

Orderly and Disorderly Practices of Personal Pronouns during Question Time in the Malaysian House of Representatives¹

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Abstract

It is common practice in parliaments around the world for Members of Parliament (MPs) to address each other indirectly through the Speaker of the House while parliament is in session. Indeed, this practice is enforced in written law. Theoretically, failing to take heed of this rule can result in negative repercussions for the offending MP. This paper which incorporates the dimensions of orderliness and disorderliness of interaction, analyses the ways MPs and the Chair practise personal pronouns during Question Time in the Malaysian House of Representatives. Data which date from August to December 2006 are comprised of 43 Hansard transcripts and 54.5 hours of video recordings of Question Time. It is discovered that the majority type of personal pronouns is in first person, followed by third person pronouns. In stark contrast, second person pronouns occur very rarely. These findings indicate that MPs generally understand the expected norms of behaviour. Analysis also reveals that second person pronouns are sometimes used to deliberately flaunt parliamentary regulations to achieve specific objectives.

Keywords: Personal Pronouns, Parliamentary practices, Question Time, Orderly and disorderly practices, Standing Orders, interactional norms

1. Introduction

Parliamentary talk is a type of political language that represents its most formal and institutionalised variety (Bayley, 2004, p. 1). Because the mode of interaction is highly ritualised and rule-bound, MPs are required to respect its tradition, rules and regulations. As an example, in the UK House of Representatives, MPs are not permitted to directly address their colleagues, but only the Chair. As Bayley (p. 14) notes, this inevitably results high frequency of first person pronouns, and very low frequency of second person pronouns. Indeed, pronouns signal the relationship between the participants in the interaction especially in parliamentary settings (Bevitori, 2004, pp. 104-106). The way in which interactants make reference to each other can provide a valuable understanding of MPs' identities and attitudes and their relationship with the Chair in British parliamentary systems (p. 106). The Malaysian House of Representatives (*Dewan Rakyat*) adopted this practice from the UK

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Westminster parliament when Malaysia gained independence from the British in 1957.

Using data comprising of 43 Hansard transcripts and 54.5 hours of Question Time sittings from August to December 2006, this paper which incorporates the dimensions of orderliness and disorderliness of interaction aims to describe the parameter properties of personal pronoun practices in the *Dewan Rakyat*.² More specifically, this paper addresses the following questions:

- i. Which types of personal pronouns are commonly practised in the *Dewan Rakyat*?
- ii. How are these personal pronouns used?
- iii. Why are certain types of personal pronoun considered orderly or disorderly?
- iv. How can the disorderly use of personal pronouns be categorised in a systematic fashion?

The next section describes the theories regarding orderliness and disorderliness of interaction.

2. Orderliness and Disorderliness of Interaction in Institutions

The term orderliness of interaction is adopted from Fairclough (1995, pp. 12-13), who terms it as a matter of conformity to a framework of discursual and pragmatic rights and obligations, based on the degrees of naturalisation. Ultimately, orderliness of interaction symbolises particular ideological representations of social relationships. He also adds that the more dominant the representations of a social relationship are, the higher the degree of naturalisation its associated practices will have (p. 30). In other words, when social roles and identities in a particular context (place, time and participants) have been established, people would behave accordingly to the limitations that come with their roles (Bell, 1976, p. 91), and the use of personal pronouns in the *Dewan Rakyat* is no exception. Orderliness of interaction plays a dominant role in formal institutional settings. Participants in a specific type of institution are required to behave accordingly to the 'appropriate' forms of interaction of the institution, as determined by the written and unwritten rules of interaction and language use (Biggs & Helms, 2006, p. 274). Violating these rules would tantamount to disorderliness of interaction.

It is important to note that while Fairclough makes no mention about disorderliness of interaction, it is possible to define disorderliness of interaction as the antithesis of orderliness of interaction based on his definition of orderliness of interaction. This is because disorderliness can be determined only if orderly interaction is known. When the behaviour of members of a group goes beyond acceptable thresholds of the group, then the behaviour violates the accepted social norms and rules of that particular group. Because impositions are typically based on the types and degrees of committed offences (see Figlio,

² The video clips were acquired from a Malaysian political party, the Democratic Action Party with their consent in 2006. The Hansards were selected to match the time frame of the video clips in order to create standardise the time frame of the data.

1975), it is possible to create a continuum model to illustrate the severity of a particular type of disorderliness, as Figure 1 shows.

Figure 1. Continuum of orderliness and disorderliness of interaction



Whilst there is no definite clear-cut distinction in the continuum to provide the exact categories of institutional disorderliness of interaction, in general, the far right end of the disorderliness of interaction continuum refers to serious violation of norms e.g. yelling profanities in parliament (unacceptable disorderliness of interaction). On the other hand, a minor disorderliness of interaction is generally a non-serious form of disorderliness, such as telling a white lie or teasing a friend (acceptable disorderliness of interaction). Disorderliness of interaction tends to invoke a kind of response (e.g. emotional, interruptions).

Serious violations are generally more difficult to control and they require the Chair's firm and heavy-handed action to contain the situation. Hence, they are the least acceptable forms of disorderliness. Least serious violations on the other hand are more acceptable than serious ones because they do not cause severe emotional (and/or bodily) harm to anyone and they are easily contained and controlled. Serious violations of orderly interactions tend to invoke negative reactions as opposed to less serious ones. The next section discusses how personal pronouns ought to be practised during Question Time in the *Dewan Rakyat*.

