2 subjects indicated this perhaps unconsciously by explaining at length about the need to respect the practice of face among their Chinese counterparts:

ME11: (33)Ok, face aa:? Um: I think aa: we should respect aa:m this value. We should respect it in the sense that it's cultural, ok? respect in the sense because we do not want to consciously give offence to people because their face is affected, right? (34) If we have such knowledge alright, aa: we should be careful, not to offend the person, not to hurt his or her feeling. Because that's how he or she has been brought up in the society.

ME12: (11)That's a pretty good observation of the Chinese people. Once again, its more cultural rather than genetics. So its: but well its true for most people. (12) Not-not that it's a good thing but then: people have been brought up by that. So: we should be conscious of that. (13)And if we're conscious of that then we tend to avoid a lot of the issues aa:m ok but don't necessary agree that face value is that important. Aa:m but it is to some people and so we should be conscious of that.

6.4.3 Direct and Indirect Modes of Communication

The above mode of communication is observed among Group 2 subjects where dual patterns of conformity and non-conformity were observed.

6.4.3.1 Disagreement to the views on face

Disagreement about the views on face has been voiced by 4 Group 2 subjects. ME4, ME6 and ME14 disagreed about putting high value on face. ME4 stated that one should not put a high value on face in order for it not to be a hindrance to one's progress. ME6 stated that when face is valued too highly, it produces conflict. Likewise, ME14 stated his disagreement about valuing face highly as he viewed that face is not the most important thing to a person. ME7 on the other hand, inferred that man should not live for face as it "never really works..." Following are excerpts of their verbalizations:

ME4: (9)In my opinion, if we are to place a very high value on on face, then it will hamper our progress in life. So therefore aa: we should not er: put such great emphasis on it.

ME6: (21)I think basically, when you talk about face, when you –when you value face too highly, it brings a lot of conflict in the society. (22)And: aa: this aa: is not actually a good characteristic. @@The Chinese should get rid of this@@ ((laughs)).

ME7 :(33)I think the face thing is synonymous with the word, "pride" which you find also in your interview here, right? (34)So, I think that man lives to look proud and look that they are as perfect... (38)At the beginning when I actually did my ministry work and I started talking about my success in terms of how I found God and how God blessed me with success, I found it never really works a lot...

ME14:(14) It depends that ya, it does have the value, from my point of view, its just that er: its not, it's not the most important thing.

Similarly, two Group 1 subjects also indicated their disagreement to the saying on face. MC8 felt that the practice of face is not limited to the Chinese alone. On the part of MC12, instead of providing support to the statement of man living for face, MC12 advocated for

the removal of face. This is observed in his reference to submerging face as face has been viewed to be a “problem.” Following are excerpts of their responses:

MC8: (7) I think this is a universal value as most of the men have pride in aa: themselves. It's not only applied to the Chinese family.

MC12: (36)So: I say that this face thing, it has to submerge already. We-we can-it may pose as a problem you may not grow as an individual lah. You may not improve yourself anymore lah.

6.4.3.2 Negative views of face

Six Group 2 subjects spoke negatively about the aspect of face. ME4 discussed about the negative practice of putting high value on face which could “hamper our progress in life.” ME5 stated that living according to other’s expectation of us as a result of “face,” would bring about the negative consequences as such, “we won’t be ourselves,” and “we won’t be at ease at all.” As mentioned above, ME6 stated that “face” “is actually a problem” as it brings “conflict” to society and therefore, it is not “a good characteristic.” On the other hand, ME7 spoke negatively of “face” as being synonymous with “pride” because man “lives to look proud” and perfect with the result that they distanced themselves from God. Likewise, ME8 felt that overemphasis on the aspect of face “has its negative aspect.” In ME8’s view, if a person has done wrong, “he must sort of admit it lah,” which alludes to the fact that the negative aspect of face is inability to confess a wrong. ME12 while commenting that face is applicable to most people, however, any speculation of the redeeming quality of face is removed by his statement, “not that it’s a good thing.” In addition, ME12 did not view face to be important. All the above examples indicated that the views and opinions of face as forwarded by Group 2 subjects were not in keeping with that of Chinese society. Below are excerpts of their responses:

ME4: (9)In my opinion, if we are to place a very high value on on face, then it will hamper our progress in life.

ME5:(22)If we have to live up to people’s aa: reputation just because we want face value then we’re only pushing ourselves to people’s expectation. We won’t be ourselves, we won’t be at ease at all. We’re just denying ourselves the truth of who we are in actual fact.

ME6: 19)When you talk about face, Chinese- I notice that the Chinese society do have this problem. (21)... it brings a lot of conflict in the society. (22)And: aa: this aa: is not actually a good characteristic. @@The Chinese should get rid of this@@ ((laughs)).

ME7: (33)I think the face thing is synonymous with the word, “pride” which you find also in your interview here... (35)That’s why man is stirring them selves away from God so much because they sense man, they are proud and everything else. Any failures they don’t want to talk about

ME8: (12)Aa: but I think that over emphasis on face value also has its negative aa: aspect aa: I feel that if a: if a- if a person has er: done something wrong, I mean he must sort of admit it lah.

ME12: (11)That's a pretty good observation of the Chinese people. Once again, its more cultural rather than genetics. So its: but well its true for most people. (12) Not-not that it's a good thing... (13)...but I don't necessary agree that face value is that important.

Although a total of 13 Group 1 subjects agreed about the importance of face which is in keeping with the view of Chinese society, 2 Group 1 subjects did not. For example, MC3 presented a different view with regard to “face.” He stated that although face is a major issue in Chinese society, if one did not “regard” it as “important” it was “alright,” as “face” is how one regards oneself. In short, MC3 is of the view that face is not negative if one did not view it to be important. Since face is imposed on the individual by society, therefore, it would have no influence over the individual if it is not viewed to be important.

