

**AN ANALYSIS OF CONJUNCTIVE ELEMENTS IN
THE CHINESE TRANSLATION OF KARIM RASLAN'S
*CERITALAH 3: MALAYSIA A DREAM DEFERRED***

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FACULTY OF LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS

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TRANSLATION OF KARIM RASLAN'S *CERITALAH 3: MALAYSIA A DREAM
DEFERRED***

Field of Study : Translation Studies

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ABSTRACT

Answering the call for more linguistic-based research on local Chinese newspapers (Shao, 2012), this research is an attempt to identify cohesion shifts with the focus on conjunctions (also known as conjunctive elements in this study) in the Chinese translation of Karim Raslan's column articles. Raslan is a renowned columnist in Malaysia. This study attempts to identify instances of explicitations/implicitations in argumentative texts. Since conjunctive elements are overt markers which can be counted, the difference in the quantity of conjunctive elements employed in the source texts and target texts can serve as a pointer to the phenomenon of explicitation/implicitation (Blum-Kulka, 1986; Klaudy, 2004; Pym 2005; Kamenicka, 2007b; Vinay and Darbelnet, 1995; Becher, 2011a). Halliday and Hasan's (2001) cohesion model of five categories is employed as a guideline with some modifications as suggested by other linguists (Smith & Frawley, 1983, p. 355; Baker, 2001, p. 192; Hatim and Mason, 2001). Through in-depth analysis and discussions, it is found that shifts in conjunctive elements can affect a translation in five possible ways: altering the intensity of the message, shifting the focus of the message, altering the tone and manner of the texts, changing the author's personal remarks, and construction of sentences with superfluous conjunctive elements. On top of that, wrong translations of conjunctive elements lead to undesirable results as well.

ABSTRAK

Menyahuti seruan Shao (2012) supaya surat khabar Bahasa Cina tempatan dikaji dari segi linguistik, kajian ini suatu percubaan untuk mengenalpasti anjakan-anjakan kohesi (terutamanya kata hubung) dalam rencana kolumnis Karim Raslan yang diterjemahkan kepada Bahasa Cina. Karim Raslan ialah seorang kolumnis yang terkenal di Malaysia. Kajian ini cuba mengenalpastikan keadaan-keadaan di mana hubungan logik menjadi lebih eksplisit atau lebih implisit dalam penterjemahan teks argumentatif. Memandangkan kata hubung sesuatu yang nyata dan boleh dikira, perbezaan kuantiti kata hubung yang digunakan dalam teks sumber dan teks sasaran boleh berfungsi sebagai petunjuk kepada fenomena *explicitation/implicitation* (Blum-Kulka, 1986; Klaudy, 2004; Pym 2005; Kamenicka, 2007b; Vinay and Darbelnet, 1995; Becher, 2011a). Model kohesi Halliday dan Hasan (2001) dijadikan garis panduan kajian ini. Walau bagaimanapun, beberapa pengubahsuaian yang dicadangkan oleh pakar-pakar linguistik lain (Smith & Frawley, 1983, p. 355; Baker, 2001, p. 192; Hatim and Mason, 2001) juga diambilkira supaya model kohesi tersebut lebih fleksibel dan sesuai digunakan dalam kajian penterjemahan. Analisis dan perbincangan mendalam menunjukkan anjakan-anjakan kata hubung berpotensi untuk mempengaruhi suatu penterjemahan dalam lima aspek: mengubah intensiti mesej, mengalih titik tumpuan mesej, mengubah nada teks, mengubah kenyataan peribadi pengarang, serta membina ayat dengan kata hubung yang berlebihan. Selain itu, kesilapan penterjemahan kata hubung boleh menyebabkan hasil terjemahan yang dikesali.

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“He is good, all the time.”

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CE	: Conjunctive element
SL	: Source language
ST	: Source text
TL	: Target language
TT	: Target text

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Translated Column Articles in Local Chinese newspapers

In the 2012 Inaugural Biennial Conference on Malaysia Chinese Studies, Shao (2012) pointed out that researchers have done well in studying local Chinese newspapers (LCN), yet the studies were not considered extensive. Shao (2012) summarizes in detail about past studies on LCN, concluding that past researches focused heavily on the history and developments, functionality, criticism, or situations of LCN. The existing studies do not focus on the linguistic aspects of LCN, despite newspapers being a printed media which depends heavily on written language.

Column articles in Malaysian local newspapers play an important role in helping Malaysians to understand each other. Opinions from columnists happen to be one of the best sources where readers obtain opinions and information about current issues. Through column articles, beliefs and opinions of an established columnist are expressed in his or her own unique writing style. Sometimes, the articles are translated for the readers to read it in the language they are most comfortable with.

The author of my data, Karim Raslan, is one such columnist whose opinions matter because of his sharpness in analyzing current issues and brilliance in weaving words together to provoke thoughts. Many of his column articles written in English were translated into Malay and Chinese; these articles were published in major newspapers such as The Star, Sin Chew Daily, The Straits Time Singapore and Sinar Harian. In his articles, he touches on regional affairs especially in Southeast Asian countries, focusing on Malaysia and Indonesia. His position and accessibility to important figures internationally allow him to gain in-depth understanding of current political issues.

These advantages, his knowledge in law and his profession as a political analyst, has made him a regular commentator not only in local newspapers, but also on BBC, CNN, CNBC, Al-Jazeera and Bloomberg¹.

The fact that the column articles by columnists like Karim Raslan, Farish Noor and others are being translated into Chinese reminds us of certain groups of readers who prefer to read in their mother tongue or the translated pieces. This always directs us linguists and translation practitioners to one question: How can we improve the translation? Eventually, the end terminal of the communication is the target text readers who are bound to comprehend the original author through the translations, in which the quality of translations determine how well the author's thought is delivered after the processes of translation.

1.1 The Statement of Problems

In my study, I have come across several issues in the translation of conjunctive elements. Some of them are trivial, but some deserve attention since they could affect the original meaning of the ST. Here is one of the examples taken from my study (see Paragraph 9, Column Article 1 in Appendix A):

ST: (S27) One must also admit that many pundits have missed the discontent in the Malays seats.

TT: (S27) 而且，不能否认的是，权威人士也忽略了马来族群的抱怨，因而丢了不少马来议席，

BT: (S27) **Furthermore, the undeniable thing is that** the pundits had also neglected the discontent of the Malay race, **therefore** losing many Malay seats.

¹ See: <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/about/board/karim-raslan.aspx>

In the above example, an additive conjunctive element (CE) 而且, which means "furthermore", is introduced unnecessarily in the target text. The added conjunctive element is triggered by the underlined adverb "also" in the source text. The translator could have translated it as: 我们也必须承认 (We must **also** admit that). According to past studies, Chinese language does not really rely on conjunctive elements to establish logical relations, they are understood through sentence structure and word order (Xu, 2003, p.54; Liu, 1998, p. 385-401). Other than 而且, an extra CE 因而 (therefore) introduces additional information "losing many Malay seats" which is presented in the target text. This extra piece of information may be a result of the translator's interpretation of the source text – he therefore makes explicit the consequence of neglecting the Malay discontentment, which leads to the loss of seats. This is a typical example of explicitation during the translation process due to the translator's interpretation of the source text.

In my study, conjunctive elements are found to be abundant in the Chinese translations, contrary to past studies which suggest that Chinese language system does not rely on conjunctive elements as much as English language (Liu, 1992, 1998, p. 385-401; Lian, 1993; Peng, 2007, p. 127; Zhang, 1997; Pinkham, 1988, p. 376). Similar phenomenon, where implicit information such as logical relations are made explicit by language markers, occurs in other translation works as well. Such phenomenon is widely studied in translation studies under the name of explicitation (Blum-Kulka, 1986; Klaudy, 2004; Pym, 2005).

Since it is unusual to use conjunctive elements abundantly in Chinese language, it prompts us to wonder about the consequences or the implications of employing too many conjunctive elements in a Chinese text - in my case, a Chinese translation.

1.2 Research Objectives

Literature suggests that the phenomenon of explicitation (or implicitation) is a common phenomenon in translation. (Blum-Kulka, 1986; Klaudy, 2004; Pym, 2005; Soh, 2010; Liao, 2011; Becher, 2011a). The primary aim of this study is to observe if the same phenomenon occurs in the translation of English column articles in Malaysia. This study also aims to observe the ways in which these shifts of conjunctive elements affect the conveyance of messages. The topic of explicitation per se is a huge topic, it exists in many different parts of a text. To limit the focus of my study, I choose to study explicitation by conjunctions, which is termed as conjunctive elements in this study. I am mainly guided by the cohesion model proposed by Halliday & Hasan (1989), in which there are five main cohesive devices: reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction and lexical cohesion.

1.3 Research Questions

To ensure I achieve my aims, I have two research questions to assist me:

1. How are conjunctive elements in Karim Raslan's English column articles translated into Chinese?
2. What are the implications of the conjunctive shifts found in the translations?

A total of 9 articles compiled in Karim's third book, *Ceritalah 3: A Malaysian Dream Deferred*, are used as my data. Most articles in the book which are translated into Chinese were previously published in Malaysia's bestselling local Chinese daily, *the Sin Chew Daily*. The articles chosen in this study are argumentative in nature, they are written to persuade, to question or to try to give an answer in the midst of chaos after Malaysia's general election in 2008. Argumentative texts rely heavily on thesis and supporting evidence with logic as their backbone (Hatim & Mason, 1990). Therefore,

conjunctive elements play an important role, because they have the ability to establish logical relations and to instruct the readers on the way a text should be comprehended (Baker, 2001, p. 190; Bulow-Moller, 1989, p. 142; Morenberg, 2002, p.134).

Question one is answered through textual analysis in Chapter 4. Research question one deals with the way conjunctive elements in the ST are translated: i.e. to ascertain if the target text is more explicit as the literature suggests (Liu, 1992, 1998, p. 385-401; Lian, 1993; Peng, 2007, p. 127; Zhang, 1997; Pinkham, 1988, p. 376). Cohesion, especially conjunctions are quantitatively observable because they are overt language markers. By counting their numbers in both the source text and target text, one can see whether the target texts are more explicit or not.

The second research question is answered in Chapter 4 by discussing the discrepancies found in the translation. The frequency distribution of conjunctive elements in both the source and target text is recorded according to their logical relation categories, this allows me to easily detect any change in logical relation. The implications of the changes or discrepancies are discussed when answering the second research question. The categorization is based on Halliday & Hasan's (2001) conjunction model which divides conjunctions into five categories: adversative, causal, additive, temporal and continuatives.

1.4 The Significance of the Study

As a translation practitioner, I seek to improve my competence in translation with knowledge that one could not possibly gain by just practising translation in the workplace. Apart from self-improvement, this study could also contribute to the betterment of translation quality and practices in Malaysian translation culture. Translation of commentaries, opinions and claims should not be taken lightly, especially when it originates from individuals like Karim Raslan, Farish Noor, and other

columnists whose words carry much weights. One wrong turn in translating conjunctive elements may affect the thesis and supporting evidences if the error happened to be severe. Lastly, I hope this study is able to encourage other practitioners to pursue deeper knowledge.

1.5 The Limitations of the Study

“There is no such thing as a perfect, ideal, or 'correct' translation. A translator is always trying to extend his knowledge and improve his means of expression; he is always pursuing facts and words.”

Newmark (1988, p. 6)

Throughout the study, I do not assume the perspective of the author and the translator. I analyze the texts as a reader, perceiving and comparing both the original and the translated work. One great limitation of my study, then, is to postulate myself as the ideal reader of both SL and TL, assuming to understand full well how both languages are used by native speakers and recognizing texts within the article by a certain objectivity based on the theoretical frameworks that underpin my study.

Various elements contribute to the explicitness of a text, mostly overt cohesive markers such as pronoun, conjunctions and others. I limit myself to only study conjunctions, also known as conjunctive elements or CE in my study. Therefore, this research can only comment on the explicitation effect of CEs instead of general cohesive explicitness. The rationale for focusing on conjunctive elements is simple: argumentative texts rely heavily on logical presentation of thesis and substantiation to persuade the readers, so conjunctive elements serve as the keystone of the whole argument by linguistically providing overt logical markers to instruct the readers on the way the text is developed.

I must emphasize that I am not trying to test the hypothesis or the models provided by any researcher. The result of my study may or may not be a support to the theoretical frameworks. I am merely adopting and modifying the hypothesis and models to examine my data in order to answer my research questions.

Finally, this study is about the translation of English-Chinese argumentative text (specifically, column articles) in Malaysia, with the focus on conjunctive cohesion. I do not intend to generalize the result of my study.

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CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Text Linguistics, Discourse Analysis and Contrastive Text Analysis

In search of adequate explanation for linguistics phenomena, traditional linguists have developed tools to assist them. Before year 1970, the tools were mainly syntactical and morphological, which were deemed inadequate by later linguists. In more recent times, tools have been devised and one of them is discourse analysis alongside the development of text linguistics, which has gained momentum in recent years.

Despite the effort by various linguists (Harris, 1952; Brown and Yule, 1983; Haberland, 1999; Hatim, 2004) to distinguish the use of the term “discourse” and “text”, the borders between discourse and texts in modern literature is still fuzzy and most of the time interchangeable, or at least arguable. However, it is generally accepted that both look into texts (discourse) as a unit of language in coherence, built up of more than one sentence (Celce-Murcia & Olsthia, 2006, p. 4).

Text linguistics and discourse analysis serve as translation research tools that prove to be one of the most comprehensive theoretical models, covering issues such as cohesion, coherence, thematic structures and contextual constraints (Li, 2003, p. 61). The underlying notion is that translation is a communication through text, and communication is essentially functional and is bound to occur within a context (Labov 1969, p. 54-55; Firth, 1957).

As an example, Mason (1992) successfully points out how ideology affects decision making in the translation process. His study is guided by the frameworks of genre, discourse and text proposed by Hatim and Mason (1990). In Mason’s own words, “the meaning potential of items within the language system (...) is exploited by a variety of

users, each within their own context and for their own purposes” (Mason, 1992, p. 25).

Among the models of discourse analysis, Halliday’s model of discourse analysis (1973) is one of the most established models to date, taking language as communication by analysing the writer’s linguistic choices and relating them to a bigger sociocultural framework.

In Halliday’s work, a text with a specific communicative function, such as a column article which is an argumentative text in my study, is treated in terms of **genre**. Genre is conditioned by the sociocultural environment while other elements in the framework is dependent on the genre, the first being **register**. Register is viewed as links between variations of language to variations of social context by Gregory & Carroll (1978, p. 64). The three variables that comprise register are:

- a. Field: the content of the text, the issues being discussed.
- b. Tenor: the agent of communication – who is the speaker and who is the receiver.
- c. Mode: the channel of communication – oral, written or other means.

(Halliday, 1978, p. 64)

These variables are associated with three metafunctions respectively. They are realized by the lexicogrammar (word choices and syntactic structuring). The associations are:

- a. Field with ideational meaning, formed through transitivity patterns. E.g. verb types, process agents, active/passive voices, etc.
- b. Tenor with interpersonal meaning, formed by modality patterns. E.g. adverbs and modal verbs like must, slightly, very.

- c. Mode with textual meaning, formed by arranging the thematic and information structures (the way elements in a clause is structured) and **cohesion** (how text is made cohesive lexically using cohesive devices).

(Halliday, 1978, p. 64)

Halliday's discourse analysis model proves to be a versatile model albeit it was not initially geared towards contrastive text analysis.

2.1 Texts in Translation Studies

A "text" in linguistics is defined as any discourse (spoken or written) of any length that forms a unified whole, rather than a series of irrelevant sentences (Halliday & Hasan, 2001, p. 1). It is stated that "if a speaker of English hears or reads a passage of the language which is more than one sentence in length, he can normally decide without difficulty whether it forms a unified whole or is just a collection of unrelated sentences" (p. 1). The same can be applied to competence speakers of other languages; they too, upon reading a passage in their own language, can normally decide without difficulty whether a passage forms a unified whole or is just formed by irrelevant statements. This does not mean there is no space for uncertainty or ambiguity, in fact it is best to regard the certainty and uncertainty as a matter of degree, not a sure yes or no.

A text is a unit of language in use, but there are different opinions about the nature of the unit: some say a text is best regarded as a semantic unit, some say it is a structural unit (Hatim and Mason, 1990), whereas Werlich (1976, p.23) looks at it as an extended grammatical unit as in super-sentence. It is a constant debate in the field of linguistics about the nature of text, and it is never concretely defined. Nevertheless, it is generally agreed that a text must be interpreted in context, and it has certain features that instruct the reader to recognize it as a text.

In the attempt to explore the feature that qualify a reader or hearer to identify and qualify a discourse as a text, Halliday and Hasan (2001) turned out laying a foundation of cohesion model which became very popular later, which is also the model that underlies my study. However, some issues arise when translation practitioners attempt to apply the English-oriented model in translation studies. One of them being the definition of sentence and text: are most texts realized by two or more than two sentences (p. 9), or can it be realized by just one sentence? Halliday and Hasan argue that although text formed with just one sentence does exist, but most are realized by more than one sentence, yet they also state that “sentence is a very indeterminate category” (2001, p. 232). This crucial issue is discussed further in latter sections because it affects the definition of conjunction, the main focus of this study.

The boundary of sentence and text may be made distinct in one language, then the distinction would be invalid when one applies it to another language. I go along with Baker (2001, p. 192) in saying that any element is considered cohesive as long as it signals a cohesive relation between parts of texts, whether they are clauses, sentences or paragraphs.

2.2 Cohesion and Cohesive Devices

The term cohesion can be explained as an overt relationship holding between elements of a discourse, expressed by certain markers, whereby the elements are dependent on other elements for an effective interpretation (Halliday and Hasan, 2001). Therefore, cohesion are countable as they are marked by overt cohesive devices. The cohesive relationship is easily explained by a simple illustration below (Halliday and Hasan, 2001, p. 2):

Wash and core six apples. Put them into a fire proof dish.

Halliday and Hasan observe that the pronoun “them” refers to the “six apples” in previous sentence, i.e. “them” is anaphoric to “six apples”. There is thus a function in them that binds the two sentences as a whole (related to each other) in reader’s mind, which becomes a text.

Halliday and Hasan (2001) identify five main categories of cohesive devices: reference, substitution, ellipsis, lexical cohesion and conjunction. It is worth mentioning that there exist other models of cohesion, such as de Beaugrande and Dressler's (1981) cohesion model which suggests that cohesion between parts of texts can be achieved by recurrence, partial recurrence, parallelism, paraphrase, pro-forms, ellipsis, tense, aspect, conjunctions and functional sentence perspective. Even though other models sometimes overlap with Halliday & Hasan’s model, they are essentially different. Nevertheless, the book on cohesion by Halliday and Hasan has become quite the standard text in current linguistics scene.

2.3 Focus of the Study: Conjunctive Elements

Conjunction has been studied under different terms, each one having its own justification to include or exclude certain conjunctive elements. Here are some examples of the terms used: links, connectors (Werth, 1984; Bulow-Moller 1989), conjunctions (Halliday & Hasan, 2001; Baker, 1992; Smith & Frawley, 1983), discourse markers (Morenberg, 2002) and logical connectives (Pinkham, 1998).

As mentioned earlier, the book by Halliday & Hasan (2001) is considered a standard text in cohesion studies, but their proposed definition of conjunction in cohesion is challenged as narrow by Smith & Frawley (1983, p. 355). For Halliday & Hasan (2001, p. 226-273), conjunction is strictly defined as the part of speech which connects ideas between two sentences, as such conjunctions should occur only in the initial position of a sentence. If a conjunctive element functions to link ideas within one sentence, they are

considered as structural instead of sentential cohesion, because cohesion is technically considered as texture of a text which is made up of sentences, not within one sentence.

In Smith & Frawley's (1983) initial study, they find that some items are not often identified as conjunctions. According to their report, such finding arose from the Halliday and Hasan's (1976) strict definition that conjunction only links two separate sentences, or extra-sentential; and, conjunction must be used in the initial position of a sentence. Such definition limits certain language markers from being identified as conjunction. Smith & Frawley's results of study dramatically changed after they broadened Halliday and Hasan's definition of conjunction. They discover that the texts they studied are actually rich in cohesion through the use of conjunctive elements. They suggest that the definition of conjunctive elements should be less limiting.

Apart from Smith & Frawley's challenge, the definition of a sentence or a text is always being questioned, as mentioned in previous section (see Section 2.2). In English and other similar languages with highly developed punctuation system, the definition of what comprises a sentence is already problematic (Baker, 2001, p. 193). While it is usual for English language to break information into parts, separated and signaled by punctuation markings, it is the other way round for languages like Arabic, in which one whole paragraph may consist of only one sentence (p. 193). When a translator translates a text from languages with less punctuations like Arabic into a language with a highly-developed punctuation system like English, the notion of sentence is truly problematic (p. 194-196). As mentioned before, even Halliday & Hasan (2001, p. 232) admit that "the sentence is a very indeterminate category", although they put forth their effort to argue that the notion of a sentence is essentially valid.

In this study, I follow Baker (2001, p. 192) and consider "any element cohesive as long as it signals a conjunctive-type relation between parts of text, whether these parts are

sentences, clauses (dependent and independent) or paragraphs”. This means my work includes conjunctive elements like "if...then", "although", and other similar subordinating conjunctions. To further prevent confusion of terms, I propose to employ the term “conjunctive elements” as a reference to any logical connectors, conjunctions, transitional devices, conjunctive adverbs, etc.

Conjunctive elements indicate the relationship between clauses, sentences and paragraphs. Conjunctive elements can be the simplest words in English that hold clauses and sentences together in a meaningful way (Pinkham, 1998, p. 377), for example “too”, “then”, “finally”, “yet”, “if”, etc. Unlike other cohesive devices, conjunctive elements do not instruct the reader to link up missing information by searching for it elsewhere in the text (Baker, 2001, p. 190). Instead, it is the writer’s way of informing the readers about how the text should be understood, by comprehending the following sentence or clause within the context of what has been mentioned before (Baker, 2001, p. 190; Bulow-Moller, 1989, p. 142; Morenberg, 2002, p.134).

Traditionally, conjunctive relations are classified in terms of coordination, subordination, and correlation and so on. Nevertheless, such classification is syntactically motivated. These terms will still be employed to explain conjunctive elements when it involves syntactic structures. However, in this study, Halliday & Hasan’s (2001, p. 238) conjunctive relation model of five categories is employed; their model is semantically motivated. This is because my main concern is with meaning potential of the texts instead of syntactic structures. The five main relation categories are summarized as below:

Additive: A relation where a statement is followed by another statement that adds to the first – more information, supporting evidence, elaboration and so on.

Example: and, or, also, in addition, furthermore, besides, similarly, likewise, by contrast, for instance;

Adversative: Established when two statements are in contrast. The second statement opposes and qualifies the first in terms of sequence.

Example: but, yet, however, instead, on the other hand, nevertheless, at any rate, as a matter of fact;

Causal: Occurs when a statement or clause shows the consequence of another. Conjunctive element in such relation is crucial to differentiate the cause and the effect

Example: so, consequently, it follows, for, because, under the circumstances, for this reason;

Temporal: A relation that is related to the time and sequences, whether the events or ideas in two statements come first or later.

Example: then, next, after that, on another occasion, in conclusion, an hour later, finally, at last.

Continuatives: A relation in which several individual items are brought together in cohesion, yet unable to be identified by the four cohesive devices above. (Halliday & Hasan, 2001, p. 267)

Example: now, of course, well, anyway, surely, after all.

(Halliday and Hasan, 2001, p. 238)

Out of the five cohesive relations, continuative is the most versatile, or rather most problematic because it is supposed to include what the other four cannot define. Halliday and Hasan (2001, p. 238) discussed the 6 examples of continuative conjunctive elements as shown above.

I have grouped two other items under the continuative category, namely, opening qualifier and stance adverbials. According to Conrad and Biber, when a stance adverbial is placed in front of a sentence, it has a secondary function of a linking adverbial (as cited in Soh, 2010, p. 205).

According to Loos *et al.* (2004), an opening qualifier (or some prefer the term quality implicature) is "a conversational implicature based on the addressee's assumption as to whether or not the speaker is observing or flouting the conversational maxim of quality". According to Celcía-Murcia (2006, p. 23), in simpler words, opening qualifiers release the author from the responsibility to fully adhere to the maxims of quality. It allows the author to state a claim, opinion or perceived facts without reference. It may be a word, a phrase or even a clause, such as "as far as I know", "in my opinion" or "generally speaking".

A stance adverbial (or sentence adverb) is an adverb or an adverbial phrase which modifies the whole sentence instead of just one word. For example:

Thankfully, he did not miss the chance.

The underlined sentence adverb "thankfully" does not modify any particular word in the full sentence; instead, it modifies the entire sentence. When read carefully, it is observable that certain sentence adverbs are personal remarks from the author himself about the topic at hand. Therefore, it is also called stance adverbials. For example:

(1) **Interestingly**, Mark told me the truth.

The bolded stance adverbial "interestingly" in (1) acts as a conjunctive element, it does not modify the underlined main verb "told". Rather, it is the writer's personal remark about the fact that Mark telling him the truth is interesting. In this case, returning the

conjunctive element “interestingly” to the position adverbs usually occupy would cause confusion:

(1a) Mark interestingly told me the truth.

(1a) means that Mark told the writer the truth in an “interesting” manner, or shows that Mark was very interested in telling the truth.

Before ending this section, there are three things to bear in mind when dealing with conjunctive relations (Baker, 2001, p. 191). First, the same conjunction maybe used to signal different relations, depending on the context. This echoes with Zamel's (1984) statement that conjunctive elements can have more than one function in English depending on the context. Second, the relations can be expressed by various other means; conjunctive elements are not the only device that could indicate these relations. Third, conjunctive relations do not necessarily reflect relations between external phenomena, it may reflect relations which are internal to the text or communicative situation (see also Halliday and Hasan, 2001). For instance, first, second and third used here in this paragraph are internal temporal conjunctive elements which reflect stages in unfolding or explaining the text.

2.4 The Definition of Explicitness and Implicitness in This Study

Before going into the study of cohesive explicitness, it is crucial to clarify the definition of explicitness and implicitness. The notion of explicitness and implicitness were first suggested vaguely by Vinay and Dalbernet (1985). Since then, many scholars have explored the subject. However, different scholars have had their own adaptations of the definition of explicitness and implicitness, each tailored for their studies with limitations and delimitations. See Pym (2005), Kamenická (2007), Becher (2011a) for the detailed explanations on the attempts to explain explicitation.

Conjunctive elements are one of the cohesive devices, this study aims to examine the phenomenon of explicitation pertain to cohesion. Let me emphasize again that cohesion is the overt relationship holding between elements of a discourse, expressed by certain markers, whereby the elements are dependent on other elements for an effective interpretation (Halliday and Hasan, 2001). In this study, the definition of explicitness and implicitness (of cohesion) are defined as below:

Implicitness: a covert cohesive information which the reader might observe without the assistance of overt cohesive markers.

Explicitness: an overt cohesive information which the reader can observe through overt cohesive markers.

To make things clearer, take a look at:

(2) They applauded the speaker. He spoke well.

(2a) They applauded the speaker because he spoke well.

From the angle of conjunction, (2) is implicit – it suggests that the speaker was applauded by “them” because the speaker spoke well, the causal relationship is not indicated by any cohesive marker but we infer that from the context. (2a) is explicit due to the addition of the conjunction “because”.

Let us say (2) is actually translated into (2a), this is when explicitation happens. According to the hypothesis, this increase in textual (cohesion) explicitness can be quantitatively seen by examining the number of overt cohesive markers used in the ST and the TT.

2.5 The Phenomena of Explicitation

Every language system has its own preferred way of establishing cohesive relations, a relation where parts of the text are linked together overtly by specific marking devices. This is part of the grammatical system of a language where texts are built by linking one part of a text to another (Halliday and Hasan, 2001).

Translating from one language to another may cause a change in the types of cohesive device used to establish cohesion. Scholars discover that some of these changes cause implicit information to be made explicit in the translation, or vice versa (Blum-Kulka, 1986; Klaudy, 2004; Pym 2005; Kamenicka, 2007b). The action of making implicit information explicit is widely termed as explicitation, while the action of making explicit information implicit is termed as implicitation. Explicitation and implicitation are two sides of a coin, whenever a scholar is dealing with such occurrences, the study is conventionally termed as "a study of explicitation" with reference to explicitation/implicitation. In the field of translation studies, the phenomenon of explicitation is a widely studied topic.

2.5.1 Possible Causes of Explicitation

This section introduces various attempts to explain the phenomena of explicitation. I do not advocate any of the explanations, as each explanation may be viable in certain cases but inapplicable in others.

Vinay and Darbelnet (1995, p. 8) first described explicitation as "the process of introducing information into the target language which is present only implicitly in the source language, but which can be derived from the context or the situation." When Vinay and Darbelnet raised the issue of explicitation, they offered a possible explanation to the phenomenon. They suggest that the lengthening of texts

(explicitation) is either caused by the translator's prudence, or the translator's ignorance (1995, p. 193). The ignorance part can be traced back to a traditional view of translation which discourages translated text to read like a translation (foreign sounding). When translators lack the skill or know no better ways to translate, they explicitate the text. The prudence part suggests that translators, acting as mediators, take several things into consideration before translating a text. As readers themselves, translators wish to aid the readers in understanding the author. Such postulation is supported by Whittaker's (2004) research where instances of explicitation are found to increase in more complex texts. In simpler words, the translators are more in explaining harder texts; therefore, they tend to provide more communicative clues like conjunctions or other markers, making the translation more explicit.

After Vinay and Darbelnet, one of the popular explanations is the Hypothesis of Explicitation by Blum-Kulka (1986). According to Blum-Kulka, explicitation could be motivated by differences in language systems, language norm or other pragmatic reasons. Yet, there are changes which are not necessary, and the changes are more often than not efforts made by the translator to achieve certain effect (p.298-300). The Hypothesis of Explicitation postulates that these unnecessary changes are attributed to the process of interpretation of the source texts by the translator during the translation process. These changes may result in the explicitation of the text. In her words:

“The process of interpretation performed by the translator on the source text might lead to a TL text which is more redundant than the SL text. This redundancy can be expressed by a rise in the level of cohesive explicitness in the TL text.”

(Blum-Kulka, 1986, p.300)

Apparently, the original hypothesis of explicitation suggested by Blum-Kulka is strictly with regard to cohesion due to the viability of quantifying the overt language markers.

Many studies have been done based on Blum-Kulka's hypothesis. Øverås (1998), Olohan and Baker (2000), Pápai (2004), Konšalová, (2007), Soh (2010) and Liao (2011) generally reveal that translated texts tend to have increased explicitness. However, Becher (2011a) voiced his concern over the hypothesis of explicitation. He states that previous studies contain some serious flaws which could greatly undermine the validity and reliability of the researches. For instance, Becher points out that Olohan and Baker's research design has two issues (Becher, 2011a, p. 29):

1. Olohan and Baker (2000) obtain their data from the Translational English Corpus (TEC) and compare the data with another set of data taken from the British National Corpus (BNC). Olohan and Baker admitted that the TEC was a preliminary work which was incomplete and imbalanced in the selection of texts. Of the available material, there were 82% fictional texts and 1% newspaper texts. Becher criticized that Olohan and Baker's study is a single corpus study, it cannot be counted as a representative sample of translated English.
2. Olohan and Baker could not provide the corresponding source languages to the translations they studied. Since the TEC contains translations from 24 languages.

Becher dismisses the connection between Olohan and Baker's study and Blum-Kulka's hypothesis of explicitation by stating two other possible explanations, that the explicitations found in their study could be attributed to source language interference and conservatism (p. 31).

Øverås (as cited in Konšalová, 2007, p. 18; Becher, 2011a, p. 34) tested it using English-Norwegian bi-directional texts where 1000 sentences taken from 40 novel fragments were examined. She studied the rate of explicitation to implicitation in her data, revealing that explicitation shifts outnumber implicitation shifts in both English and Norwegian translation. Her work was one of the early efforts to test the Explicitation Hypothesis. By counting instances of explicitation and implicitation, Pápai (2004) found much more instances of explicitation than implicitation in her study of English-Hungarian texts. Becher (2011a, p. 34-36) argues that both Øverås' and Pápai's studies are unreliable because they include obligatory and preferential shifts into their frequency distribution count.