3. Personal Pronouns during Question Time

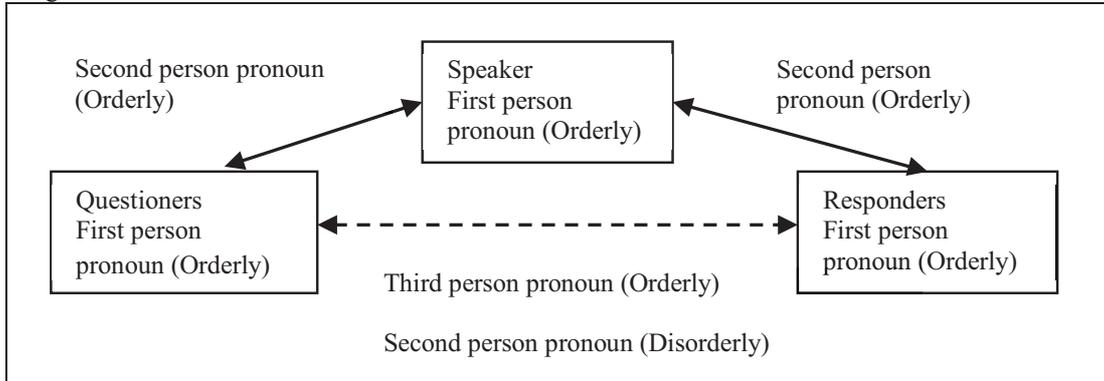
Question Time (QT) is an opportunity for MPs to question the government, represented by the various ministries, regarding any issue or current events relating to the country. Ministers or their representatives are obliged to respond (Menon, 1980, p. 8; Musolf and Springer, 1979, p. 108). Questions must be submitted in advance and placed on the agenda and the questions are then printed in the Dewan Rakyat's Book of Questions. MPs who are called by the Speaker to present their question do not read it out. Instead, they simply call out their question number. When the Minister (or his/her representative) has replied, the Member can ask supplementary questions and other MPs may follow suit by asking further questions. Supplementary questions must be on the same subject as the original question.

While carrying out QT, MPs and the Chair are expected to use of the appropriate types of personal pronouns. Pronouns are public and overt ways of

signalling the types of relationship between interlocutors. A conventionalised way of referring to this distinction is the use of the symbols *T* and *V* (derived from Latin *tu* and *vos*). These symbols are used to designate the simple or intimate pronoun of address (*T*) and the polite, distant, or secondary pronoun of address (*V*) in a language (Braun, 1988, p. 8; this practice resembles the H and L varieties dichotomy – see Ferguson, 1959). Typically in formal institutions like the *Dewan Rakyat*, interlocutors are expected to use the *V* variety because interaction in the *Dewan Rakyat* is highly regulated (rule-bound) and MPs are classified according to specialised roles. The use of *T* would indicate disrespect of the social norms of the institution.

Because Article 35(1) of the Standing Orders states that “a member desiring to speak shall rise in his place and if called upon shall stand and address his observations to the Chair”, MPs must use the third person pronoun in an ‘indirect’ mode of address other MPs. As a result of this arrangement, direct address and the second person pronominal choice ‘you’ is strongly discouraged amongst MPs (c.f. Bevitori, 2004, p. 105). The effect is to distance MPs from each other and promote mutual respect (Harris, 2001, pp. 463-464). However, it is theoretically possible for MPs to use second person pronouns when addressing the Speaker, since this does not violate the rules. This practice is illustrated in Figure 2.

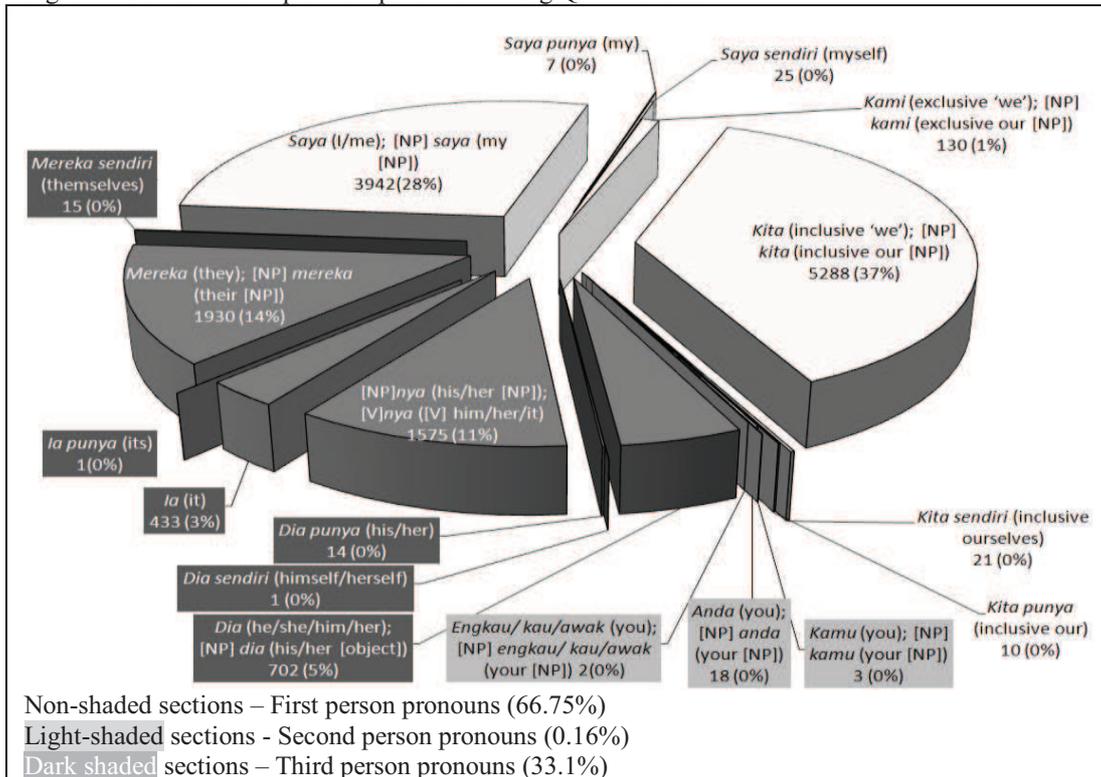
Figure 2. Allowable directions of address