In contrast with the views of a majority of Group 1 subjects, MC12 commented that face “sometimes have caused a lot of problems” in the Chinese community because it causes communication difficulties such as insincerity, indirection and misunderstanding. Thus MC12 stated that face is a “terrible problem.” And in response to it being a problem, MC12 advocated that face has to “submerge” and contradictory to the Chinese view of trying to protect a person’s face, MC12 commented that for the sake of conveying the right message, “you have to lose the guy’s face or you have to lose your face.”

6.4.3.3 Indirect modes of communication

Indirect modes of communication are observed in the responses of 3 Group 1 subjects. MC7 hedged about giving a definite opinion of face by stating her non- comprehension about how Westerners, Indians or Malays think. She then proceeded to state about face being a natural phenomenon and concluded by stating that she had nothing much to comment about face. In brief, her responses were marked by indirection and in concluding that she had nothing much to say about face, she actually should have started with that at the beginning:

MC7: (20)Face: mm: ya. I think, I don’t know how western people think because I don’t have many friends who are from that area. I also do not know how Indians think as well as Malays. (21)But I guess er: everybody wants people to look at our good side. That’s why saloon is so popular. Everybody would place face value highly (23)So: I think, face value, er: I think is something er: is something nature...So: I have not much comment about it.

2 other Group 1 subjects, MC1 and MC15 stated about the negatives with regard to face. MC1 as discussed earlier, only stated about the negative aspect of face towards the conclusion of his discussion after enumerating on how good face is while MC15 only discussed about the problematic practice of face after his lengthy discussion of how important face is to the Chinese:

MC1: (19) Er: in my opinon, “mianzi” plays a very important part – I mean er: in Chinese community, especially the Chinese family. (20)Here, the saying is: man live for face as trees grow for bark, ok? “Wo men chuang, ren ser liu ming, su cher liu pi” “Na mer” [therefore]- for this, for generation, we have been taught, we have to maintain “mianzi,” ok? we must show ok? (21) In one way, “mianzi” is good in the sense that it will teach you, do

not do something bad aa? So that you won't be criticized. Your family won't be criticized. That's the important thing. (22) But then on the bad side-on the other side, if you are too much on this "mianzi," sometimes you try to cover up. You try to cover up whatever bad thing you want to do or you want to disguise. (23) Example, for example, you are not so rich but you want your "mianzi." So you might want to borrow money to show off yourself and that's the bad thing of it.

MC15: (44) "Mianzi" hoh, our Chinese society community, they also say "mianzi" the "mianzi" neh is very important than his life, I think. Life itself. "mianzi ser ta men sen ming," The life-mianzi equal to their life, to their life... (51) So this one everything is also the "mianzi," hoh? The present also don't have the "mianzi" to see to another people, hoh? To: to: how to say, to go outside, hoh? To go outside they say, "siah sueh"[loss of face]. I don't want to go outside, hoh? (52) So: aa: the "mianzi" for the future, for our last time um: society or community bring a lot of problem, you know. About the "mianzi" until now a lot of people also need the "mianzi. Need the "mianzi."

From the above discussion, use of the singular pronoun such as "I" and its related forms is significant among Group 2 subjects, with 73.3% of them using them as markers of self-identity. However, in the area of collective identity, the difference between both groups was insignificant. Both groups record 66.7% in the area of collective identification. The result strongly suggests that on the whole there is identification with the group or collective with regard to the practice and observance of face by both groups of subjects. According to Ke (2000), "face" is often an individual's perception of what others think of him or her or his or her family and this aspect has been viewed to be important by subjects from both groups, in particular, MC5, MC10, MC11, ME3, ME9, ME14, just to name a few.

On the other hand, a majority of Group 1 subjects, 86.7% of them employ the use of explanation as they responded to the interview task. This is observed when Group 1 subjects explained about Chinese cultural norms and practices, historical occurrences and Chinese sayings and proverbs. In contrast, use of explanations was not significant among Group 2 subjects although 33.3%% of them did so. In the aspect of directness, Group 2 subjects indicated 46.7% compared to 26.7% of Group 1 subjects. Findings suggest that this aspect is viewed to be relevant by the Chinese. Thus, there was little outright criticism from both groups of subjects.

APPENDIX G

7.2.3 FRAMES IN THE ASPECT OF EDUCATION

Expectations of what is appropriate or hoped for in the aspect of education is indicated through the use of surface linguistic elements such as modals, negatives, evaluative language, intensifiers, paralinguistic cues and moral judgments. It is also evident in the sub-frames which were mentioned or alluded to by subjects in the course of their verbalizations.

7.2.3.1 Evidence of expectations for education in Group 2's Verbalizations

In response to the above question posed, ME2 answered in the affirmative. However, she was quick to point to the current trend of stressing on excellence in education which has led parents to pressure their children to excel academically:

ME2: (17)...All parents are putting pressure on their children to excel academically and may not be necessarily a good thing. (18)... the modern parent are realizing the importance of education. (19)Ya: : but : : it shouldn't be THE top priority... (21)...So its a fine balance that you have to: to know your child's worth and not to place so much importance on education so that they do not feel useless if they are not academically good. (22)so : I feel that there are other ways to prove self worth.

This, ME2 pronounced as, "not to be necessarily a good thing." The use of the negative "not" indicated her disagreement to the use of pressure and alludes to her expectation of what constitutes "a good thing." Thus, when ME2 concluded that "education shouldn't be the top priority," use of the modal "shouldn't" indicated her view that placing education as top priority is inappropriate in comparison to "self worth." Moreover, in stating, "it shouldn't be THE top priority" where "the" was spoken much louder than the surrounding words, it emphasized ME2's expectation of education not being given top priority. Thus, parents are not to stress so excessively on education until children "feel useless if they are not academically good." To conclude, ME2 admonished that one should not place "so much importance on education," to the detriment of self worth. Her stress on "so" suggests her expectation of not overemphasizing on education. Taken as a whole, ME2's statements indicated her expectation of the individual as in her reference to "self worth" to be more important than educational achievement. Likewise, the verbalizations of ME4 and ME6 suggest the negative aspects of education:

ME4: (7) Because the Chinese family place a lot of aa: importance and respect on education. (8)I think aa: er: a person's self worth is based on how high they achieved academic excellence.

