CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

The Malay language has existed since 500 years ago (Collins, 1989). Already at that time, the Malay language was used as the lingua franca within the South East Asian region (Asmah, 1976). Idris Aman (1996) reminds us that the Malay language was an invaluable asset to the development of countries within the Malay Archipelago. He adds that the Malay language was a language of high cultural esteem which played a crucial role in the local economy, knowledge, law and administration purposes and also in literature (Idris, 1996).

The Malay language comprises of several regional dialects. These dialects are typically segregated according to the states in Malaysia. The geographical boundaries within these states were first formally established by colonial officials (Collins, 1989). A collection of dialects loosely based on these boundaries was compiled by a British colonial official by the name of R.O. Windstet in 1935 (Collins, 1989). These dialects were categorized according to geographical location mainly for the advantage of the colonial officials (Ibrahim, 1998).

The peninsula of Malaysia is comprised of nine dialects (Asmah, 1992 cited from Asmah, 1985) but according to Zaa’ba (Fazal Mohamed, Zaharani, Nor Hashimah & Harishon, 2011), the number of dialects in Malaysia was eight, namely the dialects of Johor, Melaka, Negeri Sembilan, Perak, Kedah, Kelantan, Terengganu
and Pahang. It has been attested that each state in Malaysia has its own local dialects (Asmah, 1977, cited in Fazal Mohamed, Zaharani, Nor Hashimah & Harishon, 2011). These local dialects are a variation of the Malay language and differ in some linguistic aspects (Abdul Hamid Mahmood, 1977 cited in Teeuw, 1961:43). These local dialects also comprise idiolects. An idiolect is an individual’s own personal dialect (Yule, 2000). Idiolects exist within these local dialects because of individual differences in ways of articulation and stylistic differences which are mostly influenced by different contexts (Pei, 1966:119, cited in Abdul Hamid, 1977).

Within the Malay dialect itself, linguistic variations in phonetic descriptions, recorded texts, transcribed word lists, regional dictionaries and other features exist. Some of the reasons that explain these variations are historical (Asmah, 1981) and geographical factors (Abdul Hamid Mahmood, 1981), and also the social background of the speakers themselves (Adi Yasran, 2005). The regional dialects of Malaysia can be represented diagrammatically as follows:

![Figure 1.1 Classification of Malay dialects](image-url)


Figure 1.1 Classification of Malay dialects
Many studies have been conducted on the dialects found in Malaysia. Among the most studied dialects is the Kelantanese dialect. Collins (1989:242) mentions that ‘almost every Malaysian linguist born in Kelantan has written about his or her kampong dialect… [and they] have provided valuable information about Kelantan Malay’. Abdul Hamid Mahmood (1996) supports this claim by saying that the Kelantanese dialect continues to gain attention with more and more studies being conducted on it. Studies that have been carried out on the Kelantanese dialect have mainly gathered linguistic data such as phonetic descriptions, recorded texts, transcribed word lists, regional dictionaries, etc. (Collins, 1989). However, not many studies have been carried out to investigate the extralinguistic features of Malay dialects. This present study hopes to contribute to this body of knowledge by investigating the usage of politeness features of speakers of the Kelantanese dialect against that of Standard Malay.

1.1 Definition of Dialect

A distinction must be made between language and dialect. Very often people see both as similar. However, the difference between a dialect and a language is that a dialect is a subordinate variety of a language (Holmes, 2008). When a particular language has varying elements in vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation, that particular element of language can be classified as a dialect (Holmes, 2008; Collins, 1989).

Adding to the confusion in terminology, dialect and accent are sometimes understood and used interchangeably (Chambers & Trudgill, 2002). This is because
accent ‘refers to the way in which a speaker pronounces and therefore refers to a variety which is phonetically and phonologically different from other varieties’ (Chambers & Trudgill, 2002:5). In this study, dialect is defined not only in terms of the differences in phonology but also in terms of the differences in grammatical and lexical terms.

Dialects are found the world over and the attitudes people have towards dialects is sometimes not very encouraging (Holmes, 2008; Honey, 1998). Several factors have contributed to their perception. One of the factors is that mass media and learning institutions place a heavier emphasis on the standard variety of a language (Honey, 1998). Dialects, which are the non-standard variety of a language, are often associated with ‘substandard, low status, often rustic forms of language, generally associated with peasantry, the working class, or other groups lacking in prestige’ (Chambers & Trudgill, 2002:3).

In the case of the English language, the standard variety is commonly associated with Received Pronunciation (RP) (Holmes, 2008, Honey, 1998). RP is a type of accent that rates high in status and competence (Honey, 1998). RP began to gain prominence when the East Midlands dialect merged within the locale of Cambridge, London and Oxford during the 15th century. Eventually, awareness on codifying the dialect and pronouncing the words correctly ensued. With a heightened awareness on speaking ‘correctly’, schools began to acquire and disseminate the now standard form of accent to students and thus the rest of the population (Honey, 1998).
The obsession with sounding correct or ‘posh’ (Holmes, 2008) lies in the fact that being articulate in RP meant the opening of doors to better lifestyle opportunities. Honey writes that ‘standard forms are the expression of a complex of values associated with being in the mainstream society’ (1998:102). Hence, RP naturally dominated mainstream media too (Honey, 1998).

Nonetheless, dialects continue to be studied because dialects, especially in the context of Malaysia, reflect a tension for Malaysians who are caught between modernity and retaining traditions, i.e. between speaking the more standard form of the Malay language (or even English) or speaking Malay in their dialects, either northern, southern or east coast. Investigating dialects also serves to show how Malaysian speakers try to include themselves with a particular group such as a politician campaigning to people within his or her locale or even when a religious figure gives lectures or sermons in his or her dialect. There are instances where some Malaysian speakers completely drop any hint of their dialect so as to maintain their social status or even to exclude themselves from any so-called stereotypes associated with a particular dialect. Regardless of the ideas Malaysians have about dialects be it Malay, Chinese or Tamil or Hindi, dialects will continue to be part of Malaysia’s linguistic scenery and will continue to reflect the vastness of Malaysia’s linguistic diversity.

On a personal level, the Kelantanese dialect is studied as the dialect continues to fascinate the researcher with its nuances and rhythms. When listening to speakers of the Kelantanese dialect, one can and at times cannot distinguish what it is being said due to the differences in lexical items and pronunciation between the Kelantanese
dialect and standard Malay. In addition, understanding the dialect and how it is used on an extralinguistic level is an area that has not been widely studied by many researchers including even those from Kelantan, thus making this study even more relevant.

1.2 Standard Malay

The influence of the RP phenomenon has spread to Malaysia too. In Malaysia, the language that experienced standardization was the Malay Language or Bahasa Malaysia (BM) (Asmah, 1992). Standardization as defined by Ferguson (1960:8) is a process whereby a language becomes widely accepted as a norm, thus experiencing widespread influence into explicit codification and expansion of lexicon, and is made an official or national language (cited in Lee, 2002).

When the British colonized Malaya, they brought along the English language. Consequently, with the many changes that the British imposed upon Malaya, they eventually set up English schools for the privileged few who were taught the English language (Asmah, 1992). The British introduced secular education in Malay vernacular schools which eventually propelled the standardization of a Malay dialect (Asmah, 1992). Standard Malay began to materialize formally with the codifying of the Malay language in 1904 by R.J. Wilkinson (Asmah, 1992). Before this, the Malay language was written in ‘jawi’ or the Arabic script (Asmah, 1992). Later on, the Malay language was romanized because the British government wanted the Roman alphabet for writing in Malay and for ease in pronunciation.
Eventually, numerous revisions in the spelling conventions of the Malay language ensued as is expected when a country gains its independence and establishes its identity (Asmah, 1992). The Malay language continued to be taught in schools and used widely in Malaysia especially with a growing sense of nationalism among Malaysians (Asmah, 1992). With this awareness too, in the year 1957, the Malay language was declared the national language (Asmah, 1982).

Standard Malay had strong nuances of the southern dialect. According to Asmah, the influence of the southern dialect had spread due to the hegemony of the Johor Empire in the nineteenth century (1976:4). The Johor Empire extended over areas around the vicinity of the Straits of Melaka, the eastern coast of Sumatera and its adjacent islands, Pahang, Melaka and Terengganu. The southern dialect is easily distinguished because of the final schwa /ɔ/ sound (Asmah, 1976). This characteristic of the southern dialect can be heard on the mass media even today. The distribution of the schwa /ɔ/ in Malaysia is presented in the following map.
From the map, it can be seen that in Peninsular Malaysia, the geographical division mainly caused by the natural landscape of the country has resulted in people living in designated areas. People in these designated areas were unable to converse with people from other areas; hence, the differences in dialects arose (Abdul Hamid, 1977, cited in Bloomfield, 1967: 50).
1.3 The Kelantanese Dialect

The dialect that is being investigated against Standard Malay in this study is the Kelantanese dialect. The Kelantanese dialect stems from Bahasa Melayu Induk or Parent Malay (refer to Figure 1.0). All the local dialects in Malaysia except for the Johor dialect had arisen from this same origin (Adi Yasran, 2005).

Geographically, the Kelantanese dialect can be found in the east coast region mainly in Kelantan, the border between Kelantan and Terengganu, the border between Kelantan and Pahang and some districts in South Thailand such as Golok River, Narathiwat, Yala and Pattani (Abdul Hamid, 1977). It had its origins in Pattani (Adi Yasran, 2005, Collins, 1989). According to Cuisinier (1936), Kelantan and Siam (the old name for Thailand) were geographically accessible and this had inadvertently influenced the local lingo. Such influences could be seen in the words within the Kelantanese dialect that described the supernatural and mystical (Abdul Hamid Mahmood, 1996: 1011). This is not surprising because Kelantan and Pattani had already forged a diplomatic relationship for a very long time. In addition, the bond between Kelantan and Thailand can be seen even from the dialectal similarities broadcasted through a radio station from Narathiwat (Abdul Hamid Mahmood, 1977). There are also some words loaned from the Thai language that have been assimilated into the Kelantanese dialect lexicon such as ‘bo’ (/pho/) which means ‘stop’ (Abdul Hamid Mahmood, 1977).
1.4 Differences between Standard Malay and the Kelantanese Dialect

As mentioned previously, the Kelantanese Dialect came from the same source as Parent Malay. However, there are variations in the phonological, morphological and lexical aspects. The Kelantanese dialect differs from Standard Malay and the other local Malay dialects because of its historical relationship with Patani (Adi Yasran, 2005 & Collins, 1989). Inevitably, the Kelantanese dialect possesses some phonological similarities with the Patani Malay dialect (Collins, 1989 & Mohd Taib, 1961). Collins and Hussin Dollah (1988:882) go on to say that the dialectal similarities between the Kelantanese speakers and the people from Patani were so close that the relationship between both regions was almost inseparable (cited in Abdul Hamid Mahmood, 1996).

1.4.1 Vowels

The Kelantanese dialect possesses more vowels than the Standard Malay dialect.

Table 1.1 Vowels of Standard Malay and the Kelantanese dialect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard Malay</th>
<th>Kelantanese Dialect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/, /e/, /a/, /u/, /o/, /a/</td>
<td>/ɪ/, /ɛ/, /ʌ/, /ʊ/, /ɒ/, /ə/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Abdul Hamid Mahmood, 1977)

The difference is that the front and back vowels for the Kelantanese dialect are not fronted unlike in Standard Malay.
1.4.2 Consonants

The Kelantanese dialect has 20 consonants whilst Standard Malay has 25 consonants. The differences are as follows:

Table 1.2 Differences in consonants between Standard Malay and the Kelantanese dialect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard Malay</th>
<th>Kelantanese Dialect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /k/, /g/, /s/, /z/, /h/, /n/ /dʒ/ /s/, /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ /w/, /y/, /f/, /v/, /r/, /ç/, /χ/, /ʃ/</td>
<td>/p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /k/, /g/, /s/, /z/, /h/, /n/ /dʒ/ /s/, /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ /w/, /y/, /f/, /v/, /r/, /ç/, /χ/, /ʃ/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Abdul Hamid Mahmood, 1977)

1.4.3 Sentence Structure of the Kelantanese Dialect

The sentence structure of the Kelantanese dialect can be observed in three aspects:

a) the passive structure
b) the use of the word /d0h/
c) the use of the adverb of degree ‘sangat’ and ‘benar’ in a sentence

(Abdul Hamid Mahmood, 1977)
These three aspects will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

1.4.3.1 Passive Structure

Basically, a passive sentence is a sentence structure where the object of a sentence precedes the verb (Abdul Hamid Mahmood, 1996). However, the passive structure for the Kelantanese dialect is different from that of Standard Malay. Typically, a passive structure in Standard Malay would look as such:

Kucing jantan Maria dikejar oleh anak anjing Felix.

*Maria’s male cat is being chased by Felix’s puppy.*

The structure is passive because of the inclusion of the prefixes ‘di-’, ‘ber-’, and ‘ke-an’ or with the use of the word ‘kena’ before the verb (Sulaiman Masri & Ahmad Khair Mohd Nor, 2004). Additionally, the passive Standard Malay structure is only possible when a transitive verb is within the sentence. The similarities between the English and Standard Malay language structure for passives are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Standard Malay</strong></td>
<td>Kucing jantan Mawi mengejar anak anjing Marsha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>English</strong></td>
<td>Mawi’s male cat chases Marsha’s puppy.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: http://mindabahasa.wordpress.com/2007/06/16/15/)
The passive structure in the Kelantanese dialect differs from that of Standard Malay too with the use of emphatic markers which are /nyo/ and /anyo/ before the transitive verb (Abdul Hamid, 1977).

**Table 1.4 Difference in passive and active structure between Standard Malay and Kelantanese dialect**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kelantanese Dialect</strong></td>
<td>Harimau makan kambing.</td>
<td>Kambing <strong>nyo</strong> make ghima.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Standard Malay</strong></td>
<td>Harimau itu makan kambing.</td>
<td>Kambing itu dimakan oleh harimau.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>English translation</strong></td>
<td>The tiger eats the sheep.</td>
<td>The sheep is eaten by the tiger.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Abdul Hamid, 1977)

Another aspect that differentiates the Kelantanese dialect passive structure from that of Standard Malay is the use of the word ‘di’ after the verb (Abdul Hamid, 1977). For example:

**Table 1.5 Passive structure of Kelantanese dialect with the use of ‘di’**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kelantanese Dialect</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Ular <strong>nyo</strong> katok <strong>di</strong> mamat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Standard Malay</strong></td>
<td>Mamat memukul ular itu.</td>
<td>Ular itu dipukul oleh Mamat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>English translation</strong></td>
<td>Mamat hits the snake.</td>
<td>The snake was hit by Mamat.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Abdul Hamid, 1977)
1.4.3.2 The Use of the Word /d0h/ ‘sudah’

The word ‘sudah’ or the contracted form ‘dah’ means ‘done’ or ‘completed’ in English. Abdul Hamid (1977) states that the use of the word ‘doh’ in the Kelantanese dialect differs from the use of ‘sudah’ or the contracted form ‘dah’ in Standard Malay. In Standard Malay, ‘sudah’ or ‘dah’ appears before the verb. However, in the Kelantanese dialect, ‘doh’ appears after the verb. The differences can be seen below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kelantanese dialect</th>
<th>Standard Malay</th>
<th>English translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ambo make doh</td>
<td>Saya sudah makan</td>
<td>I have already eaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I have eaten already</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Abdul Hamid, 1977)

1.4.3.3 The Use of the Adverb of Degree ‘Sangat’ and ‘Benar’ in a Sentence

The word ‘sangat’ in Standard Malay carries the meaning ‘very’ in English. Another adverb of degree used in Standard Malay is ‘benar’. ‘Benar’ essentially means ‘correct’ or ‘true’ in Standard Malay. However, ‘benar’ can also be used as an adverb of degree especially when emphasizing a certain characteristic of a person or when reinforcing a quality of someone or something. In typical Standard Malay, ‘sangat’ is placed before the adjective. However, in the Kelantanese dialect ‘sangat’ is placed after the adjective.
Table 1.7 Use of ‘sangat’ in Standard Malay and the Kelantanese dialect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kelantanese dialect</th>
<th>Standard Malay</th>
<th>English translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Budok tu baik sangat.</td>
<td>Budak itu sangat baik.</td>
<td>That child is very polite.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Abdul Hamid Mahmood, 1977)

However, in the case of the adverb ‘benar’, it is placed at the same position for both dialects that is, after the adjective and before the verb. For example:

Table 1.8 Use of ‘benar’ in Standard Malay and the Kelantanese dialect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kelantanese dialect</th>
<th>Standard Malay</th>
<th>English translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Siti Nor pandai bena(r) mengaji.</td>
<td>Siti Nor pandai benar mengaji.</td>
<td>Siti Nor is really good in her studies.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Abdul Hamid Mahmood, 1977)

1.4.4 Kelantanese Dialect Lexicon

There are some words in the Kelantanese dialect that are not found in Standard Malay. The words are as follows:
Table 1.9 Examples of some Kelantanese lexis not available in Standard Malay

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kelantanese Dialect</th>
<th>Standard Malay Equivalent</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tok se(y)</td>
<td>tak mahu</td>
<td>(i) don’t want</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kecek</td>
<td>cakap</td>
<td>to talk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sokmo</td>
<td>selalu</td>
<td>always / often</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghoyak</td>
<td>beritahu</td>
<td>to tell / to inform</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Abdul Hamid, 1977)

There are some words found both in the Kelantanese Dialect and Standard Malay, but they are pronounced differently and have different meanings, for example:

Table 1.10 Words available in both Standard Malay and the Kelantanese dialect but with different meanings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kelantanese Dialect</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Standard Malay</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>loghat</td>
<td>fight</td>
<td>lorat</td>
<td>dialect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pelawok</td>
<td>to lie</td>
<td>pelawak</td>
<td>comedic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Abdul Hamid, 1977)
Thus, the previous paragraphs show that there are some distinct differences between Standard Malay and the Kelantanese dialect.

1.5 **Politeness Theory**

Communication is not only about producing linguistically correct utterances, but also about being extralinguistically apt when uttering them. In addition, communication is also an individual’s need ‘to establish an atmosphere of sociability’ (Salzmann, 1993:198, cited in Raja Rozina, 2004), for solidarity (Raja Rozina, 2004) and for social identification (Suzuki, 1998, cited in Guan & Park, 2009).

To maintain good rapport and achieve solidarity, one needs to be extralinguistically correct. In Hymes’ terms (1974), being extra linguistically correct is having communicative competence. With communicative competence, one knows what to say and what not to say in any specific cultural context (Govindasamy, 1994). Maintaining good rapport and achieving solidarity is done through the use of politeness.

Politeness in general terms is ‘being tactful, modest and nice to other people’ (Yule, 2000:134). When one does that, one is regarded as ‘positively associated with tolerance, restraint, good manners, and showing deference to other people’ (Blum-Kulka, 2005:257). According to Brown and Levinson (1987, 1978), ‘the aim of politeness is to communicate politeness and sincerely engage in polite behavior by using polite linguistic forms or strategies’ (cited in Jary, 1998:3).
Communicating politeness is connected with the concept that was put forth by Goffman (1955) i.e. the consideration of another person’s public self-image or face. Goffman (1967) contends that an individual is vested with a face that portrays his or her self-image in public and it should be treated with the utmost care. When people interact with each other, they will ‘consciously or sub-consciously consider certain variables that help them determine the form that their speech will take’ (Longcope, 1995: 69). Such variables, amongst others, are the consideration of being polite when interacting. In maintaining good rapport and achieving solidarity with the other individual, politeness will naturally involve the concept of face.