It is orderly for Questioners (MPs who asks questions) and Responders (MPs who represent the government) to direct their utterances to the Chair, but not to each other. The Chair on the other hand, is able to direct his or her utterances to the Questioner or Responder.

Three personal pronouns (first, second and third) have been identified in the corpus concordance using the *TEXTstat* programme. Personal pronouns are categorised according to their number (singular, plural), their grammatical use (subject and object) and other functions (possessive determiner, reflexive and possessive determiner). The distribution of pronouns in the Hansards during QT from August 2006 to December 2006 is shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3. Breakdown of personal pronouns during Question Time



The figures in the chart represent the occurrence of pronoun items derived from the corpus concordance analysis. The chart shows that first person pronouns take up 66.7% of the total pronouns used in the *Dewan Rakyat*, and this is followed by a large portion of third person pronouns (33.1%). Second person pronouns are rare with only 0.16%.

The chart reveals that MPs are generally orderly in their use of personal pronouns and they comply with the behaviour required by the Standing Orders. The following subsections examine how first, second and third person pronouns are used in the *Dewan Rakyat*. The frequency counts comprise Malay and English personal pronouns because this section aims to show the distribution of pronoun types. The data show that no other languages have been used by the MPs to express these pronouns.

4. Orderliness in the Use of Personal Pronouns during QT

In this section, examples of orderly practices of personal pronouns are described. They do not contravene the Standing Orders. In fact, MPs are encouraged to use personal pronouns in the manner described in the following subsections. Orderly use of personal pronouns would include using the H-variety code to denote formality and objectivity as well as addressing the MPs with the appropriate personal pronouns. Second person pronouns can be used, provided they are not used to directly address other MPs. Note that these personal pronouns are orderly because they do not i) invoke an emotional

response, ii) disrupt proceedings, and iii) cause a breach of ‘normality’ and orderliness in the *Dewan Rakyat*.³

4.1. First Person Pronouns

According to Kuo (2002, p. 30), the first person pronoun is used as a self-reference to express high commitment to the words that the interlocutor is saying, stressing the dimension of ownership. Table 1 shows the possible distribution of the first person singular and plural pronouns, *saya/aku* (I/me), *kami* (exclusive we), *kita* (inclusive we), *saya sendiri* (myself), *kepunyaan saya/aku* (mine), *saya/aku punya/[NP]*⁴ *saya* (my), *kami punya* (exclusive our) and *kita punya* (inclusive our).

Table 1. Malay and English first person pronoun distribution during QT from Aug-Dec 2006

		Subject and Object; Possessive determiner		Reflexives		Possessive determiner	
Singular	Standard	<i>Saya (I/me)</i> ; I; [NP] <i>saya (my [NP])</i> ; my [NP]		<i>Saya sendiri (myself)</i> ; myself		<i>Saya punya (my)</i> ; my	
		3942(f), 27.92%		25(f), 0.18%		7(f), 0.05%	
Singular	Informal	<i>Aku (I/me)</i> [NP] <i>aku (my [NP])</i>		<i>Aku sendiri (myself)</i> ; myself		<i>Aku punya (my)</i> ; my	
		0(f), 0.00%		0(f), 0.00%		0(f), 0.00%	
Plural		<i>Kami (exclusive we)</i> ; exclusive we; [NP] <i>kami (exclusive our [NP])</i> ; exclusive we	<i>Kita (inclusive we)</i> ; inclusive we; [NP] <i>kita (inclusive our [NP])</i> ; inclusive our	<i>Kami sendiri (exclusive ourselves)</i> ; exclusive ourselves	<i>Kita sendiri (inclusive ourselves)</i> ; inclusive ourselves	<i>Kami punya (exclusive our)</i> ; exclusive our	<i>Kita punya (inclusive our)</i> ; inclusive our
		130(f), 0.92%	5288(f), 37.46%	0(f), 0.00%	21(f), 0.15%	0(f), 0.00%	10(f), 0.07%

(f)-frequency/words or tokens in corpus of both Malay and English (pronouns were never expressed in other languages)

%-percentage out of the total of personal pronouns in the corpus (14103)

Bold – English equivalent

Generally, MPs are expected to use standard codes in interaction since the *Dewan Rakyat* is a formal institution, and as Table 1 shows, no MP used the informal varieties. There are two ways of expressing the possessive determiner (my) in Malay. The first is with a NP prior to *saya* (my [NP]) and the second is with, *saya punya* (mine). In the *Dewan Rakyat*, the latter is less commonly used, compared to the former. Likewise, the Malay reflexives i.e. *saya sendiri* (myself), *aku sendiri* (myself), *kami sendiri* (exclusive ourselves) and *kita sendiri* (inclusive ourselves) are not commonly used. Of all the first person pronouns, the plural pronoun *kita* (inclusive we) is most used, followed by the singular pronoun (*saya*).