Fabricius-Hansen (1998, as cited in Konšalová, 2007, p. 18) studied the hypothesis of explicitation in terms of informational density by examining non-fictional texts translated from German into English and Norwegian. Her study revealed that translation products have the tendency to expand (in other words, explicitate) condensed syntactical structure which in turn give rise to greater number of anaphors and connectives (p. 18). However, her work does not give strong support to the hypothesis of explicitation because she did not specify or identify whether the structural expansion is due to translation process itself or other reasons.

Konšalová (2007) tested the explicitation hypothesis on morpho-syntactic level by examining bi-directional comparable texts in German and Czech. Her study reveals that the explicitation in both ways are not equal – the level of explicitness in Czech-German translation is increased while there is no obvious tendency of explicitation in German-Czech translation (p. 37). Becher (2011a, p. 45) dismissed Konšalová's conclusion that her data supports the Hypothesis of Explicitation because the unequal tendencies of

explicitation disconfirm the hypothesis' claim that explicitation is universal, which means the tendencies should be the same bi-directionally.

Becher's detailed review of Blum-Kulka's hypothesis is worthy of praise. His work cannot be overlooked if any researcher wish to study or develop the hypothesis. Nevertheless, Blum-Kulka's hypothesis still provides a possible explanation to the occurrences of explicitation.

For now, let us put aside Blum-Kulka's hypothesis. It is worth mentioning that Pym (2005), after studying several possible explanations of explicitation, draws a conclusion and suggests that all the explanations share a common trait - risk aversion. Pym suggests that explicitation occurs because a translator, in the position of a mediator, tries to minimize the risk of his translation being wrong; the translator does not want to take risks in their own name. Thus, explicitation may be a strategy ensuing from risk management.

Saldanha (2008) points out that different translators have different tendency to explicitate during the translation process. Saldanha finds that "there was a more marked tendency towards explicitation in translations by Margaret Jull Costa than in translations by Peter Bush" (p. 30). In short, Jull Costa's translations tend to be more explicit than Bush's.

Out of curiosity, she interviewed the two translators and concluded that both translators had very different concepts of translation in mind. Saldanha points out that Jull Costa desired to provide a pleasurable experience when readers from the target culture read her works; meanwhile, Bush desired to introduce new foreign writers to readers in Britain, and Bush is ready to "challenge readers to shift out of their usual patterns to read them" (p. 31). In short, Bush is ready to endure higher level of source language interference. Saldanha's study is not directly related to the cause of explicitation, but it

is interesting. It reveals that certain instances of explicitation are optional, and it is up to the translator to decide if the texts should be made explicit or not.

2.6 Conjunctive elements in SL and TL

Like English, Chinese employs conjunctive elements to achieve logical relations between statements. The research on conjunctions in Chinese has not been extensive, and certain issues remain unresolved:

- the exact number and categories of modern conjunctions are not known;
- the definition of conjunction is vague (fuzzy borders for certain conjunction, adverb and preposition)
- conjunction usage in various periods (diachronic) have not been summarized;
- the study in grammar of conjunctions is inadequate.

(Wang, 2009, p. 85)

Due to the rapid growth of translation studies, linguists started to delve into the use of conjunction in English-Chinese translation despite the inadequacy in the study of Chinese conjunctive elements. As such, this study is an attempt to understand the subject matter, and not to theorize.

What is known now is that conjunctive elements are less used in Chinese (Liu, 1992; Lian, 1993; Peng, 2007, p. 127), some of the sentences do not even need conjunctive elements to be connected (Zhang, 1997; Pinkham, 1988, p. 376; Liu, 1998, p. 385-401). Moreover, there is often a lack of equivalent expressions for conjunctive elements between the English and Chinese, thus many conjunctive elements deemed essential in English texts are freely omitted during the translation to Chinese texts because they

would seem redundant (Xu, 2003, p.54; Liu, 1998, p. 385); other conjunctive elements with no equivalent expressions may even be inaccurately translated.

According to Loh (2000, p. 184), conjunctive elements which are used to link clauses and sentences in Chinese can be divided into 8 relation categories: 承接 (successive), 递进 (progressive), 选择 (discretionary), 取舍 (concessive), 转折 (adversative), 假设 (hypothetical), 条件 (conditional), 因果 (causal). The 8 categories, in some ways, echo with Halliday and Hasan's (2001) conjunctive relations model mentioned in previous section.

To facilitate the data analysis in my study, I propose to accommodate the Chinese categorizations into Halliday and Hasan's simpler and more inclusive categorization. For example: 取舍 (concessive) which includes items like 要么...要么... (either...or...) can be categorized under the additive relation category. Hypothetical and conditional conjunctive elements technically express causality in most cases, therefore they could be accommodated under causal relation category. However, one must remember that conjunctive elements in Chinese can have multiple functions in different contexts, just like conjunctive elements in English. For instance, some of the 承接 (successive) and 递进 (progressive) conjunctive elements could be accommodated under additive, temporal or causal relation category, depending on the context. As I have mentioned in Chapter 1, this is one of my study's limitations where I pose myself as the ideal reader of both languages. I presumably know the functions of the conjunctive elements when it is used in both source texts and target texts.

2.7 Effects of Translation Shifts in Conjunctive Elements

In the translation studies, the term "translation shifts" has been used to describe "small changes that occur between units in a ST–TT pair" (Hatim & Munday, 2004, p. 142). In

fact, Catford was the first to use the term “translation shift”, and he defines translation shifts as “departures from formal correspondence in the process of going from the SL to the TL” (Catford, 1965, p. 73). In the same paper, Catford has also described two kinds of translation shifts: level shift (between the levels of grammar and lexis) and category shift (unbound and rank-bounded).

It is not my intention to delve deep into the classifications and types of shifts as they are not the primary concern of this study. Identifying the cause of shifts found is also not within the scope of this study. The main focus of this study is to identify shifts throughout the data and the way shifts affect the translation. Therefore, the term “shift” is loosely used in this entire dissertation to include any possible changes in the usage of conjunctive elements, be it changes in quantity, category, class, etc.

Studies which focus solely on the effects of translation shifts in conjunctive elements have not been extensive. The only one study I came across which delves deep into the effect of shifts in conjunctive elements was Grant’s study on narrative styles (Grant, 1990). Grant’s study reveals that stylistic difference between English and French results in a frequent suppression of the CE “and” in the translation, which leads to “an attendant loss in the rhythmic pattern in the sentences” (Grant, 1990, p. 132). Another effect of having to use less “and” in the French translation is the reduction of a full clause to a relative clause, resulting in a distortion of propositional weight and the neutrality of sentences suggested by coordination (p. 133). Also, the suppression of “and” in the target texts causes the translation to lose a sense of natural speech (p. 139). She concludes that changes to the CEs in the target texts affect the neutrality of the narrator’s style and leads to an increased narrator’s presence while the original author was trying to minimize her own presence.

CHAPTER 3

DATA & METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the selection of data will be discussed first in section 3.1. Section 3.2 explains the way I adopt a bottom-up contrastive text analysis approach to identify and count the frequency distribution of the conjunctive elements employed across the texts, in order to answer the research question one. The second research question is answered by in-depth discussions based on the major examples or issues found in the bottom-up analysis (see section 3.3).

Contrastive text analysis contrasts two or more languages to reveal their differences and similarities extended from basic methods of linguistic analysis (Hatim, 2001, p. 215). The primary objects of the comparison and contrast have to be stretches of language longer than sentences, in other words, texts (p. 40). The analysis has to be carried out in context, while the way context is delivered through structure and texture is examined. Other researchers like Regent (1985), Pery-Woodley (1990) and Wong (1990) have approached translation through contrastive analysis and found that the method is able to reveal crucial information on how elements in the source texts are transferred to the target texts at micro- and macro-levels (as cited in Soh, 2010).

Through contrastive analysis, Seguinot (1988) notes that there is increment in explicitness which is not explainable by structural or stylistic differences between the source language and target language. She reveals that the shifts arise from editing strategies, where “information is being understood and adjustments are made for the audience of the target text, and changes made in the revision of writing” (Seguinot, 1988, p. 30).

3.1 Data Collection

Collecting the data is not as simple as I thought. At the very beginning of this research, my ideal is to obtain both ST and TT from two prominent publishers in Malaysia: *Sin Chew Daily* and *The Star*. Unfortunately, there are some unforeseen problems if the published articles were to be obtained directly from newspapers.

One of the issues was that Karim Raslan's articles were not published by *The Star* exclusively, they were published in whichever publications Raslan deemed appropriate. Singling out *The Star* would limit my resources, especially when translations in *SinChew Daily* were not published in *The Star*.

Another issue, which could undermine the validity of my research, is the way the articles were produced. Through personal communication with Dr Soh Bee Kwee, I was informed that Raslan normally sends his column article to an English publishing institution as soon as he finishes writing it. After his article is published in the English publication, he will then send the piece to *SinChew Daily* for translation and publication. However, before sending his articles to *SinChew Daily*, Raslan might review his article for one last time, adding or removing whatever he deems to be appropriate or inappropriate to be read by Chinese readers (see Soh, 2010, p. 149-150).

Understandably, authors tend to refine or improve their texts during a review. This brings some harm to the validity of my research, because this would mean the discrepancies between the Chinese translations and the English translations might not arise from the act of translation alone.

Fortunately, the issue arose early in my study, allowing me to avoid collecting invalid data by turning to the alternative – the compilation of Karim Raslan's column articles in books, each of the book has its counterpart in Chinese. There are three books by Karim

Raslan which collect his column articles: *Ceritalah: Malaysia in Transition*, *Ceritalah 2: Journeys through Southeast Asia* and *Ceritalah 3: Malaysia, A Dream Deferred*. Of the three books, I take the latest book available, *Ceritalah 3: A Malaysian Dream Deferred* published by Marshall Cavendish Editions. Its Chinese translation 《凯唾成珠 3: 马来西亚—延滞的梦想》 is published by SinChew Daily. According to the printed product information, the Chinese translation is translated by three translators.

3.3.1 Choosing the Articles

The articles in *Ceritalah 3: Malaysia, A Dream Deferred* are grouped into two parts: part one “The Age of Certainty?” deals with issues surrounding Malaysia’s general election in 2004, part two “The Age of Upheaval” discusses issues surrounding the general election in 2008. Year 2003 to 2008 is a great transitional period for Malaysia, it saw the rise and fall of Tun Abdullah bin Haji Ahmad Badawi, the fifth Prime Minister of Malaysia, and the upheaval in 2008 Malaysia general election followed by the election of Dato' Sri Haji Mohammad Najib as the sixth Prime Minister. Beginning from Dr. Mahathir Mohamad’s departure from office to the historic general election in March 8, 2008, *Ceritalah 3* chronicles the dreams, hopes and fears of Malaysian from different perspectives; sometimes Karim’s own thoughts, sometimes through a side story he heard while having breakfast in a coffee shop. The target text 《凯唾成珠3: 马来西亚—延滞的梦想》 follows the structure of the original book.

I have set myself a limit of 9 articles from which the conjunctive elements will be extracted, compared and analyzed. I have decided to choose from the most recent and most significant articles, which are articles written after the 2008 election. The period after 2008 election saw the comeback of Anwar Ibrahim (he was the Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia prior to his dismissal, who later became a prominent opposition leader), the chaotic political culture, the staggering power of Barisan Nasional (BN),

and the doubts and hopes of fellow Malaysians after the election. As a side note, Raslan has written many articles in different styles, sometimes they are written as stories, other times as well-structured analyses. The nine articles I chose are argumentative in nature. They are constructed to persuade or to convince the readers that the author’s analysis and opinions are logical and reasonable.

The articles are compiled in part two of the book under the subheading of “The Aftermath”, indicating events that happened after the 2008 election. Out of fifteen available pieces, I have selected 8 articles and the epilogue of the book. The epilogue of the book is written in a rhetoric similar to the rest of the book. To facilitate analysis and discussions, these articles are labelled as CA1 (Column Article 1), CA2 (Column Article 2), and so on:

Table 3.1 Titles of Chosen Column Articles

	SOURCE TEXT	TARGET TEXT
CA1.	When Voters Show Who is the Real Boss	选民才是真正的当家
CA2.	Whither the Mainstream Media?	主流媒体式微?
CA3.	Is There an “-Ism” Uniting the Pakatan Rakyat?	团结民联的理念
CA4.	PAS and DAP as Friends?	开创合作的崭新模式
CA5.	Focus on Reform Agenda	关注改革议程
CA6.	The People Won Fuel Debate	人民赢了燃油辩论
CA7.	The “Sensitive” Malay	敏感的马来人
CA8.	Najib the “Bangsawan” Candidate	“贵族”候选人 — 纳吉
CA9.	Epilogue: Between Hope and Fear	后记：希望与恐惧之间

3.2 Counting the Conjunctive Elements: Data Breakdown

First, the CEs are identified and manually counted. To do that efficiently, I tabulated the source texts and the target texts according to paragraphs and sentences side by side. The source texts are written in paragraphs and sentences, and the target texts follow the same structure on the whole.

After the articles are broken down and tabulated, I carefully search through each sentences to identify any conjunctive element based on Baker's (2001) definition as explained in the literature review (see Section 2.4). The identified conjunctive elements will be labelled with their corresponding relation categories in order to make counting easier. The labelling process is guided by Halliday and Hasan's (2001) five-category cohesion model, the categories are: additive, adversative, causal, temporal and continuatives. An example of the tabulation and analysis can be seen in the following pages (based on column article no. 2):

Explanation of Terms and Symbols:

Conjunctive elements found in the source text are captured under SC (source conjunction); conjunctive elements found in the target text are captured under TC (target conjunction). For conjunctive elements with no corresponding translation (or not translated as a conjunction), a dash is placed instead. On the leftmost column, P1 represents paragraph 1, P2 represents paragraph 2, and so on. Under the paragraph symbols, S1 represents sentence 1, S2 represents sentence 2, and so on. The right most column is where relation categories are captured. The relation category of the SC is stated on the left, while the relation category of the TC is stated on the right. They are separated by a slash (/).

Tabulation of Column Article 2 (CA2)
Title: Whither the Mainstream Media? 主流媒体式微?

	Source Text (ST)	Target Text (TT)	SC	TC	Category (ST/TT)
P1 S1-S2	(S1) After years of lambasting the alternative media, the Barisan Nasional (BN) has finally acknowledged the extent to which they underestimated the influence of blogs and the Internet on the March 8 general election.	(S1) 在多年跑轰非主流媒体之后，国阵终于承认他们低估部落格对308大选所带来的冲击。			
	(S2) Whilst their realisation is refreshing, there is another far more pressing media-related issue that needs to be addressed and immediately, namely, the future of the mainstream media – dubbed ‘the MSM’.	(S2) 虽然 国阵明了这点是好事， 但 还有一个更迫切的媒体课题需解决，那就是主流媒体的前景。	Whilst And	虽然...但 (whilst...but) -	Temporal/adversative Note: Idiosyncratic usage of “and”

After identifying all the conjunctive elements, I proceed to count the number of conjunctive elements found in both texts and record them in a separate table below the analysis table for each column article. For example:

Table 3.2: Frequency Distribution of Conjunctive Elements in ST and TT (CA2)

	Additive		Adversative		Causal		Temporal		Continuatives (misc.)	
	ST	TT	ST	TT	ST	TT	ST	TT	ST	TT
CA2	11	14	6	7	7	6	3	3	4	3

The data obtained from each article are eventually combined into a final table in Chapter 4. The final table records the frequency distribution of conjunctive elements across all 9 articles. Table 3.2 below is the example of the final frequency distribution table:

Table 3.3: Frequency Distribution Table (Example)

	Additive		Adversative		Causal		Temporal		Continuatives		Total	
	ST	TT	ST	TT	ST	TT	ST	TT	ST	TT	ST	TT
CA1	12	11	1	9	1	10	6	7	6	5	26	42
CA2	11	14	6	7	7	6	3	3	4	3	31	33
...
CA9	56	49	31	36	15	24	22	15	21	22	145	146
Total	166	131	85	108	45	86	64	44	55	42	415	411

After laying down the final frequency distribution, I analyze the numbers shown in the table, which include instances of explicitation and implicitation. Possible causes of interesting anomalies in the analysis will be discussed as well.

3.3 In-depth Discussion on the Implications of Shifts & Wrong Translations

After the analysis of the frequency distribution is completed, the possible outcomes of the shifts found in the texts are discussed.

As mentioned in previous section, labelling the relation categories of the conjunctive elements side by side highlights possible shifts pertaining to relation category. Contrastive text analysis has a long history of development.

I will examine the impact of arbitrary alterations during the translation by identifying shifts in conjunctive elements. The implications ensue from these differences are discussed in detail, together with supporting examples from the relevant categories.

In the discussion, literal back translations (BT) are provided for the examples used, but not for the entire analysis table. The BTs allow non-Chinese speaker to understand the TT translation. Native English speakers might find the BTs grammatically incorrect or unnatural. It is inevitable and intended to be so because of the literal translation. The BTs are done according to the TT, with no reference to the ST.

A section is dedicated to discuss wrong translations of conjunctive elements. Wrong translations are not considered as shifts, but they do affect the conveyance of the original message in varying degrees. Whenever necessary, I provide my suggestions to correct or improve the translations.

3.3.1 Data Validation

The analysis and examples presented in this work are carefully checked and validated by my supervisor, Dr. Soh Bee Kwee. Dr. Soh is a senior lecturer in Faculty of Language and Linguistics, University Malaya. She is a native speaker of Mandarin, her fields of study are Chinese literature and translation studies. My second validator is So Yee Fong, who is also a native speaker of Mandarin.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS & DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter serves to answer research question 1 and 2 by discussing the findings of the text analysis. However, the full tabulation is not included in this chapter because the tabulations mount up to roughly 200 pages in total (more than 10 pages for each article).

In section 4.1, the frequency distribution of conjunctive elements of the source texts and target texts are presented, followed by insights gained by observing the differences in the number of conjunctive elements used in the texts. The major factors which lead to higher or lower usage of conjunctive elements in the target texts are discussed in its subsections.

In section 4.2, I infer possible implications of the cohesion shifts found in the translation. Each implication inferred is supported by examples from the relevant relation categories, followed by detailed discussion. Ways to improve the translation are also suggested when necessary.

Section 4.3 contains wrong translations in my data which are worth mentioning. Wrong translations of conjunctive elements are not counted as shifts, but they do lead to undesirable effects on meaning conveyance, especially when the texts in my study are argumentative texts where the author relies on thesis and substantiation to convince the readers.

4.1 The Frequency Distribution of Conjunctive Elements

Research Question 1: How are conjunctive elements in Karim Raslan's English column articles translated into Chinese?

A cohesion shift is indicated by a difference (more or less explicit) in the employment of cohesive markers. Literatures suggest that the target texts would demonstrate a higher level of explicitness (Øverås, 1998; Pápai, 2004; Pym, 2005; Konšalová, 2007). Blum-Kulka claims that “explicitation is a universal strategy inherent in the process of language mediation” (1986, p. 302).

Explicitation is a common phenomenon, it is also a common strategy employed by translators to bridge the gaps between cultures, the differences between language systems, or to achieve certain effect as mentioned in Saldanha's (2008) study. Explicitation can be seen in both positive and negative lights. The gaps between two different cultures or language systems may be bridged by rendering the texts to be more “clear” to the target culture, but the translators might “obscure its own mode of clarity” (Berman, 1985, p. 290).

The main concern of research question 1 is whether or not the translations analysed in this study exhibit traits of explicitations. This is important because various studies on Chinese language have revealed that Chinese naturally employs less conjunctions compared to English (Liu, 1992; Lian, 1993; Peng, 2007, p. 127), sometimes none at all (Zhang, 1997; Pinkham, 1988, p. 376; Liu, 1998, p. 385-401). Do the translators further explicitate the English source texts which presumably contain a relatively high number of conjunctive elements?

A detailed frequency distribution of conjunctive elements can show exactly how explicit has the texts become, and which category is the most explicitated. Table 4.1 shows the

frequency distribution of CE (boxes highlighted in grey means there are more or equal conjunctive elements in the TT):

Table 4.1: Frequency Distribution of Conjunctive Elements in ST and TT

	Additive		Adversative		Causal		Temporal		Continuatives		Total	
	ST	TT	ST	TT	ST	TT	ST	TT	ST	TT	ST	TT
CA1	12	11	1	9	1	10	6	7	6	5	26	42
CA2	11	14	6	7	7	6	3	3	4	3	31	33
CA3	12	11	9	11	5	10	1	1	8	4	35	37
CA4	14	8	8	11	2	8	8	4	3	1	35	32
CA5	15	10	7	7	4	8	10	7	6	2	42	34
CA6	12	7	7	8	5	4	4	4	2	2	30	25
CA7	18	12	8	9	1	5	3	0	3	1	33	27
CA8	16	9	8	10	5	11	7	3	2	2	38	35
CA9	56	49	31	36	15	24	22	15	21	22	145	146
Total	166	131	85	108	45	86	64	44	55	42	415	411

Table 4.1 was further broken down into smaller tables to make discussion easier. Table 4.2 is the total number of CE found across the nine STs and TTs:

Table 4.2 Total CE count in both ST and TT

	Total CE	
	ST	TT
CA1	26	42
CA2	31	33
CA3	35	37
CA4	35	32
CA5	42	34
CA6	30	25
CA7	33	27
CA8	38	35
CA9	145	146
Total	415	411

As seen in table 4.2, a total of 415 conjunctive elements are found across the 9 source

texts compared to 411 conjunctive elements which are found across the 9 target texts. Technically, from the angle of quantity per se, the target texts appear to have less CEs compared to the source texts. However, I would argue that a reduction of only 5 conjunctive elements across 9 articles should be taken a sign of excessiveness (as an average, only 0.55 less per article), because the literatures (Liu, 1992; Lian, 1993; Peng, 2007, p. 127; Zhang, 1997; Pinkham, 1988, p. 376; Liu, 1998, p. 385-401) suggest that Chinese language should exhibit much lower frequency in the use of conjunctive element.

Table 4.2 shows that CA1, CA2, CA3 and CA9 in the target texts employ more conjunctive elements while the others employ less conjunctive elements. The level of cohesive explicitness in CA1 is greatly increased with 16 more conjunctive elements, while CA5 demonstrates a decrease in the level of explicitness with 9 less conjunctive elements.

The inconsistency found may be attributed to the book being translated by different translators over a long time span. However, according to Tan, one of the three translators, if there was any editing, it was done without the consent of the translators (Tan Lee Chin, personal communication, March 2014).

Through personal communication, it is found that all three translators were not specifically trained in translation. The three translators are 陈莉珍 (Tan Lee Chin), 曾慧金 (Zeng Hui Jin) and 罗邦龙 (Luo Bang Long). Up until the time the book was published, there was no division or department especially dedicated to translation of news articles or column articles in *SinChew Daily*. The responsibility of translation was mainly assigned to those whom the upper management deemed proficient in both English and Chinese (Tan Lee Chin, personal communication, March 2014).

Blum-Kulka (p. 301) suggests that explicitation is expected to be “especially marked in the work of ‘non-professional’ translators”. It is also suggested that there may be a

correlation between the proficiency of translators and the phenomenon of explicitation, whereby the less proficient the translators are, the more explicitated the translation would become. Such sentiment echoes with Vinay and Darbelnet's (1995) suggestion, that it is the "ignorant" part of the translators which leads to explicitation. However, Saldanha (2008) suggests that translators' conceptions about their roles as a mediator between two cultures do affect the level of source language interference in the translators' works. These may be the possible explanations to the inconsistency found in this study.

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4.1.1 Explications in the Target Texts

Section 4.1.1 covers major factors which contribute to higher number of conjunctive elements found in the target texts compared to the source texts in this study. Isolated or rare cases are not included.

4.1.1.1 Adversative Conjunctive Elements

Table 4.3 below shows the frequency distribution of adversative conjunctive elements used in the texts:

Table 4.3: Frequency Distribution of CEs in Adversative Relation Categories

	Adversative	
	ST	TT
CA1	1	9
CA2	6	7
CA3	9	11
CA4	8	11
CA5	7	7
CA6	7	8
CA7	8	9
CA8	8	10
CA9	31	36
Total	85	108

Based on the frequency distribution, it is observed that adversative relations in the source texts are made explicit in almost every text. Only CA5 contains an equal amount of adversative CEs in both source and target texts. Based on the table, the total amount of adversative conjunctive elements employed in the target texts is 27% higher compared to the source texts.

Since the translations are done by various translators, I find it interesting to observe that the translators, consciously or subconsciously, decided that adversative relations should

be made explicit. The tendency to explicitate adversative relations may be a result of the translators' effort to understand the source texts. When the translators finally grasp what they perceive as key information in the source texts, they feel a need to intensify contrasting ideas, especially in argumentative texts. For instance, the adversative relation between paragraph 3 and paragraph 4 in CA1 is made explicit through an extra adversative CE in S9 (see Chapter 3 for the meanings of short forms and symbols):

Example 1 (P4, CA1)

ST: (S9) The opposition has quadrupled its numbers in Parliament and the states of Penang and even more incredibly, Selangor, Kedah and Perak have fallen to it.

TT: (S9) 相反地，反对党在国会和槟州的议席几乎翻了两番，连雪州、吉打和霹雳州政权也落入了他们手中。

BT: (S9) **On the contrary**, the seats of the opposition in the parliament and Penang state nearly quadrupled, even Selangor, Kedah and Perak have fallen into their hands.

In example 1, the target text is made more explicit by adding 相反地 (On the contrary) which does not exist in the source text. The addition is not essential since the event stated after the CE in S9 is clearly a contrast to the event in the previous paragraph (paragraph 3).

Apart from the explicitations mentioned above, extra adversative conjunctive elements are also employed in the target texts due to the difference between the two language systems. There are instances where adversative conjunctive structures are considered the most appropriate translations even though the ST does not use any CE. Take the translation of “despite” as an example:

Example 2 (P12, CA1)

ST: (S33) Despite a media blackout, he remains a potent and effective opponent.

TT: (S33) 尽管安华遭到媒体封锁，但他仍然是个有权势有效率的对手。

BT: (S34) **Although** Anwar was censored by the media, **but** he still is a powerful and efficient opponent.

Example 3 (P8, CA4)

ST: (S20) Despite the gathering storm, Nizar remained cool if forceful, being careful to steer the discussion away from contentious issues like the 'Islamic State' debate to more manageable, common ground.

TT: (S20) 当时氛围特别紧张凝重，但他仍保持一贯的冷静，以中立的态度谨慎应对此事，避免牵扯入惹人非议的回教国课题。

BT: (S20) The atmosphere was especially imposing at that time, **but** he still kept the usual coolness, carefully responding to the matter with a neutral attitude to avoid being dragged into the contentious Islamic State issue.

Example 4 (P13, CA4)

ST: (S41) Despite his reassurances, the fragility of the links between PAS and DAP is clear for all to see.

TT: (S41) 尽管他一再保证，但大家都清楚知道回教党和行动党之间的联系其实并不大。

BT: (S41) **Even though** he reassures repeatedly, **but** everyone knows clearly that the link between PAS and DAP are actually not strong.

Example 2, 3 and 4 show instances where prepositional expressions in ST which were translated as adversative conjunctive because there is no corresponding preposition in Chinese that behaves like “despite”. The nearest equivalent would be correlative conjunctive elements like “although...but” or “even though...yet”. This shift is inevitable.

Such shift gives rise to another explicitation, where the event or object (usually a word or a phrase) which follows after the English preposition “despite” in ST has to be translated as a clause or a sentence in Chinese, because a CE links clauses, sentences or paragraphs. This results in a much more explicit translation product. Take a look at the three examples below (taken from example 2, 3 and 4):

“a media blackout” → 安华遭到媒体封锁 (Anwar was censored by the media).

“the gathering storm” → 当时氛围特别紧张凝重 (The atmosphere was especially imposing at that time)

“his reassurances” → 他一再保证 (he reassures repeatedly)

4.1.1.2 Causal Conjunctive Elements

Table 4.4 below shows the frequency distribution of adversative conjunctive elements used in the texts:

Table 4.4: Frequency Distribution of CEs in Causal Relation Categories

	Causal	
	ST	TT
CA1	1	10
CA2	7	6
CA3	5	10
CA4	2	8
CA5	4	8
CA6	5	4
CA7	1	5
CA8	5	11
CA9	15	24
Total	45	86

Based on Table 4.4, most causal relations are explicitated in the target text except for CA 2 and CA6. CA2 and CA6 contain 1 less causal CEs compared to the source texts. The total quantity of causal conjunctive elements used in the target texts is almost doubled. This shows that the translators tend to explicitate causal relations, similar to the way adversative conjunctive elements is handled.

Example 5 below shows the way causal relation is highlighted in the target text using conjunctive elements, while causality is expressed indirectly in the source text through a verb:

Example 5 (P8, CA3)

ST: (S22) It is worth mentioning at this point that the obsessive focus on Umno in our mainstream media has sidelined a newly emerging force, namely, the Malay ‘left’.

TT: (S22) 值得一提的是，主流媒体由于过度重视巫统而忽略了一股新起的势力 - 马来左派。

BT: (S22) It is worth mentioning that, the mainstream media **due to** excessive focus on Umno **therefore** overlooked a newly emerging force – the Malay left.

In example 5, the cause and effect of the source text is expressed by a causative construction. The translator translated the sentence using correlative causal conjunctive elements 由于...而 (due to...therefore), making it easier for the reader to identify the causer, the cause and the effect in the target text. The translation of a causative construction into a sentence with causal conjunctive elements like 因...而 (because...therefore) or 由于...而 (due to...therefore) is commonly found throughout the 9 articles.

In fact, S22 in example 5 could have easily been translated without using causal conjunctive element as:

Suggestion: (S22) 值得一提的是，过度重视巫统的主流媒体忽略了一股新起的势力 - 马来左派。

BT: (S22) It is worth mentioning that, mainstream media’s overly attention on Umno has sidelined a newly rising force - the Malay left.

Apart from explicitly stating cause and effect, some possibilities (open conditionals) are translated using conjunctive elements. For example:

Example 6 (P17, CA4)

ST: (S50) Let's hope that in doing so it will present the voters with a genuine alternative and Perak with a real chance for the future.

TT: (S50) 如果巫统愿意这么做，将给选民带来一个真正的选择，亦为霹雳带来一个美好的未来。

BT: (S50) **If** the Umno is willing to do so, it will present the voters with a genuine alternative, and Perak with a bright future.

The author proposes a possibility of advancement for Perak if the Umno focuses on the people instead of the party itself. The open condition in the source text is expressed by the verb “hope”. In the target text, the open condition is explicitly expressed by a causal conjunctive element 如果 (if). The target text can actually be translated according to the structure of the source text:

Suggestion: 但愿巫统这么做后，将给选民带来真正的选择，也给霹雳的未来带来真正的机会。

BT: It is hoped that after the Umno does so, it will present the voters with a genuine alternative, and Perak's future with a real chance.

4.1.1.3 Additive Conjunctive Elements

Table 4.5 below shows the frequency distribution of additive conjunctive elements:

Table 4.5: Frequency Distribution of CEs in Additive Relation Category

	Additive	
	ST	TT
CA1	12	11
CA2	11	14
CA3	12	11
CA4	14	8
CA5	15	10
CA6	12	7
CA7	18	12
CA8	16	9
CA9	56	49
Total	167	131

Based on table 4.5, fewer additive conjunctive elements are found in almost every target text except in CA2. However, many additive conjunctive elements are still unnecessarily employed. The most common explicitation found in the additive relation category is the use of 而 (and) or 而且 (and). For example:

Example 7 (P16, CA5)

ST: (S46) The Malaysian people do not trust the security apparatus to act fairly and impartially.

TT: (S46) 而且国人已经不再相信执法机构公正无私。

BT: (S29) **Furthermore** the people no longer believes in a fair and impartial law enforcement institution.

Example 8 (P7, CA1)

ST: (S18) The BN has simply failed to win them over.

TT: (S18) 而国阵完全无法赢得他们的支持。

BT: (S18) **yet** the BN was completely unable to win their support.

The conjunctive elements in example 7 and 8 are not found in their respective source texts. Both sentences in the examples are opening sentences to new paragraphs in the source texts. No conjunctive element was used in the source texts to instruct the reader on how the new paragraphs are linked to previous paragraphs. It is likely that the CE is used here to emphasize the progression or the irony of the events. However, it is unusual and unnatural to have a conjunctive element like 而 (and) at the beginning of a paragraph in Chinese. Therefore, the extra additive CEs in example 7 and 8 are unnecessary.

Example 9 below shows another instance where the conjunctive element 而 (and) is used superfluously:

Example 9 (P8, CA7)

ST: (S19) Succumbing to the pressure, the Bar Council halted the forum soon after it commenced.