Goffman’s face theory was extended by Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987). According to them, face is the ‘public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself’ (1978:66). This public self-image reflects two types of faces which are the positive face and the negative face (Brown and Levinson, 1978, 1987). The positive face ‘concerns the desire to be appreciated and approved by selected others while the negative face concerns a person’s want to be unimpeded and free from imposition’ (Tracy, 1990: 210, cited in Longcope, 1995). If an attempt, be it verbally or non-verbally, occurs atypically to the face of the other speaker, then this would be classified as a ‘face-threatening act’ (Brown and Levinson, 1978). Basically a face-threatening act involves going contrary to a person’s positive or negative face. To threaten a person’s negative face would be to impose our needs over the other person’s needs or liberty while threatening a person’s positive face would be ‘a contradiction or expression of disagreement on the other person’s opinion’ (Fasold,
1990:161, cited in Longcope, 1995). In dealing with FTAs or face-threatening acts, an individual has five super strategies to help him or her mitigate the FTA.

When an individual has decided to do or not to do an FTA, he or she ‘must decide to do it either on record or off record’ (Felix-Brasdefer, 2006: 2160). If a person chooses to do the FTA, he can express his intention by going on record baldly without redressive action or he may go on record but with redressive action. If he chooses to go on record with redressive action, he will need to submit his intention to two modes of politeness that is, by positive politeness or by negative politeness. Basically, this is a simple dynamic of the lesser the imposition of the act, distance and power of the other participant, the less polite one will have to be (Culpeper, 1996).

The following scenario shows how the super strategies function.

Context: Student who wants to meet a professor to discuss an idea.

Bald on record: Meet with me.

Positive politeness: Let’s meet to discuss your ideas.

Negative politeness: Would you be able to meet me for just a minute about this concept?

Off record: Usually when I talk through a concept, I understand it better.

Don’t do the FTA: Do not make any requests.

(Pillai, 2008)

With regard to Malay dialects, politeness is an integral element in Malaysian and Asian cultures at large. Politeness in the Asian context is the overall aptitude and attitude of an individual of not offending another person’s self worth or face. In the
Malay language, the overall aptitude or attitude of not offending another person’s self worth and face is known as one having ‘budi bahasa’ (Raja Rozina, 2004). ‘Budi bahasa’ is of the utmost importance within the Malay community because upholding another person’s face is more important than one’s own face. Jamaliah (2000) emphasizes that being polite is valued highly within the Malay community (and other local Malaysian communities) because if a person is deemed as polite, he or she will be positively evaluated by society as being a person who has ‘nilai diri’ or self-worth and also has ‘air muka’ or face. This individual is then considered as one who has ‘adab’ i.e. manners and grace (cited in Noor Ashikin Ghazali, 2006).

1.6 Background of the Study

This study investigates the nature of politeness between speakers of two Malay dialects using Brown and Levinson’s politeness theory. The argument here is that if communication between individuals can be potentially threatening, surely a certain mechanism is employed to maintain solidarity among the speakers. For some Malaysians, communicating in different dialects can be quite challenging. Thus, it can be assumed that a certain mechanism would be employed between speakers to prevent or to bridge the gap of miscommunication and misunderstanding. Hence, this study intends to discover how speakers who use two different Malay dialects maintain good rapport during the conversations with reference to Brown and Levinson’s politeness theory.
1.7 **Aim of Study**

The Kelantanese dialect and Standard Malay may come from the same origin but both dialects do not share similarities in phonological aspects and even in the meaning of some words. Differences may also occur at the extralinguistic level. It is therefore the aim of this study to look into what politeness strategies appear when speakers of two Malay dialects converse. This study also aims to add to the existing knowledge on pragmatic studies conducted on the Kelantanese dialect in particular and Malay dialects in general.

1.8 **Research Questions**

The research questions that guide the study are as follows:

I. What are the politeness strategies employed by the speakers?

II. Which of the politeness strategies is frequently employed by the speakers?

1.9 **Significance of Study**

The current study can provide a platform for other researchers to pursue extralinguistic studies on Malay dialects. Malay dialects are under-researched in areas where pragmatics is concerned and it will be of enormous benefit if more studies are conducted on them.
Besides that, this study also hopes to add to our knowledge of how Brown and Levinson’s theory can be utilized when analyzing Malay dialects. Although current research has shown that there are some shortcomings, the theory has been able to provide valuable information on politeness between speakers of two Malay dialects. It will be interesting to see how the theory can be used for the study of the Kelantanese dialect and the Standard Malay.

1.10 Limitations of the study

This study is limited to only two Malay dialects. Therefore, the findings cannot be representative of the other Malay dialects. This study also only looked into the aspect of politeness and excluded other influencing factors such as power, educational background, demographics, gender and culture. In addition, the study did not include video recordings of the conversations between the participants. Thus, only what was heard was analyzed; the body language and facial expressions of the participants were not part of the study.

1.11 Conclusion

On the whole, this chapter has discussed the aims, rationale and purpose of the study. This chapter has also introduced the concept of politeness that is integral to the foundation of this study. The next chapter will discuss Brown and Levinson’s theory of politeness and some relevant research that contribute to this study.
CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0  Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the relevant ideas that provide the basis for the theoretical framework used in this study. A section is dedicated to defining politeness which is then followed by some critique on Brown and Levinson’s politeness theory. The subsequent sections discuss local studies which incorporate Brown and Levinson’s theory. The next sections deal with dialect studies in Malaysia.

2.1  Definition of Politeness

Defining politeness can sometimes be incongruous because of the nature of the word ‘politeness’ itself. Politeness can mean many things to many people. This can be seen in the study conducted by Ide (2006) where ‘the concept of politeness was different between American English and Japanese’ (cited in Yuka, 2009:60). If one were to look up the meaning for the word ‘polite’, a variety of synonyms and definitions will appear. This is the case for how Americans would look at being polite as similar to being friendly whilst the Japanese do not share this sentiment (Ide, 2006 cited in Yuka, 2009). The Japanese would see politeness and friendliness as two separate entities. For example, politeness in the Japanese context is reflected in the use of Japanese honorifics ‘which are a system to express only politeness, and not
friendliness’ (cited in Yuka, 2009). Unfortunately, these synonyms, or concepts and their definitions can be challenged as the very nature of their definitions is still open for scrutiny, which then only adds up to the incongruity of the definition of politeness.

Back in the 18th century, politeness was associated with a particular group in society. This prejudiced view allocated the qualities of ‘a person in possession of embracing intellectual enlightenment and civilization’ (Sell, 1991:208 cited in Watts, 2005) to a particular group in society mainly because they were the ones who were socially and politically privileged. France (1992) says that ‘politeness was thus instrumental in creating and maintaining a strictly hierarchical and elitist social structure, and it was a means of enforcing social differences’ (cited in Watts, 2003:33)

Nowadays, politeness does not discriminate between social classes. Politeness would often be associated with good manners, as ‘polite behavior, including polite language [which] has to be acquired’ (Watts, 1995:9). Politeness based on a dictionary definition means ‘behaving in a way that is socially correct and shows understanding of and cares for other people’s feelings’ (Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, 2008). Showing care for other people’s feelings requires one to be ‘courteous, respectful, and well mannered’ (Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, 2008). These qualities have to be taught and are generally not inherent in a person. In the words of Felix-Brasdefer (2006), ‘politeness is a form of social interaction that is conditioned by societal interaction and is conditioned by sociocultural norms of a particular society; it can be expressed through communicative and non-communicative acts.
Nonetheless, as has been pointed out earlier, politeness can mean different things to different people. For some, being polite is a mechanism for people to avoid conflicts. Most of the time, conflicts occur because of miscommunication or misunderstandings. Misunderstandings develop ‘because of culturally diverging face wants and preferences for the use of certain politeness strategies’ (Knapp-Pothoff, 2003:203). Misunderstandings can occur because individuals ‘have difficulty…finding appropriate ways to signal feelings and attitudes’ (Arndt & Janney, 1984, cited in Watts, Janney & Horst Arndt, 2005). Therefore, a mechanism is employed by individuals to try as much as possible to minimize any threats to the conversation and this is achieved by employing certain politeness strategies.

Lakoff (1980) sees politeness as forms of behavior ‘developed in societies in order to reduce friction in personal interaction’ (1995:64, cited in Watts, 2003). Kasper (1990:194) also sees politeness as a set of strategies utilized ‘to defuse anger and minimize antagonism because humans have the potential to be involved in hostile communicative environments’. Leech (1980:19) also defines politeness as ‘a strategic conflict avoidance’ which ‘can be measured in terms of the degree of effort put into the avoidance of a conflict situation and the establishment and maintenance of comity’.

Some of the ways of handling vulnerable situations are by ‘becoming less assertive such as becoming verbally less explicit, prosodically less emphatic and kinesically less direct and also by signaling acceptance of the partner by wording negative messages in positive ways, using a pleasant tone of voice or smiling etc.’
(Watts, Janney & Arndt, 2003:50). Thus, politeness is not only a sign of good breeding but also a way of avoiding any potential crises.

Another aspect that contributes to the incongruity when defining politeness is that politeness is culture bound. Kunmer (2005) says that different cultures vary from one another and how each culture and perhaps even sub-culture defines politeness can be extremely different. Watts (2003) would describe these differences across cultures as being ‘culturally relative’. Cultural relativity refers to scenarios where one culture would not share another culture’s interpretation of politeness due to factors such as lifestyle or habitual differences.

In some cultures, elements of politeness are usually manifested in language. Most Asian languages reflect politeness in the use of honorifics and forms of address. Braun (1988) has documented forms of address across cultures and concludes that ‘forms of address are correlated highly with the parameters of dominance and social distance in all speech communities which form part of the linguistic system’ (cited in Watts, 2005:58). In Malaysian communities, kinship terms are commonly used. Children of all Malaysian ethnicities are commonly taught to address their older neighbours as ‘Aunty’ or ‘Uncle’ even though they are not related. Malay children are taught to address their aunts and uncles with a designated term such as ‘Mak Long’ and ‘Pak Long’ for the eldest aunt and uncle and ‘Mak Su’ and ‘Pak Su’ for the youngest aunt and uncle. These forms of address are a reflection of politeness in language in the Malaysian context. The Japanese also have politeness embedded in their language. An example would be the intricate honorifics system. It is said that an honorifics system belongs to the negative politeness culture (Yuka, 2009).
The final piece of incongruity when defining politeness is how inherently
difficult it is to theorize politeness. Watts (2003) says that it is not easy to define
politeness within a language or any language because there is no such thing as a
theory of human language. The assumption is if we possess a theory of human
language, we would be able to base a theory of politeness against that theory. This is
because politeness is not necessarily universal across cultures or beyond borders.
When there is a theory of human language, a linguist can ‘try to abstract away from
the ways in which we use it (human language)’ (Watts: 2003:48) and thus define what
politeness is. Watts reiterates that politeness ‘should be assigned a timeless, placeless
existence as a non-value term in a model of polite behavior’ (Watts, 2003:47).
Unfortunately, as Watts himself points out, this is not the case. Human language will
always be ‘embroiled in first-order conceptualizations of the value of language’

As the previous paragraphs have shown, defining politeness may vary
depending on how one sees it. Nevertheless, regardless of all the different opinions
people have when defining politeness, it can be agreed upon that politeness is a
person’s consideration towards another person. Cupach & Metts (1994: 2) have
observed that ‘people agree tacitly to support each other’s performance or face’;
herein, being considerate is an act of reciprocity which in turns deflects any potential
crises between the individuals.
2.2 Brown and Levinson’s Theory of Politeness

Brown and Levinson began investigating politeness in 1978. The concept of politeness was an extension to Goffman’s (1967) face theory. Goffman came about with this theory where he describes that an individual ‘tends to act out what is sometimes called a line- that is, a pattern of verbal and nonverbal acts by which he expresses his view of the situation and through this his evaluation of the participants, especially himself’ (2005:5). Goffman goes on to clarify that ‘face is the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself…’ (2005:5). Positive social value refers to one’s identity and esteem (Ng, 2009). Goffman (2005) also describes that a person functions as a social actor. If one does not support another’s face or performance, then one has caused embarrassment to another resulting in the person having an ‘out of face’ experience or ‘losing face’ (Cupach & Metts, 1994).

From the face theory put forth by Goffman, Brown and Levinson introduce a comprehensive and universal theory of politeness. Face, is ‘the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself’ (Brown and Levinson, 1978:66). According to Brown and Levinson (1978), ‘every individual has two types of face, positive and negative’ (cited in Watts, 2005). The positive face is an individual’s need to feel appreciated and approved by others (Watts, 2005). The negative face is respecting other people’s personal space and desire for freedom (Watts, 2005). It is an obligation for individuals to ease any form of hostility when conversing; thus Brown and Levinson proposed a politeness strategy that would ‘support or enhance the addressee’s positive face by means of positive politeness and avoid transgression on the addressee’s freedom by means of negative politeness’ (Watts, 2005:86).
Ideally, the speaker would assess his speech for any ‘possible face threats’ that he or she is about to make (Watts, 2005:86). The reason for this is to enable the speaker to proceed with the conversation by either immediately ignoring or avoiding the next point of conversation or ‘at least to soften (or minimize) it by choosing an appropriate linguistic strategy or strategies’ (Watts, 2005:86). Brown and Levinson (1987:65) insisted that politeness must be given and that speakers need to say things which help them to mitigate the imposition inherent in speech acts, and the face that those speech acts threaten includes the face of the speaker as well as the face of others.

The means of mitigating the imposition can be seen in the five superstrategies created by Brown and Levinson which can be seen below.

![Figure 2.1 Circumstances determining choice of strategy](image)

Based on the diagram above, opting for any of the strategies carries the burden of causing lesser or greater face loss for the individuals involved in the conversation. This occurs due to three factors which are power, distance and ranking. If one decides to borrow money from somebody, one can make that request by going on
record or off record. Borrowing money (not taking into account the amount of money) by going off record would be a request that is layered with indirectness that does not at all reflect the main intention of the borrower. For example, “I really need to get something at the grocer but I did not bring my wallet along” (own example). On the other hand, the request can also be made on record with two alternatives, that is, without redressive action or by going bald on record which ‘involves doing it in the most direct, clear, unambiguous and concise way possible’ (Brown and Levinson, 1978:74) such as “Lend me some cash! Need to go to the grocer’s” or by going on record with redressive action. A request with redressive action can accommodate a person’s positive face by means of positive politeness and a person’s negative face by means of negative politeness. Borrowing money by means of positive politeness would be by first acknowledging any outstanding qualities the other person may possess at the time of speaking or by commenting on anything random which has no affiliation to the borrower’s intent like commenting on the weather. An example of a request sensitive to one’s positive face is “Hey, that’s a great suit you have on! Is it new? (...) By the way, may I borrow your car tomorrow?” (adapted from Brown and Levinson 1978:108, cited in Longcope, 1995). To borrow something by means of negative politeness (addressing negative face) would be to say “You couldn’t by any chance loan me your car, tomorrow, could you?” (adapted from Brown and Levinson, 1978:141). Longcope says that the borrower here tries to show his/her sensitivity to the other person’s personal space “by implying that he/she does not think the other person can loan the car” (1995:72).
2.3 Critique of Brown and Levinson’s Theory of Politeness

A theory as famous as Brown and Levinson’s is not short of criticism. In fact, a theory cited as exhaustively as Brown and Levinson’s only proves that this theory ‘is worth paying attention to’ (Thomas, 1995:176 cited in Fukushima, 2002).

The first criticism of the theory is whether or not it is truly as universal as it is perceived to be. Kasper states that ‘politeness is ethnocentric’ and that it is mostly valued based on individualism in Western culture (1990:225-253, cited in Chen, 2001). This realization was made after numerous studies, mainly on non-English speaking cultures, incorporated Brown and Levinson’s theory only to discover that some of the strategies posed by Brown and Levinson did not provide justifications for their analysis (Chen, 2001). Furthermore, these strategies were unable to account for face in other cultures as the theory ‘assumes an individualistic concept of face’ (Watts, 2003:102).

Brown and Levinson (1987:62) claim that ‘the face wants of both hearer and speaker must be satisfied’. However, as far as Pfister (2010) is concerned, politeness bears more weight on the face of the hearer than one’s own face. Hence, there is an imbalance here. Werkhofer (1992) claims that all Brown and Levinson’s theory does is to provide a ‘production model of polite utterances’ (Watts, 2003:112). Werkhofer goes on to say that the genuine intention of a person is not realized because the individual must submit to certain manners of interaction that is in accordance with the strategies provided by the said theory. This claim is further substantiated with
Pfister’s (2010:1270) opinion that ‘an utterance can be polite even if the speaker does not mean anything polite’.

In relation to the current study, Lim (2003) discovered that in most cases the strategy that is most common among Malay speakers is positive politeness (cited in Noor Ashikin, 2006). Lim (2003) mentions that Malay speakers rarely pay attention to the exact request; instead, what is of the utmost concern to them is how the utterance is expressed. Thus, Brown and Levinson’s theory would not be able to explain this phenomenon comprehensively if requests in Malay are more readily accepted when the requests are fashioned in idiomatic language or ‘peribahasa’.

Politeness according to Brown and Levinson’s theory often requires one to analyse utterances of politeness in isolation. Politeness is somewhat only easily distinguishable in vivid situations as mentioned by Mills (2003). She writes that ‘Brown and Levinson’s model can only deal with certain elements of the data, for example where participants are overtly and clearly polite’ (Mills, 2003:57-58). Reiterating Mills’ claims, Fukushima (2002) says that certain politeness strategies such as off-record strategies and don’t do the FTA have not been given much attention. This is probably due to the nature of the strategy being less obvious than the other politeness strategies.