ME6: (11)All Chinese family believe that saying. That is why the parents work so hard to give their children better education...(12)Eh: sometimes to us quite excessive-excessive, er: sometimes they do it quite excessively, yes... (15)And education is actually the key to a brighter future. If you are educated, you won't be bullied easily and you won't be-be-be like

dummy... (16)Once you are educated, you are able to think for yourself. If you are uneducated, you just follow blindly. Follow whatever people say blindly.

On the other hand, ME7 viewed education as a source of spiritual wealth and understanding:

ME7:(22)Ya, you know why the Chinese are so obsessed with education? (23)First of all, they defined education as the road to riches. And they defined riches as material wealth. (24)I don't. (25)If you're talking about education, I am talking about life education - (26) And that kind kind of education leads to wealth, spiritual wealth... (27)So from that point of view, the Chinese are correct but I know the Chinese. They don't mean it the way maybe maybe 2-3,000 years ago... (30) But they don't know it now, they've lost it... (31)So, if they knew, it would be good. They don't know what it means? I don't think it is right today.

ME8 and ME9 focused on their personal view with regard to education:

ME8:(9) I feel that up till today, aa: the Chinese hold on aa: strongly to this lah. Education is aa: the most important thing lah. (10)But then again as for me, I do not subscribe to this lah. Aa: but I would –I would rather that aa: my children do their best in whatever they can and find their way in life.

ME9: (13)Definitely, this apply to the Chinese family-to the Chinese family and also to my family because I am a Chinese. (14)I will want my daughter to be successful, to have some kind of achievement in life.

On the other hand, ME15's frame for education has many aspects of Western principles such as not viewing education as a means to an end and valuing individual talents above educational success:

ME15: (10)Yes, I expect my children to be excellent in their education but sometimes it is not possible. Aa:m but I do believe excellence in education is not the only route to success. (11)My son ... aa:m he gets along well with people and I believe that will be his source of success... (13)So: I gues-ss excellence in education IS something we hope for but ((inhalation)) >sometimes, we hope in vain!<

From the above discussion, although Group 2 subjects indicated agreement to the saying, it is observable that Group 2 subjects' frame for education focusses on the self, it is also viewed to be an on-going, life-long process and for the development of the individual. Hence, some of them indicated that it was not viewed to be the top priority nor was it viewed to be instrumental in the definition of a person's success.

7.2.3.2 Evidence of expectations for education in Group 1's Verbalizations

Almost all Group 1 subjects' frame of education is consistent with the Chinese cultural frame of education being a gateway to success in life and wealth. Repeated use of the evaluative "good" indicates MC3's positive expectation of education as observed below:

MC3: (11)I think it is very much a-a hope in the family that to see what it literally means that the guy should excel in his er: er: whatever he is doing. (12) Er: I think it is sometimes **good** aa: for the Chinese family to have that kind of a hope. At least there is a driven power there. (13)That aa: aa: a –a-a child would want to bring aa: **good** back to the family. A **good** name er: or aa: or he has made it in the society, in his career rather than be a **nobody**.

[emphasis by the researcher]

MC3 mentioned that the “good” brought about by education, prevents a person from being a “nobody.” Use of the noun “nobody” also revealed MC3’s expectation of education elevating the common person to be a “somebody” as opposed to being a “nobody” as spoken by MC4 and MC3 respectively.

Similarly, the drive for adulation and respect as mentioned by MC14 seemed to be felt deeply by many subjects and is linked somehow to success in education:

MC14: (20)Yes, I believe lah. Because Chinese family nowadays always send their children to tuition classes, ya? Because they want them to have a successful life lah in the future.

Success in education is also viewed as a kind of old-age insurance for parents and is seen in the responses of MC4, MC5, MC6 and MC10 given below:

MC4: (33)So so so in here, as in what we say, they hope that the the children achieve something in their life... (34)...They will take pride. They are very proud of their children’s achievement now. ... (36)For whatever happens to a country, you know, because of your contribution to a country to to being some, some minister or some somebody. So to the family, you know, it is very important and very this thing. (37)... You want your children to to be **somebody** at er: you know. In their life time to be **somebody** lah, ya.

MC5: (28)Yes, because we: as parents, we bring up our children, we hope that one day, they will success in their -their-their ((click)) what do you call that? Career. They have-they do well in their living, and they can take good care of their folks. (29)So, we put our hope in our children ; our younger generation.

MC6: (10)- in our Chinese family because aa: sure every parent would like their children to perform well and excellence in their education. (11)... Aa: they will feel proud-they will feel proud of their children if all of their-all of their children are successful

MC10: (15)Er: Yes. Er: This is true and this is a very typical Chinese way of thinking and practise. (16)All Chinese parents want their sons and daughters to be dragons and daughters to be like phoenix “fong” which symbolize great success. (17)Aa:m so, we the parent pressures our children and send them to many tuition classes, just to make sure that they are successful in education. I mean they are doing well in exams. (18)So much so we make fun of this proverb by saying the opposite you know, “wang cher chen chong”, “chong” means worm lah, as the worm is the opposite of the dragon and phoenix.

Success in education fulfills many instrumental needs as seen in the responses of Group 1 subjects given below:

MC2: So they are traditionally regarded as the Chinese parent to create ideal environment to discipline their children’s education especially, education. They hope that their next generation will be success[ful], more wealthy, have an easy life and bring prosperous[prosperity] to their family lah.

MC9: the Chinese want to be successful and excellent in education. Aa:m and also not in education only but in their life too.

MC11: (19)Chinese certainly emphasize on education aa: we emphasize on educational success for our children as this will ensure success and a bright future for our children and future generations.