Hansard Excerpt 1 shows some of the instances of the first person singular pronoun, *saya*.

³ Transcribing the orderly use of personal pronouns with conversational analysis methods would not provide fruitful insights (as opposed to the analysis in Section 5).

⁴ NP = Noun Phrase.

Hansard Excerpt 1. Concordance of *saya* (I, me, my)

	Malay (Hansard)	English (Translation)
a	Soalan yang ingin saya timbulkan, apakah kaedah menggunakan	The question which I am raising, what is the methodology used
b	antara kaum dan ini mengingatkan saya kepada tulisan oleh Profesor S.M. Samuel	between the races and this reminds me of the works of Professor S.M. Samuel

Depending on the context in which it occurs in, *saya* can be a subject pronoun ‘I’, an object pronoun ‘me’, or a possessive determiner (my), if there is a NP prior to *saya* ([NP] *saya*). The corpus concordance also shows two instances of the English first person pronoun ‘I’, as shown in Hansard Excerpt 2.

Hansard Excerpt 2. Concordance of ‘I’

Malay (Hansard)	English (Translation)
But <i>I</i> just habiskan sedikit.	But <i>I</i> just finish it a bit more.

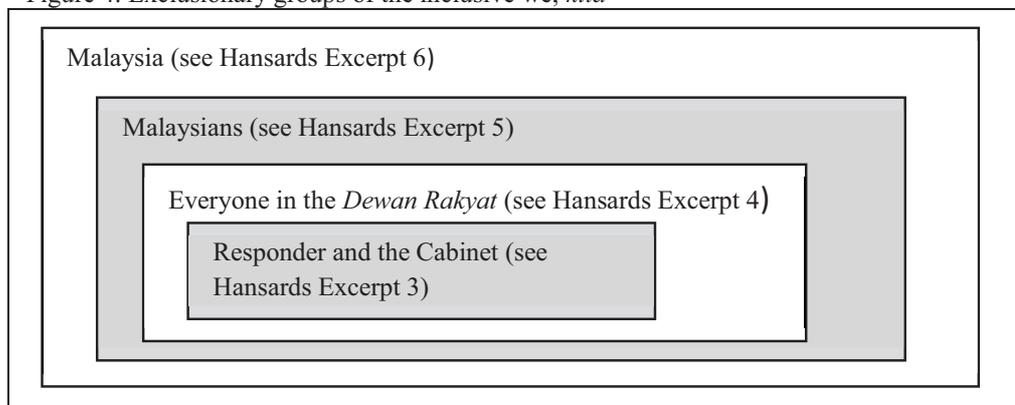
Examples of the English first person pronoun, ‘I’ found in the data occurred in code-switches. Typically, speakers tend to revert to Malay immediately after code-switching. Recurring patterns indicate that to some MPs, English is a more dominant language than Malay.

Malay has two first person plural pronouns, *kami* (exclusive we) and *kita* (inclusive we). The data reveal that the *kami:kita* ratio is miniscule (36:1). Moreover, only MPs, and never the Chair, use *kami* and *kita*. Based on the corpus concordance, it appears that *kita* is used to refer to:

- i. the Responder’s ministry (see Hansard Excerpt 3)
- ii. everyone in the *Dewan Rakyat* (see Hansard Excerpt 4)
- iii. Malaysians in general (see Hansard Excerpt 5)
- iv. Malaysia (see Hansard Excerpt 6)
- v. the inclusive possessive ‘our’ when there is a NP prior to *kita* (see Hansard Excerpt 7)

In other words, depending on the context, *kita* can be used to refer to different ‘layers’ of relationship, as shown in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Exclusionary groups of the inclusive we, *kita*



Hansard Excerpt 6 shows that *kita* can refer to Malaysia in general, especially when MPs refer to international events and institutions.

Hansard Excerpt 6. Concordance of *kita* referring to Malaysia

Malay (Hansard)	English (Translation)
visi Malaysia sejak kita menerajui OIC sebagai Pengerusi Sidang Kemuncak Kesepuluh mulai	vision of Malaysia since we headed the OIC as the Chair of the Tenth International Conference starting

Kita is also used to refer to Malaysians in general (see Hansard Excerpt 5).

Hansard Excerpt 5. Concordance of *kita* referring to Malaysians in general

Malay (Hansard)	English (Translation)
Jangan kita bersangka buruk kepada polis. Kita kena hormati dan kita kena kenang jasa dan pengorbanan polis	We must not think badly of the police. We need to respect and we need to remember the police's contributions and sacrifices

The data also show that *kita* can be used to refer to everyone in the *Dewan Rakyat*, as Hansard Excerpt 4 shows.