Another issue concerning Brown and Levinson’s theory is that if an individual does not communicate politeness, this individual is taken as one who lacks a polite demeanor (1987, cited in Pfister, 2010). Pfister (2010) says that Brown and Levinson’s theory sees politeness as an implicature. However, Fraser (1990) refutes
this claim by saying that if ‘politeness is communicated as an implicature, then it is
counterintuitive since politeness is normally anticipated’ (cited in Pfister, 2010:
1270). This claim is rather presumptuous. The reason is, as Pfister (2010:1270) says,
‘we take an utterance to be polite even if an implicature of politeness is absent’ when
in reality, there would be instances where an ‘utterance can be polite even if the
speaker does not mean anything polite’ and ‘what is implicated must be meant by the
speaker’. Social and pragmatic meanings of the strategies apply differently to
different people. It was found that Uruguayans would comply with requests if the
request were made indirectly while the Japanese would request more directly
(Fukushima, 2002). Being direct does not necessarily mean the person is intrusive.
Directness, as Miller (1994) points out, can be interpreted differently by people
depending on the level of their relationship (cited in Fukushima, 2002)

The notion of face based on the definitions laid by Brown and Levinson places
the individual ‘as an independent member of society (Felix-Brasdefer, 2006:2162).
However, many scholars disagree with this notion of face because based on empirical
research, face for some societies is not individualistic. Instead, face is mostly based
on group orientation and is ‘institutionalized and sanctioned by society’ (Felix-
Brasdefer, 2006:2162). Furthermore, the criticism made by Matsumoto (1988) and
Mau (1994) lends support to the idea that face cannot be limited to the confines of an
independent member of society. Mao (1994) says that ‘there are two views of face
that is the individual (Brown and Levinson, 1978) and social’ (Matsumoto, 1988 and
An important aspect that rarely gets attention is the concept of impoliteness. Culpeper (1996) said that if one intends to discuss politeness, one must include the idea of impoliteness so as to see what exactly constitutes an impolite utterance, thus deeming it as such and vice versa. Is it always the case that an utterance that is contradictory is necessarily impolite? Culpeper (1996) defines impoliteness as ‘the use of strategies that are designed to have the opposite effect -- that of social disruption (p.350). He says these strategies were meant to attack another person’s face (Culpeper 1996). Culpeper (1996), who is an advocate for a theory of impoliteness, provided two types of impoliteness: inherent impoliteness and mock impoliteness. He even came up with a set of impoliteness strategies to prove the inadequacy of Brown and Levinson’s theory. However, in defense of Brown and Levinson, Eelen (2001) stated that ‘by conceptualizing face redress and FTAs, Brown and Levinson’s theory seems capable of accounting for linguistic impoliteness’ by simply avoiding redressive strategies and instead using bald on record strategies whenever the need for being impolite is necessary (cited in Ng 2009:25).

Additionally, there are scholars who are generally more receptive to Brown and Levinson’s theory. Cheng (2001) claims that despite the many criticisms against Brown and Levinson’s theory, especially for it being more production focused, the theory if refined more carefully does take into account the face of the self (the speaker). This claim is refuted by some scholars who claim that Brown and Levinson’s theory says politeness bears more weight on the hearer than on the speaker. This submission is essential in Brown and Levinson’s terms because one should prevent any detrimental repercussions or communication breakdowns from occurring (Werkhofer, 1992, cited in Mills, 2003).
2.4 Politeness in the Malay Language

‘Language is a clear manifestation of culture’ (Thao Le, 2005:5). This claim is especially relevant to the Malay language. Not only is language a manifestation of a culture, it also reflects one’s upbringing. According to Jamaliah (2000), politeness or ‘kesopanan’ is extremely important for the Malay community because one’s good manners or ‘budi bahasa’ reflects one’s upbringing which indirectly mirrors a parent’s parenting abilities.

Malaysian children are taught to address their elders with specific forms of address and are taught to speak with their elders with reverence. Requesting an item from a parent is also made with utmost respect. Malaysian children are taught that they should not have the audacity to ask their father directly for an item. For example, children may tell stories about how a particular friend of theirs owns an item with the intent of hinting indirectly to their father that they would like to have that item too. This is a reflection of upholding politeness by beating around the bush (Asmah, 1992). Part of the reason why Malaysian children do not go up front with their requests is because Malaysian children are taught to not expect too much. Being sensitive of their place in the family institution and because they do not want to be accused of being rude, Malaysian children would never ask their parents or any adults for something directly. Nevertheless, while it is common practice, this observation is still a generalization and is probably not generalizable to all Malaysian households.

The next manifestation of politeness in the Malay language is, according to Asmah (1992), the use of a surrogate party. Communication via a surrogate party in
the Malay language ‘arises when there is a big gap between the message originator and its receiver’ (Asmah, 1992:185). Such situations can be seen when a ‘mother-in-law would not talk face-to-face with her son-in-law, instead she would use her daughter to convey the message’ (Asmah, 1992:185). According to Asmah (1992), this happens because some people would say that they literally do not know how to speak to the other party. In the example given previously, the mother-in-law probably felt unsure about whether or not the matter that she wanted to convey to her son-in-law was something that both of them would agree upon. Perhaps it was the intention of the mother-in-law to save the face of her son-in-law and maybe her own face too.

Other than that, the Malay language also consists of two varieties, that is the High Variety and the Low Variety (Asmah Haji Omar, 1988). Within these two varieties, a set of sub-varieties exists too. These varieties all serve specific purposes according to situations. This unique trait makes the Malay language sophisticated in its own way and elements of politeness are also manifested through these varieties.

The High Variety of the Malay language is Royal Malay. Royal Malay is a variety that is used exclusively within the royal grounds and whenever there is interaction between commoners and the royal family (Suraiya, 1998). The Low Variety consists of other sub-varieties namely, Educated Malay or Standard Malay, Refined Malay and Colloquial Malay (Asmah Haji Omar, 1988). Standard Malay or Educated Malay is the Malay variety that is acquired in schools and used throughout the mass media. The unique quality of these two varieties is that there is no discrimination between the Low and High varieties. Usage of the High Variety
merely shows that ‘a commoner has to know how to ‘talk up’ as he responds to royalty ‘talking down’ to him’ (Suraiya Mohd Ali, 1998:45).

Politeness in the Malay language can be seen in every aspect of how the language is used. It is known that in traditional Malay writing, the utterances are usually very lengthy and indirect (Asmah Haji Omar, 1992). Major events such as engagements and wedding ceremonies are a testimony to this claim. The beauty of the interaction between both parties lies in the fact that despite the long-winded process of seeking a woman's hand in marriage, for example, the camaraderie between both parties is felt and a pleasant banter takes place between the families’ representatives. Guests are entertained with humorous exchanges which are filled with polite elements such as beating around the bush, imageries, and ‘pantuns’ (Asmah Haji Omar, 1992). This sub-variety is known as Refined Malay. To some, being long-winded and indirect shows passivity and no strong conviction of one’s self. Asmah (1992:180) would refute this view claim by describing that one who has such refined skills in the Malay language is one who is ‘at the height of his finesse and decorum’ and it is at this time that the speaker shows sensitivity to the hearer’s negative face, that is by not being too upfront with the request and thus causing embarrassment to the hearer.

2.5 Previous Studies on Malay Dialects

Thus far, most of the studies conducted on Malay dialects have focused mainly on the linguistic attributes of the dialects. These studies have been carried out ever since the British colonized Malaya with R.O. Windstet being one of the very first
people to conduct a systematic study on the Malay language (Abdul Hamid Mahmood, 1996). There were other studies conducted by British officers but these are considered unacademic because of the methodology employed when conducting the studies (Abdul Hamid Mahmood, 1996). These studies were carried out by officers to aid them in understanding the local dialects so as to go about their duties easily. These officers then shared their knowledge of the dialects with the other younger officers (Abdul Hamid Mahmood, 1996). One dialect that was studied by these officers was the Kelantanese dialect. Unfortunately, the Kelantanese dialect was transcribed according to these westerners’ personal manner of spelling and articulation with no reference at all to a uniformed phonetic system (Abdul Hamid Mahmood, 1996). This was a grave error as the transcription of the dialects was incompatible with the exact utterances of the Kelantanese dialect (Abdul Hamid Mahmood, 1996).

Eventually, with the establishment of language departments in academic institutions, studies on Malay dialects began to increase as more local graduates and scholars delved into the Malay language (Khaza’ai, 1997). The methodology used to conduct the studies on the Malay language and dialects alike were more systematic and sound. One such establishment that contributed to the revival of the Malay language is the Malay Language Department in the University of Malaya that was once under the tutelage of Zainal Abidin Ahmad or Za’ba and Tan Sri Prof. Emeritus Dato’ Dr. Haji Ismail Hussein.

Malay dialects continued to be studied by Malay speakers themselves and one of them was Tan Sri Prof. Emeritus Dato’ Dr. Haji Ismail Hussein. Ismail Hussein
conducted a study on the phonological spread of the Malay dialects (Khaza’ai, 1997). In his book ‘Malay Dialects in the Malay Peninsula’, Ismail Hussein (1973) discussed the dialectal concept of ‘weak’ and ‘strong’ dialects found in peninsular Malaysia. He explained that ‘this dialect mixture tends to eliminate the weaker dialects and sustain the stronger dialects’ which were more prominent in the city (1973: 69). Ismail Hussein (1973) also categorized the dialects in his study into fourteen divisions. They are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State Dialect</th>
<th>Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kelantan Malay Dialect</td>
<td>Encompasses the whole of Kelantan and is also found in the northern areas of Terengganu and towards Pahang.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulai Chondong Malay Dialect</td>
<td>A variation of the Kelantanese dialect.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terengganu Malay Dialect</td>
<td>Encompasses the whole of south Terengganu and along the coastal lines of Johor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patani Malay Dialect</td>
<td>Found in the interior regions of Kedah, North Perak, Patani and South Thailand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kedah Malay Dialect</td>
<td>Expanded all over the northern coast and western peninsular from Perlis to the south of Dinding in Perak, Lake Perong, Pulau Pinang and Kedah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sungai Perak Malay Dialect</td>
<td>This dialect is found along the Perak River and is connected to ‘Kampung Gajah’ at ‘Selatan Parit’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulau Sayong Malay Dialek</td>
<td>This dialect is found around the Perak River and Kuala Kangsar town.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Perak Malay Dialect</td>
<td>The dialect is found in the area from Kuala Kangsar and towards the north and south of Perak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selangor Malay Dialect</td>
<td>This dialect is found around Selangor and Kuala Lumpur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negeri Sembilan Malay Dialect</td>
<td>This dialect is found mainly within Negeri Sembilan and is also heard along the border of Melaka, all over Alor Gajah, Jelebu and Linggi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melaka Malay Dialect</td>
<td>This dialect is widely spoken within Melaka and around the coast of Selangor and south Melaka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lenga Malay Dialect</td>
<td>This dialect is found in some areas of the Muar River and Muar.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Among the notable studies on local Malay dialects include dissertations such as ‘Loghat Kelantan: Suatu Cerakanan Kaji Bunyi Bahasa’ by Nik Safiah Karim (1965), ‘Fonem Dialek Kelantan’ by Abdul Hamid Mahmood (1971) and Noor Ashikin Ghazali’s ‘Kesopanan Negatif: Satu Tinjauan di Kalangan Penutur Melayu di Utara dan Semenanjung Malaysia (2006).  

Studying the phonological aspects of a dialect is a popular research activity among undergraduates and post graduates alike. Scholars like Nik Safiah Karim, wrote a dissertation on the phonological and prosodic aspects of the Kelantanese dialect; she herself is Kelantanese. Nik Safiah had collected data by recording conversations and transcribing the data (Zahid & Shah Omar, 2006). Nik Safiah (1965) explains that there is a difference between the Kelantanese dialect speakers in the city and those from the villages. This claim echoes Ismail Hussein’s observation too. In her dissertation, she included a historical account of the Kelantanese dialect and also included a section on the uniqueness of the dialect.  

Continuing on the same thread as Nik Safiah, Abdul Hamid Mahmood (1971) studied the phonemes of the Kelantanese dialect. Abdul Hamid (1971) looked into
the phonemes and phonemic distribution of the dialect. His findings showed that the nasal phonemes in the Kelantanese dialect were phonemic (Abdul Hamid Mahmood, 1971). Hashim Musa produced the next two studies on the Kelantanese dialect which were equally important. The first dissertation on the Kelantanese dialect looked into prosody and intonation in the Kelantanese dialect specifically in the Pasir Mas area. The study discovered that a particular type of intonation was present (Abdul Hamid Mahmood, 1996). The next dissertation written by Hashim Musa was ‘Morfemik Dialek Kelantan’ or investigating the Kelantanese dialect morphology (1975).

According to Abdul Hamid Mahmood, other local institutions also studied the Kelantanese dialect (1996). The studies conducted were more varied and covered a wider aspect. However, from the list of examples given in his article, most of the studies conducted on the Kelantanese dialect only investigated the linguistic aspect of the dialect. One study is ‘Gangguan dialek Kelantan dalam pembelajaran dan pengajaran Bahasa: Analisis kajian di sekolah-sekolah di Daerah Kota Bharu’ (The interference of the Kelantanese dialect in the teaching and learning of the language: A case study of schools in Kota Bharu) by Hamim Haji Abd Rahim (1987). Another study conducted in Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia is ‘Beberapa aspek sintaksis dialek Kelantan: Satu kajian permulaan di daerah Banggul’ (Some aspects of the syntax of the Kelantanese dialect: An exploratory study in the district of Banggul) by M. Pakhrudeen Haji Yusof (1982). Adi Yasran (2005) also looked into the linguistic aspect of the Kelantanese dialect. He investigated ‘the constraint interactions that account for the basic syllable types in the Kelantan Malay dialect based on Optimality Theory (OT) (Adi Yasran, 2011:122). His paper argues that the Optimality Theory
was able to provide a more comprehensive explanation of the Kelantanese dialect grammar (Adi Yasran, 2011).

Other Malay dialects were also investigated owing to the systematic investigation conducted by previous researchers. One such study was conducted by Zalina Mohd Zalzali (2003). She explored the lexical and phonological attributes of the Terengganu sub-dialect within the Rusila province of Marang and Kampung Bukit Besar in Terengganu. Zalina (2003) was also interested in seeing the dialect continuum between the areas of Kuala Terengganu and the Rusila province. Another study that looked into the phonological and lexical aspects of a sub-dialect is by Mohd Januri Ayob (1999). Mohd Januri investigated the Perak Malay dialect in Bota and Lambor. Other studies also investigated the influence of dialects and sub-dialects in the teaching and learning process. These include Lee Wee Kiat’s case study on the influence of the Negeri Sembilan dialect on the teaching and learning of Bahasa Malaysia in schools (2002). Again, the focus of these studies was mainly on the linguistic aspect of the dialect.

Basically, the studies on Malay dialects to date have been mostly based on the linguistic features of the dialects. Effort must be made to increase the number of studies on the extralinguistic aspects of Malay dialects as they are an invaluable contribution to the body of knowledge on local Malay dialects.
2.6 Previous Studies on Politeness in the Local Context

There have been studies on politeness conducted on the Malaysian setting. Gidung (1992) looked into the concept of politeness in Malaysian culture by means of kinship terms and greeting systems. She investigated these aspects of her native dialect, that is Kadazan/Dusun.

One interesting study by Raja Rozina (2004) identified the politeness strategies used in the colloquial Malay of the 1960’s when making requests and responding to offers and requests in Malay plays (Raja Rozina, 2004:i). From her findings, she discovered that ‘there was a general tendency to address positive face more than negative face’ (Raja Rozina, 2004:i).

Ng (2009) looked into the language and politeness of teenagers chatting on chatting websites. She investigated politeness in terms ‘of language forms and functions through the use of emphatic stress, capitalization and excessive punctuation marks, greetings, leave taking, profanity language as well as self-censorship’ (Ng, 2009: i). The research revealed that her participants employed certain linguistic strategies to appear polite or impolite (Ng, 2009).

Another study on politeness looked into how participants dealt with disagreements. Vasudevan (2008) had a group of students discuss certain issues. The data showed that the participants in her study opted to use the bald on record strategy when responding to disagreements (Vasudevan, 2008). She noted that the participants ‘lack the pragmatic skill to use the positive politeness, negative politeness
and the off record strategies to disagree in a polite and less assertive manner’ (Vasudevan, 2008: i).

Suraiya (1998) investigated linguistic politeness in the intercultural communication between the Japanese and Malaysians. Having the advantage of being able to speak Japanese, Suraiya sought to identify how one amends a sociopragmatic failure when conversing with someone who comes from a different cultural background. She justified this failure by saying that ‘our different styles of speaking are culture-determined and that sometimes, in speaking a non-native tongue we may unconsciously apply our own native contextualization conventions which may or may not interfere with smooth communication in intercultural situations’ (Suraiya Mohd Ali, 1998:5). From her analysis, Suriaya justifies that ‘even if culture is said to be crucially linked to communication, it is able to find out what takes place in a particular type of intercultural communication, i.e. conversational interactions, in terms of how politeness is communicated without recourse to cultural differences and stereotypes’ (Suraiya Mohd Ali,1999: online abstract).

On a different note, Kuang, David, Lau and Ang (2011) sought to answer a simple research question, that is ‘Are front counter staff of Malaysian government hospitals polite or impolite in their public interactions?’ (p.14). The researchers investigated this by analyzing what the counter staff said to their clients/ patients during openings and closings. The results obtained showed that the counter staff from government hospitals were likely to respond in a less polite manner as ‘not only were openings seldom performed with courtesy…, the use of closings too were limited in use’ (Kuang, David, Lau and Ang, 2011:27).
Fariza Mohd Nor (2009) investigated politeness in the context of workplace meetings. She investigated the types of speech acts and discourse strategies employed in displaying politeness and whether ‘these politeness traits are reflective of the participants’ cultural background’ (Fariza, 2009). The research was conducted on two organizations: the Ministry of Finance and a multinational company. The results showed that the most common choice of speech act was directives which indirectly displayed power. Other discourse strategies utilized during the meetings were hedges and humor which helped to downplay the power distance between the superiors and subordinates. Politeness strategies were also found during the meetings with the intention of ‘attending to the goals of the speaker and the hearer’ (Fariza, 2009). However, in the context of cultural orientation, Brown and Levinson’s politeness theory was found inapplicable due to the nature of the theory itself i.e. it was more individualistic.

A study that is invaluable to the current research is that by Noor Ashikin Ghazali (2006). The dialects that she investigated were the northern dialect and the southern dialect i.e. Standard Malay. The objectives of her study were to identify any elements of politeness based on Brown and Levinson’s framework found in the conversations of her respondents. She also wanted to see if there were any similarities or differences in the aspect of negative politeness as mentioned by Brown and Levinson (1987) in Malay. By recording conversations, Noor Ashikin looked into four out of the ten strategies addressed to negative politeness. They are:
1) The use of particles such as ‘lah’ or ‘la’, ‘pun’ and ‘kan’ to ‘soften’ requests and questions;

2) The use of questions to ease any pressure;

3) Indirectness;

4) Deflection expressions.

(Noor Ashikin, 2006: 10)

The research questions that guided her research were basically to investigate if the four strategies were applied in the conversations between speakers of the two dialects (Northern dialect and Standard Malay) within the domain of friends and families and to see if usage of any of the strategies were more specific to either dialect or was equally common in both dialects. Lastly, she wanted to see which of the four strategies was more frequently used by her participants. The results from her findings show that ‘negative politeness strategies are applied by both groups of speakers either in social or family domains’ (Noor Ashikin, 2006: i). The four strategies that she investigated were found in the data but the frequency of each strategy differed. Factors that affected the frequency included ‘influence of the interlocutors, topics and the speakers’ motives’ (Noor Ashikin, 2006:i). Generally, the study affirmed that politeness is still very much emphasized in Malay culture and is still applicable to the present time (Noor Ashikin, 2006).
2.7 Theory of Speech Acts

Since speech is a natural human activity, there will be many types of ‘speech acts’ produced by humans. Speech acts as defined by Searle, Kiefer and Bierwisch (1980: vii) is ‘the assumption that the minimal unit of human communication is not a sentence but rather the performance of certain kinds of acts, such as making statements, asking questions, giving orders, describing, explaining, apologizing, thanking, congratulating, etc’.