MC5: (28)Yes, because we: as parents, we bring up our children, we hope that one day, they will success in their -their-their ((click)) what do you call that? Career. They have-they

do well in their living, and they can take good care of their folks. (29)So, we put our hope in our children ; our younger generation.

In line with the Chinese view of education, reference to discipline or authoritarian control of parents with regard to education is also mentioned by Group 1 subjects:

MC1: (18) Pour in lots of money, going tuition here and there and any other form of classes. Like music, art anything. Hoping that one day, their children will excel.

MC2: (11) Yes, for Chinese parents er: in general. They are quite concerned about the discipline of the children. So they emphasize, they will emphasize- will emphasize on their proper education.

MC10: (9)All Chinese parents want their sons and daughters to be dragons and daughters to be like phoenix “fong” which symbolize great success. (10)Aa:m so, we the parent pressures our children and send them to many tuition classes, just to make sure that they are successful in education. I mean they are doing well in exams.

Only one subject, MC12, indicated disagreement as he reasoned that it was a “traditional mindset.”

MC12: (23)I would say it is a very tradition-al: mindset lah. Traditional mindset. (24)I don't believe-I don't believe education is everything. I believe that education system is wrong today. (25)... But for me, its more the education is just a training for you lah. I-I it doesn't mean anything. I have seen so many cases of great students which fail in life miserably...

Using the evaluative adjective, “traditional” to describe such thinking, MC12 was in fact measuring it to his own expectation of what education ought not to be. Repetition of the words, “traditional mindset” indicated his stress on what he viewed such thinking to be. Again, repetition of the negative such as “don't believe” in reference to education being everything, pointed to what he believed education to be. According to MC12, the current education system is “wrong” when education is viewed to be “everything” as education “is just a training” for people. Use of adverb “just” indicated his expectation of education being nothing more than a training process. Contrary to popular Chinese belief, MC12 stated that education did not “mean anything” as great students could still “fail ...miserably” in life. In short, MC12's use of the negative “doesn't” indicate his expectation of education not being a guarantee to success.

APPENDIX H

7.2.4 FRAMES IN THE ASPECT OF FACE

The discussion on the aspect of face encompasses the different frames which subjects have with regard to face. These frames are manifested through the structures of expectations which are revealed through the presence of surface linguistic elements such as the use of negatives, evaluatives, intensifiers, modals and repetitions.

7.2.4.1 Evidence of expectations for face in Group 1's Verbalizations

Group 1 subjects discussed the aspect of face in relation to society. The use of evaluatives and modals by MC1, MC2, MC5, MC6 and MC9 indicated the structures of expectation inherent in their view with regard to the aspect of face. MC1 discussed about the need for maintenance of face because they "have been taught" to do so :

MC1: (19)Here, the saying is: man live for face as trees grow for bark, ok? "Wo men cjiang, ren si liu ming, shu si liu pi" "Na mer" [therefore]- for this, for generation, we have been taught, we have to maintain "mianzi," ok? we must show ok? (20) In one way, "mianzi" is good in the sense that it will teach you, do not do something bad aa? So that you won't be criticized. Your family won't be criticized. That's the important thing. (21)But then on the bad side-on the other side, if you are too much on this "mianzi," sometimes you try to cover up.

Thus, MC1's use of the primary auxiliary "have" plus infinitive, "have to" indicated what is viewed by them to be a necessity as a result of being socialized. MC1 also mentioned that they "must show" acquiesce to its practice. In using "must" he was indicating what is viewed to be compulsory as a result of being socialized into Chinese societal's norms and practices. Thus, use of the evaluative adjective "good" to describe face indicated his support for face as it teaches one to "do good" rather than evil. Furthermore, according to MC1, neither the person nor the family will be criticized and summed it up as, "that's the important thing." Use of "that's" to refer to his previous statement about family not being criticized, coupled with the evaluative adjective, "important" in reference to the "thing," indicated the expectation of the family's face to take precedence over the individual which is In keeping with the Chinese practice of prioritizing on the family. MC1 views face as a collective phenomenon and therefore, it involves the family. However, it also causes people "to cover up" their short comings. In stating thus, MC1 infers to the powerful influence that society has over its members. Interestingly, MC1 only stated about the negative aspects of face towards the conclusion of his verbalization. It is clear that initially, only the positives and the importance of face were highlighted.

Similarly, evaluatives and modals used by MC2 also served to show her structures of expectation with regard to face as a product of socialization as it is culturally inculcated early in a person's life:

MC2: (14)Ok, so aa: actually face for Chinese, face has to do with the image or the credibility of the person you are dealing with...(15) or for a Chinese lah, they feel that you should never insult or embarrass or shame a person, ok? If you do, they will lose face, ok? (16)So in ancient time in Chinese in China, China warriors after they losing in a battle, they might commit suicide because they lost the face, ok? ... (18)So: face show up in many ways. So it begin early in our life... As a child grow, face put more often as serve pressure to excel. Failure to gain like gain admittance to college and even better college. So: some of the children commit suicide because they cannot lose the face and then they sometimes can not cope with the shame lah. Ok that's all.

MC4 on the other hand, used the intensifier "very" repeatedly to indicate the strength and degree of her conviction with regard to the importance of face:

MC4: (59)...The face value is very very important, is very high lah. (60)And then it is again come back to to, to your, what you call, to the family and and all these things you know. Because eventually, even though you say you are an individual lah, but people don't tend to see you as just the individual. (51)... Even though you are an outstanding individual, so whatever, people will look at your family as well. So this is: you can't run away. This is an Asia, Asian society. It is like like that lah, aa.