TT: (S19) 而律师公会因不堪外界压力，在开始后没多久即宣布暂停。

BT: (S19) **And** bar council announce a halt to the event soon after it started, because they cannot withstand the external pressure.

The extra additive CE 而 (and) in example 9 was to indicate a progression from S18 to S19. However, S19 in example 9 could have been translated following the original structure as:

Suggestion: 不堪外界压力，研讨会在开始没多久后就被律师公会叫停。

BT: Being unable to withstand the external pressure, the forum was halted by the Bar Council soon after it commenced.

Under the additive relation category, another common explication results from the translation of the punctuation em-dash (–). For example:

Example 10 (P2, CA2)

ST: (S4) The BN by contrast, relied on well-established national dailies and TV stations – most of which were closely connected to the component parties themselves.

TT: (S4) 国阵则只是仰赖老牌日报和电视台为他们作宣传，而这些媒体大多与它的成员党有挂钩。

BT: (S4) The BN however [sic] only rely on traditional dailies and TV stations to promote themselves, **and** these media are linked together with its component parties.

Example 11 (P5, CA6)

ST: (S14) The clock cannot and should not be turned back on media freedoms – the next target must be the invidious Printing and Publications Act.

TT: (S14) (a) 在新闻自由方面，我们不能也不应该重新回到过去。(b) 而接下来的目标，就是那令人反感的出版法令。

BT: (S14) (a) Regarding the freedom of press, we cannot and should not go back to the past. (b) **And** the next target, is the invidious Printing and Publications Act.

Example 10 and 11 are taken out of many instances found across the articles. Many additive conjunct elements 而 (and) are used to link sentences or clauses when the sentences or clauses are originally connected by em dashes (–) in the STs. This is in line with the literature: English, as a language with highly developed punctuation system, often uses punctuations to connect or separate phrases, clauses or sentences (Baker, 2001, p. 193). When a punctuated sentence is translated into a target language which employs less complex punctuation system like Arabic or Chinese, the translator will opt for what is natural to the target language – in some cases, conjunctive elements (p. 194).

4.1.1.4 Temporal Conjunctive Elements

Overall, conjunctive elements in the temporal category are quite well translated. As shown in table 4.6 below, only CA1 exhibits traits of explicitation, while CA2, CA3 and CA 6 have equal number of CEs:

Table 4.6: Frequency Distribution of CEs in Temporal Relation Categories

	Temporal	
	ST	TT
CA1	6	7
CA2	3	3
CA3	1	1
CA4	8	4
CA5	10	7
CA6	4	4
CA7	3	0
CA8	7	3
CA9	22	15
Total	64	44

The quantity of temporal CEs could be even lesser if the conjunctive adverb is not moved to the initial position in some of the sentences in the TT. For example:

Example 12 (P7, CA6)

ST: (S19) We will **now** expect to see Prime Minister and his deputy, not to mention the rest of the Cabinet in similar encounters.

TT: (S19) **接下来**我们想看到的是正副首相和其他内阁成员也这么做。

BT: (S19) **Next** what we would like to see is the prime and deputy ministers and other Cabinet members to do the same.

Example 13 (P20, CA9)

ST: (S54) This is certainly not the case **now** – we all know how China and India have risen to become political and economic powerhouses.

TT: (S54) **现在**, 情况已经有所改变——我们都知道中国与印度如何崛起成为政治和经济强国。

BT: (S54) **Now**, situation has already changed – we all know how China and India rise to become politically and economically strong nations.

Example 14 (P42, CA9)

ST: (S114) BN's new leadership **now** has the potential to make history again, to replicate the same critical mass of common purpose that led to our Independence.

TT: (S114) **现在**, 国阵的新领导班子有重现历史的潜力, 仿造出达致独立、迈向共同目标的关键时刻。

BT: (S114) **Now**, BN's new leadership has the potential to reiterate the history, reproducing the crucial moment of moving forward to a common goal which leads to Independence.

Throughout this study, many extra temporal CEs found in the TT are the result of adverb pre-posing, example 12 to 14 are some of the instances. The shifted adverbs now have two functions: adverb and conjunction. Such movement is not demanded by language constraints nor norms. These instances are not considered as explicitation because the conjunctive adverbs are explicit in the source texts. Nevertheless, the movement of the conjunctive adverb's position in a sentence technically increases the quantity of temporal CEs found in the study.

4.1.2 Implications in the Target Texts

Section 4.1.2 covers major factors which contribute to lesser number of conjunctive elements found in the target texts compared to the source texts in this study. Isolated or rare cases are not included.

4.1.2.1 Additive Conjunctive Elements

In the previous section, I have presented the way both 而 (and) are used excessively in the target texts. Nevertheless, additive conjunctive element is less employed in the target texts compared to the source texts. For ease of reference, the frequency distribution of CEs in additive relation category (table 4.5) is presented below:

Table 4.5: Frequency Distribution of CEs in Additive Relation Category

	Additive	
	ST	TT
CA1	12	11
CA2	11	14
CA3	12	11
CA4	14	8
CA5	15	10
CA6	12	7
CA7	18	12
CA8	16	9
CA9	56	49
Total	167	131

It is found that Karim has a colloquial way of writing – he is fond of connecting ideas with many additive conjunctive element “and” in the mimicry of casual conversations or speeches. This style of writing **greatly increases** the quantity of additive CEs found

in the source texts, whereas column articles written by other columnists may not contain the same amount of additive conjunctive elements.

One may argue that there are similar conjunctive elements which can be a translation of the abovementioned conjunctive element “and” - 而 (and) and 并 (and). Therefore, it is important to refresh our memory of the literature’s suggestions that it is not usual for Chinese texts to employ too many logical markers (Pinkham, 1988, p. 376; Liu, 1992; Lian, 1993; Zhang, 1997; Liu, 1998, p. 385-401; Peng, 2007, p. 127).

Many additive CEs, especially “and” in the ST are implicated after the translation. I present five examples from five articles (these happen across the articles):

Example 15 (P12, CA1)

ST: (S34) Anwar is a key factor, **and** will remain so for many years to come, dominating the public discourse.

TT: (S34) 安华仍是一个关键因素，将会在接下来这些年内持续支配公众舆论。

BT: (S34) Anwar still is a key factor, he will continue to dominate the public discourse for many years to come.

Example 16 (P8, CA2)

ST: (S19) They report as they wish **and** it is this freedom and openness that has attracted hundreds of thousands of readers – people sceptical of the MSM’s news reports, **and** in search of other, more honest sources of information and analysis.

TT: (S19) (a) 他们依据自己的心意写文章，而这种自由开放的呈现方式吸引了数十万年轻读者。(b) 对主流媒体报道心存疑惑的读者，正寻求其他更诚实的资讯与分析来源。

BT: (S19) (a) They wrote as they wish, **and** such kind of free and open presentation attracted hundreds of thousands of young readers. (b) Readers who are sceptical towards mainstream media’s news report, are looking for other sources of information and analysis with more honesty.

Example 17 (P4, CA3)

ST: (S9) Of course, the obstacles dividing the three component parties are formidable, **and** we are right to be sceptical, but only up to a point.

TT: (S9) (a) 当然，存在于三党之间的分歧，确是难以克服的障碍。(b) 我们有权去质疑，但只限于一定的程度。

BT: (S9) (a) Of course, the existing disagreements between the three parties are indeed some difficult obstacles to overcome. (b) We have the right to question/be sceptical, but only up to a point.

Example 18 (P2, CA4)

ST: (S3) But those days have passed, **and** Malaysia's Silver State has become little more than a place between Kuala Lumpur and Penang, somewhere you drive through with your foot firmly on the accelerator.

TT: (S3) 但那已是风光的陈年往事了，今天的霹雳只不过是吉隆坡和檳城之间的一个中途站，途经时也只是猛踩油门向前匆匆奔去。

BT: (S3) But that was a glorious thing of the past, today's Perak is but a way station between Kuala Lumpur and Penang, those who pass by would only step on the accelerator leaving in a hurry.

Example 19 (P13, CA7)

ST: (S29) Still, the subject matter is very serious **and**^a demands greater attention **and**^b there are substantial legal implications for those who are married **and**^c have children.

TT: (S29) 这是一个相当重要和^a需要高度关切的题材，那些已婚和^c育有小孩的人士更应该了解改教后所牵涉的法律问题。

BT: (S29) This is a considerably important issue **and**^a it demands greater attention, those who are married **and**^c have children especially need to understand the legal issues involved after convert.

The 5 examples above are taken out of 60 other similar instances found throughout the data, where the conjunctive elements “and” are not translated in the target texts (see Appendix C for the table of the 60 additive CE “and” which are implicated). The author may have used the additive conjunctive elements to achieve the effect of casual conversation, but they are not needed to achieve such effect in Chinese language.

Translating the all the “and” is possible, it will not render the target texts ungrammatical. However, translating every “and” will add too much noise to the target texts to an extent that the texts will sound very unnatural or tiring to read. This might be the reason the translators chose not to translate them.

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4.1.2.2 Temporal Conjunctive Elements

As mentioned in section 4.1.1.4, conjunctive elements in the temporal category are quite well translated. To facilitate reading, table 4.6 is presented again below. As shown in the table, CA4, CA5, CA7, CA8 and CA9 exhibits traits of implicitation:

Table 4.6: Frequency Distribution of CEs in Temporal Relation Categories

	Temporal	
	ST	TT
CA1	6	7
CA2	3	3
CA3	1	1
CA4	8	4
CA5	10	7
CA6	4	4
CA7	3	0
CA8	7	3
CA9	22	15
Total	64	44

Several temporal conjunctive elements are found to be omitted together with certain information contained in a clause or sentence. Below are two examples:

Example 20 (P6, CA8)

ST: (S12) As Najib appears to be closing in on the Premiership – the length of time and manner he has employed to get to this position is proof-positive of his stultifying caution ...

TT: (S12) 纳吉接任首相的时日和方式，在在证明了他的过度谨慎。

BT: (S12) The length of time and manner he has employed to become the prime minister, has positively testify his over-cautiousness.

Example 21 (P, CA8)

ST: (S49) **As** we talked he explained further: “The level of consciousness for all communities has risen.

TT: (S49) 他解释: “所有族群的意识水平已有所提升, ...

BT: (S49) He explained, “The level of consciousness for all races has risen, ...

Both the examples above are taken from CA8. For some reasons, the translator of CA8 chose not to translate “**As** Najib appears to be closing in on the Premiership” in example 18 and “**As** we talked” in example 19, which leads to the omission of the CE “as”. I realize that the omitted information in both examples are not vital, but they serve to illustrate the circumstance of the event or to construe background context of the event. There are instances where the source temporal CEs are simply not found in the TT, for example:

Example 22 (P11, CA5)

ST: (S37) **Once again**, I have to disagree with them on this point: Umno’s poor showing on March 8 was ...

TT: (S37) 我完全不赞同他们的说法, 巫统之所以在308大选表现差强人意,

BT: (S37) I completely disagree with their statements, the reason Umno performed poorly in the 308 election was that, ...

Example 23 (P19, CA8)

ST: (S61) **As it stands**, there are too many unanswered questions surrounding the Altantuya Shaariibuu murder case.

TT: (S61) 蒙古女郎命案中有太多未解开的谜团。

BT: (S37) There are too many unsolved mysteries in the murder case of the Mongolia woman.

In example 22, the author wanted to emphasize that he has several disagreements with certain Umno members through the use of the temporal conjunctive element “once again”. Such emphasis is not found in the TT.

In example 23, “as it stands” means “under current circumstances”, “currently” or “at the present” – I take this as a temporal conjunctive element. “As it stand” is not translated in the target text.

Apart from omissions shown in the examples above, I realize that Chinese language sometimes expresses temporal relation through temporal adverbs rather than temporal conjunctive elements. For example:

Example 24 (P8, CA7)

ST: (S19) Succumbing to the pressure, the Bar Council halted the forum soon **after** it commenced.

TT: (S19) 而律师公会因不堪外界压力，在开始后没多久即宣布暂停。

BT: (S19) And bar council announce a halt to the event soon it started after (sic), because they cannot withstand the external pressure.

Example 25 (P10, CA4)

ST: (S27) **When** I met Ngeh later, he similarly reinforces the bonds.

TT: (S19) 我在之后约谈倪可敏时，他也提到两党的密切关系：

BT: (S19) I later talk with Ngeh when (sic), he also mentioned the bond between the two parties.

To make sure I do not confuse English readers, the back translation of the underlined temporal adverbs in the two examples above are literally translated following the original structure. As we can see in example 24, “after” is translated into an adverb 后 (after) in Chinese, while “when” in example 25 is translated into the adverb 时 (when/during). The temporal relations in both examples are not implicated since the temporal CEs are just translated into temporal adverbs, they are still overtly present. Nevertheless, this difference in the expression of temporal relation has technically decreased the quantity of temporal CEs found in the TT.

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4.1.2.3 Continuative Conjunctive Elements

Table 4.7 below shows the frequency distribution of continuative CEs across the 9 articles. It is found that the overall quantity of CEs used in the target texts is lower than the quantity of CEs found in the source texts:

Table 4.7: Frequency Distribution of CEs in Continuative Relation Category

	Continuatives	
	ST	TT
CA1	6	5
CA2	4	3
CA3	8	4
CA4	3	1
CA5	6	2
CA6	2	2
CA7	3	1
CA8	2	2
CA9	21	22
Total	55	42

Similar to the case of additive conjunctive elements, the writer's style of writing plays a major role in the usage of continuative conjunctive elements. As mentioned before, the author employs a writing style which engages the readers in a casual tone, as if the author is giving a speech or simply voicing his opinion during a daily conversation. To mimic a speech, he has not only employed a huge number of additive conjunctive elements but also some continuative conjunctive elements, such as: well, so, yes, no, of course, after all, etc.:

Example 26 (P16, CA4)

ST: (S47) **Well**, a sustained period in opposition will give the party a chance to reinvent itself.

TT: (S47) 由执政党移位成反对党，无疑给了它一个改过自新的机会。

BT: (S47) A change from the ruling party into the opposition, undoubtedly gives it a chance to renew itself.

Example 27 (P10, CA5)

ST: (S34) **Well**, I have news for them: we didn't 'betray' them – they betrayed us (fully 49% of the voters opted for the opposition).

TT: (S34) 我想告诉他们的是：我们并没有背叛他们，是他们背叛了我们（49%的选民把票投给了反对党），

BT: (S34) I want to tell them this: we did not betray them, it's them who betrayed us (49% of the voters voted for the opposition),

Example 28 (P5, CA3)

ST: (S13) **Now**, all of these concerns are perfectly valid, but a deeper analysis of the historical and ideological roots of the three parties reveals that they have much more in common than we give them credit for.

TT: (S13) 这所有的问题都完全合理的，可是若深入分析各成员党的历史背景及理念，将发现他们之间拥有的共同点超乎我们的想象。

BT: (S34) All of these concerns are perfectly reasonable, but if one analyse the historical background and ideology of each party, one will realize that

there exists much more common ground between them than we have expected.

In written Chinese, there is no corresponding item which carries the feature of continuative CEs like “well” shown in example 26 and example 27 and “now” in example 28. According to Cambridge Online Dictionary (2014), “well” is used to introduce something you are going to say, often to show surprise, doubt, slight disagreement, or anger, or to continue a story. These continuative elements are one of the six continuative conjunctions listed by Halliday & Hasan (2008, p. 238) under the continuative relation category. The nearest equivalence may be 唔 (read as mm), which is an onomatopoeia which imitates the sound one makes during a short pause before saying the next thing. Such translation may help to achieve the effect of casual conversation in Chinese too, but it is not the norm in Chinese to use it in a formal or semi-formal context.

This continuative conjunctive element is removable in the source text itself without much effect except maybe the atmosphere of casual conversation which the author tries to create. Omissions in the target texts are inevitable. These omissions contribute to lower quantity of continuative conjunctive elements found in the target texts.

Some continuative CEs are omitted for reason unknown when they can actually be translated, for example:

Example 29 (P5, CA3)

ST: (S11) **Certainly**, the difficulties of DAP, PKR and PAS over the formation of the Perak Government and the ongoing Karpal Singh vs ‘Everyone Else’ spat over the Islamic state suggests that the Pakatan is by no means out of the woods.

TT: (S11) 霹靂州政府的難產以及卡巴星對回教國的爭論，都证明了民聯絕不可能走出困局。

BT: (S11) The failure of Perak’s Government and Karpal Singh’s argument over the Islamic state has all proven that Pakatan will never be out of the woods.

Example 30 (P12, CA7)

ST: (S28) **Frankly**, the organisers of the forum may have been unwise in using the provocative title ‘On Conversion to Islam’ when the real subject of discussion was legal conflicts arising from the conversion.

TT: (S28) 主辦當局取了個如此煽動性的題材，確實不當，雖然它實質上要討論的是改教後衍生出來的法律衝突。

BT: (S28) The host uses such a provocative topic, it is indeed inappropriate, even though what it really wanted to discuss were legal conflicts arising from religious conversion.

In example 29 and 30, “certainly” and “frankly” are stance adverbials which are grouped under continuative relations. These stance adverbials are personal remarks from the author about the issue or the topic at hand, they construe the attitude and image of

the author in the reader's mind. In this study, many such continuative CEs are found to be missing in the target texts. The implications of such omission are further discussed under Section 4.2.

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4.2 Implications of Shifts in Conjunctive Elements

Research Question 2: What are the implications of the conjunctive shifts found in the translations?

Section 4.2 is divided into 5 subsections. The implications of shifts in conjunctive elements are discussed one by one in each subsection, supported by examples from the relevant relation categories. A summary is made at the end of every subsection.

4.2.1 Alterations of Message Intensity

I have found that some shifts of conjunctive elements alter the intensity of the author's messages, usually making them more intense. Example 31 is taken from the temporal relation category, where the message in the translation is intensified:

Example 31 (P11, CA6)

ST: (S31) The very fact that such a debate could happen, **I repeat**, renders such technicalities moot.

TT: (S31) 我必须重复, 单单辩论会得以进行这个事实, 就已经使到这些技术问题无关痛痒了。

BT: (S31) **I must repeat**, the fact that the debate could happen per se has already rendered these technicalities moot.

In example 31, "I repeat" links S31 to a statement previously mentioned in the same article, this makes "I repeat" an internal conjunctive element. The addition of the adverb 必须 (must) in the translation unnecessarily intensify the internal conjunctive element, which in turns intensifies the strength of the message.

Example 32 below is taken from the additive relation category. It shows a common phenomenon of explicitation where the translator reads too much into the source text, which results in a more explicit and emotional translation.

Example 32 (P1, CA1)

ST: (S1) With state governments tumbling and a drastically reduced parliamentary majority, the people of Malaysia have made themselves heard loud and clear.

TT: (S1) 马来西亚人民终于勇敢表达自己的心声，令国阵政府狠狠地摔了一跤，不止痛失多个国会议席，也失去了几个州属的执政权。

BT: (S8) The people of Malaysian finally express themselves bravely, causing the BN to badly fall, **not only** painfully lost many parliamentary seats, (they) **also** lost the ruling power in several states.

Apart from using strong and emotional words like 痛失 (painfully lost) and 狠狠地摔了一跤 (to badly fall), the extra additive conjunctive element 不止...也 (not only...also) increases the intensity of the whole sentence in describing the current state of Malaysia. If we read the source text carefully, we would realize that the author was merely describing 3 factual events without assuming the political party's emotions. The addition of 不止...也 is a result of over-interpretation which happens during the process of translation.

Example 33 below is an instance where the causal conjunctive element in the target text could intensify the message:

Example 33 (P11, CA5)

ST: (S37) Once again, I have to disagree with them on this point: Umno's poor showing on March 8 was due to its refusal to acknowledge and address core issues of justice, fairness and equality – (...)

TT: (S37) 我完全不赞同他们的说法，巫统之所以在308大选表现差强人意，**全因**他们不愿意承认和解决这些和正义、公正及平等有关的核心问题。

BT: (S37) I completely disagree with them, the reason Umno performs poorly in the election on March 8 was **entirely because** they were unwilling to acknowledge and solve core issues related to justice, fairness and equality.

It is very difficult to translate the entire prepositional structure in the source text which contains “due to” into a prepositional phrase in Chinese, thus it is acceptable to translate the preposition into structures with conjunctions like 因此 (because of that) or 因为 (because). However, the translator translated the sentence using 全因 (entirely because), which is much more intense because of the modifier 全 (completely/entirely). Such translation means that the author puts all the blame of Umno's failure to its refusal to acknowledge and deal with the core issues; I believe the author did not intend to rule out every other reasons.

Example 34 and 35 below are examples taken from the continuative relation category which demonstrate alterations in the intensity of the message:

Example 34 (P4, CA3)

ST: (S9) **Of course**, the obstacles dividing the three component parties are formidable,

TT: (S9) (a) **当然**, 存在于三党之间的分歧, 确是难以克服的障碍。

BT: (S9) **Of course**, the existing disagreements between the three parties are indeed some difficult obstacles to overcome.

Example 35 (P13, CA3)

ST: (S34) **Of course**, over the past decades there has been an on-going vilification of socialism and other leftist ideas, often (...) such as communism.

TT: (S34) 过去数十年来对社会主义和其他左派思想的诋毁一直屡见不鲜, 常 (...) 譬如说共产主义。

BT: (S34) The vilification of socialism and other leftist ideas is not uncommon over the past decades, often (...) such as communism.

Taken from the same article, example 34 and 35 have shown a translator's choice to translate or not translate the continuative conjunctive element "of course". "Of course" shows what the author writes is a well-known fact or a piece of information which is not surprising to know (Cambridge Dictionary Online, 2014). This is similar to qualifying openers like "everyone knows" and "It is an accepted fact that" which function to qualify the information stated after the opener. In this case, the author is qualified to insert an assertion without the burden of proof.

In the data, there are several omissions similar to the omission of “of course” in example 35. Such shifts do not only intensify or dilute the author’s message, they also take away the author’s effort to create a resonance when the readers read his words. In turn, it weakens the power of persuasion of the translation.

Example 36 is another example where shifts in continuative CE can lead to a change in the intensity of the message:

Example 36 (P16, CA8)

ST: (S47) **To my enormous surprise**, Najib made a point of apologising for the destruction of the temples.

TT: (S47) 出乎我意料之外，纳吉为拆庙事件作出道歉。

BT: (S47) **Out of my expectation**, Najib apologized for the destruction of the temple.

In example 36, the author could have said “to my surprise”, but he added “enormous” to express a greater degree of the surprise he felt. The phrasal CE 出乎我意料 (out of my expectation) in the TT carries similar meaning to “to my surprise”, but such translation misses the point of the word “enormous”. In turn, the intensity of the message is lessened. To make up for the word “enormous”, I would suggest to translate “to my enormous surprise” as 令我深感意外的是 (What **greatly** surprises me is that) or 远远超出我的意料 (**Way beyond** my expectation).

4.2.1.1 Summary

In this section, the way shifts in conjunctive elements can impact translations by altering the intensity of the message are supported by examples taken from temporal, additive,

causal and continuative relation categories. Some have caused the translations to be more intense, others have made the translations to be less intense.

Altering the intensity of the messages may seem innocuous at a glance, but too much of intensification may mislead the readers to believe that the author, Karim Raslan, is an emotional and fervour critic of the Umno when, in fact, he is actually very rational and objective in his column articles.

As shown in the examples taken from continuative relation category, shifts in conjunctive elements do not only alter the intensity of the message, they can also weaken the author's power of persuasion.

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4.2.2 Shifts of Focus

I have mentioned in section 4.2.1 that the quantity of temporal conjunctive elements is technically increased due to movements of temporal adverbs to the initial position of a sentence (see example 7-9). Apart from technically increasing the quantity of CEs found in the TTs, such movements also result in a focus shift of the texts. By moving a temporal conjunctive adverb to the initial position of a sentence, the conjunctive function of the adverb is emphasized and the logical relation of time is brought into focus in the TTs. In fact, the author's focus of the texts may be on other elements like the topic at hand or the person involved in the event. Similarly, the focus on temporal relation is shifted when the translators move a temporal conjunctive adverb from the initial position to the middle position of a sentence.

Such shift of focus caused by the movements of adverbs also happens to CEs from other relation categories, example 37 is taken from the additive relation category:

Example 37 (P35, CA9)

ST: (S94) There is also a sense of political loyalty and discipline.

TT: (S94) 而且, 他们对政治忠诚、有纪律。

BT: (S94) **Also**, they are loyal and disciplined in regard of politic.

In example 37, the author could have initiate the sentence in the ST by moving the adverb “also” to the front, but he did not. In the TT, the translator has chosen to translate “also” as additive CE 而且 (moreover) when he could have translated it as 也 (also) which is a perfectly corresponding adverb to “also” in Chinese.

Similar movements are found in continuative relation categories too, for example:

Example 38 (P15, CA4)

ST: (S46) **Surely**, the new team cannot do any worse than their predecessors.

TT: (S46) 他们的成绩肯定不会比之前的州政府逊色。

BT: (S46) Their result surely will not be worse than the previous state government.

Example 39 (P6, CA1)

ST: (S15) Firstly, **it is obvious that** the ruling coalition has underestimated the impact of young voters.

TT: (S15) 第一，执政党显然低估了年轻选民的力量。

BT: (S15) Firstly, the ruling party obviously underestimated the power of young voters.

Example 40 (P5, CA3)

ST: (S12) **There is no doubt that** the ‘Islamic state’ issue will remain the core ideological challenge facing the Pakatan.

TT: (S12) 回教国课题无疑是民联面临的最大挑战。

BT: (S12) The ‘Islamic state’ issue is undoubtedly the biggest challenge facing the Pakatan.

In example 38, the conjunctive adverb “surely” in the ST is placed in the initial position of the sentence, making it a stance adverbial which is categorized under continuative

relation category in this study. The translator could have followed the original structure of the ST and placed the stance adverbials in the initial position, but he chose not to. This change in position is not motivated by grammatical constraint in the Chinese language norm. Similar movements occur in example 39 and 40 as well. The phrasal conjunctive element “it is obvious that” in example 39 functions like “obviously”, while the “there is no doubt that” in example 40 functions like “undoubtedly”. Both the phrasal continuative CEs are moved from the initial position to the middle position of each sentences. As I have explained in the literature review (section 2.4), stance adverbials and opening qualifiers carry personal remark from the author. Such changes of position remove the author’s effort to bring his opinion into focus by pre-posing the stance adverbials.

Apart from changes of positions, focus shift also occurs when conjunctive elements are added or translated differently. Example 41 below shows the way shifts of conjunctive elements affect the focus of the text although the translation is not necessarily wrong (wrong translations is discussed in section 4.4):

Example 41 (P8, CA1)

ST: (S22) Their decades-old marginalisation and more recent attacks such as temple demolitions have united them against the establishment.

TT: (S22) 由于长期被边缘化，加上近期兴都庙被拆除事件，已引起印裔社群强烈不满，**继而**联合起来反抗政府。

BT: (S22) Due to (them) being marginalised perennially plus the recent event of Hindu temple demolition have already caused the Indian community’s strong dissatisfaction, **thereby** (they) unite against the government.

In Chinese, 继而 (then) is a temporal conjunctive element which indicates progression of events. It is not to be confused with 因而 (therefore) which indicates causal relation. In example 41, the author presents the reasons Indians unite against the government, the focus was apparently not on the timeline, the focus is on the cause and effect. However, the TT shows a temporal progression of event, especially marked by the CE 继而 (then): perennial marginalisation → recent attack (temple demolition) → Indians' resentments → Indians unite against the government.

Example 42 below demonstrates a focus shift where the focus on causal relation is shifted to temporal relation when the causal conjunctive element is translated differently:

Example 42 (P7, CA4)

ST: (S18) Nonetheless, in one dramatic move and taking a leaf out of Hernando de Soto's poverty-alleviating agenda, they announced a plan to issue permanent land titles to the residents of Perak's many Emergency-era new villages, **thereby** reinforcing the new administration's pro-*rakyat*'s focus.

TT: (S18) 他们参考赫南多 (Hernando de Soto) 的扶贫措施作出一个重大改变——宣布发出永久地契给戒严时期的新村村民, **进而**提升了新政府的亲民形象。

BT: (S18) They made an important change by referring to Hernando de Soto's poverty-alleviating measures – to announce issuance of permanent land titles to the villagers from the Emergency-era new villages, **and** this enhanced the people first image of the new government.

In example 42, “thereby” in the source text is translated into 进而 (and/then), a temporal conjunctive element which essentially signals progression of events. The translation is not wrong because the enhancement of the new government's image is the result which

comes **after** the poor-alleviating measures. However, the focus of the text on the causal relation is shifted to temporal relation. The translator could have translated “thereby” into another perfectly corresponding causal CE 因而/因此 (thereby).

Example 43 below demonstrates another shift of focus due to shifts in conjunctive elements:

Example 43 (P6, CA4)

ST: (S13) All eyes, **therefore** will be on new PAS Menteri Besar engineer Mohamad Nizar Jamaluddin and the two DAP strongmen/lawyers in the exco, Ngeh Koo Ham (reputedly the first ever datuk in the DAP) and Nga Kor Ming, also the head of the party’s Youth wing (Dapsy).

TT: (S13) 如今焦点全落在来自回教党的新任州务大臣尼查，以及行政议会的两位行动党强人倪可汉（据说是首位获封拿督的行动党人）和社青团团长倪可敏的身上。

BT: (S13) **Now**, all eyes are on the new Menteri Besar Nizar and the two DAP strongmen in the exco, Ngeh Koo Ham (reputedly the first datuk in the DAP) and Nga Kor Ming, the head of the party’s youth wing.

In example 43, causal CE **therefore** in the ST is substituted by a temporal CE 如今 (today/now). This is considered an optional shift because “therefore” has a perfectly corresponding translation: 因此 (therefore). It is not an erroneous translation because both CEs point to the latest situation where it depends on the three PKR leaders to lead the future of Perak after the failure of past governance. Yet, the main message of the source text is that the past failure has now put a heavier burden of proof on PKR, it is the reason why “all eyes will be on the new PKR”. Inserting temporal CE 如今 instead

of “therefore” does not only shift the focus of the text, it also dilutes the meaning potential of causal relation.

4.2.2.1 Summary

In section 4.3.2, I have presented how shifts in CEs can divert the focus of the texts. Such focus shift occurs when the position of a conjunctive adverb is moved from the middle of a sentence to the initial position of a sentence, and vice versa. Pre-posing conjunctive adverbs to the front highlights their alternate function as conjunctive elements. Besides, the movement also brings the logical relation indicated by the conjunctive elements into focus. Likewise, as shown by examples taken from continuative relation categories, moving stance adverbials and opening qualifiers from the initial position of a sentence to the middle position of a sentence will negate the author’s effort to bring his personal remarks and opinions into focus.

Apart from movements of positions, adding conjunctive elements or translating conjunctive elements differently can also lead to focus shifts. Focus shifting, to an extent, can dilute the meaning potential of a text, as shown in the last example in this section.

4.2.3 Alterations of Tone and Manner

In this study, shifts of conjunctive elements are found to alter tone and manner of the text. Such alteration usually occurs when CEs like 若 (if) is added in the target texts:

Example 44 (P14, CA7)

ST: (S31) Finally, you do not learn about these issues by refusing to discuss them.

TT: (S31) 若拒绝一切讨论，则永远无法认识这些存在的问题，

BT: (S31) **If** you reject every discussion, **then** you can never understand these existing issues,

Example 45 (P8, CA8)

ST: (S20) It would not have been out of place in Damansara Heights in Kuala Lumpur.

TT: (S20) 这样的屋子若位于吉隆坡的白沙罗高原，是绝对不会显得格格不入的。

BT: (S20) Such house if located at Damansara Height in Kuala Lumpur, it would never appear to be out of place.

Example 46 (P21, CA8)

ST: (S67) A failure to do so would be fatal both to him and Umno.

TT: (S67) 若他失败的话，则对巫统和他本身而言都是致命的一击。

BT: (S67) **If** he fails, **then** it would be fatal to him and Umno.

Example 44 to 46 demonstrate 3 instances where implicit causal relation is made explicit by adding causal conjunctive elements 若 (if) or 若...则 (if...then). If causal conjunctive elements like 因...而 (due to...therefore) signal reason-result relations, then 若...则 (if...then) in example 44 to 46 marks conditional relations. Both reason-result relation and conditional relation fall under causal relation category. Like the translators, the author could have employed conditional conjunctive elements if he wanted to, but he chose to construct his sentences in a more direct way (he might wish to empower his assertions or make them more persuasive). In most cases I have encountered in my data, the extra causal conjunctive elements 若...则 (if...then) in the target texts can actually be removed without affecting the meaning potential. This will keep the causal relations implicit (as Chinese language employs less conjunction).