Speech act was a concept initiated by Austin (1955). Austin highlighted the concept that speech acts can be categorized into two dimensions, both of which bear ‘truth’ conditions (Austin, 1955 cited in Allan, 2001:197). Austin (1962, 1963) claims that there is a ‘distinction between the constatives, which have truth values, and performatives which (according to him) do not’ (cited in Allan, 2001:198). A speech act is performative if the conditions surrounding the speech act is ‘felicitious’. For example:

I name this ship ‘Liberte’.

I apologise.

(Austin, 1963:22)

Observe the verbs in the examples given and one will understand what is meant by Austin that is an action is performed when the speech act is uttered under the right conditions or felicitious conditions (Austin, 1963). This reality is the opposite of constatives where the speech act uttered only bears true or false (Austin, 1963).
Searle then extends Austin’s theory by saying ‘that whatever can be meant can be said’ (1969:19) and this is known also as the ‘principle of expressibility’ (1968:415). Searle continues to say that when an utterance is made, the speaker bears three distinct kinds of acts and they are ‘(a) the uttering of words (morphemes, sentences); (b) referring and predicating; (c) stating, commanding, promising, etc’ (1969:23). In addition, the utterance becomes meaningful too when the ‘sentence is determined by the meanings of all the meaningful components’ (Searle, 1968:415). What ‘meaningful components’ mean here is that the deeper layers of a sentence such as deep syntactic structure and the stress and contour of the intonation bear the overall meaning of the sentence (Searle, 1968). Hence, a crucial element of the speech act theory is ‘that language use includes an action dimension as well as a propositional content dimension’ (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969, 1979 cited in Holtgraves, 2005)

2.8 Conclusion

Based on the discussion of Brown and Levinson’s theory and previous studies conducted on the Malay language, it can be concluded that there is still ample room for investigations into the Malay language, specifically the Malay dialects. The next chapter will describe the methodology of the present study.
CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a description of the theoretical framework that was used to investigate the politeness phenomena between speakers of two Malay dialects for this study. It also describes the participants involved and the instruments used to gather data. Finally, the mode of analysis is also described.

3.1 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework used in this study is Brown and Levinson’s (1984) politeness theory. Brown and Levinson’s theory has been applied in many local politeness studies. The current research aims to see if the theory is applicable in the context of two different Malay dialects.

Brown and Levinson (1987) proposed that when speakers are engaged in a conversation there is a tendency for people ‘to cooperate (and assume each other’s cooperation) in maintaining face in interaction, such as cooperation being based on mutual vulnerability of face’ (p.61) as ‘face is the public self image that every member wants to claim for himself’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 61). In relation to the current study, Brown and Levinson’s theory is used to investigate the politeness phenomena in the context of inter-dialects that is the Standard Malay and Kelantanese dialects. Other studies on the Malay language have incorporated Brown and
Levinson’s theory. The current study differs from those in that it intends to investigate how and what politeness strategies are used when speakers of two Malay dialects converse with one another.

The politeness strategies proposed by Brown and Levinson explain how speakers ‘repair or compensate in some way the threat to positive and negative public self-image when performing a specific act’ (Gil-Salom & Soler-Monreal, 2009:117). Brown and Levinson (1978) have presented a framework for how face-threatening acts are performed. Before interlocutors decide on utilizing any of the strategies, the act of threatening one’s face is acted upon. When this act has been performed, it can either be on record or off record (Maginnis, 2011).

If the mode chosen is to go on record, then it is with redress or bald on (Maginnis, 2011). When one chooses to respond with redress, one will cater to the other’s positive and negative face by means of positive politeness (Maginnis, 2011). Responding by going bald on, on the other hand, is being intentionally face-threatening (Brown and Levinson, 1978). According to Maginnis (2011), people opt to go bald on because they ‘prioritize efficiency over face saving actions and will state the comment explicitly’ (p.17). However, though the comment is terse and perhaps in certain situations meaningful, it can be deemed as ‘inappropriate and inferences will be made about one’s behaviour and intentions’ (Maginnis, 2011:17). Nonetheless, there will be times when judgements are trivial and bald on comments are welcomed. As Brown and Levinson (1978, 1978) say, there will be times when comments are made bald on record and there will be people who may not like what they hear, but nevertheless, will still be inclined to accept them.
Positive politeness is ‘redress directed to the hearer’s positive face’ (Shigemitsu, 2003: 32). Redressing to the hearer’s positive face is done by letting one’s own desires be known but at the same time acknowledging the other person’s desires too by satisfying one’s desire and making it similar to the other person’s desires (Shigemitsu, 2003).

Negative politeness occurs when there is an attack on the negative face and it ‘is often accompanied with an apology’ (Maginnis, 2011:18). The reason behind the use of apologies when in a negative face threat is because negative politeness deals with impositions (Maginnis, 2011). Moreover, ‘negative politeness enables the speaker to maintain his/her face and avoid conflicts by distancing the speaker from the hearer, such as in refusal, disagreement, or critique’ (Urbanova, 2002:43, cited in Fialova, 2010:19). The apology is also to show that one is aware of the other person’s need for personal space.

If one goes off record, then one does a face-threatening act that is worded in a way that does not hold a person accountable (Brown and Levinson, 1978). Hinting or joking sarcastically are some of the ways to go off record. One can also convey one’s intended meaning off record prosodically, kinesically or simply contextually (Shigemitsu, 2003). One of the reasons for going off record is ‘to avoid a confrontation which allows for a future detract of the statement if necessary’ (Maginnis, 2011:17).
The current study will look into the said politeness strategies between speakers of two Malay dialects and will identify what politeness strategies were used alongside the speech acts employed in the conversations.

A face threatening act is the opposite of a face saving act. If a face threatening act involves saying something that will damage another person’s self image, then a face saving act is an act that is the direct opposite (Yule, 2008). Speakers are entitled to select whichever way they choose to respond, bearing in mind their intention of wanting to make the other person feel bad or not feel bad about himself or herself. An example to show the difference between a face threatening act and a face saving act is as follows:

A neighbor is playing music very loudly. One can choose to respond to the noise either by saying:

"I'm going to tell him to stop that awful noise right now!"

Or by saying the following:

"perhaps you could just ask him if he is going to stop soon because it's getting a bit late and people need to get to sleep."

(Yule, 2008:61)

In the first example given, that is “I'm going to tell him to stop that awful noise right now!” the speaker is indifferent towards the hearer’s (the neighbor) face. This act is then classified as a face threatening act. This is a face threatening act that goes bald on record. A face threatening act that goes bald on displays the speaker’s lack of consideration towards the hearer (Lean, 2008).
On the other hand, the second example; “perhaps you could just ask him if he is going to stop soon because it’s getting a bit late and people need to get to sleep” is an example that shows the speaker’s intention to address the hearer’s negative face. In contrast to the previous example, the negative face is the notion of ‘imposing on the hearer, and intruding on their space’ (Lean, 2008:67). Addressing a person’s negative face is being aware of the other person’s personal space (Lean, 2008). Thus, using conditions such as the adverb “perhaps”, the modal “could” and the indirect sentence form “if he is going to stop soon…” will help to minimize the demand of the request and show deference towards the hearer on the speaker’s part.

When one employs an FTA (face threatening act), one has the choice to respond by remedying the response by means of negative politeness (Cutting, 2008). This is because as speakers, we want to show the hearer that we respect the hearer’s need to be excluded from any person or group so as to be free from any imposition (Cutting, 2008) At the same time, one can also redress the threat with positive politeness. Positive politeness is different from negative politeness because when one redresses with positive politeness, one has a desire to belong and be included with the other person or the other group.

3.2 Participants

The participants used for this study were six female students who were undergoing their foundation studies at a local university in Selangor. At the time of data collection, the participants were all aged 19. The participants for this study were former students of the researcher and had all volunteered to participate in the study.
Out of six of the participants, two participants were from Kelantan. These participants have spoken the Kelantanese dialect all their lives. One of the participants resides in Kota Bharu and the other resides in Gua Musang. Adi Yasran (2005) writes that although Kota Bharu and Gua Musang share the same parent dialect, that is the Kelantanese dialect, some variations of the sub dialects in both districts do exist. Some of the differences are based on the manners of articulation for certain phonemes when uttering certain words (Asmah, 1988). The difference that exists lies in the accent. Accent refers to ‘the way in which a speaker pronounces, and therefore refers to a variety that is phonetically or phonologically different from other varieties’ (Asmah Omar, 1980:5). The participant from Gua Musang had a thicker Kelantanese accent and the participant from Kota Bharu had a weaker Kelantanese accent. The other four participants came from Putrajaya, Johor, Pahang and Kuala Lumpur and the dialect they speak at home and when with family and friends is Standard Malay.

The Kelantanese dialect spoken by someone who comes from Kota Bharu is more easily intelligible to a non-Kelantanese speaker as the influence of Standard Malay is more obvious because more external forces such as social media, formal education, migration between states and many other factors affect the dialect in Kota Bharu which is the state’s capital city. Consequently, the Kelantanese dialect spoken by individuals who come from districts further away from the state capital would have a thicker accent and may cause some difficulty for other speakers to comprehend due to the differences in the articulation of certain words, intonation and word choice.

The participants from Kelantan use the dialect at home when conversing with family members. They also converse in the Kelantanese dialect when in school with...
their teachers and friends with a few exceptions to subjects such as English. When in their hometown, these participants would also use the Kelantanese dialect when going about their daily routine such as when shopping or requesting for information. When in campus, these participants are also inclined to converse in the Kelantanese dialect when they are among peers who are from the same state.

3.3 Procedure

Once all six volunteers had been identified, the researcher met the participants personally to explain the purpose of their involvement and also the nature of the current study. The researcher then instructed the participants to schedule time slots to get together so as to record their first conversation.

The presence of the researcher during data collection has implications on the data collection procedure. In a study such as this where data is collected via recording, subjects need to be encouraged to be natural and not watch what they say. The presence of the researcher could possibly make the subjects feel self-conscious and result in their editing their thoughts and verbal output. To remove apprehension and allow the subjects to feel as comfortable and behave as normally as possible during the recording, it was decided that the researcher would not be present during the recordings. This was made known to the subjects. To ensure that the recording process was clearly understood, the researcher explained the steps involved and how the equipment was to be handled.
For the first recording, no specific tasks were given to the subjects. The researcher wanted a natural spontaneous scenario which students would normally engage in such as chatting or gossiping. For the first recording, the researcher wanted the data to be more reflective of their personalities and preferences. The researcher also wanted the students to feel comfortable while they carried out the recording.

After listening and deliberating over the first recording, the researcher decided to see if there would be any differences in the conversations of the participants if a task was assigned. Therefore, for the subsequent recordings, the researcher assigned a focus for the conversations. The researcher wanted to also see if there would be more or fewer strategies utilized in a task-driven conversation.

The second recording required the participants to discuss the planning of an event. The participants decided to plan a reunion. Part of their conversations involved deciding on the location, the setting up of a committee, the selection of the committee members and suggesting types of activities for the event. The third recording was also an assigned task. The participants had to come up with an event or organization. The participants chose to discuss about starting a small business.

The researcher was mindful that the participants should feel at ease when doing this recording as recording sessions can be time consuming and students are already occupied with their studies and academic matters. As all the subjects were staying in the students’ hostel, it was decided that all the recordings would be done in one of their rooms. The details of the recording are summarized in the following table.
Table 3.1 Summary of recordings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recording</th>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Number of participants</th>
<th>Dialect used</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>56 minutes 52 seconds</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>SM &amp; KD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>31 minutes 52 seconds</td>
<td>Reunion</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>SM &amp; KD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>29 minutes 21 seconds</td>
<td>Small business</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>SM &amp; KD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One of the participants was responsible for the recording for each session. This participant was instructed by the researcher to place the recorder where there would be no obstruction so that the recording would be clear. The recorder was noticeable to the other participants. The participant in charge of the recorder also timed the conversation. After each recording session, the recorder was returned to the researcher who then downloaded the data into her computer. The researcher then listened to the recording to assess the quality of the recordings and transcribe the conversation.

As can be seen from Table 3.1 above, the number of participants involved in each of the recording varies. The number of participants present at each recording was subject to the availability of the participants. The length of each recording also varies. The first recording was close to an hour long. However, the recording revealed that the conversation lacked focus. Hence, the researcher decided to set a shorter time limit for the next recordings. The two later recordings were around thirty minutes long. Both these shorter recordings had more focus as tasks were given.
3.4 Data Analysis

To answer the first research question which is ‘What are the politeness strategies employed by the speakers?’ the researcher analyzed the transcribed data and then categorized the utterances of the participants based on speech acts. These speech acts were then categorized under the relevant sub strategies for the politeness superstrategies. Next, to answer the second research question: ‘Which of the politeness strategies is frequently employed by the speakers?’ the researcher used frequency counts to justify the preferred politeness strategies and sub strategies employed by the participants. The following discussion provides more information on the framework used for analysis in this study which is derived from Brown and Levinson’s politeness strategies.

3.4.1 Sub-strategies for Positive Politeness

The positive politeness strategy is a strategy that is used to address a person’s positive face. Positive face refers to a person’s need to feel included and is about forming relationships or solidifying current ones. The sub strategies within the positive politeness strategy intend to make the speaker (S) and the hearer (H) feel good. The sub strategies found in positive politeness are:

Table 3.2 Sub-strategies for Positive Politeness

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-strategies for Positive Politeness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Notice, attend to H (his interests, wants, needs, goods)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exaggerate (interest approval, sympathy with H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intensify interest to H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seek agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Give (or ask for) reasons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoid disagreement</td>
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</table>

(Brown & Levinson, 1987)

**3.4.1.1 Notice, attend to H (his interests, wants, needs, goods)**

Noticing or attending to the other speaker’s wants or interests is a strategy that shows the listener that one notices or approves of him or her. For example:

You look so nice!

(Akbari, 2002:2)
3.4.1.2 Exaggerate (interest approval, sympathy with H)

When one employs this strategy, aspects of prosody such as intonation and stress are exaggerated. One would also intensify modifiers. For example:

How nice you’ve become! You look like an angel!

(Akbari, 2002:2)

3.4.1.3 Intensify interest to H

To communicate with another person would also require one to intensify the Hearer’s interest in a particular issue at hand. The Speaker can engage the Hearer by ‘making a good story’ as ‘he pulls the listening right into the middle of the events being discussed’ (Akbari, 2002:2). For example:

Guess who I saw on the bus? Someone who both of us know. Someone I saw a few days ago. If I tell you, you won’t believe me. Can you guess who it was?

(Akbari, 2002:2)

3.4.1.4 Use in-group identity markers

There are four ways to show in-group membership.

3.4.1.4.1 Usage of address forms

Certain languages have a honorific system which conveys a sense of respect to the other interlocutors. It also marks solidarity between the
interlocutors. French and Arabic are among the languages that have honorific systems that reflect respect to other interlocutors. In French, ‘tu’ is ‘a pronoun used for informally addressing another person and also used by those who do not have much social distance from each other’ (Akbari, 2002:3). The pronoun ‘vous’, on the other hand, reflects social distance between interlocutors especially if the other person is of a higher rank such as one’s professor or boss (Akbari, 2002).

Other ways of signalling in-group identity markers are by using generic names and terms of address such as ‘dear, love or honey’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987:107). In the context of Malaysia, similar terms of address are such as ‘kakak’, ‘sayang’, and ‘adik’. Brown and Levinson (1987) provide the following example: ‘Help me with this bag here, will you son?’

3.4.1.4.2 Usage of in-group language or dialect

Code switching is also a form of positive politeness that is encoded in the speech that interlocutors utilize. Akbari (2002) writes that to show solidarity with his relatives, a man may speak in Bakhtiari. Meanwhile, the language used with his wife would be Persian.

3.4.1.4.3 Usage of jargon or slang

According to Brown and Levinson (1987:111), slang and jargon allow speakers to ‘share associations and attitudes that he and the Hearer may have towards the object’. For example:
For British English:
Lend us two quid then, wouldja mate?

For American English:
Lend us two buck then, wouldja Mac?

(Brown and Levinson, 1987:111)

3.4.1.4.4 Usage of contraction and ellipsis

In the case of contraction and ellipsis, both the speaker and the hearer share mutual knowledge that makes the contraction and ellipsis intelligible to both of them and not necessarily to others. In the local context, the word ‘bodoh’ which means stupid or foolish can be derogatory. However, the contracted form ‘doh’ (commonly spelt ‘dowh’ or ‘doe’) is used regularly in the speech of many young Malaysians and does not at all carry derogative connotations. This expression can be roughly compared to the American English expression ‘fool’. However, ‘fools’ is not a contraction or ellipsis. It is used here to show the comparison between ‘bodoh’ and ‘fools’ only. The examples below show that the utterances share the same meaning, but one utterance bears the contracted form of ‘bodoh’.

Sejuk la bodoh!
Sejuk la dowh/ doe!
It’s cold fools!

(own example)
3.4.1.5 Seek agreement

Seeking agreement is about ‘claiming ground with hearer’ (Shigemitsu, 2003:33). In situations where both interlocutors come to a slight disagreement, the speaker will ‘show agreement with the opponent’s opinion and show understanding’ such as acknowledging the other person’s opinion as such (Shigemitsu, 2003:33). For example:

I think what Mr. Yamamoto has just said is very important.

(Shigemitsu, 2003:33)

Utilizing this sub strategy also requires the speaker to stick to safe topics which ‘allows S to stress his agreement with H and therefore to satisfy’s H’s desire to be right’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 112). This sub strategy also can be manifested by ‘repeating part or all of what the preceeding speaker has said’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 112). The following example will illustrate this:

A: John went to London this weekend!
B: to London!

(Brown and Levinson, 1987: 113)

3.4.1.6 Avoid disagreement

There are four ways to manifest ‘avoid disagreement’. The following paragraphs will show how this sub strategy is manifested.
3.4.1.6.1 Token agreement

The first way is ‘token agreement’. In the instance of trying to agree or appear to agree, a ‘speaker may twist his utterance so as to appear to agree or to hide disagreement’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 112), such as:

“‘Yes, but…”

(Brown and Levinson, 1987:112)

Another example is:

Ali is a good boy if you put the bad aside.

(Akbari, 2002:5)

3.4.1.6.2 Pseudo-agreement

The indicator ‘then’ makes known to the Hearer ‘that he is drawing a conclusion to a line of reasoning carried out cooperatively with the listener’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 115). An example is as follows:

I’ll be seeing you then.

(Brown and Levinson, 1987:115)

3.4.1.6.3 White lies

White lies are used to ‘save the listener’s positive face’ (Akbari, 2002: 6). Brown and Levinson (1987) writes that a person is obliged to make a white lie when he is confronted with a situation where the truth is unfavorable and is best dealt by
responding with a comment that makes the other person feel good although the reality is otherwise. For example:

You go to someone’s house for dinner, but they don’t know what you like. By chance, they have cooked something that you don’t like. So you eat it without much of an appetite. She asks you, “Don’t you like my cooking?” You answer, “Just before I came here, I ate something that spoiled my appetite”.