Likewise, repeated use of evaluatives by MC5 also indicated the high expectations placed on face and its maintenance by Chinese society:

MC5: (18)Yes, its true that Chinese people they **really** aa: put this er: face value **very high**. Because er: er: ((tongue click)) to them, er: the Chinese people, including myself aah ((chuckles)) face value ((tongue click))> **very important**.< (19)It means our-if we: have something bad and people know about it lah, that means our-our **good names** even though we have done something **good** for all along and can- all these **good names** can eerh? Can **JUST SWEEP AWAY** by just **one mistake** we have just done. (20)That means our status in the society can drop down to the bottom. So it is **very important** for Chinese, to: you know, to keep the face value **always** high, that.

[emphasis by the researcher]

This is observed in her comment that Chinese people "really" place face value "very high" as face value is "very important." Repeated use of the intensifier "very" and "really" point to the high priority given to face as the "good names" earned through past "good" deeds have contributed to the present "face." Hence, the repeated mention of "good" by MC5 point to the great emphasis placed on keeping and maintaining good names in order to maintain face. MC5's extra stress and volume on "just sweep away" indicated her view of face being impermanent as it can be easily lost through a single thoughtless action causing one's "status" to sink to the "bottom." Seen in this context, face is equated to the maintenance of

good names and possessing high status. Use of the paralinguistic cue such as the extra volume and stress also served to indicate the importance of upholding the fragility of face.

The evaluatives which featured in MC6 and MC9's responses indicate their expectations about the importance of face. Following are excerpts of their responses:

MC6: (12)Aa: face value is quite important in our Chinese society. It represents their reverence (13)aa: our Chinese society also worry others will-people laugh at them and aa: Chinese society like to show off, so **we can** –mostly **we will-they will** say that Chinese people are “kiasu.”

MC9: (9)Aa: I agree that um: er: I agree that face is **very** important because aa:m um: because er: we must not let people look down on us. And so: face is **very** important and it is valued highly by the Chinese. (10)As the Chinese say that if a person's name is bad, so face will not be good also. Like er: like in Cantonese they say if, “kor meng chao chor chan hai mou min aa”.

For example, MC9's repeated use of the intensifier “very” indicate explicitly its importance. It is also stressed through use of the adverb “highly” to indicate the quality of its value to the Chinese. Use of the modal “must” as in her statement “we must not let people look down on us,” indicated her expectation of it being imperative to prevent people from belittling one in order to maintain face. Furthermore, use of evaluative “bad” to refer to name is intended to indicate how it will cause face not to be “good.” Thus, consistent with the Chinese frame of face, MC9 equates a person's reputation to a person's name which will affect a person's face and this is further reinforced through her quotation of a phrase in Cantonese.

In reference to the saying regarding face, MC11 used the evaluative “important” to indicate his structure of expectation with regard to face. MC11 also inferred to the notion of shame being synonymous with the phenomenon of losing face as one does not lose face in a vacuum but in a society which imposed shame on its members. Below is an excerpt of MC11's responses:

MC11: (20)True. Face you know, is important to the Chinese. People have been known to kill themselves to avoid shame and to lose face.

On the other hand, MC14 used the intensifier “most” as in, “most important,” to indicate his conviction and expectation of the great importance of face to the Chinese. The evaluative element, “good” was mentioned to indicate the expectation of face being necessary as face is viewed to be a “good thing.” It has been attributed as a reason for the Chinese to work “very hard” and later it was repeated to stress the Chinese working “very, very hard,” as well as “to feel proud” of their achievements:

MC14: (24)...Because for them, face is the most important thing lah. (25)Actually, that's a good thing also lah, ng? Because for this reason, that's why Chinese work very hard, they

work very hard because they want to make sure that they can- they want their-their ancestor their-their parents, their family members feel proud of them lah. (26)So they work very-very hard, ya? This is the one thing motivated them to work hard in their life, to have a successful life, ya.

In the case of MC15, it is needful to note that much of MC15's expectation regarding face has to do with what "Chinese society" or "community" has to say:

MC15: (44) "Mianzi" hoh, our Chinese society community, they also say "mianzi" the "mianzi" neh is **very** important than his life, I think. Life itself. "mianzi ser ta men sen ming," The life-mianzi equal to their life, to their life. (45)Aa: I give example lah, if a tree right, a tree right? You want to grow up, ha? it also wants to water and sun, right? And "mianzi" is like water and sun for our Chinese society-community, you know. (46)They say, "mianzi" is **very** important, **very** important. And when you go outside, when you are successful, aa: **very** popular lawyer or doctor, right? And then you got **a lot** "mianzi", **a lot of** "mianzi" when you go outside, you **very** proud, a lot of people will respect you.

As Chinese society was his frame of reference, the importance of face is given prominence and emphasis. Thus, he stated that the acid test for face is society itself as it is in society where face is either received or lost. Therefore, evaluatives such as intensifiers featured largely in his verbalization. MC15 used the intensifier "very" to indicate the view that face or "mianzi" is indeed important to the Chinese. Repetition of the words, "very important," twice in his responses reiterate his stress on the great importance placed on face as MC15 viewed face to be "equal" to life. MC15 also likened face to the tree that "wants" water and sun, inferring about how imperative it is to have face in order for one to "go outside" to society. In stating about going outside, he is inferring to functioning outside the fold of the family, in the greater society where one is tested. When one passes the test and becomes successful and popular then one gets "a lot of" face. Repetition again on "a lot" stresses on the great amount of face that one need to have in order for one to feel "very" proud as a result of the "respect" one receives from society. In brief, MC15 discussed about face in relation to society, as face is bestowed to the individual by society or lost in society.

The indirect mode of communication is observed through the mention of the negative aspects of face by 2 Group 1 subjects. As discussed earlier (cf. chapter 6, section 6,4,3), it was seen through MC1's indirect way of stating about the negative aspect of face:

MC1: (19)Er: in my opinon, "mianzi" plays a very important part – I mean er: in Chinese community, especially the Chinese family. (20)Here, the saying is: man live for face as trees grow for bark... (21) In one way, "mianzi" is good in the sense that it will teach you, do not do something bad aa? So that you won't be criticized. Your family won't be criticized. That's the important thing. (22)But then on the bad side-on the other side, if you are too much on this "mianzi," sometimes you try to cover up... (23) Example, for example, you are not so rich but you want your "mianzi." So you might want to borrow money to show off yourself and that's the bad thing of it.