Apart from explicitly expressing the causal relation of the texts, CEs like 若...则 (if...then), 如果 (if), 假若/假设 (assuming that) highlight the fact that the certain events in the statements may or may not happen, the statements are but suggestions or opinions. This, in turn, render the TTs to have more refrained or reserved tone and manner compared to the STs which is more assertive.

The same could be said for example 38 below, an example taken from the continuative relation category:

Example 47 (P11, CA3)

ST: (S29) **Certainly**, it is often forgotten that prominent Malay ‘alternative’ leaders such as Dr Burhanuddin Helmy once played a major role in PAS.

TT: (S29) 大家经常忘了特立独行的杰出马来领袖如布哈奴丁希尔米曾在回教党担任要职。

BT: (S29) People often forget that Malay political mavericks like Burhanuddin Helmy once played a major role in PAS.

The continuative CE “certainly” in example 38 is an assertive remark from the author to show that he is certain of what he is going to say. As Fowler and Jane (2007) put it, apart from qualifying the statement, continuative conjunctive elements like opening qualifiers can affect the author’s tone in the text delivery. Removing “certainly” does not affect the meaning of the text, but it does affect the assertive tone and confident manner the author portrays in this sentence.

Shifts of conjunctive elements can also change a positive tone into a negative one.

Example 48 is a good example:

Example 48 (P10, CA1)

ST: (S27) **One must also admit that** many pundits have missed the discontent in the Malays seats.

TT: (S27) 而且，不能否认的是，权威人士也忽略了马来族群的抱怨，因而丢了不少马来议席，

BT: (S27) Furthermore, **the undeniable thing is that** the pundits had also neglected the discontent of the Malay race, therefore losing many Malay seats.

The phrasal continuative CE “one must also admit that” in the source text carries a positive tone. When one must admit something, one is actively acknowledging something or actively conceding something as true; when one cannot deny something, one is passively or forcibly admitting something because of the undeniable facts. Here in example 48, “one must also admit that” can actually be translated as 我们也必须承认 (we must also admit that) following the ST’s tone. 不能否认的是 (the undeniable thing is that) is an acceptable translation as the meaning is basically the same, but such translation alters the author’s positive tone into a rather negative tone in the TT.

4.2.3.1 Summary

In section 4.3.3, I have demonstrated the way shifts in CEs alter the tone and manner of the texts. When assertive statements with no causal CE to express conditional relation are translated into statements with causal CEs like 若 (if), 若…则 (if... then) or 如果 (if), the assertive tone of the texts is weakened. The translations would sound more

cautious and reserved as the causal CEs explicitly signal the reader to take the statements as suggestions or opinions.

Instances where tone and manner of texts are altered can also be found in continuative relation category. Similar to shifts in causal CEs, shifts in continuative CEs can make the translation to sound less assertive. Apart from that, the tone of the texts could be altered from positive to negative when conjunctive elements are translated differently.

As a conclusion, tone and manner of the texts can indeed be affected by shifts in conjunctive elements.

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4.2.4 Affecting the Way Target Readers Perceive the Author

In the literature review (section 2.4), I have established that continuative conjunctive elements like stance adverbials and opening qualifiers carry subtle information about an author's attitude, opinions and beliefs. Shifts of these personal remarks can affect the way the target readers perceive the author. For example:

Example 49 (P14, CA3)

ST: (S38) **Interestingly**, the BN, with its more moneyed, property-owning, aristocratic and traditionalist ethos, will (...) both of which are enormously successful political organisations.

TT: (S38) **有趣的是**，一向富有、资产丰盛、贵族气派浓厚和秉持传统主义观念的国阵，也许 (...)，两者都是非常成功的政党。

BT: (S38) **The interesting thing is**, the BN which has been wealthy, resourceful, rich with aristocratism and traditionalist ethos, may (...), both of them are very successful political parties.

Example 50 (P12, CA7)

ST: (S28) **Frankly**, the organisers of the forum may have been unwise in using the provocative title ‘On Conversion to Islam’ when the real subject of discussion was legal conflicts arising from the conversion.

TT: (S28) 主办方取了个如此煽动性的题材，确实不当，虽然它实质上要讨论的是改教后衍生出来的法律冲突。

BT: (S28) The host uses such a provocative topic, it is indeed inappropriate, even though what it really wanted to discuss were legal conflicts arising from religious conversion.

In example 49 and 50, “interestingly” and “frankly” are stance adverbials which are categorized as continuative conjunctive elements. These stance adverbials do not arise from the sentences as result of movement or displacement. In fact, they modify the entire sentence.

In example 49, “interestingly” is translated into the phrasal CE 有趣的是 (the interesting thing is that). Such CE is the writer’s personal attitude or feeling towards the fact that the BN may be able to transform into a political party like The British Conservative or The American Republican. In example 50, “frankly” is used as an the writer’s personal acknowledgement to the reader that what he was going to say next would be honest and might offend anyone whom it may concern. Yet, “frankly” is removed during the translation although it can be easily translated as 坦白说 (to say it frankly) or 恕我直言 (in my honest opinion).

In column articles like these, the opinions, attitudes and beliefs of the author are what the readers would want to perceive through the texts apart from logical arguments. To

remove stance adverbials like the ones demonstrated in example 41 is to remove powerful overt markers which carry subtle information. Similarly, and dangerously, translators are at risk of speaking on behalf of the author when they decided to add or change stance adverbials (see example 55 and example 62). It is therefore recommended to deal with these stance adverbials as carefully as possible.

Shifts which lead to alterations of personal remarks can be found in some translations of continuative CEs. For example:

Example 51 (P2, CA2)

ST: (S3) Let me explain: **it is clear by now** that the opposition's recent electoral victories were fuelled by the alternative media, which (...).

TT: (S3) 让我解释一下：**目前看来**，反对党之所以在大选中奏凯，主要是非主流媒体帮上一把。这些非主流媒体 (...).

BT: (S3) Let me briefly explain: **for now it seems** that the opposition win in the election mainly due to a push from the alternative media. These alternative media (...).

In example 51, both continuative CEs in the ST and the TT are able to signal the readers that the author is making a conclusive statement, but there is a crucial difference between them. In the ST, "it is clear by now" simply tells the reader that based on the information available up till the moment the author wrote S3, people (or the author himself) should be able to come to a **conclusion** that alternative media has fuelled the victory of the opposition. Meanwhile, **目前看来** (for now it seems) in the TT signals the target readers that S3 is an inference (a likely conclusion), the word **目前** (for now) especially implies that the inference might be proven true or false in the future. The shift of continuative CE in example 51 actually leads to various consequences – it alters a

conclusion into an inference, changes the intensity of the message, and changes the author's tone and manner to become more reserved.

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4.2.4.1 Summary

In section 4.3.4, I have presented the way shifts in continuative conjunctive elements can lead to changes, removal or addition of personal remarks. These personal remarks can be the author's reactions, feelings or attitude. As demonstrated through examples, removing stance adverbials equals to removing the author's personal remarks on the issue at hand. Careless translation (or mistranslation) can lead to consequences like a misleading presentation of the author; it can even change a conclusion into an inference.

It is therefore recommended that continuative conjunctive elements like stance adverbials and opening qualifiers should be translated with care.

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4.2.5 Repetitious and Intrusive Translations

English language employs more conjunctive elements to establish logical relations in a text compared to Chinese. If every English conjunctive element in a text is to be rendered faithfully into Chinese, the target text would most probably contain a lot of superfluous CEs. The two examples below are taken from the causal relation category where none were employed in the ST:

Example 52 (P7, CA1)

ST: (S20) By talking down to them and treating them with gross disrespect, the BN is simply reaping the bitter harvest of excluding the youth from the political process through draconian laws like the Universities and University Colleges Act 1971.

TT: (S20) 国阵总是用居高临下的态度对待这些年轻人，甚至通过专横的1971年大专法令将他们排除在民主政治外，因此获得这样的选绩不外乎是自食其果。

BT: (S20) The BN has always treated these youths with a condescending attitude, (it) even excluded them from democracy through the draconian Universities and University Colleges Act 1971, **therefore** obtaining such result is none other than reaping what it has sown.

Example 53 (P9, CA1)

ST: (S25) Their disgruntlement over the NEP, the creeping pace of Islamisation and their utter alienation from the national life have proven to be the downfall of Gerakan and the MCA.

TT: (S25) 新经济政策、回教化和被孤立化的现象，让他们极度不满，
因而促成了民政和马华的垮台。

BT: (S25) The NEP, islamisation and the phenomena of alienation have left them extremely dissatisfied, **therefore** leading to Gerakan and the MCA's downfall.

In example 52, the causal relation of the TT is clearly expressed through the underlined clause, especially in the idiom 自食其果 (reap as one has sown). The extra causal CE 因此 (therefore) is unnecessary. In example 53, causal relation in the ST is expressed by the phrase “has proven to be”, indicating whatever mentioned before the phrase is the cause of the outcome mentioned afterwards. The phrase can be replaced with other verb phrases like “led to, brought about”. The translator translated “has proven to be” as 促成 (lead to, bring about, causes), yet he also made the causal relation explicit by adding an extra causal CE 因而 (therefore), which is deemed unnecessary because 促成 expresses the causal relation well enough.

Example 54 is another example demonstrating how simple sentences are made overly complex in the TT due to overuse of CE:

Example 54 (P13, CA4)

ST: (S39-41) They are dealing with a state that's over 95% Malay. Perak is a very mixed environment. We can't approach governance in the same way." Despite his reassurances, the fragility of the links between PAS and DAP is clear for all to see.

TT: (S39-41) 他们管治的那个州，超过95%是马来人；**反观**霹雳则是一个多元种族混合的州属，**所以**我们无法用相同的管理方式。**尽管**他一再保证，**但**大家都清楚知道回教党和行动党之间的联系其实并不大。

BT: (S39-41) The state which they govern have more than 95% of Malay; **In contrast** Perak is a multi-racial state, **therefore** we cannot govern it using the same method. **Even though** he reassures repeatedly, **but** everyone knows clearly that the link between PAS and DAP are actually weak.

Example 54 a very good example of how simple sentences from the ST are translated into sentences with superfluous CEs due to explicitation. In the ST, not a single CE is used to indicate the logical relations between sentences. Even though overly marking the relations is possible, the author chose not to do so. On the other hand, the logical relations of the TT were explicitated through the use of 3 CEs: **反观** (in contrast), **所以** (therefore), and **尽管...但** (even though...but).

Being able to establish logical relations also means that CEs have the ability to instruct the readers on the way texts should be comprehended. the author is simply quoting another person's statements using direct and simple sentences; the logical relations between the statements are easy to understand. The author allows his readers the

freedom to link the connection between sentences by using less CEs. Nevertheless, such freedom is restricted in the translation when the translator could have chosen to followed the structure of the ST. Too many CEs can be intrusive to the mind as they are always disrupting the readers, telling them how they should read the texts.

4.2.5.1 Summary

In section 4.3.5, I have shown the way explicitations lead to repetitious and intrusive translations due to the use of superfluous CEs in the target texts. Very often, translator chose to make logical relation explicit without realizing that the relations are already marked through other parts of speech such as verbs and idioms as shown in the examples. Texts with superfluous CEs can be tiring to read because of repetitions. I have also shown that too many explicitations through the use of CEs can be intrusive, making texts even more tiring to read.

4.3 Wrong Translations

As stated in section 4.0, wrong translations of conjunctive elements are not considered as shifts. However, wrong translations of conjunctive elements can lead to distortions of text meaning. Section 4.3 presents wrong translations of CEs which lead to various undesirable results, or wrong translations which also affect the translation of CEs as well.

Example 55 below demonstrates a wrong translation of continuative CE, where an opening qualifier is distorted because of one extra word:

Example 55 (P18, CA1)

ST: (S47) **Call it what you will**, the BN and Umno must reform themselves.

TT: (S47) **随你怎么说我**, 但国阵和巫统却必须进行改革。

BT: (S47) **Say what you like about me**, but the BN and Umno must however reform.

In example 55, “call it what you will” is a stance adverbial which portrays the author’s attitude on the subject at hand. It basically means the reformation within the BN and Umno must be carried out regardless what people may say. However, the translator has translated it as 随你怎么说我 (say what you like about me/call me what you like), such translation renders the text to sound a little defensive and arrogant – in fact, the author is not trying to defend himself, at all. Therefore, the translator has changed the author’s attitude in S47.

I would suggest to drop the pronoun 我 (me) and translate the phrasal CE as 随你怎么说 (say what you like).

When the concept of stance adverbial is not fully understood, the translation mistake below occurs:

Example 56 (P13, CA5)

ST: (S40) As he says, **refreshingly**: “We need to realise that we do have a track record and culture of service. We needn’t be afraid of openness.”

TT: (S40) 他精神抖擞地说: “我们必须了解我们有服务人民的文化, 而且不应该害怕开放。”

BT: (S40) He energetically/refreshingly said, “we must understand that we have a culture of service, and we should not be afraid of openness.”

The bolded continuative conjunctive element “refreshingly” in example 56 is the writer’s personal remark about his feeling after hearing what Shabery (the ‘he’ in the example) said, it is definitely not how Shabery said his words. The translator overlooked the difference between an adverb and a true stance adverbial, where a stance adverbial actually modifies the entire sentence. As a result, erroneous translations like the underlined phrase 精神抖擞地说 (energetically/refreshingly said) are made, the author’s personal remark is nowhere to be seen.

Example 57 demonstrates a wrong translation of the preposition “without” into 而非 (but not):

Example 57 (P6, CA3)

ST: (S16) As the ‘Malayan’ half of the PAP after the 1965 Separation, the DAP inherited the socialist rhetoric without Lee Kuan Yew’s mean-spirited *realpolitik*.

TT: (S16) 作为1965年马新分家后新加坡人民行动党（PAP）在马来亚的分部，它承继了社会主义的精髓，而非李光耀狭窄的使用政治。

BT: (S16) As the branch of the PAP in Malaya after the 1965 Separation, it inherited the essence of socialism, **but not** Lee Kuan Yew's myopic *realpolitik*.

In example 57, 而 (but) is a conjunctive element while 非 (not) is a negating adverb. The meaning is slightly changed after translation: “without” in the ST signifies the absence of Lee Kuan Yew's *realpolitik* in the inherited socialism, 非 (not) in the TT suggest that socialism and *realpolitik* are two distinctively different ideas. I would suggest to translate “without” as 少了 (without/not having):

Suggestion: 作为1965年马新分家后新加坡人民行动党（PAP）在马来亚的分部，它承继了社会主义的精髓，少了李光耀狭窄的使用政治。

BT: As the branch of the PAP in Malaya after the 1965 Separation, it inherited the essence of socialism, **without/not having** Lee Kuan Yew's myopic *realpolitik*.

Example 58 demonstrates a wrong translation of additive CE “and” into a causal CE 由此可见 (hence one can see that):

Example 58 (P1, CA3)

ST: (S2) While I have to agree that the Pakatan's increasing proximity to the apex of power – namely Putrajaya – has made it more united, I would also argue that there are some powerful ideological forces at work in the three component parties, **and** that these political philosophies do mesh.

TT: (S2) 我必须承认，民联由于攀上权力的巅峰（亦即布城）而变得更加团结，不过也有可能是因为一股庞大的意识形态潜移默化在这三个党内起了作用，**由此可见**他们的政治理念是一致的。

BT: (S2) I must admit, the Pakatan because of climbing to the apex of power (which is Putrajaya) therefore became more united, but it also may be because a huge ideology is subtly taking effect in these three parties, **hence one can see that** their political ideal is unanimous.

The author is suggesting that there are different ideological forces at work and the different ideologies do not conflict each other – this is the main thesis of the whole article which the author is supporting with evidences later; yet, the translator mistranslated the underlined phrase as 一股庞大的意识形态 (one huge ideology) and ended with the conclusion that it is because of this one huge ideology their political ideal is unanimous. The translator misunderstood the ST, which in turn cause him to mistranslate the underlined phrase. As a result, the bolded CE “and” is mistranslated into 由此可见 (hence one can see that).

Example 59 below demonstrates a wrong translation where the addition of a causal CE 因为 (because) in the TT totally reverse the original meaning of the text:

Example 59 (P3, CA8)

ST: (S7) As I will explain later, in the case of Najib, his continuing refusal to endorse and promote the civil liberties reform agenda is actually undermining his own career.

TT: (S7) 正如我待会解释的那样，纳吉一直不愿促成民主权益的改革议程，**因为**这在很大程度上将削弱它本身的的政治事业。

BT: (S7) Just as I will explain later, Najib has been reluctant to promote the civil liberties reform agenda, **because** this will undermine his own political career to a great extent.

The author meant to say that Najib's reluctant to endorse the reform agenda will undermine Najib's own career. Due to the addition of 因为 (because), the TT actually means that Najib is reluctant to endorse the reform agenda **because** the endorsement will greatly undermine his political career. The translation would have been correct if the translator did not add the causal CE. If any CE is to be used here, 其实 (actually) would be a good one.

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Example 60 demonstrates a mistranslation of an adverb:

Example 60 (P4, CA9)

ST: (S9) In an ideal world, the dualism (however shaky) gives us, as ‘political’ consumers an element of choice

TT: (S7) 在理想世界里，二元论（但不太牢固）提供身为“政治”消费者的我们选择的余地。

BT: (S7) In the ideal world, dualism (**but** not that firm) provides us the “political” consumers the room to choose.

Example 60 demonstrates an instance where shifts of CEs within the same logical relation category is considered inappropriate. In example 60, the underline phrase however shaky carries the meaning of “even though it is shaky” or “despite the fact that it is shaky”. In my opinion, the translation of however into 但 (but) does not hit the mark, because the adversative CE 但 lacks the ability to express “despite the fact that”. It should be translated into other adversative CEs like 虽然 (although), 尽管 (even though), 纵然 (even though).

Example 61 demonstrates another mistranslation involving adversative CE:

Example 61 (P11, CA9)

ST: (S29) As a consequence, I would argue that inherent misunderstandings and tensions across the racial and religious divide have not miraculously evaporated in the face of an Anwar Ibrahim-inspired political love-in.

TT: (S29) 结果，我会主张说，不同种族和宗教之间固有的意见分歧和紧张情绪**纵使**受到安华政治集会的影响，**但**却也没有出乎意料地消失。

BT: (S29) Consequently, I would advocate that, the inherent disagreements and tensions across the races and religions **even though** influenced by Anwar's political gatherings, **but** they did not unexpectedly disappear.

As indicated by the internal temporal CE “as a consequence”, S29 in example 61 is the author's conclusive argument after presenting several substantiations before S29 (please read from paragraph 10 to paragraph 11). It is the author's claim that Malaysia is by no means beyond racial tensions, and that the people's unity was precipitated by a nationwide resentment towards the then prime minister Abdullah Badawi. The author is actually trying to dissociate the people's unity from Anwar's political efforts. Therefore, S29 is a conclusion that has to be handled carefully.

Unfortunately, the addition of the correlative adversative CE 纵使...但 (even though...but) has distorted the meaning of message. Due to the added CE, the TT in example 61 basically means that racial tensions, despite being affected by Anwar's political gatherings, still exist as expected by the author or Malaysians. Such translation implies that Anwar's political movements had played role in eradicating racial tensions. This is actually contrary to the author's effort to dissociate Anwar's influence with the seemingly dissipating racial dissents.

Example 62 demonstrate another mistranslation which is risky:

Example 62 (P24, CA9)

ST: (S65) **It is also arguable that** the same men and women have spent too much time and money to even conceive of dismantling a system they have spent their entire adult lives negotiating and in some cases, mastering.

TT: (S65) 这些男男女女花了许多时间和金钱，甚至以为他们能废除一个用尽大半辈子协商，抑或驾驭的制度，**此言不假**。

BT: (S65) These men and women have spent a lot of time and money, they even thought that they can dismantle a system which they negotiated, or mastered with half their lifetime, **this is true**.

Through the phrasal stance adverbial “it is also arguable that”, the author has made his stance clear that the statements in S65 might be true but it is to remain as an arguable opinion of his. The phrasal CE is not translated, if it is, it is wrongly translated as 此言不假 (this is true) at the end of S65 in the TT. The author’s opinion should not be altered into a claim as shown in S65. In such texts, it is advisable for translators to stay as faithful as possible to the author.

Example 63 below shows another wrong translation of adverb into continuative CE:

Example 63 (P34, CA9)

ST: (S91) PAS and DAP, for example, have shown – especially in Perak and Selangor – an ability to work together whereas PKR’s intuitional fragility has led to considerable problems.

TT: (S91) 举个例子，回教党与行动党显示出——尤其霹雳与雪兰莪——合作的能耐，然而，**以直觉来看**，公正党的脆弱已造成相当大的问题。

BT: (S91) For example, PAS and DAP have shown – especially in Perak and Selangor – the ability to work together, however, **based on intuition**, PKR’s fragility has led to considerable problems.

In example 63, the underlined adverb intuitional is wrongly translated as a stance adverbial 以直觉来看 (based on intuition). The word intuitional in the ST might be best interpreted as inherent or innate, which should be translated as 固有 (inherent).

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.0 Introduction

After extensive analysis and discussions in Chapter 4, some insights were gained to answer the two research questions:

5.1 The Case of Explication/Implication

1. *How are conjunctive elements in Karim Raslan's English column articles translated into Chinese?*

As shown in Table 4.1 in section 4.1, the total number of conjunctive elements found in the target texts are fewer in number compared to the source text (5 conjunctive elements less). Based on the quantity of conjunctive elements found in both STs and TTs, the frequency distribution table shows a mixture of explicitations and implications. Other than that, it is found that the levels of explicitness in the TTs have increased in some articles (CA1, CA2, CA3 and CA9), while the others have reduced levels of explicitness. It is possibly due to the fact that different translators translated the articles at different times. It might also ensue from *Sin Chew Daily's* editorial practices.

Based on quantity alone, the adversative and causal logical relations are almost always explicitated (more CEs used in the target texts), frequency distribution of CEs in temporal relation category shows a mixed result, while CEs in additive and continuative relation category are always implicated (less CEs were used in the target texts). I have identified several common factors which may be the reasons for the quantitative difference between the source texts and the target texts.

When the adversative and causal logical relations are explicited by adding CEs, it seems to be a result of the translators' effort to understand the ST. They then present the result of their interpretation to the target reader, highlighting the causalities or contrasting ideas. Apart from that, due to the lack of a corresponding lexical item, the preposition "despite" is commonly translated into adversative CEs with similar meaning.

Even though the total frequency distribution of additive CEs shows that fewer CEs are employed across the 9 TTs, quite a lot of additive CEs are still found to be unnecessarily added, especially the CE 而 (and).

The CEs in the temporal relation category are actually well translated with the exception of some movements of a temporal adverb in the middle of a sentence to the initial position of a sentence. Such a movement technically contributes to the higher quantity of temporal CEs found in the TT.

As for implicitations, I have found that the author, Karim Raslan, writes with a very colloquial flair, utilizing the additive CE "and" and continuative CEs like "well", "now" to give his articles a conversational flow. Many of these CEs are not literally translated into Chinese since Chinese texts do not rely on these devices to imitate conversational speech. The lack of these conjunctive elements in the TTs is the main reason the TTs have fewer additive and continuative CEs compared to the STs.

One way to mimic the author's conversational style in his writings is to use more interjections and exclamations such as 啊、嗯、唔、噢 (ah, um, uh, oh) when appropriate. 句末语气助词 (utterance particle in the final position of a sentence) such as 啦、呢、吧、啊、哦 (la, neh, ba, ah, oh) can also be used more frequently whenever the author writes in a casual tone. Of course, this may be rejected depending

on the publisher's conventions which ultimately decide whether or not such tones of informality or colloquialism are acceptable.

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5.2 The Implications of Shifts

2. *What are the implications of the conjunctive shifts found in the translations?*

Apart from making logical relations explicit or implicit, this study reveals that shifts of conjunctive elements may:

- alter the intensity of the messages
- shift the focus of the message
- alter the tone and manner
- affect the way target readers perceive the author
- lead to repetitious and intrusive translations

A single change in CE can lead to misleading representations of the author due to various implications as shown in this study, not to mention changes in abundance. Understanding the ways conjunctive elements work can effectively minimize the risk of inaccurately shifting or mistranslating the conjunctive elements.

5.3 Impacts of Wrong Translations

In my study, I have found that wrong translations of conjunctive elements can actually lead to undesirable results. Since conjunctive elements function to establish logical relations, a wrong translation will lead to a change in logical relation. These changes of logical relation can completely distort the original message and misrepresent the author in the translation.

Explicitating logical relations using conjunctive elements is one of the translation strategies which translators often utilize to deal with a difficult text. However, this study

reveals that argumentative texts, such as column articles in this study, should be translated as faithfully as possible. It is better to keep the logical relations implicit rather than misinterpreting them. Some of the added on or wrongly translated CEs in this study give rise to translations with completely opposite meanings to that in the source text.

Last but not least, mistranslating stance adverbials and opening qualifiers can give rise to the risk of affecting the author's stand by altering his personal remarks. As shown in example 53, mistranslations can also change the author's opinion into a claim, or vice versa.

5.4 Concluding Remarks and Future Directions for Research

This study reveals the way conjunctive elements are translated in English-Chinese translations of column articles in Malaysia, and the effects of shifts in conjunctive elements. On the whole, this study has provided authentic quantitative data and qualitative evidence to further investigate topics regarding explicitations or implicitations. Besides, examples analyzed have shown that the translation of continuative CEs like stance adverbials and opening qualifiers must be handled prudently, if not perfectly.

In addition, researchers in the past reveal that Chinese texts contain less conjunctions, but such a view may have to be challenged nowadays. Grammaticalization is a term coined by A. Meillet (as cited in Chen, 2005, p. 2), which is a phenomenon where a language experiences language shift, resulting in increasing number of grammatical constituents (like conjunctions). It is possible that modern Chinese users favour employing more conjunctions to establish logical relations compared to the Chinese language users in 1980s and 1990s. Future researchers may want to challenge the traditional view of the way conjunctions are used in Chinese.

For future research, data should comprise texts written by different authors instead of drawing from only one source. Other than that, efforts should be made to investigate the other four cohesive devices outlined by Halliday and Hasan (2001). The way cohesion devices are handled and their impacts on the target texts can be very helpful to translation practitioners.

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University of Malaya

APPENDIX A

ENGLISH SOURCE TEXTS (CA1 TO CA9)

NOTE: Superscript words at the front of each paragraph (^{P1}, ^{P2}, ^{P3}, ...) are my paragraph markings.

WHEN VOTERS SHOW WHO'S THE REAL BOSS (CA1)

The Star, March 12, 2008

Today Singapore, March 10, 2008

Sin Chew Daily, March 11, 2008

Koran Tempo, March 15, 2008

Asia Views, March-April 2008

^{P1}With state governments tumbling and a drastically reduced parliamentary majority, the people of Malaysia have made themselves heard loud and clear. As a writer, I must humbly admit that I misread the mood of the country when I stated that Malaysia's 12th general election would probably not be 'an epochal contest'. Indeed, the very opposite is true.

^{P2}We are entering a new political paradigm. It will be tough and there will be many new lessons to be learnt on all sides of the political debate. But the central lesson is clear – the people are in charge.

^{P3}Suffice to say, people of all races – Malay, Chinese and Indian – have voted in record numbers to show their disappointment, turnout has delivered defeats to BN giants like S. Samy Vellu, Shahrizat Abdul Jalil, Zainuddin Maidin, M. Kayveas and Dr. Koh Tsu Koon.

^{P4}The opposition has quadrupled its numbers in Parliament and the states of Penang and even more incredibly, Selangor, Kedah and Perak have fallen to it. For all its trumpeting of a 'Blue Wave', the BN has also failed again to recapture Kelantan. It now remains to be seen if the newly empowered opposition can live up to the promise that it has shown in the lead-up to these polls.

^{P5}All three parties have had bad histories of squandering commanding gains through in-fighting and inertia. Their success in their new sates, surely barometers to their viability as political alternative, rests on the ability of those two polar opposites, the DAP and PAS, to work together. Meanwhile, what could have possibly caused this swing against the BN?

^{P6}Firstly, it is obvious that the ruling coalition has underestimated the impact of young voters. Close to a million new voters took part in this election. Their passion and conscientiousness in discharging their duties as citizens have put previous generations of voters to shame.

^{P7}The BN has simply failed to win them over. To put it simply, the young Malaysians who voted last Saturday are a different proposition from their parents and grandparents. By talking down to them and treating them with gross disrespect, the BN is simply reaping the bitter harvest of excluding the youth from the political process through draconian laws like the Universities and University Colleges Act 1971.

^{P8}Secondly, the Malaysian Indians have risen to become political kingmakers. Their decades-old marginalisation and more recent attacks such as temple demolitions have untied them against the establishment. They have punished their leadership in the Government, the MIC in particular that has been ineffectual in voicing the community's concerns.

^{P9}Their Chinese counterparts, too, have registered their frustrations over the arrogance and incompetence of some sections of the BN. Their disgruntlement over the NEP, the creeping pace of Islamisation and their utter alienation from the national life has proven to be the downfall of Gerakan and the MCA. Both communities have shown what the absence of their support can do to the BN. One must also admit that many pundits have missed the discontent in the Malay seats. Umno's dominance is over. The party that delivered Merdeka has to acknowledge its diminished position, strategise and recoup.

^{P10}Anger over the rising cost of living, as well as anxieties over the leadership of Abdullah Ahmad Badawi are most telling in the way many urban Malay seats were lost. If anything at all, 2008 is a clear sign that Umno has forgotten the lessons of 1999: that it cannot assume the Malays will fall in line because it champions their supposed *ketuanan*.

^{P11}Also, the BN seriously underestimated the continuing appeal of Anwar Ibrahim. Despite a media blackout, he remains a potent and effective opponent. Anwar is a key factor, and will remain so for many years to come, dominating the public discourse.

^{P12}What then, for the BN?

^{P13}There will definitely be upheavals in the leadership of Gerakan, the MIC, PPP and possibly even Umno. The crux then is whether the coalition can learn the lessons from this election.

^{P14}And what is that lesson?

^{P15}It is clear that the party strategists must go back to the drawing board. The same old ethnic scare-mongering and promises of allocations and government contracts can no longer work. There needs to be recognition that it is no longer enough for the Government to merely focus on economics. We are facing higher expectations from all sections of the population.

^{P16}Socio-political rights and a sense of fairness are becoming increasingly important to ordinary Malaysians. This goes back to the 'social contract' and Malaysia's need to revive the spirit of mutual co-operation, trust and exchange.

^{P17}Umno leaders must also ask themselves the question: to what extent did their own posturing contribute to the weakness of the component parties? As the dominant member of the coalition, its role in the losses cannot go unabsolved. Call it what you will, the BN and Umno must reform themselves.

^{P18}The people have spoken.

WHITHER THE MAINSTREAM MEDIA? (CA2)

The Edge, April 14, 2008

^{P1}After years of lambasting the alternative media, the Barisan Nasional (BN) has finally acknowledged the extent to which they underestimated the influence of blogs and the Internet on the March 8 general election. Whilst their realization is refreshing, there is another far more pressing media-related issue that needs to be addressed and immediately, namely, the future of the mainstream media – dubbed ‘the MSM’.

^{P2}Let me explain: it is clear by now that the opposition’s recent electoral victories were fuelled by the alternative media, which raised key issues and promoted relatively unknown PKR, PAS and DAP candidates. The BN by contrast, relied on well-established national dailies and TV stations – most of which were closely connected to the component parties themselves.

^{P3}Now, we all know who did better, which begs the question: if the alternative media was instrumental in the opposition’s victories, could the same thing be said for the MSM and BN’s catastrophic losses? To what extent did the slavish and one-sided coverage by the MSM contribute to the results – reinforcing the perception of government arrogance and high-handedness?

^{P4}Let’s look at one event in particular. On March 4, four days before the polling, the MSM zoomed in on opposition leader Anwar Ibrahim, quoting extensively from comments made by academic and social activist DR Chandra Muzaffar (also a former deputy president of the PKR) at an election forum at which I was also a speaker.

^{P5}The undue focus on Chandra’s views – including a statement that it would be an ‘unmitigated disaster’ if Anwar were to become Prime Minister – was splashed across the MSM. Whatever the merits of Chandra’s views, the coverage the next day was very one-sided. There appeared to be little attempt to give the former Deputy Prime Minister the chance to respond.