(Akbari, 2002:6)

3.4.1.6.4 Hedging opinions

Hedging opinions are opinions made by interlocutors by responding with hedges to soften the FTA. Some examples are:

I really sort of think / wonder / hope…
It’s really beautiful, in a way.

(Brown and Levinson, 1987:116)

Hedging is also made ‘by choosing words at the extremes of the relevant value system’ (Akbari, 2002:6). This occurs when one wants to appear polite and extremely accommodating.

3.4.1.7 Presuppose/raise/assert common ground

This strategy can be manifested in the following substrategies:
3.4.1.7.1 Gossip, small talk

The relationship two interlocutors have allows either one interlocutor to initiate the FTA by first engaging in small talk or gossip (Brown and Levinson, 1987). This is an example:


S: Assalamualaikum Hakim. You busy? Can we talk now? Where are you now? (…) who’s house is that? What are you doing there? (…) is your work at Kapar done? Is everything OK? ohh. Nah. I just wanted to ask this. Is the tool bag with you right now? I have to bring it to KK tomorrow.

(own example)

The above request begins by S asking Hakim (the other person on the line) his whereabouts and how his work in Kapar is progressing. This is considered small talk as both interlocutors work in the same company and understand the reference to Kapar. The issue is the tool bag which S urgently needs to get hold of. However, the request is initiated with small talk because if Hakim does have the tool bag with him, it would require S to intrude on Hakim’s personal time as the conversation took place on a Friday evening. Hence, to soften the request, S begins the conversation with small talk.
3.4.1.7.2 Point of view operations

To reduce the social distance between two speakers, Akbari says, ‘the speaker talks with the listener as if their knowledge about the topic were equal’ (2002:6). This connection can be made by including tag questions. For example:

A cup of tea in this cold weather hits the spot, doesn’t it?

(Akbari, 2002:6)

3.4.1.7.3 Presuppose knowledge of listener’s wants and attitudes

To show that a speaker knows what the hearer wants, the speaker may consciously pose a negative question which presumes a ‘yes’ as an answer (Brown and Levinson, 1987). Most of the time, presupposing other people’s wants and attitudes is to just show that both the speaker and hearer share the same opinions on topics, concepts and objects. Interlocutors can sometimes address one another with the use of terms of address such as ‘honey’ or ‘love’ even with strangers to soften the FTA. For example:

Someone accidentally dropped a book and was attended by a stranger. He responds by saying: ‘Thanks so much. You’re a pal.‘

(own example)

3.4.1.8 Jokes

Jokes are able to minimize the demand of an FTA as jokes are able to put the hearer at ease and are usually based on ‘mutual shared background’ (Akbari, 2002: 7). For example:
How about lending me this old heap of junk? (H’s new Cadillac)

(Brown and Levinson, 1987:173)

3.4.1.9 Assert or presuppose S’s knowledge of and concern for H’s wants

When insisting on a speaker’s need, the speaker is able to pressure the hearer by asserting or presupposing the wants of the hearer. For example:

I know you can’t bear parties, but this will be really good- do come!

(Brown and Levinson, 1987:125)

I know you have class, but I will only take a minute of your time.

(Akbari, 2002:7)

3.4.1.10 Offer, promise

Offers and promises can be false at times. Nonetheless, a speaker is able to get cooperation from the hearer if the speaker asserts that whatever the hearer wants, the speaker wants too. Giving offers or promises regardless of whether or not it gets fulfilled shows the speaker’s awareness of the need to satisfy the hearer’s positive face. For example:

I’ll drop by sometime next week.

(Brown and Levinson, 1987:125)
3.4.1.11 Be optimistic

Being optimistic can help to minimize the size of a face threat. Shigemitsu included the effect of smiling and laughing in this strategy ‘because it shows that the speaker does not sound serious’ (Shigemitsu, 2003:33). The participants involved in the conversation are able to laugh or scoff at one another despite being attacked. (Shigemitsu, 2003). For example:

Bring the notes tomorrow for sure.

(Akbari, 2002:7)

I can’t seem to find your book. Give me a few more days to find it.

(Yamazaki, 2001:24)

3.4.1.12 Include both S and H in the activity

A request or any other speech act can sometimes easily be achieved when the inclusive pronoun ‘we’ is used. The example below implies the pronoun ‘we’.

Come on! Let’s get something to eat

(Akbari, 2002:8)

3.4.1.13 Give (or ask for) reasons

Brown and Levinson (1987) say that for a speaker to get what he wants, the speaker may include the hearer in the activity. This way, the hearer is somehow lead
into the reasonableness of the speaker’s FTA (Brown and Levinson, 1987). The example below shows the speaker’s intention of requesting the hearer to bring her out. The speaker does this by rationalizing to the hearer why today would be a profitable day for the hearer to take the speaker out.

Apa kata sayang bawa kita jalan jalan hari ni? Boleh tengok movie tu sekali.

*Why not take me out today dear? We could catch that movie you want to watch.*

(own example)

### 3.4.1.14 Assume or assert reciprocity

According to Akbari assuming or asserting reciprocity is ‘giving evidence of reciprocal rights or obligations between the speaker and listener’ (2002:8). For example:

I’ll go get the book for you, and you type this part for me.

I lent you my car last week, then lend me your computer for today.

(Akbari, 2002:8)

### 3.4.1.15 Give gifts to H (Goods, Sympathy, Understanding, Cooperation)

By giving gifts such as showing sympathy, understanding and cooperation, the speaker shows to the hearer that the speaker intends to form a trustworthy relationship. Because intangible gifts as mentioned previously are an innate need of
all individuals, giving gifts to the hearer satisfies the hearer’s (and also the speaker’s) positive face that is, the desire to be liked, admired and so on. In Persian, speakers also include ‘religious beliefs in order to bring about a kind of mental relief to the listener’ (Akbari, 2002:9).

God bless you! Oh my Lord! (literal translation in Persian is ‘God kills me’ which expresses sympathy to the other speaker).

(Akbari, 2002:9)

### 3.4.2 Negative Politeness Strategy

Negative politeness is defined as ‘a redressive action addressed to the addressee’s negative face: his want to have his freedom of action unobstructed and his attention unrestricted’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987:129). The sub strategies within negative politeness are as follows:
Table 3.3 Sub strategies for Negative politeness

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strategy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Be conventionally indirect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question, hedge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be pessimistic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minimize imposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Give deference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apologize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impersonalize S and H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State the FTA as general rule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominalize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go on record as incurring debt, or as not indebting H</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.4.2.1 Be conventionally indirect

Being conventionally indirect is ‘the desire to give the hearer an ‘out’ by being indirect and the desire to go on record’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987:132). Conventionally indirect utterances have a more ‘hearer-oriented condition’ (Schauer, 2009:27). This can pose an inner conflict for the speaker, hence this conflict is dealt by giving ‘contextually unambiguous meanings which are different from the literal meanings’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987:132). For example:

You couldn’t possibly pass the salt please, could you?

(Brown and Levinson, 1987:132)

3.4.2.2 Question, Hedging

Requests are sometimes very clear with only a small indication of respect to another person’s negative face. One way of doing this is by including hedges into the request. Hedges usually consist of particles, a word, or phrase ‘that modifies the membership of a predicate or noun phrase in a set’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 145).

For example:

Maryam, would you close that door?

(Akbari, 2002:9)

I rather think it is hopeless.

(Brown and Levinson, 1987:145)
Aku rasa kan die ni macam tak boleh percaya lah.

*I feel right like we cant trust her.*

(own example)

### 3.4.2.3 Be pessimistic

Being pessimistic ‘draws attention to the speaker’s doubt about the success of an FTA’ (Simpson, 1995:174). For example:

You couldn’t possibly pass the sugar, could you?

(Brown and Levinson, 1987:173)

Excuse me, if you were in class yesterday, could I use your notes?

(Akbari, 2002:10)

### 3.4.2.4 Minimize the imposition

One may also minimize the imposition of a request (or any utterance) by ‘indicating that the weight of the act is not so big, leaving only distance and power as probable swaying factors…’ (Marazita, 2010:6). Certain expressions will be used to minimize the potential threat to the hearer.

Could you *just* extend the thing for *a couple of days*?

Can I *borrow a tiny wee bit* of paper?

(Simpson, 1995:175)
3.4.2.5 Give deference

Giving deference is about inferiorly describing oneself to another person. The use of honorifics is also a sign of giving deference. For example:

I’m ashamed to have to ask you this favour.

(Simpson, 1995:175)

Excuse me, professor, can I take a few minutes of your precious time?

(Akbari, 2002:10)

3.4.2.6 Apologize

Apologizing is a common way of indicating one’s ‘unwillingness to impinge on the other person’s negative face’ (Akbari, 2002:11). Conclusively, this can partially redress the impingement (Simpson, 1995). For example:

I know this is a bore to you…but I’d like to ask you a big favour.

(Simpson, 1995:175)

Excuse me for taking your time.

(Akbari, 2002:11)

3.4.2.7 Impersonalize S and H

This sub strategy occurs with speakers dissociating themselves from the FTA (Simpson, 1995). Most of the time, impersonalizing the FTA can be done by
dropping pronouns such as I and you (Brown and Levinson, 1987). An example of dissociation is:

It would be desirable that…

(Simpson, 1995:176)

3.4.2.8 State the FTA as a General Rule

This strategy ‘aims to distance the speaker and the hearer from the imposition by not using pronouns’ (Fialova, 2010). It is no wonder that this strategy is closely related to the impersonalizing strategy. However, the emphasis of this strategy is ‘there is a general social rule behind the FTA’ (Van Der Wijst and Uljin, 1995:329). Therefore, because of this rule, both speakers are able to dissociate from the FTA (Van Der Wijst & Uljin, 1995). For example:

Passengers will please refrain from flushing the toilets on the train.
We don’t sit on tables, we sit on chairs, Johnny.

(Brown and Levinson, 1987:207)

3.4.2.9 Nominalize

According to Van Der Wijst & Uljin (1995), in nominalizing, the actor is detached from the action. This detachment is also known as a masking mechanism which inadvertently enhances indirectness (Van Der Wijst and Uljin, 1995). For example:

Your good performance on the examinations impressed us favorably.

(Akbari, 2002:12)
3.4.2.10 Go on record as recurring debt, or as not indebting H

This strategy is meant to express debt or gratitude to the hearer. On the other hand, if the need arises, this strategy is also to ‘disclaim any indebtedness to the hearer’ (Akbari, 2002:12). For example:

We’ll never forget the assistance you gave us.

(Akbari, 2002:12)

I’d be eternally grateful if you would…

(Brown and Levinson, 1987:210)

3.4.3 Off record strategies

Going off record implies the opposite of responding on record. Going off record is done by responding through the uses of metaphors, irony, rhetorical questions and so on (Brown and Levinson, 1987). Basically, going off record is ‘essentially indirect uses of language’ (Akbari, 2002:13). To go off record, one can:

- mention a trigger that serves as a notice to the addressee and that some inference must be made.
- derive some mode of inferences that is meant from what is actually said.

(Brown and Levinson, 1987:69)
The following table shows the sub strategies that speakers use to make off record FTAs.

Table 3.4 Sub strategies for off record strategy

<p>| |</p>
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<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Give hints</td>
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<tr>
<td>Give association clues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presuppose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Understate</td>
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<tr>
<td>Overstate</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tautologies</td>
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<tr>
<td>Contradictions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be ironic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use metaphors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use rhetorical questions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be ambiguous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be vague</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over-generalize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Displace H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be incomplete, use ellipsis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.4.3.1 Give hints

When giving hints, the speaker is saying something that is not explicitly relevant and requires some inferencing on the hearer’s part. Indirect speech acts can be made by ‘raising the issue of some desired act by stating motives or reasons for doing it’ (Akbari, 2002: 13). The following scenario describes the speaker’s indirect request to the hearer to pick up his things that were lying on the floor.

W: These objects are dangerous
H: I know
(Both laugh at the same time)
(Zuraidah, 2008: 28)

3.4.3.2 Give association clues

Giving association clues ‘is provided by mentioning something associated with the act required of the listener, either by precedence in the speaker/ listener experience, or by mutual knowledge irrespective of their interactional experience’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987:215. The following scenario describes the strategy.

Your parents want to go shopping and you need to go to your aunt’s house. You know they go the same way, so you turn to your father and say “Father, I want to go to my aunt’s house.”

(Akbari, 2002:13)
3.4.3.3 Presuppose

I washed the car again today.

(Brown and Levinson, 1987: 217)

The above example requires participants to implicate the utterance. According to Brown and Levinson, when the speaker says this, ‘he presupposes that he has done it before sometime in the week’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987:217). This then allows the hearer to look for any relevant information related to the utterance mentioned previously.

3.4.3.4 Understating

Understatements are FTAs that are made ‘by saying less than is required’ (Brown and Levinson. 1987:217). Participants are required to share the same background knowledge to understand what has been minimally conveyed.

A: What do you think of Harry?
B: Nothing wrong with him. (What I meant is: I don’t think he’s very good)

(Brown and Levinson, 1987: 218)

3.4.3.5 Overstate

Even saying more than is required, as opposed to the previous strategy, may also convey implicatures. Overstating can be done by exaggerating, or choosing
a point of scale that is higher than the usual state of affairs (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 219). The simple example below sums illustrates this.

A: Pagi tadi jam gila. Tahap takyah la pergi kerja.
A: This morning the jam was so bad. To the extent of, don’t bother going to work at all.

(own example)

3.4.3.6 Use tautologies

To use tautologies is ‘to utter patent and necessary truths’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 220). The hearer is expected to define the non-informative utterance.

For example:

A: War is war.

(Brown and Levinson, 1987: 220)

3.4.3.7 Contradictions

When making FTAs based on contradictions, the speaker intends to make the truth or the actual information hazy. Therefore, it is up to the hearer ‘to look for an interpretation that reconciles the two contradictory propositions.

A: Are you upset about that?
B: Well (which could mean yes and no / I am or I am not)

(Brown and Levinson, 1987: 220)
3.4.3.8 Be ironic

The sub strategy ‘be ironic’ means ‘saying the opposite of what [one] means’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 221). The condition for the irony to be successfully conveyed is ‘that there are clues that the intended meaning is being conveyed indirectly’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 221). The clues can be prosodic, kinesic or contextual (Brown and Levinson, 1987). An example is:

Beautiful weather, isn’t it! (to a postman drenched in a rainstorm)

(Brown and Levinson, 1987: 221)

3.4.3.9 Use metaphors

Metaphors are false FTAs, such as:

Harry’s a real fish. He drinks like a fish. (metaphor)

(Brown and Levinson, 1987: 222)

Some metaphors are made with hedging particles (‘sort of’) and euphemisms (‘home economists’ for ‘housewives’) (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 222).

3.4.3.10 Use rhetorical questions

Rhetorical questions are made with no intention of getting a response from the other interlocutors. What the speaker wants is for the hearer to provide him the
information. Most of the time the questions can be uttered and ‘left in the air’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987). For example:

How was I to know? (I did not know)
How many times do I have to tell you? (too many)

(Brown and Levinson, 1987:223)

**3.4.3.11 Be ambiguous**

The example given by Brown and Levinson shows that ‘not always a clear connotation can be made’ for ambiguous FTAs (Brown and Levinson, 1987:225).

John’s a pretty sharp cookie.

(Brown and Levinson, 1987:225)

This FTA can either be complimentary or insulting depending on the shared knowledge of both interlocutors.

**3.4.3.12 Be vague**

Vague FTAs can be manifested through criticisms or euphemism. The intention of being vague is to not be too forthright especially when criticizing (Brown and Levinson, 1987). For example:

Looks like someone may have had too much to drink.
Or in a euphemism:

I’m going you-know-where (refering to the local pub)

(Brown and Levinson, 1987:226)

3.4.3.13 Over-generalize

Over-generalizing leaves the hearer to decide whether or not the rule applies to him. Over-generalizing can be made given in rule instantiation and the use of proverbs (Brown and Levinson, 1987). When this sub strategy is utilized, the degree of rule-stating is less threatening (Brown and Levinson, 1987). For example:

A penny saved is a penny earned.
People who live in glass houses shouldn’t throw stones.

(Brown and Levinson, 1987: 226)

3.4.3.14 Displace H

Displacing the hearer gives the option for the hearer to choose to react on the FTA (Brown and Levinson, 1987). The example given by Ervin-Tripp (1972:247) exemplifies this sub strategy: A secretary asks another to pass the stapler. The professor happened to be nearby the stapler. By displacing the hearer, no one is
exactly obliged to respond to the request. Hence, if the FTA was or was not successful, nobody’s face was threatened nonetheless (Brown and Levinson, 1987).

3.4.3.15 Be incomplete, use ellipsis

This sub strategy allows the speaker to ‘leave the implicature hanging in the air’ as for rhetorical questions. For example:

Well, if one leaves one’s tea on the wobbly table…

(Brown and Levinson, 1987: 227)

3.4.4 Bald on record strategy

Bald on record is an FTA done ‘in the most direct, clear, unambiguous and concise way possible’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987:69). Utterances made bald on record are able to achieve maximum efficiency in terms of conveying intended meaning (Brown and Levinson, 1987). An example of bald on record is:

Mr. Smith is allergic to Bactrim.  
(Lambert, 1996:1194)

Come home right now!  
(Brown and Levinson, 1987:97)
3.4.5 **Don’t do the FTA strategy**

This strategy, according to Fukushima (2002), is under researched. Basically don’t do the FTA is ‘labeled as silence’ (Fukushima, 2002: 43). The speaker can choose to perform or not perform the speech act (Bonikowska, 1988 cited in Fukushima, 2002:43). Hence, don’t do the FTA is considered as the most polite strategy among the other strategies.

3.5 **Definition of Speech Act**

To identify the politeness sub strategies, the researcher identified speech acts found on the transcriptions. Speech acts are ‘the utterance of sounds or the making of marks’ (Searle, 1965:143). These mere utterances of sounds or making of marks bear meaning and are significant because they allow an utterance to transfer meanings through the performance of some kind of action (Searle, 1965). An example of a speech act is in an act of marriage where a priest or any religious representative that has been vested by law can legalize a marriage by uttering, ‘I hereby pronounce you man and wife’ (Finch, 2003: 160). This union is also sealed when the man and woman both declare loyalty when uttering ‘I do’ (own example).

After identifying all the speech acts, the researcher transferred the speech acts onto tables and counted the occurrences of any of the politeness sub strategies found in the data. An example of the table designed for the data analysis is provided.
Table 3.9: Example of table used to record occurrences and sub strategies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Noticing, attending to H</th>
<th>Intensifying interest to H</th>
<th>Using in-group identity markers</th>
<th>Joking</th>
<th>Offering and promising</th>
<th>Including both S and H in activity</th>
<th>Giving (or ask) reasons</th>
<th>Assuming or asserting reciprocity</th>
<th>Giving gifts to H</th>
<th>Total per speech acts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To tease</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>To request</td>
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<td>To apologize</td>
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<td>To complement</td>
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<td>To advice</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total per sub strategies</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

After tabulating the occurrences, the researcher added up all the occurrences and transferred the data onto bar graphs for further analysis and interpretation.