Hansard Excerpt 4. Concordance of *kita* referring to everyone in the *Dewan Rakyat*

Malay (Hansard)	English (Translation)
Mungkin kali yang pertama, kita tidak ada seorang Setiausaha untuk Parliament	Maybe for the first time, we do not have a Secretary for Parliament

Usually MPs who use *kita* to affiliate him or herself with specific groups are Responders. As shown in Hansard Excerpt 3, the Responders (usually Cabinet members) sometimes use *kita* to refer to their respective Ministries.

Hansard Excerpt 3. Concordance of *kita* referring to the Responder's ministry

Malay (Hansard)	English (Translation)
Bermakna kita sentiasa memantau dan kita amat peka berkenaan dengan	That means we always monitor and we are very aware about the

Whilst it is understood that inclusive first person plural pronouns are supposed to include the addressee(s), some of the Responders are seen using *kita* to only refer to their affiliation to the Cabinet (and Government), thus excluding the Questioners.

Kita can also function as an inclusive possessive determiner (our) when there is a preceding noun. Hansard Excerpt 7 shows the possessed NPs, *negara* 'country' and *pertukaran wang asing* 'foreign currency exchange'.

Hansard Excerpt 7. Concordance of *kita* referring to the inclusive 'our' pronoun when there is an [NP] item prior to *kita*

Malay (Hansard)	English (Translation)
yang mahu melihat kehancuran keharmonian yang ada di negara kita .	who wants to see the destruction of harmony in our country.

Ghazali (2004, p. 75) cautions that *kita* can be ambiguous. In her study of the speech of the former Malaysian Prime Minister, Dr. Mohammad Mahathir, she discovered that *kita* is sometimes used to refer to the interlocutor's political

party and it is also sometimes used to refer to everyone in general. Hence one must infer the meaning of the word from its context.

On the other hand, the exclusive first person plural *kami* is generally used by the speaking interlocutors to create group or geographical boundaries. It is common for Responders to use *kami* to refer to their respective ministries (Hansard Excerpt 8) or different states (Hansard Excerpt 9).

Hansard Excerpt 8. Concordance of *kami* referring to Ministry

Malay (Hansard)	English (Translation)
Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kami mempunyai rancangan untuk	Mr Speaker, we have plans to

Hansard Excerpt 9. Concordance of *kami* referring to affiliation to different states

Malay (Hansard)	English (Translation)
pembinaan jambatan kedua Pulau Pinang. Jadi kami yang di negeri Kedah	building of the second Penang bridge. So we , at the state of Kedah

Like the other first person singular pronouns, *kami* can be a possessive determiner should there be a NP preceding *kami*, as Hansard Excerpt 10 shows.

Hansard Excerpt 10. Concordance of *kami* referring to possessive pronoun (our [NP])

Malay (Hansard)	English (Translation)
supaya petani-petani boleh menanam secara mungkin kontrak kami .	so the farmers can plant according to our contract.

4.2. Second Person Pronouns

As shown in Figure 3, occurrence of second person pronouns is almost nil (0.16%). Although the Speaker is the most powerful individuals in the *Dewan Rakyat*, the data also show him avoiding the use of second person pronouns. This suggests that second person pronouns are perhaps generally perceived as inappropriate in the *Dewan Rakyat*. Data show that MPs tend to use address terms such as, *Tuan Yang di Pertua* ‘Your Honourable Chairperson’ instead to address the Chair. Table 2 shows the distribution of second person pronouns.

Table 2. Malay and English second person pronoun distribution during QT from Aug-Dec 2006

		Subject and Object; Possessive determiner	Reflexives	Possessive determiner
Singular	Standard (formal)	<i>Anda (you)</i> ; you; [NP] <i>anda (your [NP])</i> ; your	<i>Anda sendiri (yourself)</i> ; yourself	<i>Anda punya (your)</i> ; your
		18(f), 0.13%	0(f), 0.00%	0(f), 0.00%
	Informal	<i>Kamu (you)</i> ; you; [NP] <i>kamu (your [NP])</i> ; your	<i>Kamu sendiri (yourself)</i> ; yourself	<i>Kamu punya (your)</i> ; your
		3(f), 0.02%	0(f), 0.00%	0(f), 0.00%
	Very informal	<i>Engkau/ kau/awak (you)</i> ; you; [NP] <i>engkau/ kau/awak (your [NP])</i> ; your	<i>Engkau/ kau sendiri (yourself)</i> ; yourself	<i>Engkau/kau punya (your)</i> ; your
		2(f), 0.01%	0(f), 0.00%	0(f), 0.00%
Plural	Standard (formal)	<i>Anda semua (you all)</i> ; you all	<i>Anda semua (you all)</i> ; you all	<i>Anda semua punya (all of your all)</i> ; all of your all
		0(f), 0.00%	0(f), 0.00%	0(f), 0.00%
	Informal	<i>Kamu semua (you all)</i> ; you all	<i>Kamu semua (you all)</i> ; you all	<i>Kamu semua punya (all of your all)</i> ; all of your all
		0(f), 0.00%	0(f), 0.00%	0(f), 0.00%
	Very informal	<i>Engkau/kau semua (you all)</i> ; you all	<i>Engkau/kau semua (you all)</i> ; you all	<i>Engkau/kau semua punya (all of your all)</i> ; all of your
		0(f), 0.00%	0(f), 0.00%	0(f), 0.00%

There are exceptions where the use of second person pronouns does not constitute disorderliness in the data. These exceptions include using the second person pronouns within quotations to narrate a story, as shown in Hansard Excerpt 11.