MC15 also mentioned about face being a “problem” after discussing much about the importance of face to Chinese society.

MC15: (52) So: aa: the “mianzi” for the future, for our last time um: society or community bring a lot of problem, you know. About the “mianzi” until now a lot of people also need the “mianzi. Need the “mianzi.”

The above examples indicate how both subjects aligned themselves to society’s view of the importance of face perhaps to soften the impact of their negative statements with regard to face. It also suggests the conflicting frames which subjects hold with regard to face.

On the other hand, some Group 1 subjects, MC1, MC9 and MC10, made references to the saying in Chinese before translating them into English, which in a way indicated their agreement and support of the saying. Use of Chinese idioms as in the example of face being like water and sun to the Chinese by MC15 also served to indicate his emphasis on the importance of face which constitutes his frame for face (cf chapter 6, section 6.4.2). On the other hand, MC12’s negative responses were the result of his frame or schematic knowledge with regard to face and was a departure from the rest of Group 1 subjects:

MC12:(29)Umm: in-in the Chinese society, because of this face, it sometimes have caused a lot of problems. Because I have to take care of your face, I wouldn’t talk to you in-in a sincere manner and that pose a problem because the other party may not get what you mean ((laughs))... (30)So when I am being direct, I am actually putting some down, you see. And: he shuts his door. So this Mianzi problem is-is terrible! Is terrible but of course aa: it gives us a so call, better way of communication lah aa... (31)Aa:m but I think it should be done to an extend that you must get your message across lah. Even though you have to lose the guy’s face or you have to lose your face lah...36)So: I say that this face thing, it has to submerge already. We-we can-it may pose as a problem you may not grow as an individual lah. You may not improve yourself anymore lah.

7.2.4.2 Evidence of expectations for face in Group 2’s verbalization

Group 2 subjects’ responses indicated that their frames with regard to face were tied to the notion of the self which pertains to individualism, self-esteem, progress or to their own personal opinions rather than the opinions of society or community. For example, ME1 pointed out that face is not regarded highly by the Chinese alone “but” by others as well. Use of “but” indicate the denial of an expectation such as a contrastive idea or stand. This is also observed in the verbalization of ME2. On the other hand, ME10’s use of evaluatives indicate his view that face is not “always” observed by the Chinese alone but by “all” societies as “every” society wants face. Excerpts of their verbalization are given below:

ME1:(15)Er: yes, I think it is true. Em: Chinese people place face value highly. (16)...Mm: generally this is felt not only by the Chinese but by other people, races and culture too.
 ME2: (24)I think that it is true that face is very important for the Chinese but it is equally important to everyone.
 ME10: (13)I think the face is important for all societies but I don't know why. The Westerner seems to think that it is always Chinese. I think every society wants face.

In speaking of face accruing to the Chinese, there seemed to be a certain amount of pride manifested by virtue of it being uniquely the domain of the Chinese. However, the responses of the 3 Group 2 subjects who disagreed indicated that they did not seem to share such sentiments.

Ten Group 2 subjects affirmed the importance of maintaining face to the Chinese through the use of evaluatives such as adverbs and adjectives. The responses of a few Group 2 subjects will be discussed briefly. In stating that Chinese people place face value “highly,” ME1 is in fact indicating her structure of expectation of face being of high social worth. Conversely, Seven Group 2 subjects discussed about the negative aspects of face through evaluatives and are given below in italics. This is observed in ME2’s mention of the excessive emphasis on face or in ME6’s mention of face being “actually” a problem and a cause of conflict. ME6’s increase stress on the word further emphasizes her negative sentiments with regard to the practice of face (cf. chapter 6, section 6.4.3). Use of the adverb “too” such as valuing face “too highly” again indicates subject’s view that there is a greater amount of face than is acceptable or desirable. Similarly, ME8 spoke of “a lot of emphasis” and “over emphasis” on face. Use of the evaluatives by ME8 indicate his structure of expectation of excessiveness in the practice of face. Excerpts of Group 2 subjects’ responses given below:

ME1: (15)Er: yes, I think it is true. Em: Chinese people place face value highly. (16)*To scold a person publicly will be viewed as to shame a person publicly and not to give him face. (17)We should not do that because it belittles a person's self esteem. Er: I think that is very important to an individual.*

ME2: (24)I think that it is true that face is very important for the Chinese but it is equally important to everyone. *There should be a measure, er: having er: self-pride, you know, but not excessively,*

ME3: (14)Ya: this “mianzi” is very important.

ME5: (20)This er: this one certainly live up to its day, this Chinese proverb because especially amongst the Chinese businessman. (22)*If we have to live up to people's aa: reputation just because we want face value then we're only pushing ourselves to people's expectation... We're just denying ourselves the truth of who we are in actual fact.*

ME6: (19)When you talk about face, Chinese- I notice that the Chinese society do have this problem. And this is actually a problem... (21)*I think basically, when you talk about face, when you –when you value face too highly, it brings a lot of conflict in the society*

ME8: (11)Aa: I-I believe this is aa: true among Chinese aa: where, where they place a lot of emphasis on face value... 12)*Aa: but I think that over emphasis on face value also has its negative aa: aspect aa: I feel that if a: if a- if a person has er: done something wrong, I mean he must sort of admit it lah. Even-even though not publicly, among his*

family, he must admit his-his-his wrong ok? (13)But aa: I believe that we should give him face

ME9: (16)Ya, “yan yu min, yu pei”. We live for face. I live for face. (17)If I want to stand out in society, I want to have some face...

ME11: (33)Ok, face aa:? Um: I think aa: we should respect aa:m this value...(35)... the video clipping, the lady, she did not give the father's best friend any face. But it was her father's life at stake, you know. (39)You respect it but we do not aa: let it govern us where there is more: where there is competing interests, they are more important than keeping face. So: we have to be wise, when we give face and when we do not.