A brief description of the speech acts found in the data are as follows:

*To disagree / agree*: According to Pomerantz (1984), ‘disagreement is a form of realization of preference organization, and can be either a preferred or dispreferred response’ (cited in Cheng and Tsui, 2009:2365). Agreement is then a preferred response that would require one to self-depreciate while a dispreferred response is followed by an assessment or a question, ‘as in the case of a negative answer’ (Cheng and Tsui, 2009: 2365). Agreeing also shows ‘mutuality of proposition’ (Holtgraves, 2005: 2029).
To complain: Complaining in the words of Holtgraves (2005) is ‘expressing discontent with an outcome’ (pp.2029). Kasper and Blum-Kulka (1993) define it as ‘an expression of disapproval voiced by the offended party’ (p.61).

To ask: Searle (1969) explains that for a question to be appropriate is to contain the basic condition, that is ‘the speaker should lack some information which the addressee is presumed to have’ (cited in Enfield, 2010: 2653). Holtgraves (2005) includes that to ask is to ‘indirectly request for information (pp.2029).

To correct: making corrections is proposing a replacement (or noting) with a previous incorrect assertion (action) (Holtgraves, 2005)

To apologize: to apologize is defined as an expression of regret for the negative act for which the speaker is responsible (Holtgraves, 2005: 2029).

To tease: teasing are ‘mockful but playful jibes against someone (Drew, 1987:219)

To request: Leech and Svartvik (1975) define request as ‘to ask your hearer whether he is willing or able to do something’ (p.147).

Unfortunately, no credible literature on the following speech acts that are to decline, to advice, to end conversation, to suggest, and to clarify were available.
3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has provided the theoretical background for the current study. The method of obtaining data and analyzing data is also discussed in detail. The next chapter will look into the data analysis.
CHAPTER FOUR
DATA ANALYSIS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter provides the analysis obtained from the data collected. The study aims to identify the politeness strategies employed by the participants who spoke either the Standard Malay dialect or the Kelantanese Dialect. The data collected aimed to answer the following research questions which are:

- What are the politeness strategies employed by speakers of the two Malay dialects?
- Which strategy is favoured by the speakers?

The strategies were analyzed, tabulated and categorized according to the speech acts found in the recording. The strategies were then calculated based on the frequencies of occurrence of the politeness strategies and the data was converted into percentages.

Each section will discuss the strategies and sub strategies (refer to Chapter 3) with data from the recordings and summarize the findings based on the strategies employed. The FTAs that were found to be manifested in a particular sub strategy will be in bold. For example:

A: ah reunion ni ajak sape ?
C: mmm ajak set set kito je lah
Individual tables for each strategy (Negative politeness, positive politeness, bald on record and off record) have been drawn up. The tables outline the speech acts found in the recordings alongside the number of occurrences.

### 4.1 Analysis on the Occurrence of Positive Politeness Strategy

Table 4.1 Total occurrences of positive politeness sub strategies based on speech acts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speech acts / sub strategies</th>
<th>to tease</th>
<th>to request</th>
<th>to apologize</th>
<th>to compliment</th>
<th>to advice</th>
<th>to complain</th>
<th>to agree</th>
<th>to end conversation</th>
<th>to suggest</th>
<th>to clarify</th>
<th>to ask</th>
<th>to correct</th>
<th>Total per sub strategy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Giving gifts to H</td>
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<tr>
<td>Assuming or asserting reciprocity</td>
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<tr>
<td>Giving (or ask) reasons</td>
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<td></td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Including both S and H in activity</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>Offering and promising</td>
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<td>Joking</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Being Optimistic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Presupposition/ Raise/ assert Common ground</td>
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<tr>
<td>Avoiding disagreement</td>
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<tr>
<td>Seeking agreement</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Using in-group identity markers</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Intensifying interest to H</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Exaggeration</td>
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<tr>
<td>Noticing, Attending to H</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Total per speech acts</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>59</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.1 shows the speech acts that utilized the positive politeness (PP) strategy. It shows that the sub strategy ‘Including S and H activity’ (18) and ‘Using identity markers’ (9) obtained the highest number of occurrences. It can also be seen that the speech act that utilized the most types of PP sub strategies is ‘to give suggestions’ and the sub strategies that only utilized one PP sub strategy are ‘to end conversation’ and ‘to ask’. This finding is rather significant because the number of occurrences of each speech act throws light on the dynamics of the relationship among the participants.

As can be seen, PP sub strategies were favored among the participants when it comes to giving suggestions. This preference can be attributed to the nature of positive politeness as defined by Brown and Levinson (1987) that is, ‘redress directed to the addressee’s positive face… should be thought as desirable. Redress consists in partially satisfying that desire by communicating that one’s wants are in some respects similar to the addressee’s wants’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987:101). Based on the recordings, the participants had discussed about having a reunion and starting a small business. Naturally, the discussion would revolve around giving suggestions. The participants were found to be supportive of one another as the chosen strategy is the positive politeness strategy. The examples below show how each sub strategy manifests ‘to give suggestions’.

Being optimistic:

*Sample 4.1*

D: _aku raso sedap campur la wei. Mu pun boleh jugok cari cari calon survey survey dulu mu nok_
B: [kan? best jugak]
D:  I think it'd be fun if we mix. You can check out for any potential partners.
B:  [sounds good]

Giving or asking for reasons:

Sample 4.2

D:  all together. Hang on. Just girls or boys? Or do you want to mix? Mixed sounds better!

To include S and H in the activity:

Sample 4.3

A:  eh ape kate ape kate kite buat reunion kat gue je
A:  eh why don’t we have the reunion inside the cave?
D:  alang alang aku dok Guo Musey kito gini kito bakar musey nok?
D:  since I live in Gua Musang, why not we barbeque Deer too?

Sample 4.4

B:  dah kito nok buat gapo wei? Hah! Kita buat gotu nok?
A:  apa?
B:  Kite buat bean porridge
B:  so what else can we do? Hah! Why don’t we do this?
A:  what?
B:  we sell bubur kachey (kacang)

As shown in the previous examples, the participants give suggestions by including everyone in the decision. This can be seen with the use of the pronouns ‘kita’ or ‘we’. As mentioned by Brown and Levinson (1987), when giving
suggestions with any PP strategies, one is able to put forth his/her ideas without excluding the others which indirectly shows that one is concerned about the other person’s feelings and wants, and above all, insists on maintaining solidarity.

The next sub strategy ‘noticing the aspects of the H’ can be seen in one of the speech acts that is, ‘to compliment’. For example:

Sample 4.5

C: mu dok ghumoh mu study sokmo dok?
A: mmm takpo mu ghajin
D: mana ADE!
C: you do study when you’re at home don’t you?
A: mmm. It’s easy for you. You’re hard working
D: I DON’T THINK SO!

The example shows that a compliment given to D is to highlight a positive quality of D that is she is hard working and would not have any trouble studying if she was at home, unlike the other participants. This highlighted quality addresses D’s positive face as it makes her (although, in reality, it is the contrary) feel good about herself.

Next, there were two occurrences for the sub strategy ‘offering and promising’. An example of ‘to apologize’ that is manifested through offering and promising is:

Sample 4.6

A: TAH! Tok nikoh lagi weii!
C: tok ingat. Set mu ni lambat lagi nok nikoh eh. Sorrryy.
Nanti kalu set mu nikoh ke set mu cari aku. oghe first ok?
A: EXACTLY! We’re not married yet!
C: *I forgot. You guys are getting married later eh. Sorryy. Next time, if you guys are getting married, come look for me ok?*

Here, C apologizes for her carelessness in talking about private matters related to husband and wife relationships to her friends. (C is about 19 years old and was to be married soon at the time of recording). She apologizes by offering ‘marital tips’ to her friends whenever her friends are ready to get married.

The data for the speech act ‘to tease’ had mostly come under the ‘joking’ sub strategy. Having a dual nature, teasing can be face saving as it promotes bonding and friendliness but it also has an opposite effect that is, teasing can be face threatening too (Lampert and Ervin-Tripp, 2006). Joking allows the teasing to be considered as face saving as the examples below show:

**Sample 4.7**

A: *mmm nak beli banyok! Duit takdok! ((laugh))*
C: *aku nilah lo nompat leping leping! Sedap laa tapi nok buat gano duit takdok! ((laugh)) olohh nok beli mikir nok beli mikir*
B: *keluar dah macam macam bahasenyee ((laugh))*
A: *mmm.. there’s so many to buy! But I had no money! ((laugh))*
C: *I was so excited! (nompat leping leping: literal translation is jumped for joy or jumped excitedly) It was so good! But what to do. No money! ((laugh)) olooh. Was contemplating. To buy or not to buy.*
B: *there she goes with all the strange language coming in ((laugh))*

To an outsider, perhaps this tease will pose a threat as it bears a certain prejudice towards the dialect. However, this is not applicable to participants A and C who are from Kelantan and B who speak Standard Malay. Instead, what the tease
does is acknowledge B’s acceptance of the Kelantanese dialect. The same attitude can be observed in the next example:

*Sample 4.8*

C: Bahaso manis. Air manis. Semuo manis. Tuwe pun manis!
A: tuwe manis
 ([laugh])
B: **Allah! Sempat lagi**
C: *Polite language. Sweet drinks. All is sweet. The people are sweet too!*
A: *this person (referring to own self) is sweet* ([laugh])
B: **God! She manages**

The tease made by B is directed at A who compliments herself and the attractive quality (“sweet”) she possess being a Kelantanese. B’s responding this way is perhaps because of A’s own habit of always (playfully) complimenting herself. B, nonetheless, acknowledges this and thus the positive face of A is upheld.

An example from the data of ‘to tease’ that employed ‘using in-group’ identity markers is as follows:

*Sample 4.9*

C: eee bestnyee program SPICE Aku gi SPICE hari tu dok. Dulu. Ado mamat nok tackle aku. ya Allah Nok ngejah aku. tapi aku buat dok laye la. tapi buat dok laye laa
A: *[fuyoooo syokk molek]*

C: eee how fun. SPICE program. I went to the SPICE program the other day. There was this guy who tried to approach me. god he was flirting with me. I just ignored him. But kept on ignoring him
A: *[fuyoooo Amazing]*
The expression ‘fuyooo syok molek’ is directed at C’s positive face that is, ‘her perennial desire that her wants should be thought of as desirable’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 101). This expression is shared among the participants where the jeering of ‘fuyoo syok molek’ is not meant to humiliate C but is only meant to show A’s appreciation for the so-called extraordinary event that had happened to C.

The next example shows how A clarifies to B what ‘Mek’ means. Initially, A had said something and called B ‘Mek’. B was unsure of what ‘Mek’ means and equated the meaning of ‘mek’ to someone who is old. A clarifies it by including S and H in the activity to sort of pacify B who is slightly unamused at being addressed as ‘Mek’.

Sample 4.10

B:  mek tu maksudnyo awok lah!
A:  oh awak!
B:  Mek also means you!
A:  oh you!
B:  the Kelantanese. If they want to sound more polite or affectionate, they call others as ‘mek’, ‘awe’. Or ‘demo’.
4.2 Analysis of the Occurrence of Negative Politeness Strategy

Table 4.2 Total occurrences of negative politeness sub strategies based on speech acts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speech act / sub strategy</th>
<th>Being conventionally indirect</th>
<th>Questioning, Hedge</th>
<th>Being pessimistic</th>
<th>Minimizing the imposition</th>
<th>Giving deference</th>
<th>Apologizing</th>
<th>Impersonalizing S and H</th>
<th>Stating the FTA as a general rule</th>
<th>Nominalization</th>
<th>Going on record and incurring a debt, or as not incurring H</th>
<th>Total per speech acts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To ask</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
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<td>To disagree</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>To suggest</td>
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<tr>
<td>To complain</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>To clarify</td>
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<tr>
<td>To tease</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total per sub strategies</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

8 speech acts were found to utilize the negative politeness (NP) strategy. In Table 4.2 above, it can be seen that a total of 12 occurrences were found to employ the ‘stating the FTA as a general rule’ and this is the most favored NP sub strategy. ‘Stating the FTA as a general rule’ is followed by the sub strategy ‘being pessimistic’ with a total number of 10 occurrences. The other sub strategies only managed to obtain 1, 2 and 5 occurrences per sub strategy.
The sub strategies that were not favored are probably because of the very nature of the sub strategies themselves. Firstly, the exchanges between the participants did not require the participants to commit FTAs by means of ‘giving deference’. ‘Giving deference’ requires one to speak in an inferior way about oneself alongside carrying out the FTA. In the example cited from Simpson (1995), it can be seen that for the participants involved in the present study to make a request in this manner would be rather out of place.

I’m ashamed to have to ask you this favour.  

(Simpson, 1995:175)

However, the next example would seem more fitting if the context was directed to speaking to someone with authority.

Excuse me, professor, can I take a few minutes of your precious time?  

(Akbari, 2002:10)

The same justification applies to why the sub strategy ‘apologizing’ was not favored by the participants. The participants have no need to coat their FTAs by being apologetic to allow an impingement to be redressed (Simpson, 1995). The relationship they share is mutual enough to allow the participants to commit FTAs without negative redress.

In addition, both the NP sub strategies ‘nominalization’ and ‘going on record and incurring a debt’, or ‘not indebting H’ were not favored because the participants did not need to detach themselves from the FTA. Additionally, the participants were
not obliged to redress their FTAs with expressions of gratitude or even to express debt to the other speaker. These would be more applicable if it was made to a stranger such as when one desperately needs to make an emergency phone call but one’s mobile phone is either disconnected or missing. One’s request may be made in this way: “Excuse me, Miss, I lost my hand phone. Could you lend me your phone? I would really appreciate it. Thank you so much. May God bless you”

Based on Table 4.2, it can be seen that one of the most favored NP sub strategies is ‘being pessimistic’. This sub strategy is defined as ‘giving redress to H’s negative face by explicitly expressing doubt that the conditions for the appropriateness of S’s speech act obtain’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 173). Five of the speech acts had employed this sub strategy which shows that the participants were aware of the other participants’ need of space. Although the relationship between the participants is mutual and there is no immediate need to redress FTAs with NP or PP, there are times when the participants realize that the negative face of others had to be respected. The next example shows this when a participant wanted to decline being the PIC or person in charge for the reunion.

Sample 4.11

C: mu key habih awaal
A: habih awal! Tige tahun!
D: masalohnyo kalu aku jadi PIC habih ah. Memey punoh habih ah!
C: you’re finishing soon!
A: very soon! Three years!
D: but the problem is if I become the PIC. It’ll be a huge disaster!

D declines the offer to become the PIC despite the other participants’ insistence. However, she does not decline baldly. Instead, she tries to deflect the
other participants’ insistence while ‘protecting’ her space by describing the worst possible scenario that will occur if she were to become the PIC. The following is another example of the sub strategy ‘being pessimistic’ used to commit the FTA ‘to disagree’.

Sample 4.12

B: mu segho (rasa) mano? Eh kito jual kat pasar maley nok?
A: haduuu! Kite boleh ke keluar malam malaam?
B: where do you think? Eh why don’t we sell at the pasar malam?
A: haduuu! Can we actually go out at night?

A may have responded to B’s suggestion in question form but nonetheless, this response implies that A does not agree with the suggestion. A disagrees by questioning B as to whether or not the security guards and the hostel wardens would allow students to be out of the center’s grounds at such an hour. This rationalization is a pessimistic one because it curtails B’s effort to sell their wares, thus not opening more opportunities for them to earn extra income.

The following is another example from the data of disagreeing by means of ‘being pessimistic’.

Sample 4.13

B: jual air buat gapoo.. Eh gini lah.
A: and then! just now it was Milo. But you didn’t want it. Soya? Cristintum? Cristintum? (Chrysanthemum) ((laugh))
B: what’s the use of selling drinks.. eh why not.

B had not stated her disagreement directly or bald on record such as by saying no we don’t need to sell drinks”. Instead, she conjures a condition that makes the idea
of selling drinks as troublesome and unprofitable for the both of them. This can be seen in the expression ‘buat gapo’ (why for?: literal translation) that somehow questions the suitability of A’s suggestion.

Another speech act that was manifested through the NP sub strategy of ‘being pessimistic’ is ‘to complain’. In the example from the data given below, the participants were about to discuss the activities for the reunion. D complains about the proposal:

Sample 4.14

B: unit ape. Permainan. Aktiviti kan?
B: what unit. Games. An activity wasn’t it?
D: eee games are too childish. We’re already old at that time. Don’t you know? Our faces are all wrinkled.

Here, D complains about having games during the reunion by ‘being pessimistic’. She intends to have the other participants agree with her but does it in a way that does not seem too bold. The reason for this is probably because D is aware that games are popular during reunions but does not want to really show her disagreement on it.

Next, the speech act ‘to tease’ is seen to be manifested by means of ‘being conventionally indirect’. ‘Being conventionally indirect’ refers to ‘the desire to give H an ‘out’ by being indirect and the desire to go on record ‘(Brown and Levinson, 1987:132).
The above example is extracted from the context of A and B talking about not receiving an allowance during the short semester. They talk about how they have to restrict certain food choices due to their limited budget. However, B (the other participant) mentioned that she had indulged herself by eating in a particular cafeteria which was known to be slightly expensive. It is at this point that A responded by teasing B as seen in the extract above. The intention of A was to go on record about B’s ability to afford expensive meals. On the other hand, A did not want to sound too upfront as perhaps it would embarrass B or it could subconsciously reflect A’s feeling of jealousy (if there was such an inclination). Thus, the teasing is made conventionally indirect that is, between a bald on record (tapi makan mewah kot! – but you eat so lavishly!) and coating it with an element of indirectness (duit negatif – so little cash).

‘Being conventionally indirect’ also can be seen in the FTA of disagreeing. An example from the data is as follows:

Sample 4.16

B: haah! Ape ape yang best lah
D: Mak Limah Balik Kampung
B: hah
D: Kak Limah Balik Kampung
The exclamation made by B is ‘conventionally indirect’ because essentially B disagrees with D’s choice of movie but cares for B’s negative face by not directly saying no to her which is in fact terse and ‘maximally efficient’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 95). Her response of saying ‘hah’ in the earlier parts of the extract affirms that she acknowledges B’s suggestion but at the end of the extract, B rationalizes her disagreement by saying that the selected movie was funny and a current hit but it would not be so in five years’ time (the time of the reunion) when there would be even better movies released. Thus, B maintains D’s negative face by agreeing that the chosen movie is a good choice but at the same time implying a ‘no’ since it would be unpopular in the future.

The other NP sub strategy that is most favored is ‘stating the FTA as a general rule’. ‘Stating the FTA as a general rule’ is to almost completely remove one’s self from the imposition (Brown and Levinson, 1987). When an FTA is structured in the imperative form, the FTA becomes ‘some general social rule, regulation, or obligation’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 206), leaving one minimal choice but to adhere to it. The following examples from the data show how this sub strategy was employed:

To clarify:
**Sample 4.17**

D: **gelenya ni. Miang**
A: okay miang siapa nak minum miang? ((laugh))

_D: gelenya. means flirty (negative connotations: coquettish, promiscuous)_
A: okay flirty who wants to drink flirty? ((laugh))

The other participants in the recording had asked what ‘gelenya’ meant. After some playful exchanges on the meaning of ‘gelenya’, D responded by defining ‘gelenya’ as flirty. The response provided clarification and was not directed as an attack but is a statement that requires the other participants to adhere to the meaning. This had saved D’s negative face as it clarified the meaning and this had also saved the other participants’ face by not making them feel that the correct meaning for the word ‘gelenya’ has been forcefully put upon them.