Hansard Excerpt 11. Concordance of the second person pronouns (*awak*) to create a sense of conversation within quotations

Malay (Hansard)	English (Translation)
Saya tanya, “ Awak dari mana?” Dia cakap, “Saya dari Brunei”.	I asked, “Where are you from?” He said, “I am from Brunei”.

As shown in the example above, as long as second person pronouns are not used to refer or address specific MPs in the *Dewan Rakyat*, it is to be deemed orderly. Typically, the data show that the disorderly use of second person pronouns tend to occur when there are other markers of disorderliness present in the interaction (for example code-switching, speech acts of ridicule and admonishment, and yelling). This is further elaborated in Section 5.

4.3. Third Person Pronoun

It is orderly for MPs to refer to other MPs in third person pronouns. Table 3 shows the distribution of the third person pronouns found in the data.

Table 3. Malay and English third person pronoun distribution during QT from Aug-Dec 2006

		Subject and Object; Possessive determiner	Reflexives	Possessive determiner	
Singular	Masculin e/ Feminine	<i>Dia</i> (he/she/him/her); [NP] <i>dia</i> (his or her [NP])	<i>Dia sendiri</i> (himself/herself)	<i>Dia punya</i> (his or her)	<i>-nya</i> can be a possessive determiner (his/her) if there is a noun phrase attached to this suffix, or an object (him/her/it) if a verb is attached to this suffix
		702(f), 4.97%	1(f), 0.01%	14(f), 0.10%	1575(f), 11.16%
	Neutral	<i>Ia</i> (it)	<i>Ia sendiri</i> (itself)	<i>Ia punya</i> (its)	
433(f), 3.07%		0(f), 0.00%	1(f), 0.01%		
Plural		<i>Mereka</i> (they); [NP] <i>mereka</i> (their [NP])	<i>Mereka sendiri</i> (themselves)	<i>Mereka punya</i> (their)	
		1930(f), 13.67%	15(f), 0.11%	0(f), 0.00%	

Although the Malay suffix *-nya* occurs most frequently, *-nya* can also act as a marker that does not denote a third person possessive pronoun ([NP]-*nya*). According to Dardjowidjojo (1978, p. 192), *-nya* can also be used to mark a topic-comment sentence type, and as a pronoun. A search through the 5,227 concordance entries reveals that the majority of examples of this suffix are used as a definite article and nominaliser and adverbs. Hansard Excerpt 12 provides some examples.

Hansard Excerpt 12. Concordance of the suffix *-nya*

	Malay (Hansard)	English (Translation)
a	Jadi, tidakkah kerajaan dapat melihat bahawa adanya unsur-unsur luar	So, can't the government see that there are external influences
b	Biasanya pencuri ini ditangkap	Usually this thief is caught

Because *adanya* (there are) and *biasanya* (usually) in the context are not third person pronouns, they are excluded from the data. Hence, there are 1575 entries in total which shows *-nya* representing a third person possessive determiner and an object.

-Nya can refer to people or inanimate items. An example of *-nya* referring to people as possessors are shown in Hansard Excerpt 13.

Hansard Excerpt 13. Concordance of the third person pronouns: Possessive determiner (*-nya*) to refer to people

Malay (Hansard)	English (Translation)
Saya lihat jawapannya ialah walaupun ada banyak langkah-langkah yang telah diambil	I see his answer that although there are many steps which had been taken

The *-nya* in *jawapannya* (his or her answers) is a possessive determiner which follows the formula '[NP]-nya'. This is a common way for Questioners to refer to the Responders' answers in Malay.

The next most common third person pronoun is *mereka* (they). This pronoun can act as a subject pronoun or an object pronoun. It can also be a possessive determiner if there is a NP in front of it, as in, '[NP] mereka' (their [NP]). Some examples of *mereka* are shown in Hansard Excerpt 14.

Hansard Excerpt 14. Concordance of the third person plural pronouns: Subject, object and possessive determiner (*mereka*)

	Malay (Hansard)	English (Translation)
a	ataupun kontraktor pengangkutan ataupun mereka yang mempunyai 'kemudahan penerimaan'	or transportation contractors or they (or others) who may have 'receiving facilities'
b	mengendalikan semua jalan yang telah diberi kepada mereka untuk menjalankan tugas ini.	handle all the roads which has been given to them to fulfil this duty.
c	pekerja-pekerja dagang ini dalam menentukan aktiviti-aktiviti mereka .	these entrepreneurs in determining their activities.

In Hansard Excerpt 14 (a), *mereka* is a subject pronoun whilst in Excerpt (b), *mereka* functions as an object pronoun. Excerpt (c) shows that *mereka* can be a possessive determiner if there is a NP prior to *mereka* i.e. '[NP] mereka' (their [NP]).

Like *mereka*, the third personal singular pronoun *dia* can be a subject, object or possessive determiner pronoun, depending on the position of the word. Because Malay is not a gender specific language, *dia* refers to both men and women. This is shown in Hansard Excerpt 15.