^{P6}What makes the sequence of events all the more surreal is that the official line on Anwar hitherto had been that he was a spent force and ‘no longer relevant’. Ironically, the surprise coverage only served to underline that Anwar was indeed an important factor in the political alignment. Moreover, people came away with a strong sense of the unfairness of the BN’s near-total control of the media as well as an underlying vein of paranoia.

^{P7}The incident reveals a central challenge faced by editors, producers and writers of all MSM. Basically, in an attempt to ‘air-brushing’ the negative, thereby alienating and infuriating the public which, in turn, undermines the BN’s position because very few people actually believe what they read or see in the MSM.

^{P8}By comparison, the bloggers and Internet webmasters, unlike the MSM editors, are not beholden to anyone. Men such as Raja Petra Kamarudin and Steven Gan answer to themselves and their consciences. They report as they wish and it is this freedom and openness that has attracted hundreds of thousands of readers – people skeptical of the MSM’s news reports and in search of other, more honest sources of information and analysis.

^{P9}Most are simply frustrated at being treated like fools. Indeed, the censorship of alternative voices have left Malaysians frustrated and irritated. They feel their views are not being presented or voiced. They are – effectively – the ones being silenced.

^{P10}The loser therefore, ironically enough, is the BN. Insulated from criticism by draconian press laws and a quasi-feudal culture of subservience, the BN has lost its sense of perspective: instead, they end up believing their own propaganda.

^{P11}Ministers are divorced from what is happening ‘on the street’, ignoring price hikes and public anxiety about rising crime. They have no inkling about issues that should occupy their immediate attention. Government leaders are robbed of the genuine, useful feedback and are instead, like the public, spoon-fed with the same old platitudes and half-truths.

^{P12}The Malaysian opposition has very shrewdly seized on public discontent to provide a viable and generally trustworthy alternative. Rather than sue or condemn bloggers, they co-opted them into their struggle, sending their icons like Jeff Ooi or Nik Nazmi Nik Ahmad to the legislatures.

^{P13}It should be clear by now that the political control of the media is paradoxical and self-defeating. The BN has to free the MSM from their bondage and allow the journalists and editors to report what they have long known but cannot say – all the more so since the public will be looking for objective, unbiased reporting and analysis of the opposition’s record in the states they now hold.

^{P14}The ‘spin’ that has characterized the Malaysian media for the past decades must end. In short, nothing works like the unvarnished truth. The political shackles must come off and editors must be free to report the failings and weaknesses of the BN as well as its strengths. Only then will people start believing the MSM again.

^{P15}The age of media ‘control’ is over. The age of media management is upon us.

IS THERE AN ‘-ISM’ UNITING THE PAKATAN RAKYAT? (CA3)

The Star, April 29, 2008

Sin Chew Daily, May 4, 2008

^{P1}Malay people feel that the Pakatan Rakyat is nothing more than a cynical ‘marriage of convenience’, an alliance fuelled by a lust for power and money that will crumble within a couple of weeks. While I have to agree that the Pakatan’s increasing proximity to the apex of power – namely Putrajaya – has made it more united, I would also argue that there are some powerful ideological forces at work in the three component parties, and that these political philosophies do mesh.

^{P2}If I am right (but let’s face it, I have been very wrong in the past!) the Barisan Nasional (BN) must respond to the Pakatan in a ideological and philosophical manner as well as politically. Essentially, the BN has to figure out where it stands and what it stands for. Mere ‘politicking’ – scare-mongering, cancelling and or delaying federal development projects and threatening racial strife – is old hat.

^{P3}Such primordial, Mahathir-era strategies will not work going forward. Indeed, bullyboy tactics will only allow the Pakatan to stress its victimization – thereby aligning

its treatment at the hands of a mean-spirited, ungenerous BN with the *rakyat*'s sense of marginalization. This combination could prove fatal for the BN's chances of going forward.

^{P4}Of course, the obstacles dividing the three component parties are formidable, and we are right to be skeptical, but only up to a point. In the past, the Gagasan Rakyat and Barisan Alternatif withered under former Prime Minister Dr Mahathir Mohamad's scorn and the sheer brute force of the BN-directed administration.

^{P5}Certainly, the difficulties of DAP, PKR and PAS over the formation of the Perak Government and the ongoing Karpal Singh vs 'Everyone Else' spat over the Islamic state suggests that the Pakatan is by no means out of the woods. There is no doubt that the 'Islamic state' issue will remain the core ideological challenge facing the Pakatan. Now, all of these concerns are perfectly valid, but a deeper analysis of the historical and ideological roots of the three parties reveals that they have much more in common than we give them credit for.

^{P6}Let me begin with the DAP. We are all familiar with the DAP's social democrat origins. As the 'Malayan' half of the PAP after the 1965 Separation, the DAP inherited the socialist rhetoric without Lee Kuan Yew's mean-spirited *realpolitik*. Moreover, the DAP has been a long-term member of the Socialist International, the world wide grouping of socialist political parties that include both the British and Australian Labour parties.

^{P7}PKR's socialist roots are even easier to identify. The party came about after a merger between Keadilan and Parti Rakyat Malaysia (PRM) in 2002. The PRM itself was a successor of the old Malay leftist parties, such as the Kesatuan Melayu Muda (KMM) and Socialist Front of the Merdeka era – the late much-loved writer/academic Rustam Sani being an important link in the chain.

^{P8}The presence of the old PRM leadership within the PKR (such as Deputy President Syed Husin Ali) shows that the latter has more capacity for 'socialist' thought than we are willing to acknowledge. It is worth mentioning at this point that the obsessive focus on Umno in our mainstream media has sidelined a newly emerging force, namely, the Malay 'left'.

^{P9}If one wants to understand this world, it is worth reading work by writers such as the late Rustam and the historian Farish Noor, and watching Fahmi Reza's groundbreaking documentary. At the same time, we should not forget Anwar Ibrahim and his friends and allies from ABIM, the Malaysian Muslim Youth Movement (including Kamaruddin Jaffar who has since become a prominent PAS leader). They have had a deep and abiding commitment to social justice and equity, albeit with an Islamist tinge; witness their protests back in 1974 over the poverty and hunger of Baling's rice farmers.

^{P10}While the PKR's socialist roots are relatively well documented, PAS' connection with these political ideas is less well-known. The party is often mischaracterized - incorrectly – as a purely Islamicist political force. However, a deeper examination of the party's roots will reveal that pre-Abdul Hadi Awang, PAS had strong leftist inclinations.

^{P11}Certainly, it is often forgotten that prominent Malay 'alternative' leaders such as Dr Burhanuddin Helmy once played a major role in PAS. Today's PAS is dominated by the *ulama* and they are generally wary of all –isms with the exception of Islam-ism.

Figures such as Dr Haron Din have done their utmost to eradicate Burhanuddin and his successor Asri Muda's contributions to the party.

^{P12}Nonetheless, the younger generation of PAS leaders – technocrats like Husam Musa, Mohamad Nizar Jamaluddin and Nasharudin Mat Isa – are clearly more attuned with left-of-centre issues. They have been careful to identify with the oppressed and the marginalized – the many Malays left behind by the Umno juggernaut – formulating their party's manifesto around populist issues that resonate on the ground.

^{P13}Of course, over the past decades there has been an on-going vilification of socialism and other leftist ideas, often in the name of 'defending' Muslims against the concept of atheism inherent in more extreme political ideologies such as communism. Still, socialism, populism or social justice – call it what you will – is a vital unifying theme for the Pakatan. Moreover, this kind of rhetoric cuts across racial lines, since the dispossessed are themselves ethnically heterogeneous.

^{P14}As this becomes the core ideology around which the Pakatan coalesces, I hope that we will, in future, be able to talk about a 'Social Democratic' Pakatan which will in turn force the BN to respond by finding its own political 'centre'. Interestingly, the BN, with its more moneyed, property-owning, aristocratic and traditionalist ethos, will evolve hopefully into a Malaysian version of the British Conservative party or indeed the American republican party – both of which are enormously successful political organisations.

^{P15}I know this all sounds slightly far-fetched, but the prospect of a genuine two-party system divided by some kind of ideological difference is a very exciting prospect, and after 50 years of Merdeka, the people deserve to have choices. Ideologies aside though, the final lesson is that both coalitions will need to gradually make their way to the centre if either is to capture enough of the 'middle ground' to rule effectively.

PAS AND DAP AS FRIENDS? (CA4)

The Star, May 6, 2008

Sin Chew Daily, May 11, 2008

Dewan Masyarakat, August 2008

^{P1}Perak was once a proud and prosperous state whose tin mines and rubber plantations made it Peninsula Malaysia's commercial engine. Its people were so wealthy (some would say profligate) that a thankful Mercedes-Benz car dealer fixed a large five-pointed logo on a limestone hill above the main road into Ipoh to show his undying appreciation.

^{P2}But those days have passed, and Malaysia's Silver State has become little more than a place between Kuala Lumpur and Penang, somewhere you drive through with your foot firmly on the accelerator. Perak is in a state of near terminal decline as towns shrink in size, young people leave in search of jobs and the population continues to age.

^{P3}One cannot help but feel that decades of lacklustre, if well-intentioned, Barisan Nasional (BN) leadership have failed the state. In KL we joke about our *Ipoh-mari* friends without understanding the socio-economic and human impact of this diaspora.

The state has never quite overcome the failure to diversify its natural resource dependent economy.

^{P4}On the political front, the weakness of the state's Umno leaders has meant that they've never been able to compete against the strong Johor and Pahang axis within the party, which has in turn led to a relative neglect of Perak's economic interests. As one local businessman explained: "Umno reigned in Perak, it never really governed. There was just too much petty politicking: economic issues were neglected."

^{P5}Given all these problems, it is perhaps unsurprising that the state didn't fall any earlier to the opposition. Indeed, the state's non-BN, opposition tradition is proud and deep, with solid PAS vote-banks in Parit Buntar and DAP enclaves in the Kinta Valley building on the anti-establishment sentiment fostered by the charismatic Seenivasagam brothers in the 50s and 60s.

^{P6}Many have looked to the new Pakatan Rakyat government to revive Perak's fortunes, but the challenges are formidable. The alliance is fragile, having a slim two-seat majority in the State Assembly, not to mention a supremely confident and vigilant palace. All eyes, therefore will be on new PAS Mentri Besar engineer Mohamad Nizar Jamaluddin and the two DAP strongmen/lawyers in the Exco, Ngeh Koo Ham (reputedly the first ever Datuk in the DAP) and Nga Kor Ming, also the head of the party's Youth wing (Dapsy).

^{P7}The men have started with a bang, shaking up the state's moribund administration. Of course, too bold an agenda can have its detractors. Nonetheless, in one dramatic move and taking a leaf out of Hernando de Soto's poverty-alleviating agenda, they announced a plan to issue permanent land titles to the residents of Perak's many Emergency-era new villages, thereby reinforcing the new administration's *pro-rakyat* focus.

^{P8}I had the chance to speak to Nizar on Friday just hours after he had been summoned by the palace – presumably over treatment of the state's religious department director Jamry Sury. Despite the gathering storm, Nizar remained cool if forceful, being careful to steer the discussion away from contentious issues like the "Islamic State" debate to more manageable, common ground.

^{P9}Still Nizar's diplomatic manner belies his delicate political position. With only six state assemblymen (DAP has 18) PAS is the smallest party in the ruling coalition. Nizar affirms the strength of the bonds he has with his DAP partners, saying: "We've been working with each other for the past 10 to 15 years. Now, we meet regularly both in formal state meetings as well as informally. Besides that, we SMS and talk on the phone a lot. I've also hosted badminton games at the residence and we all get a very good workout."

^{P10}When I met Ngeh later, he similarly reinforces the bonds. "We have no problems working together. We're focused on the *rakyat*. Ours is a government for all."

^{P11}This ability to cooperate in Perak has national ramifications. With two atypical leaders – a DAP Datuk with a keen business sense and a PAS engineer (the UK-educated Nizar is not an *ulama*) sensitive to non-Malay feelings – there is a distinct possibility of progress. Could this be a possible way forward, by-passing the tension PAS and DAP are experiencing at Federal level as Karpal Singh, Nik Aziz and Abdul Hadi Awang trade barbed comments?

^{P12}Both Nizar and Ngeh stress their shared professional ethos. Nizar adds: “I am an engineer, while they (Ngeh and Nga) are lawyers. Besides we’ve often worked in similar non-governmental organisations and spoken alongside one another at various forums.”

^{P13}When asked whether it would be correct to categorise him as a technocrat (along with Husam Musa and Nasaruddin Mat Isa), he pauses before answering: “I suppose so, but there is a difference. They are dealing with a state that’s over 95% Malay. Perak is a very mixed environment. We can’t approach governance in the same way.” Despite his reassurances, the fragility of the links between PAS and DAP is clear for all to see.

^{P14}The following months will see whether or not the Pakatan can maintain its unity in the face of controversies like the never-ending debate over the ‘Islamic State’. Pakatan leaders like Anwar Ibrahim will do their utmost to hold the coalition together at the national level, but what happens ‘on the ground’, especially in places like Perak, may well end up being more important, as the reality of the two quite separate socio-political visions comes crashing together.

^{P15}On the other hand, Perak needs a shock to the system in terms of administration, and someone with Ngeh’s level of energy is bound to produce results. His prior experience with the business world will serve the state administration well as they seek, in his words, to “enrich, empower and liberate Perakeans”. Surely, the new team can’t do worse than their predecessors.

^{P16}And Umno? Well a sustained period in opposition will give the party a chance to reinvent itself. It needs to focus on the *rakyat* instead of itself. This will free up the talent that does exist at the state level with men like Datuk Dr Zambry Kadir.

^{P17}Let’s hope that in doing so it’ll present the voters with a genuine alternative and Perak with a real chance for the future.

FOCUS ON REFORM AGENDA (CA5)

The Star, July 8, 2008

Sinar Harian, July 8, 2008

The Straits Times Singapore, July 10, 2008

Sin Chew Daily, July 13, 2008

^{P1}MOST Malaysians have been appalled by the succession of press conferences, statutory declarations, accusations and counter-accusations hogging our headlines for the past two weeks. The mudslinging has made our country the laughing stock of Asia. However, we can’t just turn our backs on what’s happened because there are important lessons to be learnt from the experience.

^{P2}First and foremost, is the need to proceed with the stalled reform agenda. Back in 2004, Datuk Seri Abdullah Ahmad Badawi promised us change. He failed to deliver and suffered the consequences on March 8, after which he reiterated the same promises.

^{P3}Now, more than ever (amidst the debris of the two scandals), the entire nation can see the extent to which our institutions – the police, the judiciary and the prosecution service in particular – have been weakened and politicised. We cannot wait

for the Umno leadership battle to be resolved and the Prime Minister cannot disappoint us again. Malaysians will not be so forgiving of either him or his party. He must act and push the conservatives within the Cabinet – Syed Hamid, Najib Razak and Nazri Aziz – to move forward.

^{P4}Secondly, the government’s credibility needs to be safeguarded. As Shabery Cheek, one of the more open-minded men in the Cabinet says: “Credibility is something you build up. But once it’s lost it’s very difficult to regain.” Given current pathetic levels of trust, the Malaysian government has a lot of work to do.

^{P5}Thirdly, Umno needs to be brought to heel and disciplined. Many of the current problems faced by the nation are due to Umno’s overwhelming influence within the administration and the inability to control prominent party members, especially the all-powerful division chiefs.

^{P6}There are a web of relationships linking the party, the civil service, business and the security apparatus. This network needs to be opened up and subjected to more transparency. The backroom deals have to be exposed to the light of day and full media scrutiny.

^{P7}For decades, Umno has presented itself as the saviour of the Malays and the arbiter of the national consensus. In the past, the party’s leaders – men such as Tun Dr Ismail and Tun Razak – were wise and pragmatic, balancing out the conflicting demands of our multiracial society as they delivered economic growth and prosperity. However, the party has long since become middle-aged and lazy. The wheeler-dealer businessman in his black SUV has usurped the *cikgu* ethos of the past. Now, as the Malay proverb says *pagar makan padi* – the fence devours the rice – the guardian has turned on its charges.

^{P8}Umno leaders, warlords and their financial backers must learn they are responsible and accountable to the Constitution and the institutions of state. If they break the law they will suffer the consequences. This is where the reform agenda – the calls for a more open, fair and law-abiding Malaysia are important. We need Abdullah Badawi to remain focused on this agenda.

^{P9}Get it right and the reform agenda will be his legacy for the future. Get it wrong and nothing else will save him. As I said, we need to return the Constitution and the institutions of the nation (especially the police, the courts and the prosecution service) to their true position – namely, above the party, halting decades of deterioration.

^{P10}However, as I said, many in the party don’t consider this to be a priority. For them it’s something secondary – the kind of issue beloved of ‘Bangsar liberals’, spoilt middle class journalists and noisy lawyers – people like me and you – people who Umno leaders felt ‘betrayed’ them on March 8. Well, I have news for them: we didn’t ‘betray’ them – they betrayed us (fully 49% of the voters opted for the opposition). Interestingly they also betrayed the original culture and traditions of Umno’s founders.

^{P11}Certainly, whenever I discuss these issues with Umno types they’ll reply – “Karim, the voters in my *kawasan* don’t care about these things”. Once again, I have to disagree with them on this point: Umno’s poor showing on March 8 was due to its refusal to acknowledge and address core issues of justice, fairness and equality – issues that we experience across the country when ‘enterprising’ and ‘clever’ Umno leaders suddenly acquire large houses, countless expensive cars and go on lavish foreign holidays.

^{P12}Still, there are those in Cabinet like Zaid Ibrahim and Shahrir Samad who do recognise these weaknesses and have been trying to convince their colleagues that restoring trust in institutions is a top priority. Shabery, for one, has been partly responsible for ‘freeing’ up the media.

^{P13}As he says, refreshingly: “We need to realise that we do have a track record and culture of service. We needn’t be afraid of openness.” Such courage – he’s also been willing to debate Anwar Ibrahim head-to-head – has earned Shabery the grudging respect of media practitioners.

^{P14}Indeed, the ugly face-off between Anwar Ibrahim and Najib Razak is directly attributable to the current imbalance of authority – on the one hand, a severely compromised security and legal apparatus and on the other, a pumped-up executive beholden to no one but the party and its warlords. This has created an environment riddled with corruption, slovenliness, self-importance and racism.

^{P15}The credibility crisis is literally eating away at our national consensus. It is undermining our capacity to move forward at a critical juncture economically when leadership and focus is required to guide the nation through a period of unprecedented inflationary turbulence.

^{P16}The Malaysian people do not trust the security apparatus to act fairly and impartially. Moreover, this failure has emboldened opposition leader Anwar Ibrahim to play to the gallery. He knows that in the absence of a credible legal forum, the court of public becomes the ultimate arbiter of his innocence and/or guilt.

^{P17}The party of Merdeka has got to come to terms with modernity. Yes, Umno in its earlier incarnation helped bring Independence to Malaya; and yes, it did ensure the position of the Malays within the Federation.

^{P18}But the party of the 1950s and 60s is no more. Fifty years on, and Umno is symbolised by the late Zakaria Mat Deros’ extraordinary mansion in Port Klang. The party has lost all sense of propriety and service. The party is focused on serving its own needs. The mass of Malays and Malaysians have been forgotten.

THE PEOPLE WON THE FUEL DEBATE (CA6)

The Star, July 17, 2008

^{P1}Amidst the squalor and unsavouriness of recent political events and Anwar Ibrahim’s sudden arrest, the televised debate on the price of fuel by the PKR advisor and the Information Minister Ahmad Shabery Cheek stood out as a beacon of where we should be heading as a nation. As I watched the two men, (ably moderated by Johan Jaffar) debate, I felt an immense surge of pride for my country: finally, I thought we are beginning to reach a level of maturity where we can discuss and argue through issues of the day.

^{P2}For too long we have been told that we cannot manage the discourse; that Malaysians will flare up, be overly emotional and riot. Apparently, we are a little better than small children whilst our political class is of course, beyond reproach – believe that

and you will believe anything. Indeed, we want more openness – in our politics, our media and our government.

^{P3}And for those in Umno who shirk the engagement with their political counterparts – shame on you. Shabery has shown rare courage and intelligence under fire. That he – a junior minister – was left to tackle Anwar (an acknowledged political giant) alone, reflects the enduring spirit of Umno’s younger leaders and a great deal – mostly negative – about the party’s grandees for whom public-speaking is a one-way process: we, the people listen as they lecture us.

^{P4}The debate showed that both sides of the political divide could come together and discuss in an open, civil and rational manner. Frankly, this fact far outweighs whatever arguments the two men put forward on the oil price hike.

^{P5}I would like to think that Malaysia has reached another milestone. The clock cannot and should not be turned back on Press freedom – the next target must be the invidious Presses and Publications Act.

^{P6}Despite, or perhaps because of recent rumblings that ordinary Malaysians were ‘sick of politics’, both Anwar and Shabery chose to focus on the issue at hand and keep rhetoric to a minimum. The minister acquitted himself very well, and one dares say surprised many Malaysians who had grown used to Cabinet members embarrassing themselves on the public stage.

^{P7}Shabery was well-prepared and blessedly free of the elitist cadences that make listening to Malaysian grandees so dreary. He has definitely raised the bar for his Cabinet colleagues. We will now expect to see Prime Minister and his Deputy, not to mention the rest of the Cabinet, in similar encounters. The pressure of accountability and openness will be intense and continuous.

^{P8}It will not let up. But remember if you treat us – the media – with contempt, you are essentially broadcasting your contempt and disdain for the people who read our papers and internet sites and watch our TV news broadcasts.

^{P9}However, if our leaders refuse to brave the gauntlet of public opinion, the people’s scepticism and distrust will only increase. Of course, the debate wasn’t without its nasty undercurrents as both men traded barbed comments about one another. But this is politics and underhanded behaviour is to be expected. Still, the debate was extremely civil in the main.

^{P10}Anwar was at all times cool, calm and collected despite his looming legal troubles, and chose to focus on hard facts – or at least his version of the facts. The PKR advisor’s courage, however, in facing the public despite the allegations against him must be saluted. Should the latest sex scandal prove to be the ultimate undoing of Anwar and his Pakatan Rakyat coalition, the debate takes on an added aura – bathos even – for it may well be the swan-song of perhaps one of the most charismatic (and yet divisive) politicians ever to have graced the Malaysian stage.

^{P11}It is unproductive for us to speculate on which man was the ‘winner’ of the debate. The very fact that such a debate could happen, I repeat, renders such technicalities moot. But then again, perhaps the debate will go down in history as a fitting denouement for the end of our fractious politics and the birth of a new brand of public service.

^{P12}The ultimate winner of the night may well be Malaysia and her people.

THE 'SENSITIVE' MALAY (CA7)

The Star, August 12, 2008

Sinar Harian, August 12, 2008

Sin Chew Daily, August 17, 2008

^{P1}I find my community's hypersensitivity, especially over matters of faith and ethnicity, something very difficult to understand. Are we too ready to take offence where none may actually have been offered? Is intelligent, rational and thoughtful discussion on an admittedly sensitive subject necessarily an insult?

^{P2}Is there no place within our society for open discourse? Are difficult issues to remain locked away forever, even if the lives of ordinary Malaysians are negatively impacted?

^{P3}In the past, this sensitivity was linked to Malay fears about being outnumbered and sidelined in our homeland. Any negative reference to our religion, our race and our rulers was considered an insult because of the fragility of our hold on power.

^{P4}However, over the past 50 years, at least as far as I see it, Malay-Muslims have cemented their hold on power. There are now three majority Malay parties – Umno, PAS and PKR – representing a broad spectrum of the *bangsa's* views.

^{P5}Let's face it; Malays dominate the country's public life. By dint of our sheer numbers alone – over 55% of the population – our influence is now undoubted and growing. As a community, we will not and cannot be dislodged from power. Nothing, and no one, is going to take away all that we have achieved after 50 years of Merdeka.

^{P6}And yet, despite this cultural, socio-political, Constitutional and demographic pre-eminence – our majority status and our growing confidence – so many prominent Malays still feel imperilled by unfolding events, often responding by invoking the spectre of social unrest and the ISA.

^{P7}The core tenets of Malay culture – magnanimity, courtesy, decency and reason – appear to have been discarded. What has happened to the gentle face of the Malay people? The *berbudi-bahasa* we used to pride ourselves in?

^{P8}On Aug 9, according to Internet news website Malaysiakini, as the Bar Council convened its forum 'On Conversion to Islam' some 300 protesters gathered outside the headquarters demanding that the professional association stop proceedings. Succumbing to pressure, the Bar Council halted the forum soon after it commenced.

^{P9}According to news reports, there were protestors from the opposition – PKR and PAS – as well as from the pro-government side. An opposition politician who was present was reported to have said: "For us, this forum is merely (for) Islam bashing." Given that the forum also included many prominent and respected Muslim non-governmental organisations, lawyers and academics such as Prof Dr Mehrun Siraj, Zainah Anwar and Latheffa Koya, the idea that they should be engaged in a bout of Islam bashing seems faintly ludicrous.

^{P10}Moreover, having known Bar Council president Ambiga Sreenevasan for well over 20 years, it is extremely unlikely that she would deliberately seek to besmirch

Islam. As she says herself, a little chastened by the event (the petrol bombs thrown at Shahrizat Abdul Jalil's residence were in fact intended for Ambiga who had previously lived in the same house): "We only wanted to talk about the problems between the Syariah and the civil jurisdictions.

^{P11}"We wanted to address the issues for non-converting parties, the husbands and wives as well as the children of those who convert. These are real situations and we can't just ignore the problems that they are facing. Moreover, as lawyers we are tasked to help resolve these complex issues."

^{P12}Frankly, the organisers of the forum may have been unwise in using the provocative title 'On Conversion to Islam' when the real subject of discussion was legal conflicts arising from the conversion.

^{P13}Still, the subject matter is very serious and demands greater attention and there are substantial legal implications for those who are married and have children. Given the seriousness and the impact on non-converting family members, there is clearly a need for all Malaysians (and especially non-Muslims) to recognise and comprehend the potential consequences of conversion.

^{P14}Finally, you don't learn about these issues by refusing to discuss them. They just become more impenetrable and impossible to resolve for real people. This is not the way to 'explain' Islam to non-Muslim Malaysians. It does not make sense for us to bemoan their lack of 'understanding' in the faith when Muslims here seem adamant that any discussion of it whatsoever is forbidden. Such hard-headedness makes a mockery of the moderation and open-mindedness of Prime Minister Abdullah Ahmad Badawi's Islam *Hadhari* approach.

^{P15}We should not forget the Islamic precepts to defend and protect the rights of minorities.

^{P16}Nonetheless, fear and anxiety, paranoia and insecurity lie at the heart of mainstream Malay politics. Leaders rise by fanning fear of the 'other' and Malaysians have become de-sensitised to such politics.

^{P17}The presence of senior members from PKR and PAS as protestors at the forum shows that Umno is not alone in using these tactics. Bitter pill as it is, March 8 was not a step into a world free from the restrictive bonds of race and/or religion.

^{P18}However, even though these insecurities continue to haunt Malay politics, we cannot ignore the controversial issues that lie at the core of Malaysian public life. We cannot pretend that race, religion and discrimination are beyond discussion when they constitute such a large source of public controversy.

^{P19}We must also face up to the fact that the 1957 Merdeka consensus is breaking down. We have to work towards a new consensus. This agreement needs to be hammered out, and soon.

^{P20}Moreover, we cannot achieve any sense of mutual agreement unless we are willing to talk – and openly – to one another about the issues that matter. The Malaysian public is more educated, aware and assertive than ever before. They aren't willing for their elites to make decisions on their behalf. Sweeping such issues under the carpet and intimidating people from discussing them just puts off the day of reckoning.

NAJIB: THE 'BANGSAWAN' CANDIDATE (CA8)

The Star, September 23, 2008

Sinar Harian, September 23, 2008

The Straits Times Singapore, September 23, 2008

^{P1}Najib Abdul Razak, like his cousin, Hishammuddin Hussein, are *bangsawan* (or aristocratic) politicians. To outsiders, it would appear that their rise through Umno has been charmed and unobstructed. In reality, they have been propelled by a combination of lineage, *noblesse oblige*, education, the personal wealth linked to their extensive and high-powered family networks (it is safe to say that they know or have connections to everyone of political or economic consequence nationally), glamour and the deft management of party politics.

^{P2}At their best, they can be the most racially inclusive of figures: cosmopolitan, urbane and well-educated. In this respect, they reflect the way modern Malay royals have themselves become ineluctably 'Malay-sian', with *Istana*s bestowing Dato-ships on the socially ambitious of all races.

^{P3}However, at their worst, the *bangsawan* candidates can be deeply conservative (not surprising given their elite associations), resistant to change, distant and overly cautious. As I will explain later, in the case of Najib, his continuing refusal to endorse and promote the civil liberties reform agenda is actually undermining his own career.

^{P4}Still, English-speaking Malaysians have always tended to feel a close affinity to these leaders. We project onto them the best qualities of their famous fathers, forgetting in turn that each of these leaders may have their own particular weaknesses.

^{P5}Because of this, we are also the angriest when we feel they have let us down (as Hishammuddin did with his *keris*-wielding antics). Our fury, as they well know, can be implacable but that is because we expect a great deal more of a Mohd Ali Rustam or a Mohd Khir Toyo.

^{P6}As Najib appears to be closing in on the premiership - the length of time and manner he has employed to get to this position is proof-positive of his stultifying caution - it is time to review the prospect of a *bangsawan* administration. Back in March, during the last few days of the campaign period, I interviewed the Deputy Prime Minister at his residence in Pekan.

^{P7}Having stayed over in Kuantan, I left the state capital early in the morning, driving across the flat and unremitting Pahang coastal plains. It is unpromising terrain: open land, dotted with swamps and *nipah* palms. At one point I had to swerve to avoid an ambling cow. As I approached Pekan, I passed the incongruously large, low-lying Isuzu car assembly plant on the left.

^{P8}The Razak family compound, with its grove of leafy and mature *tembusu* trees was on the edge of the town. The original house, the late Tun Razak's home had been renovated, repainted and air-conditioned. It would not have been out of place in Damansara Heights in Kuala Lumpur.

^{P9}To the right of the house there were some *portakabin* offices as well as a large semi-temporary structure with a concrete floor and a metal roof. It was open on four sides. Food - surprisingly good food - was laid out on the tables. This was industrial-

scale political infrastructure framed by the sluggish waters of the mighty Pahang River directly behind the house.

^{P10}Having spent some time last month in Penang on the by-election trail, it was interesting to note the differences between the two constituencies. Pekan, unlike Permatang Pauh, is almost exclusively Malay. There is no mixed race Seberang Jaya here: no Parkson, no Giant and no retro *kopitiams* - just a newly built Arked Mara and a fast-KFC with an erratic water supply.

^{P11}Rural and isolated, it is a royal town imbued with the Sultan's brooding presence. Moreover, in Pahang terms, Najib, with his hereditary title of Orang Kaya Inderapura, is very much 'of' the Istana. He was also Menteri Besar of Pahang from 1982-86. These ties reflect Umno's traditional linkages to the Royal Houses, bonds that are almost alien to Anwar Ibrahim with his more activist and populist ways.

^{P12}Historically, there have been two centres of authority in Malay society: the *masjid* and the *istana* - the first, spiritual and the second, temporal. Over the centuries there has always been a degree of tension between the two.

^{P13}Umno's links (from the days of the Malayan Union controversy after the Second World War) are with the palace. PAS has a tight grip on the *masjid*. Despite what Anwar may envisage, 2008 could, in fact presage a historic shift in power to the *masjid*.

^{P14}Still, there's no doubt that Najib is one of our smartest politicians. He's extremely well-read and possesses a rigorous mind. His unflappable disposition is well suited to the demands of governance. He presides over meetings effortlessly, can summarise discussions succinctly and understands the importance of prioritising issues. In technocratic terms, he and even Muhyiddin Yassin, his erstwhile competitor, far surpass Abdullah and even Anwar - whose flamboyant rhetoric is less suited to the tedium of Cabinet life.

^{P15}However, Najib's superiority *vis-à-vis* his peers are less a reflection of his own personal excellence than the sheer weakness of Umno's human resource development. Brilliant Malay men and women avoid political life like the plague.

^{P16}Time in Pekan was limited, so I was forced to interview him in his car on the way back to Kuantan Airport. I started - as any Malay liberal would - by talking about the Hindu Rights Action Force (Hindraf) and the devastating impact on Barisan Nasional's Indian support of the temple demolitions in Selangor.