The next example shows how a participant disagrees by ‘stating the FTA as a general rule’.

**Sample 4.18**

A: oooh. Eh! kenapa kau panggil aku mek? _Aku mude ah_ cheehh ((laugh))
B: alaa mu ni rilek ah bahase kelatey key panggil mek panggil timoh
A: _oooh. Eh! why do you call me mek? I am still young ah_. Cheehh ((laugh))
B: alaa come on relax its kelantanese call mek call timoh

A’s response of disagreement with the other participant shows that instead of disagreeing baldy, A responds by justifying her disagreement by saying that ‘Aku mude ah’ (I am still young ah). This claim is a general rule and that basically sums up her attitude towards the idea of being addressed as ‘mek’. A did not have any
intention to embarrass the other participant. A had maintained the other participant’s negative face by laughing at the end of the utterance. Nonetheless, she asserts her disagreement by implying that ‘mek’ is reserved for older ladies, and she is still too young to be addressed as ‘mek’.

The next example is another example of disagreeing by means of ‘stating the FTA as a general rule’. The exchange between the participants was about making estimations on the profit the participants would get from their small business.

*Sample 4.19*

B: alaaah.. aku tahu la aku tak gheti add maths mu ni!
A: *eh math biase je! Matematik moden kot!*

*sin sample*

B: alaah. I know I’m not so good in maths oh you!
A: *eh it’s just simple math! Modern mathematics in fact!*

The general idea is that some simple calculations could be done effortlessly. However, B had become a little bit confused with some simple calculations which was why she had exclaimed as such in the extract. A disagreed with B’s exclamation on the difficulty of the calculations by asserting that ‘eh math biase je! Matematik moden kot!’ (eh it’s just simple math. Modern mathematics in fact!) and this is an FTA uttered as a general rule. Thus, B’s negative face is maintained with a mere statement of the FTA made as a general rule.

The next example is an advice made in the ‘state the FTA as a general rule’ form.

*Sample 4.20*

A: *[tu la bilo bilo naik KTM tengok la dulu]*
B: tu la pengalaman naik KTM sedih gilo
A: [and that is why next time make sure you check which KTM coach it is before boarding it]
B: So that was my experience on the KTM. So depressing

The above extract relates to one of the participants’ experience boarding a commuter train coach for both male and female passengers. Unfortunately, this particular participant had been harassed. A then responded by advising her as shown in the extract above. To respect this particular participant’s negative face, when expressing her concern, A made this advice general as if she was also addressing the rest of the participants. Thus, the negative face of this particular participant is maintained (that it is her decision to board any coach but at the same time, she should make sure she boards the coach for women only for her own sake) because this advice had been ‘stated as a general rule’.

The next advice made as ‘state the FTA as a general rule’ is a continuation of the previous extract. After dwelling on the experience of being harassed inside the coach, C concludes the topic by giving advice:

Sample 4. 21
C: hah tu la kesimpulanye. Nak naik KTM ni naik la coach wanita. Jangan jadi macam aku tersilap naik coach campur
C: hah and so that’s the story. When boarding the KTM, get on the female coach. Don’t be like me going on the mixed passengers coach.

Here, C has shared her experience and thus wants to advise her friends to not make the same mistake again. Because the advice applies to all, C would naturally manifest this advice by using this sub strategy. To follow or not to follow this advice
is entirely up to the other participants’ discretion which is in Brown and Levinson’s terms, respecting the others’ sense of autonomy (1987).

The next two examples from the data show the sub strategy ‘state the FTA as a general rule’.

Sample 4.22

B: tapi kalau kalau kau nak balik bawa balik dengan orang lain la. sorang sorang bahaya kot
A/D: mmm
B: ye ah sebab macam macam kalau nak kat KL ni. Hah. Nak drive sorang sorang ni pun bahaya

Sample 4.23

B: but if you want to drive back be sure to drive back with somebody. Driving alone is dangerous
A/D: mmm
B: well really because like even in KL. Hah. Driving alone is also dangerous

So far, four examples of giving advice made by ‘stating the FTA as a general rule’ have been shown. It can be concluded that the participants involved in this study had chosen this sub strategy as a means to give advice to one another. The two examples given previously may show that B could have addressed the advice to somebody specific. But clearly this is not the intention. The intention is definitely to advice the other participants as well. Although the pronoun ‘kau’ (you) was used, it is also meant to be directed at the other participants as well. Drawing in parallels like the reality of driving in KL helps minimize the prescriptiveness of the advice, thus allowing the other participants to make their own conclusions on the above matter.
The sub strategy ‘Impersonalizing S and H’ can be seen in the speech act ‘to ask’. The following is an example from the data:

*Sample 4.24*

D: *eh orang Kelantan bukan tak makan pedas ke?*
A: makey jugok sikit

D: *eh don’t the Kelantanese not eat spicy food?*
A: *it depends?*

D employed the sub strategy ‘impersonalizing S and H’ to ask about the eating habits of the Kelantanese. Since there is no relation to the participants from Kelantan, it is natural for the speakers to disregard any association of the question to the participants. This had maintained both D and A’s negative face.
4.3 Analysis on the Occurrence of the Off Record Strategy

Table 4.3 Total occurrences of off record sub strategies based on speech acts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Giving Hints</th>
<th>Giving Association clues</th>
<th>Presupposition</th>
<th>Understating</th>
<th>Overstating</th>
<th>Using Tautologies</th>
<th>Using contradictions</th>
<th>Being ironic</th>
<th>Using metaphors</th>
<th>Using rhetorical questions</th>
<th>Being ambiguous</th>
<th>Being vague</th>
<th>Overgeneralization</th>
<th>Displacing H</th>
<th>Incompleteness: using ellipsis</th>
<th>Total per speech acts</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To tease</td>
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<td>To disagree</td>
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‘Giving hints’ (12 occurrences) was the most favored off record sub strategy of the participants. ‘Giving association clues’, ‘using metaphors’ and ‘being vague’ recorded only one occurrence compared to the other sub strategies. This makes these sub strategies the least utilized. There is a rather significant imbalance in the use of sub strategies, where giving hints is clearly the more favored one. ‘To end the conversation’ is seen to utilize the most off record sub strategy that is, ‘giving hints’.

Off record FTAs allow the speaker an ‘out’. What an ‘out’ means is the speaker will not be held accountable for whatever it is he says (Brown and Levinson, 1987). ‘Giving hints’ means to ‘raise the issue’ of some desired act’ (Brown and
Levinson, 1987: 215). The following example shows how D hints to the other participants that she is unhappy with the suggestion of sleeping in tents during the reunion. The desired act is to disagree with the suggestion. However, D ‘invites the hearer to search for an interpretation of the possible relevance’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 213) by complaining in a manner of involving her (unborn) child in the conversation as a way to influence the other participants to not agree on sleeping in tents during the reunion.

**Sample 4.25**

C: khemoh  
D: siye ko anok aku. Tidor daley khemoh!  
C: tent  
D: poor baby. Sleeping in a tent!

D gave hints (about her unborn child’s discomfort) when complaining instead of being overt about her disinclination towards camping and in this way, she is not seen as someone who is unspontaneous and uncooperative.

In the following examples, the participants employ the ‘give hints’ sub strategy on the other participants to end their conversation.

**Sample 4.26**

D: okaylah takpolah cepatlah! Aku loghat ni! Nok balik masok pulok  
D: Okay. Whatever. Hurry up! I’m in a rush. I need to fix dinner.

In fact, D has no obligation to return home and fix dinner as she was actually not married yet at the time of recording and she does not have a proper kitchen to
cook dinner. Her exclamation is really to provide a leeway for her to leave the conversation. She may have grabbed the attention of the other participants but what she has done is really expecting the other participants to comply with her desire to end the conversation. D has left inferences for the other participants to interpret by hinting on the need to rush home to fix dinner.

The next example from the data also shows ways ‘to end conversation’ by employing the ‘give hints’ sub strategy.

Sample 4.27

A:  
B: 

Sample 4.28

A: ngantuknyee
B: wei! Janganlah! ((Laugh)) jangan la tidor lagi Syikin
A: I’m sleepy
B: wei! Don’t! ((laugh)) don’t fall asleep yet Syikin

The above examples clearly spell what Brown and Levinson describe as ‘a communicative act done in such a way that it is not possible to attribute only one clear communicative intention to the act’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 211). One can interpret many things, such as A wanting to express how tired she was or just a mere exclamation of emotions. But in the extracts given, A repeatedly gives hints about ending the conversation by expressing how sleepy she is. In fact, her being sleepy has no immediate relevance to their conversation. However, in one extract, B asserts to A ‘janganlah tidor lagi’ (‘don’t fall asleep’) showing B’s understanding of A’s intention of wanting to end the conversation so that she can take a nap.
The sub strategy ‘give association clues’ is also found in the speech act ‘to end conversation’. What is slightly different between ‘give association clues’ and ‘giving hints’ is that when making association clues, both interlocutors involved in the communicative act should share an understanding or have prior knowledge related to the communicative act (Brown and Levinson, 1987:215). One example found in the data is from the recording on planning a reunion.

*Sample 4.29*

B: tu ah. aku rase kau memang ketua yang sesuai lah
C: haa betol
A: PIC yang berkaliber ahh
D: HAZA MIFADLIMUROBBI ((laugh))
B: okay
D: [boh (sudah) ah puji aku! Letih doh!]
A: [tutup majlis lah kite]
B: so. I guess you do make the most suitable leader
C: haa that’s right
A: PIC with caliber
D: HAZA MIFADLIMUROBBI ((laugh))
B: okay
D: *[Enough with the compliments! I’m tired!]*
A: *[let’s end our meeting]*

D had exclaimed ‘boh ah puji aku! letih doh!’ (‘Enough with the compliments! I’m tired!’) which signaled to the other participants that D did not want the other participants to continue with the compliments as it would further lengthen the discussion. This implies that D wants to quickly end the conversation. How her exclamation relates to the understanding of the other participants is that all participants have finalized their discussion on the reunion and realize D’s potential as a leader. Because they have run out of points to discuss, the participants immediately understood the intent of D when she exclaimed the said utterance.
The sub strategy ‘use metaphors’ had been manifested through the speech act ‘to tease’. Using metaphors can be marked with euphemism and hedging particles (Brown and Levinson, 1987) as the data shows below:

**Sample 4.30**

C: number. Aku pun letok. Die talipon duo tigo kali. Aku tok angkat angkat last skali die pun senyap gitu. Aku ke baguh dok laye oghee ((laugh))

B: **sempat lagi angkat bakul**

C: *number. I hung up. He called again two or three times. I didn’t pick up and finally the phone calls just stopped. I am a good girl aren’t I not entertaining people of that sort ((laugh))*

B: *manages to lift her own basket (literal translation)*  
*Manages to blow her own horn (metaphorical translation)*

Observing B’s response, the association of the basket (or horn) is non existent to the conversation that took place. This expression is metaphorical and allows a sense of detachment for B if ever the tease threatens C’s face. However, the act of teasing is actually intentional and one which Brown and Levinson would deem as made bald on record (Brown and Levinson, 1987). On the other hand, what is made off record and manifested discreetly is to embarrass C and this is explained by Brown and Levinson as ‘a possibility that exactly which of the connotations of the metaphors S (participant B) intends may be off record (1987:222).
4.4 Analysis on Bald on Record

![Bar Graph](image)

Figure 4.1 Number of occurrences for bald on record strategy

The bar graph shows that altogether 23 speech acts were expressed baldly on record. Based on the table, the speech act ‘to complain’ was made 63 times. The other two speech acts that were significant are ‘to disagree’ and ‘to tease’ with occurrences of 39 and 30 respectively. The speech act that was least used and obtained only one occurrence is ‘to encourage’.

Interestingly, the data shows that speech acts that were theoretically face threatening namely, ‘to tease’, ‘to complain’ and ‘to disagree’ recorded high occurrences compared to other speech acts that were more ‘gentle’ such as ‘to
apologize’, ‘to suggest’ and a few others. This suggests that an FTA such as complaining, disagreeing or teasing is not necessarily risky and dangerous to a relationship. In fact, it could represent closeness and a sense of camaraderie among one another, as the data analysis shows.

Complaints and disagreements are theoretically face threatening as asserted by O’Driscoll (1997). As O’Driscoll states, ‘the claim that some acts threaten face is self evidently true, as witnessed in many quotidian interpersonal animosities’ (p.468). A more face saving strategy can be employed by the speakers such as negative politeness to show respect to the other person or by means of positive politeness to at least soften the complaint. However, as the analysis shows, this claim does not always hold true. The participants in this study had made complaints baldly yet did not offend anyone. The following data to illustrate this will be shown in both Standard Malay and the Kelantanese dialect and is followed by the English translation.

**Sample 4.31**

D: mu tahu dok medic lame gile. Eney tahun!
B: ish!
D: don’t you know that Medic takes a really long time. Six years!
B: ish!

Here, D complains to the other participants that the medical course takes a long time to complete. This FTA is threatening because two of the other participants are actually medical students. However, D still went ahead by highlighting this baldly on record.
In the next two examples, D complains about how annoying it is talking to some of the participants. D does not hesitate to attack the faces of the two participants by exclaiming “eee pening aku kecek dengan mu” (eee such a headache talking to you) and “eee mu nih key! eee Ya Allah! Aku gurau ja sat ni!” (eee oh you really! Eee my god! I was just joking just now). The attack is direct and immediate with the use of the pronoun ‘mu’ which addresses the other person directly. But because the participants are well adjusted with one another, there is no risk to the relationship.

Sample 4.32

A: yang kau tubik keluaq UIA tu ape?
D: eeee pening aku kecek dengan mu
A: why did you go out of UIA?
D: eee such a headache talking to you

Sample 4.33

B: ayam cukup. Eee taknak kuba! Aku tak makan kuba
D: eee mu nih key! eee Ya Allah! Aku gurau ja sat ni!
B: chicken is good. Eee I don’t want kuba (Buffalo meat)! I don’t eat meat
D: eee oh you really! Eee my god! I was just joking just now!

This is another example of a complaint that is bald on.

Sample 4.34

B: haa.. hujung minggu kito tubik ahh
A: tu.BIQQ aahh kite gi KFC
B: eeee mu toksoh kecek kelate laa bunyi siyee!
B: haa.. this weekend we’ll go out
A: ou. UUTT. Oh yes. We’ll also go to KFC
B: eee you don’t have to speak the Kelantanese dialect sounds too Siamese!
Here, A complains about how B attempts to speak Kelantanese but fails to do so. Ideally, to encourage someone who is learning or attempting something new, one would give encouragement. Giving encouragement can be manifested in positive politeness, that is by saying things to make the other person feel good about himself or herself such as:

“Okay lah tu. Mu try lagi try lagi”

“That was okay. Keep practicing. Keep practicing”

Instead, A attacks B’s attempts negatively by saying that B does not sound pleasant at all in her attempt to speak Kelantanese and in fact, she sounds like she is speaking Thai. This is a grave attack on the other speaker. However, B does not seem to be affected, and thus there is no threat posed by the FTA of complaining.

Disagreements made bald on record among the participants were also prevalent. Honda (2002) defines disagreement as a speech activity in which two conversants try to keep their own positions by opposing each other. Keeping one’s own position means asserting one’s own opinions over those of others. To avoid friction, the participants should have employed the positive politeness strategy or the negative politeness strategy. But, clearly bald on record was no threat at all to the other participants. There were 42 occurrences of disagreements made bald on record. The nature of disagreements is very face-threatening yet the relationship the participants share does not require the participants to ‘coat’ their disagreements in a more discreet manner. The camaraderie they share can be seen in the excerpt below taken from the data:
Sample 4.35

C:  ni aku cadangkan mu cari laki hok kelate
D:  aku tak tahu
B:  tak payah la Khai! ((laugh)) nantikan kau homesick ((laugh))
C:  I suggest you find yourself a man from Kelantan
D:  I don’t know
B:  don’t bother Khai! ((laugh)) afraid that you’ll get homesick ((laugh))

B had interrupted D by saying baldly ‘don’t bother Khai’. Ordinarily, if the relationship between the two participants was not close, this interjection would have resulted in some friction as B had imposed her opinions even before D said anything. This is a threat to one’s negative face. However, D had not been threatened and B did not intend to belittle D’s response as their relationship was based on mutual grounds as they have been friends for almost two years and have grown accustomed to one another’s idiosyncrasies. The following is another example of the participant’s disagreeing baldly.

Sample 4.36

D:  eh susoh? Mu keno nikoh dengey oghe [Kelate baru mu boleh kecek Kelate]
A:  [mmm tak kuase. Tak nak ah!]
D:  difficult eh? you need to get married to a [Kelantanese then you’ll be able to speak Kelantanese]
A:  [mmmm. I won’t bother. No thanks!]
this bold disagreement could have reflected A’s negative attitude towards the Kelantanese people and also the Kelantanese dialect. However, this was not the intention of A. A disagreed purely out of her disinterest in the idea of looking for a potential husband and marriage.

Next, the data showed that teasing among the participants, something typical of female speech, was common and was mainly made baldly on record. The teasing was found to be ‘mocking but playful jibes against someone’ (Drew, 1987:219). Figure 4.1 shows that teasing on record was made as many as 34 times. This shows that the participants are comfortable at ‘mocking playfully’ at one another and are not offended even if the teasing was made baldly on record. Some of the examples from the data are:

**Sample 4.37**

B: Khai! Tak yah buat lah! Tak jadi
D: [manih leting! Malunye aku!]
C: masin perat
((laugh))
A: **jadi oghe Siye**
B: **Khai! Don’t say it! It won’t work**
D: [very sweet! So embarrassing!]
C: very sour
((laugh))
A: **just like a Siamese**

The scenario above revolves around the participants A and C sharing their experience visiting a chocolate fair and trying out some of the chocolates that were exhibited. They had described the flavors and tastes of the chocolates. C had used some of the common Kelantanese expressions when describing flavor and D (Khai) had a go at trying to say those expressions. According to B, Khai should not try
saying them because it would obviously sound awkward. This discouragement was not intentionally made to put D (Khai) down; it was only to tease her.

In the next example, A teases C for (purposely) forgetting about her own wedding.

Sample 4.38

D: tak. Sape yang nak kahwin sebenarnye ni? Hah? Hah?
A: ohhh oghe
D: excited je?
A: hooo tu la(unclear) hok die tanyo sebenanyo!
C: (unclear) aku tok ingat!
A: olohl! buat buat lupo pulok!
D: no. by the way, who is it that’s getting married? Hah? Hah?
A: ohhh someone
D: so excited?
A: exactly (unclear) it’s actually the person who’s asking!
C: (unclear) I forgot!
A: olohl! (oh please) Pretending to forget!

The above examples show that the participants have no qualms about ‘running down’ the other participants by means of teasing. Both examples of teasing can be likened to criticizing. However, the nature of the exaggerated teasing alongside the laughter that the participants shared softens the attack and makes it good natured criticism.