Hansard Excerpt 15. Concordance of the third person singular pronouns for human subjects: Subject, object and possessive determiner (*dia*)

	Malay (Hansard)	English (Translation)
a	Armada Pasifik yang melawat kita, Laksamana Gary Roughead. Juga dia bersama-sama dengan ketiga-tiga negara ini.	the Pacific Armada who visited us, Admiral Gary Roughead. Also he was together with these three nations.
b	Kita tidak boleh bagi dia nyawa balik.	We cannot give him/her a life.

In Hansard Excerpt 15(a), *dia* is a subject personal pronoun but in Excerpt (b), *dia* is an object personal pronoun.

Finally, the last pronoun discussed here is the pronoun *ia*, which is used to refer to non-human or inanimate objects (see Hansard Excerpt 16).

Hansard Excerpt 16. Concordance of the third person singular pronouns: *ia* reference

	Malay (Hansard)	English (Translation)
a	Bijih timah ini, ia ada lombong, lombong bijih timah yang lain di Perak dan sebagainya	This tin ore, it has a mine, other tin ore mines in Perak and so on
b	Penyakit Fusarium ini adalah satu kulat atau pun <i>fungus</i> dan ia berjangkit dari satu tumbuhan	This Fusarium disease is a fungus or <i>fungus</i> and it spreads from one plant

In Excerpt (a), *ia* refers to tin ore whilst Excerpt (b) refers to a disease.

The concordance also reveals that MPs sometimes vary in their usage of the third person *ia* and *dia*, as shown in Hansard Excerpt 17.

Hansard Excerpt 18. Concordance of the third person singular pronouns: misuse of *dia* for non-human subjects

	Malay (Hansard)	English (Translation)
a	penyakit HFMD ialah penyakit yang endemik dan cara jangkitan adalah <i>horribly</i> , dengan izin, dan dia mudah	the HFMD disease is a disease which is endemic and the method of infection is <i>horrific</i> , with permission, and it is easy
b	Dia [AIDS] sebenarnya DIA tidak bahaya, sebab itu pemimpin-pemimpin politik perlu faham tentang penyakit tersebut	It [AIDS] actually it is not dangerous, because of that political leaders need to understand about the disease

Dia is used to refer to non-human ideas such as the Hand, Foot and Mouth Disease. Although *ia* would probably be more appropriate in Hansard Excerpt 18, this does not constitute disorderliness of interaction.

5. Disorderliness in the Use of Personal Pronouns during QT

This section is concerned with examples of the disorderly use of second person pronouns found in the data. There is no disorderly use of first and third person pronouns shown in the data. When MPs use second person pronouns to address another MP, they theoretically contravene the Standing Orders. Moreover, MPs should not use the T variety, or colloquialism and informal way of expressing second person pronouns (see Section 3). Generally, a minority of MPs tend to use second person pronouns to achieve specific objectives such as rapport building and to show contempt of certain parties. In fact, the data show that only about five out of 219 MPs have used second person pronouns.

The data show two instances of the colloquial (T) second person pronoun *engkau* (you). In the first instance (Video Excerpt 1), the Questioner uses *engkau* as a solidarity marker (in bold) after being interrupted by another MPs who appears to be a friend of his.⁵

⁵ The transcription follows Jefferson et al.'s (in Atkinson and Heritage, 2004) conversation analysis method. The reasons conversational analysis is used here are to show the articulation of second person pronouns, the reaction from other MPs and the Chair, as well as the larger context in which

Video Excerpt 1. An MP using an informal second person pronoun *engkau* (you) to express solidarity

Date: August 23, 2006

Turn		Malay (Original)	English (Translated)
1	Jerai (UMNO/BN) [Q]	: ... dan ini di >tempat tempat deposit< TNB, Telekom dan sebagainya. Faedah, daripada. Mendepositkan	... and this in >TNE deposit< locations, Telekom and so on. <u>The interest</u> , from. <u>Depositing</u>
2	Kinabatangan [AA]	: ()	()
3	Jerai (UMNO/BN) [Q]	: duit tersebut [itu↑]	the [money↑]
4	Kinabatangan	: [()]	[()]
5	Jerai (UMNO/BN) [Q]	: ((looking at the MP of Kinabatangan and laughing)) Sabar lah, sabar engkau . Deposit itu, Tan Sri	((looking at the MP of Kinabatangan and laughing)) Be patient!, you be patient. That deposit, Tan Sri
6	Chair	: Ya.	Yes.
7	Jerai (UMNO/BN) [Q]	: sama ada dia pergi kepada kerajaankah↑...	does it go to the government↑...

The Questioner here uses this pronoun to show solidarity, rapport and comradeship (these are also indicated by his laughter and eye contact with the MP of Kinabatangan). Because of that, this video excerpt is less disorderly and more acceptable than Video Excerpt 2.

Video Excerpt 2 illustrates the MP for Sri Gading (Questioner) using the pronoun to address and personify an ‘imaginary group’ in a contemptuous way, as shown in Video Excerpt 2.