^{P17}As it happened, I had switched on the television one evening only to catch the deputy Prime Minister addressing an exclusively Indian gathering. To my enormous surprise, Najib made a point of apologising for the destruction of the temples. I had never seen Najib, or any Umno leader, apologise and the image was to stay with me for a long time.

^{P18}As we talked, he explained further: "The level of consciousness for all communities has risen. The nature of Malaysian society is going to be more complex. We need to meet the rising expectations of Malaysian society - with globalisation and IT."

^{P19}Maybe it was just me, but I sensed in him a willingness to be more all-embracing and open.

^{P20}“As Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister you belong to all communities,” he said. “You have to care for them and listen to their needs and aspirations. At the same time we have our own constituents. We also need to maintain and deal with them. However, this isn’t a zero sum game.

^{P21}“We are dominant and we have responsibilities to other races. The other races look up to Umno.”

^{P22}However, as the conversation returned to Umno, his innate conservatism kicked in.

^{P23}But Najib’s much vaunted capabilities will amount to very little as long as he neglects the reform agenda.

^{P24}What Najib must come to terms with is the fact that the people of Malaysia, with the exception of Umno loyalists, look upon him with a jaundiced eye because they don’t trust the institutions of state.

^{P25}Were Najib to endorse and publicly push the reform agenda - cleaning up the courts, enhancing the professionalisation of the police force and freeing up the media - the doubts as to his probity and integrity would begin to fall away.

^{P26}Najib must promote greater transparency and accountability - especially now that he is in the Treasury. His confidence in the face of such scrutiny would be the best way to head off the critics and prepare his party for a more people-friendly future. Failing to do so would be fatal both to him and Umno.

^{P27}As we talked he explained further: “The level of consciousness for all communities has risen. The nature of Malaysian society is going to be much more complex. We need to meet the rising expectations of Malaysian society – with globalisation and IT.”

^{P28}Maybe it was just me, but I sensed in him a willingness to be more all-embracing and open: “As Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister you belong to all communities. You have to care for them and listen to their needs and aspirations. At the same time, we have our own constituents. We also need to maintain and deal with them. However, this isn’t a zero sum game. We are dominant and we have responsibilities to other races. The other races look up to Umno.” However, as the conversation returned to Umno, his innate conservatism kicked in.

^{P29}Najib’s much-vaunted capabilities will amount to very little as long as he neglects the reform agenda. As it stands, there are too many unanswered questions surrounding the Altantuya Shaariibuu murder case. What Najib must come to terms with is the fact that the people of Malaysia, with the sole exception of Umno loyalists, look upon him with a jaundiced eye because they do not trust the institutions of state.

^{P30}Were Najib to endorse and publicly push the reform agenda – cleaning up the courts, enhancing the professionalism of the Police Force and freeing up the media – the doubts as to his probity and integrity would begin to fall away. In this respect, Najib’s reputation is actually – and this is very ironic – more damaged by our weakened institutions than his arch enemy Anwar, whose position appears to strengthen every time he encounters the same institutions.

^{P31}Najib must promote greater transparency and accountability especially now that he is in the Treasury. His confidence in the face of such scrutiny would be the best way

to head off the critics and prepare his party for a more people-friendly future. A failure to do so would be fatal both to him and Umno.

EPILOGUE: BETWEEN HOPE AND FEAR (CA9)

Ceritalah 3:Malaysia, A Dream Deferred, p. 236-248, 2009

^{P1}This collection closes just as the Umno polls gather intensity and MCA's power struggles have reached a surprising conclusion. With Najib Abdul Raak having won uncontested the Presidency of the party his father once led, it would appear that history has come full circle. A Razak is set to be returned to the Premiership just as the Barisan Nasional (33 years ago the coalitions was know as the Alliance) endeavours to recoup lost electoral ground.

^{P2}However, before I proceed, I should say that I know to my cost how uncertain political punditry can be as business: the stakes are high and the chances of getting things correct are extremely limited at best. While failure is always remembered, success, sadly, is quickly forgotten.

^{P3}Still, for those who are in search of some kind of overarching structure with which to parse recent events, here goes.

^{P4}To my mind there are two core challenges in the months and years ahead – one for Barisan Nasional (BN) and another for Pakatan Rakyat. Of course, it goes without saying that we – the people of Malaysia – are the ultimate beneficiaries of the emerging two-party structure. In an ideal world, the dualism (however shaky) gives us, as 'political' consumers an element of choice. It also forces the two sides to raise their game and hopefully move more concertedly to the middle-ground of what constitutes the public debate.

^{P5}The BN (and Umno in particular) have to see if they can respond and adapt to the changing demands of the Malaysia's increasingly youthful voting public – and yes, that does mean greater transparency, accountability and an end to 'money politics'. Indeed, the most potent symbol of the 2008 polls was the Port Klang mansion of the late Selangor Assemblyman, Zakaria Md Deros. With its improbable lighthouse-like tower, the mansion became a beacon for all that we have come to detest in Umno.

^{P6}We have to ask if Umno and MCA strategists will be able to rebuild the unity within their respective parties, eradicate the debilitating flow of patronage, strengthen intra-BN ties and reposition the alliance all in time for the 2012 polls. Or will Umno, lacking the courage and the intellectual heft, take a leaf out of the Mahathir-ian play-book and use its incumbency and power to silence and sideline alternative voices, as it focuses single-mindedly on the supposedly, restorative powers of a 'Razak' administration? Will 2012 be crafted as a re-run of 1975 – the idea of a government of 'National Unity' screaming from every BN-controlled media outlet?

^{P7}At this juncture, it is interesting and ironic to note that for all the (official Malaysian) criticism directed at George W. Bush's handling of America's foreign policy, Umno's approach to alliance-building is not unlike the neo-con Republican with its 'coalition of the willing'. Power-sharing for the neo-cons was always anathema. For them, neither the querulous and gun-shy French nor the Germans were ever equals.

Instead, leadership was the prerogative of the ‘chosen’ as America’s ‘Manifest Destiny’ and faith came together in an ugly display of racial and religious bigotry combined with a stealth-like efficiency at reaping financial and business rewards. Sound familiar, huh?

^{P8}At the same time Pakatan has to demonstrate its ability to work as a co-ordinated force. It must draw together the disparate elements of its own slightly crazy coalition that unites socialists, NGO activists, cultural and linguistic chauvinists with the well-intentioned hand-wringing liberals, Islamists and rural Malays from the northern quadrant.

^{P9}For what it is worth, I feel that Malaysians are by no means ‘beyond’ race. This makes Pakatan’s journey all the more challenging – unless, of course, BN totally fails to reform.

^{P10}Despite some proclaiming that March 8, 2008 was a bold step into a non-racial paradigm, the last couple of months have shown that this is not the case. Rather, the election results signalled a nationwide frustration with a leader, Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, who has failed to live up to the high expectations he (and his advisors) had set for themselves. This was combined with widespread anger against a political elite (witness Zakaria Md Deros mansion) that has become arrogant, disengaged and venal as it abused and treated with contempt working class, in short, ordinary Malaysians of all races.

^{P11}As a consequence, I would argue that inherent misunderstandings and tensions across the racial and religious divide have not miraculously evaporated in the face of an Anwar Ibrahim-inspired political love-in. While the former Deputy Prime Minister has certainly charted an exciting way forward with his *Ketuanan Rakyat* slogan; he has failed to see through the promise of his own rhetoric.

^{P12}Malaysians are still Malaysians: we are decent enough but beneath a veneer of neighbourliness we remain as prejudiced and ignorant of one another as ever before. Moreover, if you listen to the pronouncements of PKR’s Umno wannabe-wing – Zulkifli Nordin *et al* and PAS’ Terengganu-based Malay/Muslim leadership – you may wonder how they can belong to the same coalition as Anwar, given his intellectually elegant and persuasive *Ketuanan Rakyat* ideal. Separated by our respective faiths, our increasingly inchoate education system and the remote control to our Astro cable TV system, we live different lives in almost entirely different worlds. This reality has not changed and as such the issue of Malay rights as well as its correct place in the political equation remain unresolved.

^{P13}The *Ketuanan Rakyat* argument, while clever, may not reassure a Malay population that sees its primacy being eaten away, all the more so during an economic downturn. In order to assuage such doubts, all three Pakatan parties have made a stated commitment to Section 153 of the Federal Constitution. At the same time, the mainstream Malay-language media has been insistent in promoting an extreme and unflinching version of the Malay rights agenda. Their espousal of the opposing *Ketuanan Melayu* position and a refusal to countenance any form of *kesamarataan* (equality) among the races have contributed to a political and ideological log-jam that allows the BN very little room to manoeuvre with component parties.

^{P14}Still, as in corporate parlance, the KPIs (Key Performance Indicators) are readily identifiable since both alliances wield executive power at different levels of government. Come 2012 (although polls could come earlier) we will be able to assess the relative success of the two contrasting power formulations.

^{P15}The one thing that is clear though, is that Malaysia's politicians will have to unlearn a lot of their old ways. We will need new ways and means in our policy debates over economics, society and the Constitution. As I have said elsewhere, the Merdeka-era consensus has broken down and so has its style of politics and governance.

^{P16}Twenty-first century Malaysia is not the mid-1970s and it certainly cannot be led as such – something which Najib, whose claim to leadership seems to rest solely on him being his father's son – needs to take especial note of. Many 'sacred cows' of Malaysian public policy will have to be led to the slaughterhouse.

^{P17}For instance, the New Economic Policy is now known as the National Development Policy. This issue has taken on great emotive weight lately, so it is important for us to understand contexts, not only local, but geopolitical. It suited its time and place: a Malaysia that was far less affluent than now and whose socio-economic divisions were all the starker. Let us also not forget that it was originally conceived to combat poverty across ethnic lines in addition to creating a vibrant and stable Bumiputra middle class.

^{P18}Can anyone honestly say that it has succeeded on either count?

^{P19}Furthermore, the two giants of the Asian region, India and China, were weighed down in that period. India was still in the throes of its Licence Raj while China grappled with the tragedies of the Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution. Neither of these countries was really able to focus on external matters and/or the fortunes of their respected diasporas.

^{P20}This is certainly not the case now – we all know how China and India have risen to become political and economic powerhouses. How can Malaysia expect to be able to engage in diplomacy or trade effectively with either when their own citizens of Chinese or Indian descent are being kept out of public life or marginalised? But the stakes are high and the ego-investments deep – one wonders if Malaysia's leaders have the foresight to put such communalistic notions aside for the sake of the nation.

^{P21}Nonetheless, politics is also a dynamic process: times change, issues evolve, old challenges disappear and new ones emerge (witness the sudden explosive impact of the global economic crisis) just as human nature and personal relationships intervene to confuse, hamper and undermine even the best laid plans. Case in point: who in 2003 would have expected that Dr Mahathir Mohamad would become such a bitter and destructive critic of his hand-picked successor Abdullah only three years later? Some have even argued that the good doctor's fury helped loosen Umno's grip on Kedah, his home state.

^{P22}Whatever the situation, the 2012 polls will need to be fought on the basis of issues and trends current at that time and not those attracting attention now. Elections are not won by trying to replay and/or refashion previous contests. March 8, 2008 is history.

^{P23}To return to the challenges facing the two coalitions, Umno is currently being held hostage by the party's overly powerful and deeply conservative division level office-holders, many of whom have limited education. If you disagree with me, just ask anyone working in Parliament which party has the more boorish and least qualified members.

^{P24}It is also arguable that the same men and women have spent too much time and money to even conceive of dismantling a system they have spent their entire adult lives negotiating and in some cases, mastering. For many of these political apparatchiks, politics has become the source of their livelihood.

^{P25}Umno's situation is not exceptional. Political parties are driven by activists who see themselves as its core and therefore the rightful beneficiaries of electoral success whether or not they might be the best candidates for office in a given administration. As a parallel, the Labour and Democratic parties in the UK and US were at times hijacked by the interests of trade unions, often to the detriment of the broader voting public and their respective nations as a whole. This is why principled and focused leadership is so critical.

^{P26}For Umno to succeed in its reinvention, the party's soul has to be reclaimed for its constituents. In short, the activists (some might call them carpet-baggers) must be brought to heel or cast out. Glancing across the Straits of Malacca at Indonesia, it is clear that Golkar (Umno's Indonesian equivalent) post-*Reformasi* has failed in its struggle to curb the greed and influence of its party warlords, leading in turn to its own decline.

^{P27}Umno's ability to reform itself and thereby regain the trust and support of the broader Malaysian public hangs in the balance.

^{P28}Interestingly, a Bloomberg TV interview with Najib saw the Deputy Prime Minister's office scrambling to contain the fallout when the incoming Party President dared suggest the possibility of policy reform.

^{P29}Indeed, in virtually every private discussion I have had with Umno leaders, I have heard the same dismal refrain – that corruption has become endemic within the party and that reform is impossible. The utter demoralisation of those tasked to take Umno forwards does not bode well for its future.

^{P30}For Pakatan the challenge is equally profound. Can a loose electoral pact remain intact? Can Islamists continue to sit alongside secularists, socialists and Umno-throwbacks? Will the experience of working together in the key west coast states of Penang, Perak and Selangor cement the alliance or tear the players apart?

^{P31}Even the most casual observers will note that Malaysia's opposition parties work best together on social justice and political issues. No matter how different they are, PKR, DAP and PAS can all agree that Malaysia deserves far better in those two points than what the BN has dished out thus far. Their sufferings under the draconian Internal Security Act (ISA) and the disgusting corruption of the establishment give them common cause.

^{P32}But enter race or religion, and things fall apart. It is symptomatic of how little Malaysia's rulers have been able to forge common values among the people; We still cannot talk dispassionately about these issues 50-plus years down the line.

^{P33}We seem to be unwilling to accept that Malaysians who live or think differently from us have just as much right to exist and express themselves in the public sphere as we do. It is a complex morass, which has left many despairing over the country's future – but surprises can happen, as in the case of Pakatan.

^{P34}The reality of their co-operation has revealed unexpected strengths and weaknesses. PAS and DAP, for example, have shown – especially in Perak and Selangor

– an ability to work together whereas PKR’s intuitional fragility has led to considerable problems. The speed with which PAS rallied to the defence of DAP parliamentarian Teresa Kok after her unjust detention under the ISA was breath-taking.

^{P35}Moreover, after decades of being in the opposition, the DAP and PAS have each developed a cadre of leaders who share certain core beliefs and experiences. There is also a sense of political loyalty and discipline. This provides a structure for engagement across party and racial lines.

^{P36}For the DAP, Lim Kiat Siang’s single-mindedness has paid dividends. The DAP’s more socialist rhetoric resonates well with PAS’ younger generation that was brought up on a diet of anti-corruption screeds, and vice versa. As I have said in this collection, the emphasis on social equity and fairness has served to unite the disparate opposition including the more leftist wing of the PKR. This has enabled them to undergo the transition to government more readily. However, PKR’s very newness and lack of a commanding ideology (Anwar Ibrahim is not a philosophy) has made this process all the more shaky.

^{P37}A looming issue will be Pakatan’s ability to stave off the lure of corruption. As racial and religious conflicts loom, a shared commitment to the eradication of corruption becomes all the more central as a rallying cry. In such a context, instance of corruption will be perhaps the most damaging eventuality for Pakatan, undermining a crucial (and at times the only?) distinction with the BN.

^{P38}Both challenges concern the respective coalitions’ ability to occupy and then command the middle ground. I have no doubt that the Malaysian public want their leaders, (whatever their original political or religious principles) to gravitate towards the centre. In short, centripetal political forces should win out over the centrifugal.

^{P39}At this moment in time, I see little chance of Umno affecting a turnaround in its fortunes whereas Pakatan’s component parties appear to be more flexible in the face of change, thereby ensuring for them the middle ground. The allure of power is also an important factor. When you smell power it is hard not to be drawn towards it even if it means compromising on issues that were once sacrosanct. This central fact will be especially true of the DAP and PAS.

^{P40}Basically, the BN and in particular its ‘anchor’ party, Umno, will have to figure out how to respond to the nation’s dramatically altered demographics and the attendant aspirations.

^{P41}The BN’s deep historical roots in pre-Independence Malaysia have long been a source of strength. This has imbued the Alliance with a socio-political framework namely, the so-called, unwritten ‘social contract’ that has (for better or worse) in turn contributed to the nation’s stability and prosperity hitherto.

^{P42}BN’s new leadership now has the potential to make history again, to replicate the same critical mass of common purpose that led to our Independence. The stakes this time are our survival as a nation and the chance to finally forge a *Bangsa Malaysia*.

^{P43}But ironically enough, the grand old ways of the Tunku Abdul Rahman, Tan Cheng Lock and VT Sambanthan generation will no longer serve it now. Malaysian conservatives often warn their foes to be mindful of history, especially when they do not want the boat to be rocked. History, however, must be used progressively.

^{P44}We cannot hope to turn back the clock, especially on the social economic and now political advances we have made. The way forward for Malaysia is not a return to authoritarianism and the *faux*-apartheid we called our social norms but instead a dynamic, liberal and plural paradigm. This is the only way the gains of the Merdeka generation can be consolidated.

^{P45}What has worked for the past 50 years is now under threat. On one hand, dramatic changes – economic growth, urbanisation and a heightened awareness of civil liberties – mean that individuals are no longer so willing to put up with a consensus hammered out by community elites and oligarchs well over half a century ago.

^{P46}On the other hand, the elite-based consensus has depended on honest and committed administrators. However, public scepticism of BN leadership is at an all-time high. Many question the integrity, decency and competence of BN leaders, which further damages this model.

^{P47}Moreover, the undue focus on the *Ketuanan Melayu* issue has led Umno into a political *cul-de-sac*, allowing its leaders very little room to manoeuvre. On one side are the non-Malay component parties who feel sidelined and insulted by the ugliness of the *Melayu Uber Alles* rhetoric. In the past, the Malay community would have lined up behind Umno automatically – thereby leading to a head-on racially-charged conflict.

^{P48}However, in the past few years, poor rural Malays and their urban, white-collar counterparts have started seeing through the self-serving posturing of the party's leadership as they discuss the Malay rights agenda. And it is this rich seam of frustration and envy that Anwar mines so effectively whenever he campaigns, by calling out into the audience at every *ceramah*: "Have any of you received Bumiputra shares?"

^{P49}Indeed, the party's activist base – its mass of small (and not-so-small) businessmen/politicians – is fiercely resistant to any change in this area. They realise, and quite rightly, that a means-tested, race-blind orientation of these positive discrimination policies would clearly undermine their current prosperity.

^{P50}As it is, the party faithful – essentially the 2,483 Malay men and women who will vote in the General Assembly in March 2009 – are convinced that they are speaking for the broader community of over 14 million Malay/Muslims. Their myopic and self-delusion is astounding, especially given the extent of the March 2008 general election setback. However, their single-mindedness can be explained by their being hoodwinked by their own, resolutely pro-Umno Malay-language media that refuse to condone any compromise on the issue of Malay rights.

^{P51}It has been said before and I might as well say it again: Umno is doomed as long as it remains intransigent on these issues, and it will take the country down with it. But what if it springs a surprise on us? What if the in-coming Party President (and presumably, Prime Minister) chooses to forebear from using the vast array of non-democratic power at his command, if he were to decline to clamp down on the independent voices and instead engage them as mutual stakeholders to the country?

^{P52}This would set the country on a complete turnaround from its current perilous path. It would be very easy for Najib to shut down websites, purge newspapers and bring down the full weight of our security laws on his opponents. But this would come at a major cost to the country's future. Say what you like about the 'new openness' but it has made the country a somewhat better place to live in, and silencing this will rob our children of a better future.

^{P53}Unfortunately, as I said before, there is very little possibility that Umno's leadership has the foresight to conceive, much less carry out, this sort of agenda. But all is not lost for the party. There exists, in its ranks, a small but talented cadre of young leaders whose intellectual and political capacities dwarf those of their elders. They have not joined Umno for the money or because they are racial demagogues, but rather because they are proud of its long-lost tradition of service and seek to revive this.

^{P54}But they are also political animals, and are just as vulnerable to splintering as their elders. Umno's young leaders will need to learn to work together as a coherent force to reform the party, even perhaps resorting to co-opting the more acceptable moneyed players to bring this about.

^{P55}It is true that the Umno brand has taken a massive beating over the years, but it does have a tradition and history that it can be proud of. It has brought prosperity and stability to the country but again, problems of human greed and arrogance have undone a lot of this good. At the same time, its reactionary and regressive stance on most issues has made it completely unpalatable to the younger generation, whose support could strengthen the hands of the reformists of the party.

^{P56}Umno, one way or another, has to respond to change and anticipate the needs of ALL Malaysian. They have to learn to be a truly national party, to regain the support and respect of our multicultural society. An Umno-led Malaysia does have a future, but only if the former realises that it is just a political party like any other and that the people are the ultimate boss.

APPENDIX B

CHINESE TARGET TEXTS (CA1 TO CA9)

选民才是真正的当家 (CA1)

2008年3月10日刊于《新加坡今日报》

2008年3月11日刊于《星洲日报》

2008年3月12日刊于《星报》

2008年3月15日刊于《Koran Tempo》

2008年3月-4月刊于《Asia Views》

^{P1}马来西亚人民终于勇敢表达自己的心声，令国阵政府狠狠地摔了一跤，不止痛失多个国会议席，也失去了几个州属的执政权。身为作家，我必须虚心承认自己错读了国民的情绪，因为我曾在文章中提到“第12届大选不是一场意义重大的选举”。而事实正好相反。

^{P2}我们正在进入一个全新的政治格局。这条路必定荆棘重重，必须从各方面政论中吸取教训，最明显的莫过于——当家作主的是人民。

^{P3}只能说，各族人民（马来人、华人和印度人）通过前所未有的选票票数，表达了他们对国阵的失望、不满和愤怒，一举拉下了多位国阵强人如三美威鲁、莎丽扎、再努丁迈丁、卡维斯和许子根。

^{P4}相反地，反对党在国会和槟州的议席几乎翻了两番，连雪州、吉打和霹靂州政权也落入了他们手中。国阵之前还夸下“蓝色浪潮”的海口，但终究还是无法夺回吉兰丹。至于刚刚掌权的反对党能否兑现在大选之前许下的承诺，则有待观察。

^{P5}民联的三个政党过去都有因内讧和怠惰而导致权力被削弱的不良记录。若要在新领地取得成功（同时也考验他们作为政治代表的可行性），则视乎两个截然对立的政党（行动党和回教党）之间的合作关系。不过，到底是什么原因造成这股反风呢？

^{P6}第一，执政党显然低估了年轻选民的力量。近100万个选民在本届大选首次投票。他们为履行公民义务所展现出来的热情和良知，足以令上一代选民感到无地自容。

^{P7}而国阵完全无法赢得他们的支持。简单来说，在上星期六投票的年轻选民，与他们的父母及祖父母有很不一样的政治观点。国阵总是用居高临下的态度对待这些年轻人，甚至通过专横的1971年大专法令将他们排除在民主政治外，因此获得这样的选绩不外乎是自食其果。

^{P8}第二，马来西亚印度人已崛起成为政治拥王者。由于长期被边缘化，加上近期兴都庙被拆除事件，已引起印裔社群强烈不满，继而联合起来反抗政府。无力维护印裔利益的国大党便首当其冲，成为印裔选民怪罪的对象。

^{P9}另外，大选成绩也显示华裔选民对狂妄无能的国阵感到失望。新经济政策、回教化和被孤立化的现象，让他们极度不满，因而促成了民政和马华的垮台。

^{P10}这两个族群证明了国阵一旦失去他们的支持，将尝到严重的后果。而且，不能否认的是，权威人士也忽略了马来族群的抱怨，因而丢了不少马来议席，这意味巫统已失去了主导权。这个默迪卡政党必须承认失势的事实，然后再制订新策略，重振旗鼓。

^{P11}至于国阵输掉不少城市的马来议席，主要是因为物价上涨引起民怨，以及对阿都拉的领导失去信心。这也说明巫统在2008年迎接大选时，早已忘记汲取1999年大选的教训：不能因为巫统提倡“马来人主权”而预设马来人一定和巫统站在同一阵线。

^{P12}此外，国阵也过度轻视安华效应。尽管安华遭到媒体封锁，但他仍然是个有权势有效率的对手。安华仍是一个关键因素，将会在接下来这些年内持续支配公众舆论。

^{P13}那么，国阵该如何是好？

^{P14}大选后，相信各成员党内部必遭剧变，包括民政党、国大党和人民进步党，可能连巫统也无法幸免。而关键在于国阵能否从这次大选中取得教训。

^{P15}什么教训呢？

^{P16}显然，党内的军师必须重新策划战略。散播种族主义谣言、承诺拨款和政府合约等等旧桥段已经不管用了。此外，政府必须体认到一点，那就是他们不能只注重经济而已，而是承载各阶层人民更高的期望。

^{P17}社会政治权力和公平意识对一般民众而言越来越重要。这又回到“社会契约”的层面，而且马来西亚有必要重现互相合作、信任和交流的精神。

^{P18}巫统领袖必须认清一个现实：其他成员党的懦弱，全因他们霸权所致。作为国阵的领导人，他们不能推卸大选挫败的责任。随你怎么说我，但国阵和巫统却必须进行改革。

^{P19}人民终于开始站出来说话了！

主流媒体式微？(CA2)

2008年4月14日刊于《The Edge》

^{P1}在多年炮轰非主流媒体之后，国阵终于承认他们低估部落格对308大选所带来的冲击。虽然国阵明了这点是好事，但还有一个更迫切的媒体课题需解决，那就是主流媒体的前景。

^{P2}让我先解释一下：目前看来，反对党之所以在大选中奏凯，主要是非主流媒体帮上一把。这些非主流媒体提出一些重要的政治课题，同时也让人民对鲜为人知的公正党、回教党和行动党候选人有了更深一层的认识。国阵则只是仰赖老牌日报和电视台为他们作宣传，而这些媒体大多与它的成员党有挂钩。

P³我们现在可以知道谁的表现较为杰出，而这也带出了一个新的疑问：如果非主流媒体是反对党至胜的推手，那么主流媒体会不会也是国阵挫败的导引呢？主流媒体偏袒式和一面倒的报道，到底在多大程度上加强人们对政府高傲和一手遮天的印象，并促成这种选举结果呢？

P⁴让我们看看其中一件事。3月4日，即大选前4天，主流媒体把矛头瞄准反对党领袖安华，并大事引述学者兼社会活跃分子詹德拉（Chandra Muzaffar）（亦是前公正党署理主席）在一项大选论坛中的谈话。我本身也是论坛中的其中一个演讲人。

P⁵主流媒体刻意去强调詹德拉的见解，包括若安华成为首相将会对国家造成“无可抵偿”的灾难。隔天，媒体对詹德拉的报道都是一面性的，而且似乎不给我们的前副首相一个解释的机会。

P⁶接下来让整个事件更为失真的，那就是对安华的结语：“他是一名过气的政治家，已经起不了任何作用。”讽刺的是，那些报道从头到尾其实只是在强调安华在政治结构中确实是一个重要的因素。再者，人们对于国阵几乎完全操纵媒体而感到一股强烈的不公和愤怒。

P⁷事件突显了主流媒体的编者、发行者和记者们所面对的一个核心的挑战。基本上，为了取悦他们的政治主子，被逼要扭曲事实并把负面新闻匡正，使到民众对之感到愤怒。这也削弱了国阵的地位，因为很多人不再相信主流媒体的报道。

P⁸相比之下，部落格与互联网的主编无需听命于任何人。拉惹柏特拉（Raja Petra）和 Steven Gan 这些人只需对自己和本身的良心负责就行了。他们依据自己的心意写文章，而这种自由开放的呈现方式吸引了数十万年轻读者。对主流媒体报道心存疑惑的读者，正寻求其他更诚实的资讯与分析来源。

P⁹很多人对于自己被愚弄感到非常生气。另类声音被政府压制，已激怒了人民。他们感到自己的意见不再受到重视，而事实上他们已成了受打压的群体。

P¹⁰讽刺的是，输的一方竟然是国阵。在严苛的出版法令下受到庇护而免于被批评的国阵，反而错失了他们对现实情况的客观看法。他们开始只相信自己的宣传。

P¹¹部长对外面发生的事情一无所知，无视了民众对物价和犯罪率高涨的忧虑，对所应关注的课题完全没有头绪。政府领袖被剥夺了认清事实与有用的回馈意见的机会。和民众一样，他们被灌输错误和失真的信息。

P¹²马来西亚反对党聪明地掌握了民众的不满情绪，提供另一种更为可靠的资讯来源。与其起诉及谴责部落客，他们反而把这些人视为政治斗争的伙伴，并把当中的佼佼者如黄泉安和聂纳兹米送进了国会。

P¹³事实证明了政治干预媒体的运作是一种自杀行径。国阵必须解开他们对主流媒体的束缚，允许记者和主编报道他们早已知道但却不敢说出口的事情，特别是在反对党如今掌控的几个州属，民众正在寻求针对反对党表现的客观公正的报道及分析。

P¹⁴马来西亚媒体数十年来的这种现象应该有个了结。总而言之，没有什么比未经修饰的事实更为有效。政治桎梏必须解除，而媒体编辑必须能够自由报道国阵的弱点和失误以及他的长处。只有这样，老百姓才会再一次相信主流媒体。

P¹⁵媒体被操控的时代已过去，媒体管理的时代正迎向我们。

民联团结的“理念” (CA3)

2008年4月29日刊于《星报》

2008年5月4日刊于《星洲日报》

P¹很多人认为，民联的成立只不过是为了更方便追求权利和金钱的讽刺之举，必定在数星期内一拍两散。我必须承认，民联由于攀上权力的巅峰（亦即布城）而变得更加团结，不过也有可能是因为一股庞大的意识形态潜移默化在这三个党内起了作用，由此可见他们的政治理念是一致的。

P²如果我没说错（坦白说，我曾经在过去出错不少），国阵必须对民联的架势作出反应，理念及政治上皆是。基本上，国阵应该找出它自己的立场及其主张。一味操弄政治小动作如危言耸听、取消或展延国家发展计划，以及玩弄种族情操，都是老梗了。

P³这些源自于马哈迪时代的策略已不管用了。实际上，这种诉诸暴力的政策只会让民联大肆渲染自己是受害人，进而将他们的待遇和人民感到被边缘化的压力连接在一起，归咎于国阵的心胸狭窄。这定给国阵致命的一击，绊住它继续往前迈进。

P⁴当然，存在于三党之间的分歧，确是难以克服的障碍。我们有权去质疑，但只限于一定的程度。过去，替代阵线（Barisan Alternatif）及人民联合（Gagasan Rakyat）也曾在前首相马哈迪的政治铁腕下被迫瓦解。

P⁵霹靂州政府的难产以及卡巴星对回教国的争论，都证明了民联绝不可能走出困局。回教国课题无疑是民联面临的最大挑战。这所有的问题都完全合理的，可是若深入分析各成员党的历史背景及理念，将发现他们之间拥有的共同点超乎我们的想象。

P⁶让我先说说行动党。我们都很熟悉行动党的社会民主主义出身。作为1965年马新分家后新加坡人民行动党（PAP）在马来亚的分部，它承继了社会主义的精髓，而非李光耀狭窄的使用政治。而且，行动党一直以来都是国际社会民主政党组成的组织，其中包括英国和澳洲的工党。

P⁷至于人民公正党的社会主义源头更容易追溯。该党是由公正党（Keadilan）及马来西亚人民党（PRM）在2002年合并而成的。人民党是旧派马来左翼的继承

者，当时的马来左翼包括独立时期的马来青年组织（KMM）和社阵（Socialist Front）。而可敬的已故作家和学者鲁斯旦沙尼更是撮合两党的重要功臣。

^{P8}公正党得到旧派人民党领导人（如副主席赛胡先阿里）的加入，显示其社会主义思想远比我们愿意承认的还要多。值得一提的是，主流媒体由于过度重视巫统而忽略了一股新起的势力 - 马来左派。

^{P9}如果想要了解更多，那么值得一读鲁斯旦和历史学家法立诺的著作，以及观看法米礼查所拍摄极具开创性的纪录片。同时，我们不能忘了安华和他的回教青年组织（ABIM）朋友所发起的回教青年运动（其中卡玛鲁丁 Kamaruddin Jaffar 更成了优秀的回教党主席）。他们对社会正义和公平怀有一种强烈的责任，尽管其中掺杂了伊斯兰元素。这可从他们在1974年为了华玲农民的贫穷与饥饿而进行示威的事件中一览无遗。