‘To agree’, ‘to apologize’, and ‘to interrupt’ are among the other speech acts that obtained the least number of occurrence made bald on record. This is also typical when the participants involved in a particular conversation are very familiar with one another and there is no need to ‘be nice’. Participants who are comfortable with one another are aware of the dynamics involved when they converse with each other.
They know what topics or issues can be discussed and how to go about discussing them. Hence, the occurrences of the said speech acts are minimal and also not manifested baldly on record.

Some of the examples are as follows:

To apologize:

*Sample 4.39*

D: aku. aku puase  
A: eh? YA ALLAH!  
**Sorry sorry**

D: I. I am fasting.  
A: eh? MY GOD!  
**Sorry sorry**

To agree:

*Sample 4.40*

D: ngantuk ah wei. Takde ke kopi ke  
B: kaan? Buat air. dahaga ni  
A: dah tengohari mase oghe tido  
C: **tahu!** aku tok tido  
D: *I’m sleepy. Isn’t there any coffee?*  
B: *right? Fix a drink. I’m thirsty.*  
A: *it’s the afternoon. It’s napping time.*  
C: **exactly! I didn’t sleep**

In the ‘to agree’ example, C agrees baldly with A by saying ‘tahu’ which implies the meaning of ‘exactly’ to the claim that afternoons are for napping.

To interrupt:

*Sample 4.41*

A: [mnmnm turun depey tu]  
B: [**jap. kat mane coklat fair?**]  
A: [mnm alight from the bus around the front]
B: [Hang on. Where is this chocolate fair?]

To threaten:

Sample 4.42

D: (unclear) amboi! Kau nak gode laki aku eh? ((laugh))

D: (unclear) amboi! Are you trying to flirt with my guy?((laugh))

This is an example of ‘to threaten’ made bald on record. The FTA is made as simple and clear as possible. However, it is undeniable that even though this threat was made baldly on record, the laughter and the use of the emphatic marker ‘amboi’ manage to soften the blow.
4.5 Analysis of Total Number of Strategies based on the Two Dialects

Figure 4.2 Total number of strategies based on two dialects

Figure 4.2 above shows the overall occurrence of the politeness strategy in the two Malay dialects between the participants. Overall, the speakers that come from Kelantan have collectively utilized more politeness strategies (bald on record, positive politeness, negative politeness, off record) compared to the speakers of Standard Malay.
Malay. The most widely utilized politeness strategy is the ‘bald on record’ strategy and the least is the ‘off record’ strategy. This applies to both Malay dialects.

The data shows the use of more ‘bald on record’ strategies by the participants when conversing with one another with the Kelantanese speakers dominating the strategy (142). The speakers of Standard Malay account for 83 occurrences of the strategy. Although the difference is quite large, the numbers show that clearly, the speakers are comfortable conversing using the ‘bald on record’ strategy. Some may say that the ‘bald on record’ strategy can potentially damage a person’s face as it has no redress. However, this is not the case for the participants involved in this study. They utilized the strategy as it shows the level of comfort they have with one another, thus not necessitating the need to coat their utterances or intentions with hedges, indirectness or beating around the bush.

A further indication of the level of their relationship is the fact that the second most utilized strategy is the ‘positive politeness’ (PP) strategy. PP is a strategy that values solidarity and good feelings to oneself and to the other self (Brown and Levinson, 1987). The ‘to give suggestions’ and ‘to tease’ speech acts that were employed by the speakers reflected this strategy. From the speech acts that utilized PP, it is possible to describe the type of relationship the participants had. The participants were sensitive to the type of speech acts that were more suitably manifested on PP because they realized that in certain situations during their conversations, they were obligated to satisfy the need for one’s positive face.
The ‘negative politeness strategy’ had been employed equally in terms of frequency for both dialects. This is probably due to the participants’ cautionary take on the concept of negative politeness that is, respecting one’s personal space and not imposing opinions on others (Brown and Levinson, 1987). Based on the number of occurrences, the participants did not really see the need to be too formal with one another. Based on Figure 4.2 above, the speech acts that employed most of the NP strategies are ‘to complain’ and ‘to ask’ and ‘to disagree’. ‘Complaining’, ‘asking’ and ‘disagreeing’ are speech acts that are threatening to one’s face as ‘complaining’ and ‘disagreeing’ suggests that we are in contrary to the other person’s opinions or belief. Moreover, ‘asking’, in the context of the recordings, involves the participant asking about matters that would intrude into personal space, such as asking whether or not the other participants would be willing to travel to Johor or Kelantan to attend a wedding reception. Clearly, questions that bear imposition on another person’s time, energy and space are manifested through the NP strategy.

The ‘off record strategy’ recorded a marked imbalance between the two dialects. The Kelantanese speakers had initiated more detachment in their utterances so as to not cause any friction among the speakers.

In conclusion, what can be seen based on Figure 4.2 is that the speakers of the Kelantanese dialect had employed more politeness strategies compared to the speakers of Standard Malay. The speakers of the Kelantanese dialect also employed a more significant number of bald on record utterances. There was some balance in the ‘positive politeness strategy’ and an equal number of ‘negative politeness’ occurrences. However, there is a big difference in the employment of the off record
strategy between the two Malay dialects. One explanation for this imbalance is probably that there were more utterances produced by the speakers of the Kelantanese dialect. This would certainly affect the total number of politeness strategies between the two Malay dialects. Besides that, it reflects that the speakers from Kelantan had initiated more discussion and could have also contributed more ideas into the conversation.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter shows the results that have been obtained from the analysis. Generally, the most preferred politeness strategy utilized by the participants are strategies that reflected the dynamics of their relationship which revolves around clarity and maintaining solidarity. These values are reflected on their preference for the politeness strategies going ‘bald on record’ and ‘positive politeness’. The other two strategies, ‘negative politeness’ and ‘off record’, were used sparingly with great consideration whenever the FTA that was bound to be committed had a bigger threat on the other participants.
CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter is dedicated to answering the research questions that guide this study. The discussion will summarize and conclude from the findings of this study. Recommendations for further research are also provided.

5.1 Summary of Findings

This study was guided by the following research questions:

Research Question 1:
What are the politeness strategies employed by the speakers?

Research Question 2:
Which of the politeness strategies is frequently employed by the speakers?

Generally, the findings show that there is a higher tendency to employ utterances baldly during conversations between people who are familiar with each other. The least favoured strategy is the off record strategy as the nature of the conversations shows that there is no need for the participants to engage in indirect speech as they are around people they are familiar with. Additionally, the strategy ‘Don’t do the FTA’ is not utilised at all because the participants were found to not completely ignore utterances made by each other. The discussion which follows will address the research questions of the study.
5.1.1 Research Question 1: What are the politeness strategies employed by the speakers?

The study shows that the participants in the study had employed four of the politeness strategies proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987). The strategies are when doing an FTA are to either go ‘off record’ or go ‘on record’ with the two options of redressing that is by without redressive action or commonly known as ‘going bald on record’. ‘Going bald on record’ is then provided with two options which are ‘positive politeness’ and ‘negative politeness’.

The study shows that FTAs that were intrinsically face threatening such as ‘complaining, disagreeing, and teasing’ had been employed on more ‘bald on record’ strategy than the other three strategies. ‘Bald on record’ is a strategy that values maximum efficiency (Brown and Levinson, 1987). Because the relationship between the participants is already established, the conversations that take place are more immediate and upfront. This would not be the case if the relationship between the participants was not mutual. Although the explanation given by Brown and Levinson that ‘whenever S wants to do the FTA with maximum efficiency more than he wants to satisfy H’s face, even to any degree, he will choose the bald on record strategy’ (1987:95) shows a rather bold move on the speaker’s part, this is not found to be applicable in the context of the present study. Brown and Levinson also mention that ‘face is a universal concept, it follows that each culture values the importance of face’ (cited in Srisuruk, 2011:32). Clearly, in the context of the participants who come from two different regions in Malaysia, regional cultural differences also do not seem
to affect the conversations even when the bald on record strategy is employed by them.

After the ‘bald on record’ strategy, ‘positive politeness’ was the second most favoured strategy used by the participants. The employment of this strategy has somehow validated the dynamics of the relationship that is shared by the participants. ‘Positive politeness’ refers to a person’s need to make others feel good as the speaker himself wants to feel good too. Apart from the differences in the dialects spoken, the participants provided the assurance that every speaker involved in the conversations would feel equally important. This is in line with Brown and Levinson’s (1987) assertion that the positive politeness strategies ‘considers H to be important…’ which means both the speakers are ‘the same’ (p.70). This can be seen in how the participants utilize the strategy on certain speech acts such as when ‘teasing’ and ‘giving suggestions’. What this suggests is the participants know when to be direct or when to be attentive to the other person’s positive face. Not only that, the participants were found to use the sub strategy ‘include S and H’ up to 14 times, making it the most utilized sub strategy. This concretely validates the type of relationship the participants share because they have deliberately selected this strategy when giving suggestions. The concern is ultimately in making everyone happy with whatever the decision has been made because they have included both the speaker and the hearer in the speech act. This has certainly lessened the impact of imposing one’s suggestion on the others.

The speech act ‘to tease’ on the ‘positive politeness’ strategy is found to be employed significantly lower (11 occurrences) than when it is made ‘bald on record’
This is a rather obvious imbalance in the manifestation of teasing but this suggests that the participants were aware of the kinds of teasing that can be made baldly or by ‘positive politeness’. Nevertheless, the strategies they employed when carrying out this FTA had only strengthened the group camaraderie despite ‘bald on record’ being committed more than the positive politeness strategy which is all about making all interlocutors feel good.

The same phenomenon can be seen for the speech act ‘to complain’. ‘Complaining’ is made more ‘baldly on record’ (63 occurrences) than positive politeness (3). Once again, the numbers show the level of comfort the participants have with one another as the numbers can suggest that the manifestation of complaints is made baldly with no inhibitions towards the other participants’ face. On the contrary, it has further solidified their relationship.

The negative politeness strategy is a strategy that shows respect to the other participant engaged in the conversation. The concept of negative politeness shows a person’s awareness that one is not entirely entitled to impose one’s opinion on others especially if the relationship is in its infancy. Even the number of speech acts that utilized the negative politeness strategy in the data is less than the two previous strategies.

The most favoured sub strategy of positive politeness is the ‘state the FTA as a general rule’. It may be concluded that this sub strategy was the most favoured strategy because the participants in the study want to appear unforceful and polite and they do it by dissociating themselves from the imposition. As the findings show,
participants in the study show a preference for strategies that mark solidarity and transparency such as the ‘positive politeness’ strategy and the ‘bald on record’ strategy.

However, in a situation where the individuals do not want to impose their individual opinions onto another individual, the participants would opt for the negative politeness strategy that gives them the upper hand to be clear (or bald on record) but at the same time ensure no one gets hurt (or positive politeness) by ‘transforming’ the FTA as ‘some general social rule, regulation or obligation’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 206).

The study also found that the sub strategy ‘being pessimistic’ was one of the two more frequently utilized sub strategies manifested on a few of the speech acts. Being pessimistic is a way the S ‘gives redress to H’s negative face by explicitly expressing doubt’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 173). By explicitly expressing doubt, the speaker is showing the hearer that he allows the hearer to decline or disregard the speaker’s FTA but at the same time, when rejected, the negative face of the speaker remains (slightly) intact. ‘Being pessimistic’ can be seen in ‘the use of the negative (with a tag), the use of the subjunctive, and the use of remote-possibility markers’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 175). These sub elements of pessimism are then used together with the strategy ‘Question, Hedge’, thus laying the foundation for the construction of polite indirect speech acts (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 175). Hence, the participants were careful enough to give advice, show disagreement and decline by first creating a situation that is unfavourable followed by the FTA.
The least utilized politeness strategy is the ‘off record’ strategy. The participants in this study did not resort to this politeness strategy probably because this strategy theoretically revolves around the idea that ‘off record utterances are essentially indirect uses of language’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 211). Considering the relationship that the participants share, it is unlikely for them to make many ‘off record’ FTAs as the utterances can potentially jeopardize their relationship and the rapport they already have. Based on the findings, the participants had a higher tendency to perform FTAs by utilizing the sub strategy ‘giving hints’. Their awareness of maintaining the face of others can be seen in the lengths the participants go to in order to prevent as much friction as possible when they try to end the conversation by ‘giving hints’. This sub strategy is the only strategy that was used for six times and is enough to show that the other participants did not want to openly express their boredom, their fatigue and restlessness during the recording to the participant who had initiated the recording session. This would certainly offend one particular participant as she was given the responsibility to carry out the recording by the researcher. Therefore, by ‘giving hints’, the other participants could ‘avoid the responsibility for doing it (FTA) … and leave it up to the addressee to decide how to interpret it’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 211).
5.1.2 Research Question 2: Which of the politeness strategies is frequently employed by the speakers?

According to Muntigl and Turnbull (1998), ‘conversation creates and reveals social structure’ (cited in Al-Ahmad and Wardat, 2010:2). This claim can be seen in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bold on record</th>
<th>Positive politeness</th>
<th>Negative politeness</th>
<th>Off record</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>225</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The findings show collectively that the most employed politeness strategy is the bald on record strategy with 225 occurrences. This is followed by the positive politeness strategy (59), the negative politeness strategy (31) and lastly the off record strategy (17). Based on the findings from this study, the conclusion that can be made is relationships where one can be more direct and clear in one’s utterances are relationships where one is closer with the other person. In addition, when a sense of comfort and familiarity has been established, one would be able to employ other politeness strategies such as the negative and positive politeness strategies and off record strategy with greater ease and sophistication.
Table 5.2 Total number of politeness strategies employed based on dialects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of dialect / Politeness strategy</th>
<th>Standard Malay dialect</th>
<th>Kelantanese dialect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bald on</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>positive politeness</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negative politeness</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>off record</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.2 above shows that generally, the participants that come from Kelantan had performed more politeness strategies compared to the speakers of the Standard Malay dialect. However, there is only one exception for the negative politeness strategy as it shows the participants who used Standard Malay had employed more negative politeness strategy compared to the Kelantanese speakers. Nevertheless, the imbalance in the distribution of politeness strategies could perhaps be due to the fact that most of the talking was done by the Kelantanese speakers.

5.1.3 Conclusion

The participants from this study employed politeness strategies that consolidated solidarity and clarity rather than those that appeared ‘falsely’ polite and indirect as there was no need for such pretence. The participants’ dialectal differences did not appear to be a hindrance that forced them to communicate superficially and to appear ‘falsely’ polite. It is clear that the participants valued clarity because they went about performing the FTAs with disregard for ambiguity. The researcher contends that the flow of the conversations found on the recordings showed that the participants, despite being addressed baldly on record, continued to respond
amicably with one another. In addition, the participants also softened some of the FTAs by laughing together. This sense of shared amusement alludes to Jenkins’ (1985) claim that women show ‘cooperation, inclusion, support, integration, spontaneity’ (cited in Holmes, 2006: 30).

The data also shows that there are certain instances where the participants consciously employed the politeness strategies that took into account their friends’ personal space and feelings. These were the instances where the participants tried hard to not be so direct as they were consciously aware that it could threaten the rapport of the conversation and offend the other persons too. The politeness strategies that were used to address this were the negative politeness and off record strategies. However, on the whole, the participants maneuvered their conversations around two very important principles i.e. valuing solidarity and clarity. As such, although they conversed in two different dialects, they had no trouble maintaining rapport with one another.

5.2 Recommendations

Future studies can benefit from this study as there are so many areas that researchers can pursue. One area future research can look into is comparing the performance of certain FTA acts such as ‘to request’ or ‘to complain’ between Malay dialects. Since the Malay language comprises of several dialects, it could be interesting to see if there are any differences or similarities in the performance of these FTAs. This exploration would not only investigate an area so often taken for
granted (performance of FTAs across dialects), it would also bring Brown and Levinson’s theory to new heights.

Next, an aspect that was not taken into consideration in this study and can be made into an area of research is exploring Malay dialects and the employment of Brown and Levinson’s politeness theory between genders. Clearly, gender studies is a research area that has been going on for a very long time already. However, research on Malay dialects is lacking in this aspect especially with regard to the extralinguistic perspective. There could be differences or similarities in how both genders who speak the Malay dialects perform FTAs. Thus, exploring Brown and Levinson’s theory on Malay dialects and comparing between genders would seem worthwhile.

Dialects have been available in languages all over the world including Malaysia ever since language and speech came into existence. This is significant as dialects would go through an evolutionary process. Perhaps, the politeness strategy can be challenged by looking into the employment of FTAs across ages on a particular Malay dialect. Future research can identify whether or not there exists a difference or similarity or no change at all in how speakers of Malay dialects of different ages make an FTA and redress them with any of Brown and Levinson’s politeness strategies.

Not limited to intergenerational discourse, the Malay dialects and Brown and Levinson’s theory can be elevated further by utilizing the framework on rural and urban Malay dialects. This of course would require one to first identify what
differentiates the two. Nonetheless, this is another worthy area because with rapid migration from rural areas into the cities (irrespective of age, gender, social background), there is bound to be some form of effects on dialects. There may be changes (or none) in how the speakers of Malay dialects employ FTAs so as to blend (or not) into their new surroundings. The politeness strategies can also be investigated by making comparisons between the rural dialects and urban dialects based on specific FTAs.

Another beneficial research area is to identify a specific politeness strategy or sub strategy in Malay speech. Perhaps future research can look into how the sub strategy ‘being pessimistic’ for negative politeness manifests itself and investigate who uses this sub strategy (or any other sub strategies) more; males or females, the younger generation or the older generation.

On a larger scale, this framework can be utilized to study Malay ceremonies such as engagements and perhaps comparisons could be made across dialects as to how politeness strategies are being utilised in these ceremonies. Perhaps there are differences or similarities.

With the emergence of computer mediated communicative platforms such as blogs and social networking websites, and with an increasing number of computer literate individuals, the Internet is becoming a platform for everyone to voice out their opinions. Future research can look into these sites, especially the ones written in any Malay dialects, and identify the politeness strategies.
Another interesting possibility is looking into how Malaysian Muslim religious authorities give their sermons. Lately, there has been a resurgence among fellow Malay Muslims to attend religious talks by certain religious authorities. Apparently, these authorities would give their sermons in their native dialects. The researcher sees this as authentic and also a gold mine for identifying politeness strategies whenever these authorities perform FTAs such as when giving advice, clarifying information and when dwelling into the sanctity of the religion. Future research should look into this.

Future research can also improvise on the current research by involving more participants or including a gender variable. The current research can also serve as a guide for other researchers to study other Malay dialects and make comparisons with the results obtained from this study. The researcher believes that Malay dialects and the indigenous dialects in Malaysia too should be explored further especially at the extralinguistic level. The researcher believes that Pragmatics has so much potential in unearthing the socio-cultural undertones of the Malay dialects and indigenous dialects that is fast declining today as there is so much focus on gearing the nation to the English language. Moreover, as the lives of Malay families continue to progress (or not), the preference to speak Standard Malay or even colloquial Malay has threatened the foundations of these dialects. Thus, there must be more encouragement and research on Pragmatics and the Malay and indigenous dialects in Malaysia.