Video Excerpt 2. An MP using an informal second person pronoun *engkau* (you) to express contempt

Date: November 13, 2006

Turn		Malay (Original)	English (Translated)
1	Sri Gading (UMNO/BN) [Q]	: Dunia sebenarnya, sedang dicatur oleh Amerika↑, dan kita sebenarnya tidak berkuasa nak menentang↑, cuma kita nak soal Amerika lah↑, apakah engkau layak jadi juara demokrasi hak asasi manusia↑, dengan sikap yang	The world is actually, being controlled by America↑, and we don't have the power to fight back↑, only we want to ask America↑, what makes you think you are <u>qualified</u> to be the champion of democracy human rights↑, with a behaviour that is
2	Chair	: [paling Yang Berhormat↑]=	[most Your Honourable Gentleman↑]=
3	Sri Gading (UMNO/BN) [Q]	: =jijik=	=disgusting=
4	Chair	: =Yang Berhormat=	=Your Honourable Gentleman=
5	Sri Gading (UMNO/BN) [Q]	: =((tapping finger on table)) yang pernah berlaku dalam [abad ini. ↑	= ((tapping finger on table)) that has ever happened in this
6	Chair	: [Cukup.]	[Enough.]

The Questioner uses *engkau* (in bold), to express his contempt towards America for having invaded Iraq. In this context, the use of the informal second person pronoun is condescending and disrespectful, and the MP uses it to challenge the

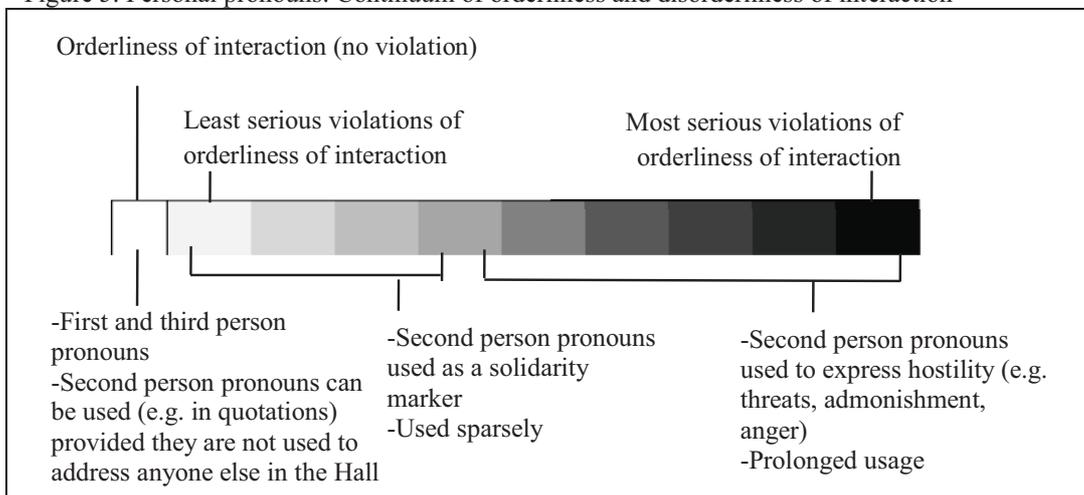
the disorderliness takes place in. Because orderliness of interaction tends not to invoke this sort of emotional reaction from other MPs, the data in Hansard Excerpts 1-19 were not transcribed similar to this example.

status quo of America. The use of *engkau* here is classified an unacceptable form of disorderliness because it is used to express hostility and the Chair tries to stop the Questioner in Turns 2, 4 and 6.

6. Discussion and Final Words

Essentially, this paper operationalises the concepts of orderliness and disorderliness of interaction to describe how MPs practise the ‘appropriate’ ways of using personal pronouns as well as flouting these appropriations. The examples shown in Sections 4 and 5 illustrate the manifestation of orderly and disorderly interaction in the *Dewan Rakyat*. While it is acknowledged that it is difficult to classify the severity of a disorderly practice, the model in Figure 5 can be used as a yardstick to qualitatively measure the severity of personal pronouns in the *Dewan Rakyat*.

Figure 5. Personal pronouns: Continuum of orderliness and disorderliness of interaction



The degrees of acceptability and unacceptability of disorderliness in personal pronouns are based on the analysis obtained from corpus concordance; i.e. frequency count of these pronouns as well as the examination of the ways they are used. The cohesive patterns shown in the analysis suggests that MPs generally understand the expected norms in using personal pronouns.

It is orderly for MPs to use first and third person pronouns. These pronouns must be in the V variety or in standard language. It is also orderly for MPs to use second person pronouns as examples or within quotations (i.e. not addressing other MPs in the Hall). The purpose of this practice is to ensure that MPs are objective, impersonal, respectful, and non-confrontational. The high frequency use also suggests that this practice is a common sense, and when used ‘correctly’, these pronouns would not invoke reactions from the Chair or MPs.

The second person pronouns are of special interest in this paper. Despite the low level of occurrences, they indicate numerous points. They can be orderly, if used for instance, not to address another MP but to narrate a story. It is disorderly however, but acceptable, if MPs use second person pronouns sparsely and to indicate solidarity. However, it is unacceptable for MPs to use

second person pronouns to address other MPs in a hostile way, or to use them continuously. In other words, if used as a means to invoke an emotional response, the pronoun would be deemed disorderly.

It is through the understanding of pronoun markers according to the analysis of orderliness and disorderliness of interactions that one is able to understand what constitutes common and acceptable practices of these pronouns in the *Dewan Rakyat* (and other formal institutions) as well as the reasons certain pronouns invoke reactions e.g. prohibitions by the Chair, and heckling as well as approval signs from other MPs.

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