^{P10}以上种种皆可证实公正党拥有社会主义根基，不过回教党与这类政治思想的牵连却鲜为人知。该党经常被误解为一个纯伊斯兰教主义的政党。但若深入研究其源头，将发现由哈迪阿旺接任前的回教党，其实是有强烈的左派倾向。

^{P11}大家经常忘了特立独行的杰出马来领袖如布哈奴丁希尔米曾在回教党担任要职。如今，该党由宗教司主导一切，他们一般上对所有的“主义”都会加以提防，除了伊斯兰主义。聂阿兹、哈迪阿旺及人们最害怕的哈仑丁（Haron Din），用尽全力抹杀了布哈奴丁和他的接班人阿斯里慕达（Asri Muda）对党作出的贡献。

^{P12}在年轻一代的回教党领袖中，技术专家官员如胡桑慕沙、尼查和纳沙鲁丁显然比较熟知中间偏左的课题。他们细心体会受剥削及被边缘化人民（包括许多被巫统遗弃的马来人）的感受，制订以民为主的党宣，引起基层人民的共鸣。

^{P13}过去数十年来对社会主义和其他左派思想的诋毁一直屡见不鲜，常以捍卫穆斯林之名，申斥无神论概念存在于较极端的政治思想中，譬如说共产主义。可是，社会主义、民粹主义或社会正义（随你怎么说）对民联而言却是一个重要的共同主题，而且它跨越了种族界线，因为受剥削正是来自各个族群。

^{P14}这个核心思想促成了民联的结合，但我希望我们将来可以看到的是：以“社会民主主义”为中心的民联，反过来促导国阵找出他们真正的核心政治思想。有趣的是，一向富有、资产丰盛、贵族气派浓厚和秉持传统主义观念的国阵，也许有望转变成马来西亚版的英国保守党或美国共产党，两者都是非常成功的政党。

^{P15}我了解这听起来有点不可思议，不过，这个有理念差异的两线制政府，它的前景却非常值得让人期待；还有，在独立50年后，人民应该有所选择了。撇开理念不谈，最后得到的教训应该是：这两个联盟必须逐步转化成中间党派，也就是说，要有更多的妥协才能有效地执政。

开创合作的崭新模式 (CA4)

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^{P1}霹雳曾是一个兴盛繁荣的州属，因开采锡矿和种植橡胶而推动了我国半岛经济快速成长。当时居民都相当富有（有些甚至挥霍无度）。有个马赛迪车商在往怡宝路的一座石灰石山上，竖立了一个五角星大标志，以示他的无限感激。

^{P2}但那已是风光的陈年往事了，今天的霹雳只不过是吉隆坡和檳城之间的一个中途站，途经时也只是猛踩油门向前匆匆奔去。该州已趋没落，因为小镇的居民越来越少，年轻人相继往外寻找工作机会，人口也逐渐老化。

^{P3}看看这数十年来的萎靡不振，说得委婉一点，国阵在这个州的管治是失败的。我们在吉隆坡还开玩笑说霹雳朋友“Ipoh-mari”，却全然不了解这种大迁移对当地经济和人民其实带来很大的冲击。而霹雳终究未能将它那过度依赖天然资源的经济模式转向多样化发展。

^{P4}在政治方面，该州巫统领袖的懦弱，意味着他们始终无法抗衡强大的柔佛和彭亨巫统轴心，因而相对也忽视了霹雳州的经济利益。就如一位当地商人所说的：“巫统虽然掌管霹雳政权，但却从来没有真正地治理。他们一直玩弄政治小动作，反而忽略了经济课题。”

^{P5}以上种种问题令霹雳州随后落入反对党的手里，一点也不足为奇。事实上，反对党在霹雳州的成绩响来不俗；巴里文打（Parit Buntar）是回教党的堡垒区，行动党则攻下近打河流域（Kinta Valley），这全靠具号召力的西尼华沙甘兄弟（Seenivasagam）在5、60年代奠下的反政府基础。

^{P6}很多人希望民联政府能助霹雳州恢复过去的辉煌，可是这个任务却艰巨无比。民联是脆弱的，它在州议会仅以区区两个多数议席执政，更甭提中间还有一个信心和戒备心慢慢的皇室。如今焦点全落在来自回教党的新任州务大臣尼查，以及行政议会的两位行动党强人倪可汉（据说是首位获封拿督的行动党人）和共青团团长倪可敏的身上。

^{P7}这三大刀阔斧地重整近乎崩溃的州政府。大胆的计划难免招来恶意批评。他们参考赫南多（Hernando de Soto）的扶贫措施作出一个重大改变——宣布发出永久地契给戒严时期的新村村民，进而提升了新政府的亲民形象。

^{P8}上星期五，就在尼查因调走宗教局长占利苏利（Jamry Sury）而被传召到皇宫的数小时后，我有幸跟他聊聊。当时氛围特别紧张凝重，但他仍保持一贯的冷静，以中立的态度谨慎应对此事，避免牵扯入惹人非议的回教国课题。

^{P9}尼查的圆滑手段巧妙遮掩了他的政治地位。在该州的执政联盟中，仅有6名回教党议员（行动党有18位），可谓势力单薄。尼查一直努力与行动党维持良好的关系，他说：“我们互相合作已有10到15年时间了，现在经常在正式或非正

式的会议上碰面，也有互传简讯及在电话中交谈。我也在住家办过羽球比赛，大家都得到很好的锻炼。”

^{P10}我在之后约谈倪可敏时，他也提到两党的密切关系：“我们一起合作绝没问题，因为大家重视的同样都是人民。我们是一个全民政府。”

^{P11}民联可以在霹雳州合作无间，在两位与众不同的领袖领导下——一位是有敏锐商业触觉的行动党拿督，一位是体恤非马来人的回教党工程师（在英国受教育的尼查并不是宗教司），霹雳必能取得很大的进步。而这是避开民联中央级领袖如卡巴星、聂阿兹和哈迪阿旺唇枪舌战的对立局面的方法吗？

^{P12}尼查和倪可敏非常强调他们共有的专业特长。尼查说：“我是一名工程师，而他们（倪氏兄弟）都是律师。而且我们经常性质相同的非政府组织做事，也在各种论坛上一起发表演说。”

^{P13}当问及把他归类为技术专家官员（连同胡桑慕沙和纳沙鲁丁）是否恰当，他稍顿了一下才答道：“我想是这样没错，不过我们是有差别的。他们管治的那个州，超过95%是马来人；反观霹雳则是一个多元种族混合的州属，所以我们无法用相同的管理方式。尽管他一再保证，但大家都清楚知道回教党和行动党之间的联系其实并不大。”

^{P14}民联能否在面对争议时（譬如永无休止的“回教国”课题）仍团结一致，则将在接下来的几个月内有所分晓。民联领袖和安华将尽全力把这个联盟带到中央层面，可是在底层如霹雳这些地方所发生的事件，其结果才至为重要，因为这代表了两个政治理念不同的政党终究会产生冲突。

^{P15}另外，霹雳州政府必须重振旗鼓，像倪可敏这些活力充沛的领袖有责任交出一张漂亮的成绩单。他之前涉足商界的经验必能派上用场，正如他所说的：“要给霹雳人带来更大的财富、自主权和自由”。他们的成绩肯定不会比之前的州政府逊色。

^{P16}至于巫统，由执政党移位成反对党，无疑给了它一个改过自新的机会。巫统需要把焦点放在人民身上，而不是它自己。这可让该州的人才如赞比里（Zambry Kadir）发挥所长。

^{P17}如果巫统愿意这么做，将给选民带来一个真正的选择，亦为霹雳迎来一个美好的未来。

关注改革议程 (CA5)

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2008年7月10日刊于《新加坡海峡时报》

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P¹过去两个星期来，登上报刊头条的尽是记者发布会、法定声明、控告和反控的新闻，许多马来西亚人因此感到厌恶不已。这种揭发隐私的行为已经使我国成了整个亚洲的笑柄。但我们却不能置身事外，因为从中可上非常宝贵的一课。

P²首先，延误多时的改革计划势在必行。2004年，阿都拉承诺带来改变，但他失败了，308大选成绩就是他所承受的后果。之后，他又重复了同样的承诺。

P³尤其现在人民亲眼目睹 - 警队、司法机构甚至主控官的权力是如何薄弱、如何被政治化。我们不能等到巫统内讧结束后才开始改革，首相不能再令我们失望了，否则人民将不会原谅他或他的政党。阿都拉必须马上行动，积极鞭策内阁的保守人士如赛哈密、纳吉和纳兹里。

P⁴第二，政府必须重建它的公信力。如其中一位比较开明的部长阿末沙比里所言：“诚信是需要逐步建立的，一旦失去就很难找回了。”以政府目前微弱的诚信度来看，这个任务想必难上加难。

P⁵第三，巫统必须自我克制、严从纪律。巫统过度支配国家行政以及巫统领袖无法控制党内具有影响力的成员如强势的区部领袖，造成眼前的问题。

P⁶整个连接巫统、政府机构、商界和执法单位的网络，一定要更公开和透明化，杜绝密室交易，并且交由媒体监督。

P⁷这几十年来，巫统以马来人救世主、国家共识仲裁者自居。从前的党领袖如敦伊斯迈和敦拉萨，以睿智和务实的作法权衡多元种族社会相互矛盾的要求，因而给国家带来了繁荣和进步。如今该党开始变得懒散，驾跑车的精明生意人已经侵蚀了草根教师过去的道德观，正如马来谚语说的“pagar makan padi”（寄望篱笆，篱笆吃稻），反被信赖的人出卖。

P⁸巫统领袖和其幕后财主必须了解一点：他们是要对宪法和国家机构负责的。一旦犯法，必将自食其果。这就是改革计划如此重要的原因：我们要一个更开放、更平等和遵纪守法的马来西亚。我们希望阿都拉致力于这个改革计划。

P⁹如果他做对了，将会造福百姓而流芳百世；做错了，谁也救不了他。就如我所说的，宪法和国家机构（尤其是警察、法院和检察署）必须回到正轨各司其职，不能再以单一政党为中心，好为这个颓败的年代划下休止符。

P¹⁰不过，许多巫统人士却认为这并非当前要务，而只是某些人特别爱挑起这些课题，如孟沙自由派人士、被宠坏的中产阶级记者和聒噪的律师——包括你和我——包括被认定在3月8号背叛巫统领袖的人民。我想告诉他们的是：我们并没有背叛他们，是他们背叛了我们（49%的选民把票投给了反对党），也违背了巫统创立人当初奠定的党文化和传统。

P¹¹每当我与巫统领袖做这方面的讨论时，他们就会告诉我：“凯林，我选区内的选民根本对这些问题不感兴趣。”我完全不赞同他们的说法，巫统之所以在308大选表现差强人意，全因他们不愿意承认和解决这些和正义、公正及平等有关的核心问题。人民在受苦之际，那些“有商业头脑”和“精明”的巫统领袖却坐拥豪宅、名车，享受奢华假期。

^{P12}当然，在内阁里还有些像再益和沙里尔这种人，他们认清巫统的缺点，并致力说服同僚一起重建党的诚信度。譬如说，阿末沙比里（Shabery）极力争取媒体自由。

^{P13}他精神抖擞地说：“我们必须了解我们有服务人民的文化，而且不应该害怕开放。”这样的勇气，包括愿意与安华正面交锋，为他赢得了新闻工作者的赞赏。

^{P14}事实上，安华和纳吉之间的对立，全是因为权力不均衡所致。一边是太没原则的执法机构，另一边则是畏惧强权的执政单位，营造出一个腐败、懒散、狂妄自大和种族歧视的社群。

^{P15}诚信危机已经渐渐侵蚀国民共识，削弱了我们在金融风暴这个关键时刻的竞争能力，所以此时极需一个领导人专注地引领国民熬过这个前所未有的高通膨时期。

^{P16}而且国人已经不再相信执法机构公正无私。这样的环境无疑让安华更放胆去哗众取宠，因为他知道，当司法机构已经不可信时，公众舆论将为他的清白（或有罪）作最后的仲裁。

^{P17}默迪卡政党必须与时俱进。巫统的前身给我国引来独立；是的，也确保了马来人在政府的地位。

^{P18}但5、6年代的那个巫统已经不复存在。50年后，象征巫统的只是已故查卡利亚（Zakaria Md Deros）在巴生那座豪宅。巫统已经失去了分寸和为民服务的精神，只关注自己的利益，甚至把大多数马来人及马来西亚人都给遗忘了。

人民赢了燃油辩论 (CA6)

2008年7月17日刊于《星报》

^{P1}在一片动荡之中，如安华突然被逮捕等等事件上演的当儿，电视直播这位公正当顾问与新闻部长阿末沙伯利对燃油价格的辩论，仿如指引了我们前进的方向。当我看着这两个人（由佐翰查化主持）在进行辩论时，我突然间心生一股对国家强烈的自豪感。我想我们终于开始迈入了一个可以谈论任何时下课题的成熟阶段。

^{P2}长久以来，人们都说我们无法处理这样的辩论，马来西亚人会激动，过于情绪化及引起暴动。显然，我们只比小孩子稍微好一点，而我们的政治家当然是完美无瑕的。然而，事实上，我们需要更多一点的开放，不只是在政治、媒体，还有政府等各方面。

^{P3}那些只想回避他们的政治对手的巫统领袖简直可耻。沙伯利显示出罕见的勇气与智慧。作为一名年轻的内阁部长，他必须单独面对安华（众人公认的政治巨人），反映出巫统年轻领导人的精神，以及党内显要们的不足。对于党内这些大人物而言，公众演说是一种单方向的程序：我们人民只有听他们讲的份。

P⁴这场辩论证明了在政治界线各一端的人，是可以坐在一起，以公开、文明和理性的方式，一同探讨一些课题。老实说，这样一个事实远比这两个人对油价高涨的论调更来得重要。

P⁵我希望马来西亚已经来到另一个新的里程碑。在新闻自由方面，我们不能也不应该重新回到过去。而接下来的目标，就是那令人反感的出版法令。

P⁶可能是因为近日的喧嚣导致人们对政治生厌，安华和沙伯利选择了时下课题，并努力降低政治言语的温度。部长为自己辩护得相当好，可说让很多国人大跌眼镜，毕竟我们的内阁部长经常在公共场合令自己难堪。

P⁷沙伯利是有备而来的，不带精英分子的说辞及让人听到政治人物说话时的那种不舒服感。他肯定连带提高了他的内阁同僚们的形象。接下来我们想看到的是正副首相和其他内阁成员也这么做。民众对责任感和开放度的压力，将会越来越强烈且持续。

P⁸别忘了，如果你藐视媒体，也就意味着你公然宣告你藐视那些阅读我们报章、浏览我们网站和收看我们电视台的老百姓们！

P⁹若领袖不敢面对人民，他们的怀疑和不信任只会越滚越大。当然，这场辩论会也不是没有可恶的暗流，因为两人还是不停地去攻击对方。不过，这就是政治，粗劣的行为是预料中事。但整体上这场辩论是以非常文明的方式进行的。

P¹⁰尽管陷身于司法困局，安华永远都是那么的冷静与镇定，他选择把焦点摆在事实之上（或是他自己版本的事实）。无论如何，这名公正党顾问在面对民众时所表现出来的勇气确实是值得尊敬的。如果安华所牵涉的性丑闻案最终绊倒他和他的反对党联盟，那么这场辩论会很可能就成了这名国内政坛上其中一位最具魅力（也是最具分歧性）的政治人物的天鹅曲。

P¹¹要猜测两人当中谁是辩论会的赢家，是无济于事的。我必须重复，单单辩论会得以进行这个事实，就已经使到这些技术问题无关痛痒了。这场辩论可能在历史的记载中会成为我们卑劣政治的终点，以及新式公共服务的诞生。

P¹²当晚最终的胜利者，或许就是马来西亚和它的广大人民。

敏感的马来人 (CA7)

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P¹我发现我族同胞似乎对宗教信仰和种族课题太过敏感，这真令人费解。我们是不是太过容易感到被侵犯，而实际上根本没有人得罪我们？针对一个已经被公认敏感的课题进行理性明智的讨论，莫非就一定等同侮辱吗？

P²难道我们的社会没有可以公开谈论的空间？是否这些难题就此被尘封起来，完全无视一般老百姓因此受殃？

P³过去，这种敏感的事必定牵涉马来人恐惧自身被超越和被边缘化。任何对我们宗教、族群和统治者的负面看法，都被视为羞辱，这正正因为我们的掌权者脆弱得不堪一击。

P⁴依我所见，过去50年来，马来穆斯林已牢牢掌控政权。如今有三个以马来人为主的政党：巫统、回教党和公正党，也意味着这个民族的意见广泛受用。

P⁵面对现实吧，马来人在支配着全国人民。单单人数而言，我们已占总人口的55%以上，影响力也不断在扩展中。我们这个族群不会也不可能失势。没有人可以夺走我们自独立以来所取得的成就。

P⁶除了在文化、政治、人口方面占尽绝对优势，宪法也保障我们的权益和地位，不过还是有不少优秀的马来人从事态的发展中觉得受威胁，因而经常诉诸社会动乱和内安法令。

P⁷马来文化主张的宽宏、礼貌、正直和理智，似乎已远远地被抛诸脑后。马来族群温和的一面到底遗落在何方？至于我们一直引以为傲的“budi bahasa”（礼仪社会）呢？

P⁸根据新闻网站《今日大马》的报道，马来西亚律师公会在2008年8月9日召开《改信伊斯兰教》(On Conversion to Islam)论坛。约300多名抗议者聚集在会所外，要求终止论坛举行。而律师公会因不堪外界压力，在开始后没多久即宣布暂停。

P⁹新闻中提及，示威者除了来自公正党和回教党，也有亲政府派。现场一名反对党的政客表示：“对我们来说，这场论坛的举办只是为了抨击伊斯兰教。”参与论坛的人士包括许多德高望重的伊斯兰教非政府组织人员、律师和学者，譬如美仑西拉教授 (Prof Mehrun Siraj)、再娜安华 (Zainah Anwar) 和拉蒂花 (Latheefa Koya)。至于揣测他们之所以参加这个聚会是为了“攻击伊斯兰教”似乎有点可笑。

P¹⁰况且，我认识律师工会主席安美嘉 (Ambiga Sreenevasan) 超过20年了，她绝不可能故意玷污伊斯兰教。就如她自己所说的，她已经从事件中学乖了（丢在莎丽扎家的汽油弹原本是要对付之前住在这间屋子的安美嘉）：“我们只是想探讨伊斯兰教教律 (Syariah) 与民事法律之间的冲突。”

P¹¹“我们希望替那些本身没有改教而丈夫、妻子或孩子已改信伊斯兰教的人们解决问题。这些都是真实的案例，我们不能忽视他们面对的难题。而且，身为律师，我们有义务协助处理这类复杂的课题。”

P¹²主办当局取了个如此煽动性的题材——《改信伊斯兰教》，确实不当，虽然它实质上要讨论的是改教后衍生出来的法律冲突。

P¹³这是一个相当重要和需要高度关切的题材，那些已婚和育有小孩的人士更应该了解改教后所牵涉的法律问题。有鉴于这些问题会对没改教的家庭成员带来严重的影响，因此有必要让所有马来西亚人（尤其是非穆斯林）认识和了解改教的潜在后果。

P¹⁴若拒绝一切讨论，则永远无法认识这些存在的问题，待要处理的时候就会难上加难，也不能替真正的受害者解困。我们不应该用这种方式向非穆斯林

“解释”伊斯兰教，所以实在不应该埋怨他们不了解这个宗教，毕竟国内的穆斯林很固执，禁止任何相关讨论。这种顽固的作风，与首相阿都拉所提倡伊斯兰教现代化的中庸与开放态度，显然背道而驰。

^{P15}我们不应该忘记伊斯兰教教义中维护弱势族群的原则。在马来主流政治里，依然充斥着害怕、忧虑、偏执和不安。一些领袖藉着挑弄其他族群的恐惧情绪而上位。但马来西亚人对这种政治手法发已然感到厌倦。

^{P16}公正党和回教党的高级党员出现在示威浪潮中，显示不是只有巫统在操弄着这些伎俩。308并没有让我们完全摆脱种族和宗教的枷锁，这依然是一个很大的挑战。

^{P17}纵使马来政治仍笼罩着不安，但我们却不能漠视这些在社会中备受争议的课题，不要把宗族和宗教歧视当作是地雷而不敢作进一步讨论，毕竟他们正是引起争论的源头。

^{P18}独立以后的共同认知已渐渐瓦解，我们必须面对这个事实，并且尽快设立一个全新合时的契约。

^{P19}只有通过公开和理智的对话，方能达到共识。马来西亚社会已经足够成熟处理这些问题，而且人民也不愿意政治人物代他们做决定。掩饰问题及杜绝民众讨论，终究必自食其果。

“贵族”候选人 — 纳吉 (CA8)

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^{P1}纳吉和希山慕丁一样，都是出自名门贵族的从政者。对外人来说，他们通过巫统崛起，似乎有一股魔咒护体般平步青云。事实上，他们脱颖而出乃是受到多种因素的共同推动，包括身世、家族责任，以及通过高权位家庭网络所取得的庞大个人财富（他们认识每一个在国内政坛和商场上有权势的人），还有就是操纵政党政策的熟练程度。

^{P2}在最佳状态下，他们是广受各族接纳的佼佼者：宏远的世界观、与时俱进的都市感、高深的学历。在他们身上，我们看到了现代马来皇族如何无可避免地成为“马来——西亚”统治者 (Malay-sian)，同时各王宫也不停赐封拿督封衔予雄心万丈的各族子民。

^{P3}尽管如此，在最差状态下，这些“贵族”候选人将极端保守（鉴于他们的精英组织，这点绝不令人感到意外）、抗拒改变、遥不可及，以及过于严谨。正如我待会解释的那样，纳吉一直不愿促成民主权益的改革议程，因为这在很大程度上将削弱它本身的的政治事业。

^{P4}尽管如此，国内操英语的社群却对这些领袖有一定好感。他们通常以他们父亲最优秀的一面来看待他们，却忘了每一个领袖都有它独特的弱点。

P⁵也正因为这样，当他们令我们大失所望时（譬如希山高举马来短剑），我们会是最生气的。正如他们所了解的那样，我们的愤怒是难以安抚的，因为我们对他们的期望太高了，远远比阿里鲁斯坦（Mohd Ali Rustam）或是基尔（Mohd Khir Toyo）之辈高得多。

P⁶纳吉接任首相的时日和方式，在在证明了他的过度谨慎。现在是我们检讨贵族权证的时候了。在3月份大选活动的最后几天中，我在副首相位于北根（Pekan）的住家与他做了个访问。

P⁷夜宿关丹后，我一大清早就驱车经过平淡的沿海平原。这是一片不太有潜质的土地：空旷的土地，有一些沼泽地和棕榈树点缀着，我还得拐弯避开一只闯入马路中间的牛。当我快到北根时，看见左边有一家大得很不协调的五十铃（Isuzu）汽车装配厂。

P⁸拉萨家族的屋子就在市区外围。原来的屋子，即已故敦拉萨的故居，已被装修过、重新上漆和装上冷气。这样的屋子若位于吉隆坡的白沙罗高原，是绝对不会显得格格不入的。

P⁹屋子的右侧是一间办公室及一幢很大的半临时建筑物，地面是混凝土，屋顶是锌板，四周开通。桌面上摆着很多相当不错的食物。那是一座工业式政治建筑物，屋子正后方畅留着彭亨河的潺潺流水。

P¹⁰上个月我曾因补选而在槟城呆上一段时间，所以可感觉到这两个选区之间存在着一些相当有趣的差异。和峇东埔不同的是，这里的选民几乎清一色是马来人。这里没有诗布朗再也那样的混合选区，更没有巨人霸级市场和时髦的咖啡厅，只有一家新盖的玛拉商场和一间水供不稳定的肯德基家乡鸡餐厅。

P¹¹这是一个孕育了苏丹子嗣的皇城，以彭亨州来说，纳吉的世袭身份（Orang Kaya Inderapura）还真的很“皇室”！他在1982年至86年间出任彭亨州大臣，这反映了巫统和皇室的传统关系，反观安华的活跃分子和草根形象却与这种联系格格不入。

P¹²在历史上，马来社会存有两大权威中心：回教堂和皇宫；前者是精神权威，后者则是世俗权威。数百年来，两者之间确实曾出现过紧张局面。巫统（第二次大战后的马来西亚联盟开始）一直是倾向皇室的，而回教党则掌控了回教堂。尽管安华本身并没有如此的预见，但2008年很可能会出现历史性的一次权利转移，反过来倾向回教堂。

P¹³不可否认，纳吉是一名相当精明的领导人。他见识广阔，思想坚定。他那坚毅的态度是国家领导人所应具有的品质。他能从容主持会议，针对议论做出精准地概括，并了解关键课题的重要性。从技术上来说，他和他的前任竞争对手慕尤丁，都远远超越了阿都拉，甚至是安华。安华夸张的辞藻并不太适合沉闷的内阁生态。

P¹⁴纳吉虽比他的同僚来得出色，但其卓越却在在反映出巫统人力资源开发的缺失。优秀的马来男女躲避政治生活，就好比躲避瘟神一样。

P¹⁵我在北根的时间有限，因此只能在回关丹机场的路上，在车上访问他。正如一般马来自由主义者，我以兴权会作为开端，并谈及雪州拆庙风波对支持国阵的印裔选民带来的负面冲击。

P16我在傍晚扭开第一电视台，就是为了要观看副首相针对一个纯粹印裔集会所发表的谈话。出乎我意料之外，纳吉为拆庙事件作出道歉。我之前不曾看过纳吉或是任何巫统领袖道歉，而这么一个印象，将永远甚至在我的心底。

P17他解释：“所有族群的意识水平已有所提升，马来西亚的社会性质将会变得越发复杂。鉴于全球化与资讯科技的流通，我们必须达致马来西亚社会日渐提高的期望。”

P18或许只有我一个人这么想，但我却感觉到他愿意更加包容和开放：“首相和副首相是属于所有社群的。我们必须照顾所有人，聆听他们的需求和理想。与此同时，我们也有我们自己的社群，我们也必须维护和照顾他们。”

P19“这不是一个零和游戏。虽然我们是占了优势，但对其他种族也要有责任感。其他种族都指望巫统。”

P20然而，当话题转向巫统时，他内在的保守显露无遗。

如果纳吉忽视改革议程的话，他即使有再大的能力也于事无补。蒙古女郎命案中有太多未解开的谜团。纳吉必须认清一点，那就是除了巫统的中心支持者之外，马来西亚人民还是会以异样的眼光来看待纳吉，因为他们不再相信国家机关。

P21若纳吉支持及大力推动改革议程——政治法庭、加强警察专业的专业性，以及让媒体向有更大的自由，那么人们对他的疑虑将逐渐消失。就这一方面来看，纳吉的声誉被政府机关摧毁的程度，事实上要比他的对手安华大得多，而后者在每次面对政府机关刁难时，其地位却似乎越来越牢固。

P22纳吉必须促进更大的透明度和可信度，特别是他现在已掌控财政部。他在面对考验时所展示出来的信心，是排除人民批评的最有效方法，而且能把政党带向一个更亲民的未来。

P23若他失败的话，则对巫统和他本身而言都是致命的一击。

后记：希望与恐惧之间 (CA9)

P1完成此文集时，适逢巫统党选正如火如荼地展开，而马华的权利倾轧也发展至一个出乎意料的结局。纳吉在巫统（一个曾经一度由他父亲领导的政党）主席竞选中不劳而获，看样子历史绕了一大圈又回到了原点。正当国阵（33年前，这个联合政府被命名为“联盟”）力图收复在大选中输掉的地区时，又一个拉萨担负起首相的职位。

P2可是，在继续说下去之前，我必须要说的是，我是吃了苦头才知道，即使是政治权威的见解，也有可能像做生意一样拿不准的情况：成本高，但预测准确的几率充其量是微乎其微。失败总是难以磨灭；可悲的是，成功往往有如过眼云烟。

P3然而，对于那些探究整体结构以便剖析近期事件的人，且听我娓娓道来。

P4依我看，在未来的年月里，有两个最重要的挑战——国阵与民联各面对

一个。当然，不用说，我们——马来西亚人民——是上述两个体系革新的最大收益人。在理想世界里，二元论（但不太牢固）提供身为“政治”消费者的我们选择的余地。它也将迫使双方加强竞争力，但愿他们都能更一致地走向民众议论的中立立场。

^{P5} 国阵（尤其是巫统）必须注意，他们能否对国内越来越多的年轻选民作出回应，并且使自己适应于他们的改革需求——是的，这意味着更透明、更有责任感以及杜绝“金钱政治”。的确，2008年大选中最有力的标志便是已故雪兰莪州议员查卡利亚位于吧生港口的豪宅。这幢豪宅梦幻般灯塔式的高楼俨然引起全体国人厌恶巫统。

^{P6} 我们必须质询巫统和马华的智囊团，他们有没有能力在各自的政党内重新团结起来，根除削弱党力量的利益私授恶习，加强国阵内部的关系，在2012年大选来临前及时将这个联盟重新定位。巫统会不会缺乏勇气和知识分子的力量，进而效仿马哈迪式的策略，运用该党的权职消灭且边缘化非主流的声音，把火力都集中在据信可以使巫统恢复力量的“拉萨”政府？2012年会不会重演1975年的情况——政府祭出“国民团结”的概念，口号响遍各个国阵操纵的媒体管道？

^{P7} 在这节骨眼上，注意到所有（马来西亚官方）的批评声浪都冲着小布什对美国外交政策的处理手法而来，而巫统组织联盟的方式无异于新保守主义共和党（Republican）的“自愿联盟”（coalition of the willing），这一点是既有趣又讽刺的。权利分享对新保守主义者而言，往往是一种诅咒。对他们来说，自己与爱发牢骚又疑神疑鬼的法国人和德国人是大大不相同的。反之，号称享有“命定”特权的领导层，如同美国结合“昭昭天命”（Manifest Destiny）的信念和宗教信仰，演变为丑陋的种族主义和宗教偏执，并且暗中汲汲获取经济和贸易方面的利益。很耳熟吧？

^{P8} 与此同时，民联必须展示它作为协调组织的实力。这个有点儿疯狂的联盟聚集了社会主义者、非政府组织活跃分子、文化和语言沙文主义者、善意但手足无措的开明人士、伊斯兰教主义者及国家北部的乡村马来人，它必须把这些迥然不同的元素都汇集起来。

^{P9} 不论是好是坏，我认为马来西亚人现在还未能“超越种族”。这使得民联的前进之路越发艰难——当然，除非国阵完全无法革新。

^{P10} 尽管有些人声称2008年3月8日这一天，我国向无种族之分的典范跨进了一大步，但过去几个月来，事情显然并非如此。更确切地说，大选成绩显示出全国人民因阿都拉这位领袖无法达到他（还有他的军师）为自己设下的高期望而感到懊恼。此外，加上人民对已经变得骄纵、闲散、贪赃枉法的政治精英（查卡利亚的豪宅就是证据）怒不可遏，因为这诋毁并轻蔑了劳动阶级，简言之，也就是所有马来西亚人民。

^{P11} 结果，我会主张说，不同种族和宗教之间固有的意见分歧和紧张情绪纵使受到安华政治集会的影响，但却也没有出乎意料地消失。当这位前副首相确实描绘出一条激动人心的前进路线，配上“人民主权”口号的同时，他却未能将这番承诺坚持到底。

^{P12} 马来西亚人还是马来西亚人：我们一本正经，但在和睦共处的虚假外表之下，我们仍然像从前一样，对其他人存有偏见且一无所知。不仅如此，如果你

聆听公正党内盲目崇拜巫统的派系珠基菲里（Zulkifli Nordin）等人和回教党以登嘉楼为基地的巫裔领导层发出的宣言——你也许会纳闷，就安华提出明智、有说服力的“人民主权”理想来看，他们何德何能与安华隶属同一个联盟。我们因各自的宗教信仰产生了一道隔阂，未见成熟的教育体制和越来越多人收看 Astro 有线电视节目的现象使你几乎生活在完全不同的世界里。这种情况并未获得改善，而且严格说来，马来人权利课题以及它应如何才能达致政治平衡的问题仍未获得解决。

P¹³ “人民主权”的主张虽然明智，但未必能打消马来人认为他们的主权被侵蚀的疑虑，更何况在这个经济不景气的时期。为了消除这方面的疑虑，民联 3 个政党齐齐向全体马来西亚人民就联邦宪法 153 条文公开作出保证。然而，马来主流媒体却再三宣传极端、武断的马来人权利议程。他们反对“马来人主权”，亦拒绝支持种族间任何形式的平等地位（kesamarataan），导致人们在政治和意识形态上陷入了僵局，使国阵和它的成员党没有回旋的余地。