ME12: (11)That's a pretty good observation of the Chinese people...(13)And if we're conscious of that then we tend to avoid a lot of the issues aa:m ok but don't necessary agree that face value is that important.

ME13: (19) Mianzi is very, very important and observed by most Chinese.

ME14: (12)Ya, face value is actually er quite important for most Chinese...(14) It depends that ya, it does have the value, from my point of view, its just that er: its not, it's not the most important thing.

ME15: 14)Eh: : you mean face value aa? Yes: true, very true. Aa: Chinese do put a lot of emphasis on face.

7.2.5 Extraneous Factors in Frames

The many levels of frames present in Interview 1 and 2 operated in conjunction to one another in order for it to be perceived and verbalized by subjects (Tannen, 1993). However, the types of frames which are largely found in both interviews are knowledge schemas or structures of expectation and are frames used in Tannen's sense as explained in the introduction. This is a result of the various contexts inherent in the study such as the interview context where the interview frame operates; the context of the text used where the movie frame, the movie-viewer frame, family frame, societal frame, social, political and psychological frames operate. While in the area of context of culture, the frame of self and other(s) which also encompasses knowledge frames, interactive frames as well as superimposed frames were significant. The discussion which follows attempts to highlight on the different frames which are also a result of the different contexts inherent in the study. Thus, some information may be repeated but only briefly in order to link it to the overall picture of frames.

7.2.5.1 Context of Activity and Frames

The first layer of frame is revealed in the context of activity; the interview situation itself. Expectations of subjects with regard to the interview context revealed their interpretation of what an interview is all about. The type of frame employed resembles the psychological frame or the frames used in Bateson's and Goffman's sense. Most Group 1 subjects confined their responses to what they saw in the VCD or the issues which were significant and salient to them. This suggests that Group 1 subjects were of the view that an interview is a serious event therefore, the answers provided need to reflect this aspect. Hence, most subjects aligned themselves to their expectations and were serious, subdued,

polite and a few were a little uneasy during the interview itself. In contrast, most Group 2 subjects were relaxed, verbal, creative and bold in their responses. The interview situation did not seem to intimidate them in the least, and most of them seemed unguarded in their responses. Perhaps that is why generally, their answers were more natural, lengthy, had more details and were interspersed with laughter and myrth.

Expectation of the interview operates in the way subjects responded to the interview task. As Group 2 subjects were not sure of what is required of them, they seemed to think that including as many aspects of the VCD1 would be helpful. As discussed earlier, ME2 attempted to ask if her answers were appropriate and helpful but changed her mind midway through her query as her expectation with regard to interviews caused her to modify her question to a statement. In accordance to interview conventions, ME2 realized that it is the interviewer who asks questions and not the subject. Thus, she stated at the conclusion that she hoped her views were helpful:

ME2: (18)Um: are my-are my view, aa sorry-ok, I hope my views will be helpful for VCD1.

7.2.5.2 Textual Materials and Frames

The second layer could be seen in the context of text; the various textual materials used.

Since narrative interview 1 utilized a Chinese movie as a stimuli as well as context for verbalization, there is a need for the viewer to construct an intelligible story by processing what is observed through use of a knowledge of everyday reality as well as processing it in accordance to cinematic conventions (Bordwell, 1985) as well as subjects' culture and world view. Thus, Bordwell states that active and complex construction is needed to make sense of a movie watched and this construction according to Tannen (1993) is reflected in the structures of expectations or knowledge schemas which one brings to an interpretive task which to a large extent is indicative of the strong influence of the culture subject subscribe to.

Expectations with regard to the movie itself as a result of their knowledge schemas were revealed in the verbalizations of Group 2 subjects. Briefly, expectations of what constitutes a movie is a distinctive feature in most Group 2 subjects' discussion and a few will be mentioned. In the case of ME2, a grand finale is perceived to be a feature of a movie frame. Therefore, when there was none, she commented that the "ending is kind of abrupt," which indicated her expectation to see an ending which is "better rounded up".

Likewise, ME11 revealed his expectation with regard to movies when he stated that there “was no ending” to the movie as “they simply end it.” Given below are excerpts of their narratives:

ME2: (17)Um: however, the story is not without flaws, and: I really feel that the ending is kind of abrupt. I would have love to see the ending better rounded up. (18)Um: are my-are my view, aa sorry- ok, I hope my views will be helpful for VCD1.

ME11: (18)And sadly, due to the circumstance, he was engaged to someone else lah ok? And er: so by the time when they knew who, the man knew who she was er: it could have been a- a bit too late for them ok? (19)I think, basically, I: -somehow there was no ending to it((laughs)). (20)And they simply end it ((laughs)).

Similarly, subjects also revealed their expectations with regard to the story itself (see Chapter 5, section 5.5.1). To recap, expectations were revealed in the interplay between subjects’ expectations about the story and what actually did occur in the story. It was observed that such expectations were culturally determined and were often accompanied by emotional involvement.

7.2.5.3 Context of Culture and Frames

The third level of frames could be observed in the context of culture such as the social, psychological and political aspects were also evident in the study. For instance, a distinct difference between the two groups of subjects is observed in the use of psychological frames which reflect how subjects viewed themselves and how they intended to be perceived by their hearer or hearers (Goffman,1959). As discussed in section Chapter 5, section 5.5.1.3 concerning Narrative Interview 1, Group 2 subjects viewed themselves as sophisticated movie viewers, good story tellers and commentators while Group 1 subjects were concerned to present themselves as able recallers. Therefore, the psychological frames which is a combination of the textual, socio-cultural and psychological aspects had a distinct bearing on the frames utilized by subjects from both differing language dominant groups.