P¹⁴ 然而，以大局来看，既然两个联盟都在不同的程度上掌有执政大权，通过关键表现指标（Key Performance Indicators, KPI）便可轻而易举地见真章。到了 2012 年（虽然大选有可能提前来到）时，我们才能够确定究竟鹿死谁手。

P¹⁵ 不过清晰可见的是，马来西亚的政治人物必须摒弃很多旧习。我们需要采用新的方式与途径探讨经济、社会和宪法方面的政策。诚如我在别处曾经说过的，独立时期达成的共识已经分崩离析，国家的政治、行政作风亦是如此。

P¹⁶ 21 世纪的马来西亚不同于 70 年代中的马来西亚，无疑不能以这类方式领导——纳吉的领导权似乎基于他是敦拉萨的儿子——这点需要格外留意。国家许多不容置疑的政策有必要被革除。

P¹⁷ 举个例子，现在被称为国家发展政策（National Development Policy）的新经济政策。最近，这个议题牵动了许多人的情绪，因此，从地方政治与地缘政治去了解这个课题的背景，对我们而言是非常重要的。这项政策符合了天时地利的条件：那时的马来西亚并没有像现在这样富裕，社会经济差异还十分明显。我们也别忘了这个政策原本的构想是拉近种族之间的贫富差距，并且创造出朝气蓬勃、沉稳的中产阶级土著。

P¹⁸ 有没有人可以扪心自问说这项政策在各个方面都很成功？

P¹⁹ 再者，那时亚洲地区的两大巨人——印度与中国都萎靡不振。印度仍在“牌照制度”（Licence Raj）中痛苦挣扎，中国则聚精会神地与“大跃进运动”和文化大革命这两起悲剧周旋。两国确实无法专注于外来的事情，关注备受他们敬重、流散在海外的族群命运。

P²⁰ 现在，情况已经有所改变——我们都知道中国与印度如何崛起成为政治和经济强国。倘若这两个国家的华裔或印裔侨胞被我国拒于千里之外或被边缘化，马来西亚怎么能够指望与他们有效地进行外交和贸易？不过，风险会很高，而且要投入更多的精力——人们都很好奇马来西亚的领袖是否高瞻远瞩，能不能为了国家的利益着想，把这类地方自治的观念先搁在一边。

P²¹ 虽然如此，政治也是一个动态的过程：时间更迭，课题演变，旧的挑战消失、新的挑战涌现（看全球经济危机突然产生爆炸性冲击就知道）；而人性和

人际关系的介入导致情况变得混乱、产生束缚，甚至是削弱力量。有一个很好的例子：2003年，谁会预料到马哈迪医生会在他精挑细选的继承人阿都拉上位仅仅3年后就变成一个愤愤不平、非建设性的批评者？有的人甚至主张说，马哈迪勃然大怒进而导致巫统失去了他的家乡——吉打的控制权。

P²² 无论情况如何，2012年大选将建立在届时的课题和趋势，而非眼下引人注目的事件基础上。大选不是靠重新搬演、重新设计之前的竞选片段就可胜出的，2008年3月8日的大选已成为浩瀚历史的一页。

P²³ 回到这两个联盟面对的挑战，巫统目前被该党权力过大、极度保守的区部高管扼住喉咙，这些人大多学识不高。如果你不同意我的观点，只要随便找一个在国会工作的人问问看哪个政党拥有最多粗野和低学历的党员即可知道。

P²⁴ 这些男男女女花了许多时间和金钱，甚至以为他们能废除一个用尽大半辈子协商，抑或驾驭的制度，此言不假。对许多爪牙而言，政治经已成为他们的生计来源。

P²⁵ 巫统的情况并不罕见。各个政党都由自以为是骨干的活跃分子驱动着，因此，他们是赢得大选后的当然受益者，姑且不论他们是不是执政的最佳人选。相似的是，英国的工党与美国的民主党有时受制于职工会的利益，整体看来，往往不利于广大的选民以及他们各自的国家。这就是为什么有原则和目标明确的领导层是至关重要的。

P²⁶ 巫统若要成功转型，该党的道德品质必须被纠正过来，才能赢得选民的支持。简言之，该党一定要迫使党内的活跃分子（有的人可能称他们做政客）服从纪律或者将他们驱逐出党门。看一下马六甲海峡的彼岸印尼，改革运动之后的戈尔卡党（在印度相当于巫统的政党）无法抑制住该党军阀的贪婪和影响力，以至于走向末路。

P²⁷ 巫统能否改过自新是重获广大踌躇未决的人民信任和支持的关键。

P²⁸ 有趣的是，彭博电视（Bloomberg TV）在一次与纳吉的访谈中看出，当这位新任党主席敢于提出有可能改革政策的建议时，副首相署必将陷入一片混乱之中以阻止这样的结果。

P²⁹ 的确，在我与每一个巫统领袖几乎私人的讨论中，我反复听说了相同的悲凉怨言——贪污现象已经成为党内难以摆脱的恶习，所以，改革是绝对没有可能落实的。那些被委以推动巫统向前迈进的重任的人士的低落士气，对该党的前程而言是个不太好的征兆。

P³⁰ 对民联而言，前方的挑战同样是巨大的。一个不周密的选举盟约还能完好无损吗？伊斯兰教主义者能够继续与世俗主义者、社会主义者及有返回巫统倾向的人并排而坐吗？在西海岸主要州属槟城、霹雳及雪兰莪的合作经验，会使民联变得更加牢固，还是使它四分五裂？

P³¹ 就连最马虎的观察员都会注意到马来西亚的在野党为了社会公义和政治课题努力地合作。不管他们之间的差异有多大，公正党、行动党及回教党都一致认为，马来西亚人民在上述两方面理应获得比国阵迄今为止所给予的更要好得多的待遇。他们在严酷的内安法令下吃尽苦头，而且，当权派令人发指的贪污行为，让他们与反对党站在同一个阵线。

P³²但是，一旦涉及种族或宗教时，所有事情都溃不成形。它显示出马来西亚的执政者在加强人民之间的共同价值观上无能为力。50多年彻底过去了，我们还是不能沉着公平地畅谈这些课题。

P³³我们仿佛不愿接受一个事实，既是与我们有着不同生活方式和思想的马来西亚人，也有和我们一样平等生存、在公共领域上表达意见的权利。这是一个复杂的困境，致使许多国人对国家的未来感到绝望——但还是会有意想不到的事情，就像民联一样。

P³⁴他们合作的事实展现出人意表的优、弱勢。举个例子，回教党与行动党显示出——尤其霹雳与雪兰莪——合作的能耐，然而，以直觉来看，公正党的脆弱已造成相当大的问题。回教党在行动党国会议员郭素沁被当局以内安法令不公拘留后，第一时间招兵买马为她抗辩，实在激动人心。

P³⁵此外，在担任反对党几十年后，行动党与回教党已经发展出一支拥有特定相同理念和经验的领袖。而且，他们对政治忠诚、有纪律。这为跨越政党与种族界限的盟约提供了框架。

P³⁶于行动党而言，临林吉祥的真诚经已获得报酬。该党更社会主义的言论引起在打击贪污不力年代成长的回教党年轻一辈的共鸣，反之亦然。一如我在本文集里说过的那样，强调社会公正和公平有助于团结不同的反对党人士，包括左翼的公正党在内。这使得他们能够更轻易地过渡至执政。然而，公正党成立的时间还不长，而且缺乏了一个有权威的思想体系（安华并非哲学），使整个过程更加曲折。

P³⁷民联能否击退贪污的诱惑这一课题将会渐渐地浮上台面。当种族与宗教的冲突逼近时，各个成员党共同致力于根除贪污成为了最重要的战斗口号。在这种情况下，贪污的实例对民联而言，也许会造成极之严重的破坏，逐渐缩小了他们与国阵之间的关键（有时候唯一的？）差距。

P³⁸种族与宗教这两项挑战关系到个别联盟执政、博得中间立场的能力。我确信全体国人希望他们的领袖（不管他们原本的政治或宗教原则是什么）都能转向中立。简言之，向心力的政治力量得大于离心力的力量才行。

P³⁹此时此刻，依我看，巫统扭转命运的机会微乎其微，反之，民联成员党在改革上显得更加灵活，使中间立场成了他们的囊中物。权力的诱惑也是一个重要的因素。当你闻到权力的香气时，你很难把持自己不被它吸引，甚至是在曾经不容置疑的课题上达成妥协。这个事实就行动党与回教党而言格外真实。

P⁴⁰基本上，国阵，特别是它赖以支撑大局的政党巫统，必须想方设法对国家急剧转变的人口学和人们的渴望作出反应。

P⁴¹国阵在马来西亚独立之前悠久的历史根基一直都是该党力量的泉源。这使得国阵的前身“联盟”深受一种（不论好坏）迄今造就了国家稳定繁荣的社会政治机制，换句话说，也就是所谓不成文的“社会契约”影响。

P⁴²现在，国阵的新领导班子有重现历史的潜力，仿造出达致独立、迈向共同目标的关键时刻。这次的赌注是，我们作为一个国家能否幸免于难，并且成功打造一个马来西亚民族。

P⁴³但讽刺十足的是，东姑阿都拉曼、陈祯禄及森本善（VT Sambanthan）那一辈人走过的旧路已无法满足当前的需要。因循守旧者常常会警告他们的敌人不可对历史掉以轻心，特别是不想招惹麻烦的时候。然而，人们一定要循序渐进地参照历史。

P⁴⁴我们不能指望着来时的路往回走，尤其我们已在社会、经济和眼下的政治领域取得了进步。马来西亚未来的路向并不是返回我们称为社会规范的权力注意和人为种族隔离，反之，应是一条生气勃勃、开明及多元化的道路。这是唯一能使马来西亚人民获得更多利益的方式。

P⁴⁵国阵过去 50 年来奠下的基业如今危在旦夕。一方面，国家的剧变——经济增长、都市化、公民自由意识的提升，意味着人们再也不愿意百般忍耐逾半个世纪前由精英与寡头政治家反复讨论后所达成的共识。

P⁴⁶另一方面，这个由上层人物达致的共识仰赖于正直和忠诚的执政者。然而，人们对国阵领导班子始终保持着怀疑的态度。他们质疑国阵领袖的诚信、能力、行为是否正派，进而使整个领导模式受到破坏。

P⁴⁷再者，国阵过度强调“马来人主权”的课题，经已把巫统逼进政治的死角，使该党的领袖无法扭转局势。一旁的非马来人成员党觉得他们被边缘化，丑陋的马来人至上言论也深深地侮辱了他们。以前，马来社群都会乖乖地跟在巫统后方，以致于发生种族关系紧张的正面冲突。

P⁴⁸不过，过去几年来，贫穷的乡村马来人和白领阶级的城市马来人渐渐看穿了巫统领导层在讨论马来人权利议程时惺惺作态的自私行径。每当安华进行竞选活动时，他总是有力地抓住大众又沮丧又嫉妒的心态，在每一个讲座会上向群众喊道：“有没有人真正接受过土族的那一份利益？”

P⁴⁹的确，巫统的活跃分子基层——为数众多的小商人（还有不是那么小的）以及政治人物强烈抵制这个国家的任何改变。他们相当精确地意识到，这些绝对含有歧视成分的政策倘若对申请补助者进行经济情况调查、无种族之分的定位无疑会削弱他们现有的财富。

P⁵⁰看样子，该党的死忠支持者——基本上，将于 2009 年 3 月的巫统常年大会上投票的 2 千 483 名马来男女——确信他们为逾 1 千 4 百万广大的马来社群表达心声。他们目光短浅、自欺欺人，令人难以置信，尤其有鉴于 308 大选遭受的失败而言。不过，他们的忠贞不二可以解释为，他们被坚决亲巫统、拒绝在马来人权益的课题上容忍任何折衷方案的马来媒体蒙闭了眼睛。

P⁵¹这点我在之前就已提过了，而且我不妨再多说一次：要是巫统还是不肯在这些课题上作出让步，那么该党注定是要失败的，而且它还会拖垮整个国家。不过，假使该党使我们大吃一惊又会怎么样呢？若是新任党主席（想必会是首相）选择克制自己，不去行使大量他可支配的不民主权利；要是他谢绝严厉打击独立自主的声音，反之雇用他们作为国家共同的监护人，又会如何呢？

P⁵²这将会逆转国家如今处于的艰难局势。纳吉要关闭网站、报章，以国家安全法令的全副重量打垮对手都非常容易。不过，国家的未来要为此负上很大的代价。你要针对“有别于以往的开放政策”说什么都无所谓，但它经已使国家变成了一个比以前要好一点的居住地，如果压制人民的意见，无异于剥夺下一代的

美好明天。

^{P53} 不幸的是，就如我之前说过的，巫统领导层不太可能有构想这类议程的高瞻远瞩，更不用说实践它们。但是，并非整个巫统都失去了方向。该党有少数年轻有为的领袖，他们的智慧与政治才干使前辈们相形见绌。他们加入巫统不是为了金钱，本身也非种族煽动者，更确切地说，是因为他们为该当久违的服务传统感到骄傲，并且试图重振这种精神。

^{P54} 不过，他们也是政治动物，跟他们的前辈一样脆弱、容易被分裂。巫统的年轻领袖有必要凝聚他们的力量，一同为革新巫统而努力，甚至可以笼络更令人满意的有钱政治玩家，以便达成这个目标。

^{P55} 巫统这几年来遭受巨大的打击是千真万确的事实，但它拥有引以为豪的传统和历史。它为马来西亚带来了繁荣和稳定，但话又说回来，贪婪、骄纵的问题使它一蹶不振。与此同时，它在大多数课题上保守、倒退的立场使它完全不可能在改革上助它一臂之力的年轻一代的口味。

^{P56} 巫统无论如何都必须响应这次的变革，对所有马来西亚人的需求要有先见之明。他们得学习如何成为一个真正的国家政党，重新赢得我国多元文化社会的支持和敬重。在巫统领导之下的马来西亚能够拥有美好的未来，前提是：前者意识到它本身不过是一个普通的政党，而人民才是这个国家最大的主人。

APPENDIX C

60 Instances of Untranslated Additive Conjunction Element “and”

The examples below are quoted directly from source texts and target texts with the additive conjunctive elements bolded in the source text (they are untranslated in the target text).

No.	Source Text	Target Text
1.	CA1, P2, S5: It will be tough and there will be many new lessons to be learnt on all sides of the political debate.	CA1, P2, S5: 这条路必定荆棘重重，必须从各方面政论中吸取教训，
2.	CA1, P4, S9: The opposition has quadrupled its numbers in Parliament and the states of Penang and even more incredibly, Selangor, Kedah and Perak have fallen to it.	CA1, P4, S9: 相反地，反对党在国会和槟州的议席几乎翻了两番，连雪州、吉打和霹雳州政权也落入了他们手中。
3.	CA1, P12, S34: Anwar is a key factor, and will remain so for many years to come, dominating the public discourse.	CA1, P12, S34: 安华仍是一个关键因素，将会在接下来这些年内持续支配公众舆论。
4.	CA1, P15, S38: And what is that lesson?	CA1, P15, S38: 什么教训呢？
5.	CA1, P16, S40: The same old ethnic scare-mongering and ^a promises of allocations and ^b government contracts can no longer work.	CA1, P16, S40: 散播种族主义谣言、承诺拨款和 ^b 政府合约等等旧桥段已经不管用了。
6.	CA2, P8, S19: They report as they wish and ^a it is this freedom and openness that has attracted hundreds of thousands of readers – people sceptical of the MSM’s news reports, and ^b in search of other, more honest sources of information and analysis.	CA2, P8, S19: (a) 他们依据自己的心意写文章，而这种自由开放的呈现方式吸引了数十万年轻读者。(b) 对主流媒体报道心存疑惑的读者，正寻求其他更诚实的资讯与分析来源。
7.	CA2, P11, S28: Government leaders are robbed of the genuine, useful feedback and are instead, like the public, spoon-fed with the same old platitudes and half-truths.	CA2, P11, S28: (a) 政府领袖被剥夺了认清事实与有用的回馈意见的机会。(b) 和民众一样，他们被灌输错误和失真的信息。
8.	CA2, P13, S32: The BN has to free the MSM from their bondage and allow the journalists and editors to report what they have long known but cannot say – all the more so since the public will be looking for objective, unbiased reporting and analysis of the opposition’s record in the states they now hold.	CA2, P13, S32: 国阵必须解开他们对主流媒体的束缚，允许记者和主编报道他们早已知道但却不敢说出口的事情，特别是在反对党如今掌控的几个州属，民众正在寻求针对反对党表现的客观公正的报道及分析。
9.	CA3, P1, S2: While I have to agree	CA3, P1, S2: 我必须承认，民联由于

	that the Pakatan's increasing proximity to the apex of power – namely Putrajaya – has made it more united, I would also argue that there are some powerful ideological forces at work in the three component parties, and that these political philosophies do mesh.	攀上权力的巅峰（亦即布城）而变得更加团结，不过也有可能是因为一股庞大的意识形态潜移默化在这三个党内起了作用，由此可见他们的政治理念是一致的。
10.	CA3, P4, S9: Of course, the obstacles dividing the three component parties are formidable, and we are right to be sceptical, but only up to a point.	CA3, P4, S9: (a) 当然 ，存在于三党之间的分歧，确是难以克服的障碍。(b) 我们有权去质疑， 但 只限于一定的程度。
11.	CA3, P11, S30: Today's PAS is dominated by the <i>ulama</i> and they are generally wary of all –isms with the exception of Islam-ism.	CA3, P11, S30: 如今，该党由宗教司主导一切，他们一般上对所有的“主义”都会加以提防，除了伊斯兰主义。
12.	CA4, P2, S3: But those days have passed, and Malaysia's Silver State has become little more than a place between Kuala Lumpur and Penang, somewhere you drive through with your foot firmly on the accelerator.	CA4, P2, S3: 但那已是风光的陈年往事了，今天的霹雳只不过是吉隆坡和檳城之间的一个中途站，途经时也只是猛踩油门向前匆匆奔去。
13.	CA4, P14, S41: On the other hand, Perak needs a shock to the system in terms of administration, and someone with Ngeh's level of energy is bound to produce results.	CA4, P14, S41: 另外，霹靂州政府必须重振旗鼓，像倪可敏这些活力充沛的领袖有责任交出一张漂亮的成绩单。
14.	CA4, P2, S4: Perak is in a state of near terminal decline as towns shrink in size, young people leave in search of jobs and the population continues to age.	CA4, P2, S4: 该州已趋没落，因为小镇的居民越来越少，年轻人相继往外寻找工作机会，人口也逐渐老化。
15.	CA4, P5, S12: Indeed, the state's non-BN, opposition tradition is proud and deep, with solid PAS vote-banks in Parit Buntar and DAP enclaves in the Kinta Valley building on the anti-establishment sentiment fostered by the charismatic Seenivasagam brothers in the 50s and 60s.	CA4, P4, S12: 事实上，反对党在霹靂州的成绩响来不俗；巴里文打（Parit Buntar）是回教党的堡垒区，行动党则攻下近打河流域（Kinta Valley），这全靠具号召力的西尼华沙甘兄弟（Seenivasagam）在5、60年代奠下的反政府基础。
16.	CA4, P7, S18: Nonetheless, in one dramatic move and taking a leaf out of Hernando de Soto's poverty-alleviating agenda, they announced a plan to issue permanent land titles to the residents of Perak's many Emergency-era new villages, thereby reinforcing the new	CA4, P7, S18: 他们参考赫南多（Hernando de Soto）的扶贫措施作出一个重大改变——宣布发出永久地契给戒严时期的新村村民，进而提升了新政府的亲民形象。

	administration's <i>pro-rakyat</i> 's focus.	
17.	CA4, P9, S26: I've also hosted badminton games at the residence and we all get a very good workout."	CA4, P9, S26: 我也在住家办过羽毛球比赛，大家都得到很好的锻炼。
18.	CA4, P14, S41: On the other hand, Perak needs a shock to the system in terms of administration, and someone with Ngeh's level of energy is bound to produce results.	CA4, P14, S41: 另外，霹靂州政府必须重振旗鼓，像倪可敏这些活力充沛的领袖有责任交出一张漂亮的成绩单。
19.	CA4, P14, S42: His prior experience with the business world will serve the state administration well as they seek, in his words, to "enrich, empower and liberate Perakeans".	CA4, P14, S42: 他之前涉足商界的经验必能派上用场，正如他所说的：“要给霹靂人带来更大的财富、自主权和自由”。 *NOTE: structural difference whereby "and" in ST connects verbs while "and" TT connects things.
20.	CA5, P2, S6: He failed to deliver and suffered the consequences on March 8, after which he reiterated the same promises.	CA5, P2, S6: (a) 但他失败了，308大选成绩就是他所承受的后果。(b) 之后，他又重复了同样的承诺。
21.	CA5, P3, S7: Now, more than ever (amidst the debris of the two scandals) the entire nation can see the extent to which our institutions – the police, the judiciary and the prosecution service in particular – have been weakened and politicised.	CA5, P3, S7: 尤其现在人民亲眼目睹 – 警队、司法机构甚至主控官的权力是如何薄弱、如何被政治化。
22.	CA5, P3, S8: We cannot wait for the Umno leadership battle to be resolved and the Prime Minister cannot disappoint us again.	CA5, P3, S8: 我们不能等到巫统内讧结束后才开始改革，首相不能再令我们失望了，
23.	CA5, P3, S10: He must act and push the conservatives within the Cabinet – Syed Hamid Albar, Najib Abdul Razak and Mohd Nazri Abdul Aziz – to move forward.	CA5, P3, S10: 阿都拉必须马上行动，积极鞭策内阁的保守人士如赛哈密、纳吉和纳兹里。
24.	CA5, P6, S18: This network needs to be opened up and subjected to more transparency.	CA5, P6, S18: 一定要更公开和透明化， *NOTE: Same as no. 19.
25.	CA5, P11, S37: Once again, I have to disagree with them on this point: Umno's poor showing on March 8 was due to its refusal to acknowledge and ^a address core issues of justice, fairness and equality – issues that we experience across the country when	CA5, P11, S37: 我完全不赞同他们的说法，巫统之所以在308大选表现差强人意，全因他们不愿意承认和 ^a 解决这些和正义、公正及平等有关的核心问题。(b) 人民在受苦之际，那些“有商业头脑”和“精明”的巫统领袖却坐拥豪宅、名车，享受奢华

	'enterprising' and 'clever' Umno leaders suddenly acquire large houses, countless expensive cars and ^b go on lavish foreign holidays.	假期。
26.	CA5, P14, S42: Indeed, the ugly face-off between Anwar Ibrahim and Najib Razak is directly attributable to the current imbalance of authority – on one hand a severely compromised security and legal apparatus and on the other a pumped up executive beholden to no one but the party and its warlords.	CA5, P14, S42: (a) 事实上，安华和纳吉之间的对立，全是因为权力不均衡所致。(b) 一边是太没原则的执法机构，另一边则是畏惧强权的执政单位，
27.	CA5, P17, S50: Yes, Umno in its earlier incarnation helped bring Independence to Malaya and yes it did ensure the position of the Malays within the Federation.	CA5, P17, S50: 巫统的前身给我国引来独立； 是的 ，也确保了马来人在政府的地位。
28.	CA5, P18, S52: Fifty years on and Umno is symbolised by the late Zakaria Mat Deros' extraordinary mansion in Port Klang.	CA5, P18, S52: 50年后，象征巫统的只是已故查卡利亚（Zakaria Md Deros）在巴生那座豪宅。
29.	CA6, P1, S3: Finally, I thought we are beginning to reach a level of maturity where we can discuss and argue through issues of the day.	CA6, P1, S3: 我想我们终于开始迈入了一个可以谈论任何时下课题的成熟阶段。
30.	CA6, P2, S5: Apparently, we are a little better than small children whilst our political class is of course, beyond reproach – believe that and you'll believe anything.	CA6, P2, S5: 显然，我们只比小孩子稍微好一点，而我们的政治家当然是完美无瑕的。
31.	CA6, P3, S7: And for those in Umno who shirk the engagement with their political counterparts – shame on you.	CA6, P3, S7: 那些只想回避他们的政治对手的巫统领袖简直可耻。
32.	CA6, P4, S11: The debate showed that both sides of the political divide could come together and discuss in an open, civil and rational manner.	CA6, P4, S11: 这场辩论证明了在政治界线各一端的人，是可以坐在一起，以公开、文明和理性的方式，一同探讨一些课题。
33.	CA6, P6, S16: The Information Minister acquitted himself very well, and one dares say surprised many Malaysians who had grown used to Cabinet members embarrassing themselves on the public stage.	CA6, P6, S16: 部长为自己辩护得相当好，可说让很多国人大跌眼镜，毕竟我们的内阁部长经常在公共场合令自己难堪。
34.	CA6, P9, S25: But this is politics and underhanded behaviour is to be expected.	CA6, P9, S25: 不过，这就是政治，粗劣的行为是预料中事。

35.	CA6, P10, S27: Anwar was at all times cool, calm and collected despite his looming legal troubles, and chose to focus on hard facts – or at least his version of the facts.	CA6, P10, S27: 尽管陷身于司法困局，安华永远都是那么的冷静与镇定，他选择把焦点摆在事实之上（或是他自己版本的事实）。
36.	CA6, P5, S11: By dint of our sheer numbers alone- over 55% of the population – our influence is now undoubted and growing.	CA6, P5, S11: 单单人数而言，我们已占总人口的55%以上，影响力也不断在扩展中。
37.	CA6, P5, S12: As a community, we will not and cannot be dislodged from power.	CA6, P5, S12: 我们这个族群不会也不可能失势。
38.	CA7, P11, S26: These are real situations and we can't just ignore the problems that they are facing.	CA7, P11, S26: 这些都是真实的案例，我们不能忽视他们面对的难题。
39.	CA7, P13, S29: Still, the subject matter is very serious and ^a demands greater attention and ^b there are substantial legal implications for those who are married and ^c have children.	CA7, P13, S29: 这是一个相当重要和需要高度关切的题材，那些已婚和育有小孩的人士更应该了解改教后所牵涉的法律问题。
40.	CA7, P14, S32: They just become more impenetrable and impossible to resolve for real people.	CA7, P14, S32: 待要处理的时候就会难上加难，也不能替真正的受害者解困。
41.	CA7, P15, S36: We should not forget the Islamic precepts to defend and protect the rights of minorities.	CA7, P15, S36: 我们不应该忘记伊斯兰教教义中维护弱势族群的原则。
42.	CA7, P19, S43-S45: We must also face up to the fact that the 1957 Merdeka consensus is breaking down. We have to work towards a new consensus. This agreement needs to be hammered out, and soon.	CA7, P19, S43-S44: 独立以后的共同认知已渐渐瓦解，我们必须面对这个事实，并且尽快设立一个全新合时的契约。
43.	CA8, P1, S2: To outsiders it would appear that their rise through Umno has been charmed and unobstructed.	CA8, P1, S2: 对外人来说，他们通过巫统崛起，似乎有一股魔咒护体般平步青云。
44.	CA8, P3, S7: As I will explain later, in the case of Najib, his continuing refusal to endorse and promote the civil liberties reform agenda is actually undermining his own career.	CA8, P3, S7: 正如我待会解释的那样，纳吉一直不愿促成民主权益的改革议程，因为这在很大程度上将削弱它本身的的政治事业。
45.	CA8, P13, S38: He is extremely well-read and possesses a rigorous mind.	CA8, P13, S38: 他见识广阔，思想坚定。
46.	CA8, P20, S64: In this respect, Najib's reputation is actually – and this is very ironic – more damaged	CA8, P20, S64: 就这一方面来看，纳吉的声誉被政府机关摧毁的程度，

	by our weakened institutions than his arch enemy Anwar, whose position appears to strengthen every time he encounters the same institutions.	事实上要比他的对手安华大得多，而后者在每次面对政府机关刁难时，其地位却似乎越来越牢固。
47.	CA9, P4, S10: It also forces the two sides to raise their game and hopefully move more concertedly to the middle-ground of what constitutes the public debate.	CA9, P4, S10: 它也将迫使双方加强竞争力，但愿他们都能更一致地走向民众讨论的中立立场。
48.	CA9, P5, S11: The BN (and Umno in particular) have to see if they can respond and adapt to the changing demands of the Malaysia's increasingly youthful voting public – and yes, that does mean greater transparency, accountability and an end to 'money politics'.	CA9, P5, S11: 国阵（尤其是巫统）必须注意，他们能否对国内越来越多的年轻选民作出回应， 并且 使自己适应于他们的改革需求——是的，这意味着更透明、更有责任感 以及 杜绝“金钱政治”。
49.	CA9, P15, S43: As I have said elsewhere, the Merdeka-era consensus has broken down and so has its style of politics and governance.	CA9, P15, S43: 诚如我在别处曾经说过的，独立时期达成的共识已经分崩离析，国家的政治、行政作风亦是如此。
50.	CA9, P16, S44: Twenty-first century Malaysia is not the mid-1970s and it certainly cannot be led as such – something which Najib, whose claim to leadership seems to rest solely on him being his father's son – needs to take especial note of.	CA9, P16, S44: 21世纪的马来西亚不同于70年代中的马来西亚，无疑不能以这类方式领导——纳吉的领导权似乎基于他是敦拉萨的儿子——这点需要格外留意。
51.	CA9, P17, S48: It suited its time and place: a Malaysia that was far less affluent than now and whose socio-economic divisions were all the starker.	CA9, P17, S48: 这项政策符合了天时的条件：那时的马来西亚并没有像现在这样富裕，社会经济差异还十分明显。
52.	CA9, P21, S57: Nonetheless, politics is also a dynamic process: times change, issues evolve, old challenges disappear and new ones emerge (witness the sudden explosive impact of the global economic crisis) just as human nature and personal relationships intervene to confuse, hamper and undermine even the best laid plans.	CA9, P21, S57: 虽然如此，政治也是一个动态的过程：时间更迭，课题演变，旧的挑战消失、新的挑战涌现（看全球经济危机突然产生爆炸性冲击就知道）；而人性和人际关系的介入导致情况变得混乱、产生束缚， 甚至是 削弱力量。
53.	CA9, P22, S61: Elections are not won by trying to replay and/or refashion previous contests.	CA9, P22, S61: 大选不是靠重新搬演、重新设计之前的竞选片段就可胜出的，
54.	CA9, P25, S68: Political parties are driven by activists who see themselves as its core and therefore	CA9, P25, S68: 各个政党都由自以为是骨干的活跃分子驱动着，因此，他们是赢得大选后的当然受益者，

	the rightful beneficiaries of electoral success whether or not they might be the best candidates for office in a given administration.	姑且不论他们是不是执政的最佳人选。
55.	CA9, P27, S74: Umno's ability to reform itself and thereby regain the trust and support of the broader Malaysian public hangs in the balance.	CA9, P27, S74: 巫统能否改过自新是重获广大踌躇未决的人民信任和支持的关键。
56.	CA9, P29, S76: Indeed, in virtually every private discussion I have had with Umno leaders, I have heard the same dismal refrain – that corruption has become endemic within the party and that reform is impossible.	CA9, P29, S76: 的确，在我与每一个巫统领袖几乎私人的讨论中，我反复听说了相同的悲凉怨言——贪污现象已经成为党内难以摆脱的恶习，所以，改革是绝对没有可能落实的。
57.	CA9, P32, S85: But enter race or religion, and things fall apart.	CA9, P32, S85: 但是，一旦涉及种族或宗教时，所有事情都溃不成形。
58.	CA9, P48, S131: And it is this rich seam of frustration and envy that Anwar mines so effectively whenever he campaigns, by calling out into the audience at every <i>ceramah</i> : "Have any of you received Bumiputra shares?"	CA9, P48, S131: 每当安华进行竞选活动时，他总是有力地抓住大众又沮丧又嫉妒的心态，在每一个讲座会上向群众喊道：“有没有人真正接受过土族的那一份利益？”
59.	CA9, P53, S141: It would be very easy for Najib to shut down websites, purge newspapers and bring down the full weight of our security laws on his opponents.	CA9, P48, S141: 纳吉要关闭网站、报章，以国家安全法令的全副重量打垮对手都非常容易。
60.	CA9, P55, S148: But they are also political animals, and are just as vulnerable to splintering as their elders.	CA9, P55, S148: 不过，他们也是政治动物，跟他们的前辈一样脆弱、容易被分裂。