It is observed that Group 1 subjects often refer to Chinese words of wisdom such as proverbs, sayings as well as phrases, historical events to justify or validate their views while reference to Grice’s cooperative principle of conversational implicatures were used mostly by Group 2 subjects in the course of their verbalization. References were made to Chinese words of wisdom by a number of Group 1 subjects such as proverbs, Chinese beliefs and sayings which were viewed to serve as a guide to successful living (Yen Mah, 2003):

MC11: (8) so: aa :Lai Kuan was very sad because she said, “ Marriage is a big occasion and it is for life. Once married it is final,” so Siew Wah cannot marry her now.”

MC14: (1) Basically, VCD1 ya, it describes the-the ancient times lah in China, ya? Because, there was a conser-I mean, it was a conservative society, I mean embarassed lah, ya? (2)So: mean if you are female, means you are female.

MC15: (7) Because-because aa:m the last time the Chinese education, how to say? Aa:m say "chong nan ching ni?". They love the man, they say the-the man -the man is more important, the man is more important. . . (9) So they say, to this girl is: -that's why the girl is: when married right? The girl is like water to: how to say? The water flow out, cannot come back already.

ME13: (9) for example, the Chinese saying go, "sau yan yan wai chin nin kei" which means once you get something from people for the help, you have to remember it for even a thousand years.. . (19) No doubt it can be denied there has been some saying which have negative impact on people, which has been brought down from olden days, like "yan pat wai kei tin chi meet tei" another thing is aa: "yau sau part pou fei kwan chi."

These words of wisdom were passed down by sages to educate the people about how to think and act in order to attain a harmonious and prosperous society. The above principles and values were prized and adhered to by the Chinese and serve as a frame for them as they socialize among each other in society. This was evident in the narratives of a few subjects from both groups. MC15 spoke of the popular and often heard Chinese saying of giving preference to sons rather than daughters, "Chong nan ching ni," and viewing daughters as used water flowing away from the home. This was also evident in the views of MC11 who spoke of the heroine's view regarding marriage as a big occasion or MC14's comment that, "if you are female, you are female," which allude to the fact that females do not count for much in Chinese society. On the other hand, subject ME13 quoted Chinese proverbs to indicate its impact on the practices of Chinese society.

References to Chinese sayings, proverbs and metaphors were also present in Structured Interview 2. A selection of them are given below:

Centrality of the family

MC2: So if lets say, we never offer any help to them, in future in any family gathering, we still need to meet each other. In Chinese, we say the word, "gang ga" it means its not nice to meet each other. If lets say, they ask for help and then we never help them, so in order aa aa to make it the situation to the the family be harmony we need to offer the help to them.

Filial piety

MC5: (6)Oh, in Chinese it is "**Bu siao you san, wu hou wei da**" ok? ah: ya, to Chinese, to carry the sir name is very important. (7)But, er: it is very important from er: until today, it is still very important.

MC15: (17) So: aa:m Chinese will say, "**wu shi wei bu siao ye.**" If you don't have son aa, you know, "bu siao", you know. Not filial, you know.

ME13: (9)Because as they say, "**fai soi part lou pit yan teen.**" Which means whatever property they have, whatever it is they have, they will definitely pass down to the people within their

Face

MC1: (19)Here, the saying is: man live for face as trees grow for bark, ok? "Wo men jiang, ren si liu ming, shu si liu pi" "Na me" [therefore]- for this, for generation, we have been taught, we have to maintain "mianzi," ok?

MC15 likened the human and the need for face to a tree which needs the sun and water. Viewed in this light, face is crucial for the existence in the Chinese community.

MC15: (45)Aa: I give example lah, if a tree right, a tree right? You want to grow up, ha? it also wants to water and sun, right? And “mianzi” is like water and sun for our Chinese society-community, you know.

It is interesting to note that some of Grice’s (1975) cooperative principle or CP in conversational discourse such as the maxim of quantity and quality has been voiced by subjects MC3, ME7, ME10, ME11 and MC12 who have indicated a propensity to adhere to Western world views in Narrative Interview 1. Below are their narratives:

MC3: (10)But I think **to cut the story** short, aa, she has gone through a few things...

ME2: (11)**I believe** Lai Kuan would be a wiser, stronger and more matured lady aa from this sad experience. That’s it.

ME10: (13)**I don’t know** if this is only in the Asian Culture. I think **this is quite universal** in most cultures.

ME7: (6)Um: I **don’t know whether I can say its right or wrong** because if you speak to another person who has these traditions sink very well with, they’ll probably be very offended with what I say. (7)So, I am not going to say its right or its wrong.

ME11: (7)And after having proven herself even in competition with men, **I believe** the competition is only for men, not for ladies, ok?

MC12: (3)And off course, she-she wanted to keep it as a secret lah, (4)**I –I don’t know why**, based on the short clips.

[emphasis by researcher]

The maxim of quantity is seen in the verbalization of MC3, to keep his account short and brief. The maxim of truth in speaking is observed in the verbalization of ME2, ME10, ME7, ME11 and MC12. Use of this principle whether consciously or unconsciously somehow indicated subjects awareness of what was expected in conversational discourses especially with regard to the situation in which they were undergoing at the moment of verbalization, that of an interview. This suggests that subjects’ use of Grice’s cooperative principle is reflective of a Western world view. It is indicative of subjects’ conformity or awareness to the notion that conversation is a purposive and rational behavior (Grice, 1975).

As discussed above, Group 2 subjects penetrative and critical comments served to again reinforce the above maxim of quality. The trenchant comments by ME3, ME5 and ME14 as well as the brief narrative responses by ME6, ME12 and ME15 also upheld the maxims forwarded by Grice. Briefly, some examples of its use in Structured Interview 2 are given below:

Centrality of the family

ME9:(5)Aa: it is not so much as Chinese tradition aa: **I’m not so sure about this also, I’m not so sure about this.**

Filial piety

ME9: (8)But I-I still agree, I still believe that in many conservative Chinese family, aa: having a son is very important...