Interdiscursivity In Leadership Discourse[*]

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Abstract

Language is salient and important in the leadership process. Language in terms of 'discourse' has always been manipulated to achieve the final aims of a leader. A major part of the discourse that is related to the importance of language is its production, or discursive practice. This paper discusses how leadership discourse (or language use) is constructed, produced, and used in order to reach people for the sake of gaining continuous support. One form of discursive practice analyzed here is interdiscursivity or discourse type. This paper describes and interprets the 1982–1999 New Year messages of the fourth Malaysian's Prime Minister, Mahathir Mohamad. The discourse can be considered as institutional discourse. It is found that the leadership discourse is constructed and produced with the utilization of at least four discourse types, namely report, explanation, argumentation and expression. The four-discourse types are expository, informative, argumentative, and expressive in nature. In other words, the interdiscursivity of the four-discourse types is to inform, explain, argue or defend, and expresses the idea of leadership of the addresser respectively. The end objective of such leadership discourse is to ensure that the addressee knows, understands, believes, and comes together in the leadership process of the addresser.

Introduction

In any community and organization, regardless of its size, there exists two different social groups - a small group of leaders and a big group of followers. Leadership in a society is important because the development and civilization of mankind is partly the result of its leaders. The latter plays an important role in building and shaping the future of a nation. Thus, the rise and fall of a nation depends much on its leader. According to Fairclough (2000), the prominence of leaders in a political process has increased.

Leadership is not only a role but also plays a crucial part in social interaction. The interaction between leaders and followers could happen face-to-face or at long distance (Stone, 1974 in Aminuddin, 1990). Face-to-face interaction involves

immediate social contact between a leader and a follower, while distance interaction involves vast geographical contact. Most political leaders come under the latter group.

A distant leader must reach his audience or followers through his speeches, frequently with the aid of mass media. This type of leader must gain as many unknown followers as possible. In achieving this objective, the discourse produced by the leader plays an important part in realizing his leadership role. In other words, in a leadership process the importance and salient of **language** – in terms of *discourse* cannot be denied. According to Fairclough and Wodak (1997), the calculated design of political language is a crucial factor to succeed in a political struggle. While Chilton and Schäffner (1997, p.206) wrote, "It is surely the case that politics cannot be conducted without language, and it is probably the case that the use of language in the constitution of social groups leads to what we call 'politics' in a broad sense".

This paper discusses how a prominent leader, the fourth Malaysian Prime Minister - Dr. Mahathir Mohamad - uses language to gain continuous support from the people in constituting, contesting, and sustaining his leadership. In other words, this paper discusses how leadership discourse is constructed, produced, and used in order to reach the people and for the process of leadership. At the same time, it also depicts how language figures in the process of leadership.

The Discourse

Mahathir Mohamad's leadership has made a big impact on this country. When he took over the national leadership, he emerged not only as a well-prepared leader but also an ambitious one. Innovative and often radical policies were implemented with such urgency and speed that many could not fully grasp his working style (Aziz, 1997). During his 22-year tenure as the Prime Minister of Malaysia, he used the opportunity and time to implement his ideas. As such, we can see the impact in two forms - concrete and abstract. The former are the major infrastructure project such as the Penang Bridge, PLUS (North-South Peninsular Highway), Kuala Lumpur International Airport, F1 Circuit, national car, Petronas Twin Tower, establishment of Putrajaya (federal government administration city) and Multi-media Super Corridor which according to him boosted the economy and benefited the people. The latter can be traced through his broad ideas on leadership such as Wawasan 2020 (Vision 2020), the rise and significant role of Malaysia at the international level, Look East Policy, privatization and heavy industrialization policy, and the emphasize on science and technology.

As a Prime Minister, Mahathir Mohamad delivered many speeches and gave interviews and comments. This is most probably due to his long term in service. The discourse being studied here are his New Year messages. Since becoming the Prime Minister on July 16, 1981 Mahathir Mohamad had been giving New Year messages to the people annually. Until 2003, he had delivered 22 New Year messages.[1] However, for this study, only his speeches from 1982 – 1999 are analyzed. There are 18 texts.[2] The texts of the messages are taken from two books, *Koleksi Ucapan Mahathir (1992-1995)* and *Koleksi Ucapan Mahathir (Julai 1995-Disember 1996)*, which are compilations of his speeches, and from the leaflets, *Siri Ucapan Penting*, all published by the Department of Information.

Initially, the Prime Minister's New Year messages were broadcasted on radio and television on the eve of each New Year. According to Lerman (1985, p.185) the broadcasting of the nation leader's speeches and messages is a very significant kind of mass communication, and the only 'direct' communication between the symbol of political power and authority with the people. The next day, the message received priority coverage by most media and major local newspapers in several languages, inclusive of the full text. The messages were in Malay – the national and official language of the nation.[3] Moreover, some newspapers translated it into English and the vernacular languages of the people of Malaysia, such as Mandarin and Tamil.

In this analysis, the New Year message is considered as an institutional discourse, delivered by the addresser, the Prime Minister of Malaysia. The New Year messages are chosen because we feel that the messages are the real neutral leadership discourse directed to everyone in Malaysia, regardless of their race, religion, or political belief. The theme and content of the messages are relevant to the interest of the people. Although it was considered as an institutional discourse, we concluded that he was actively involved in the preparation of the texts.[4] Normally, the topics covered in the messages are about the policy of the leader-addresser and the government he leads. Besides that, the New Year messages is also considered as among the major speeches of Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad throughout his reign.

For the purpose of this paper, the analysis focuses on the dimension of discourse practice. Using Fairclough's critical discourse analysis framework, the discourse practice represents the production and construction aspects of the discourse. It can be described and understood through an interpretation of the reproduction of the text or discourse at a macro level (Fairclough 1992, p.78). Among other aspects of production and construction that can be unearthed are interdiscursivity, intertextuality, and structure of text. In this paper, the specific discourse practice focused is interdiscursivity.

The Concept of Interdiscursivity

Interdiscursivity is about text production and it is a part of intertextuality. The objective of analyzing interdiscursivity is to identify, the so-called 'discourse type' 'genre', or 'activity type' embedded in the text analyzed. (In this paper we choose to use the term 'discourse type'). In other words, interdiscursivity is analyzed to interpret whether the discourse is constructed from one or is a combination of several discourse types, or whether it is relatively innovative (Fairclough 1992, p.232). The concept of interdiscursivity is useful in order to understand how the addresser, in this case, the leader, reached the addressee or people, and at the same time tried to gain their confidence.

Process of Analysis

This is a qualitative macro analysis of discourse. Since the focus of the analysis is on discourse types, the process of analysis begins with careful reading and examining of the 18 texts, paragraph by paragraph to identify the type of discourse utilized. Regarding this step, Fairclough (1992) asserts "Researchers may well wish to code a whole corpus or large parts of it in broad terms, perhaps summarizing the discourse, or code it in terms of topics, or they may scan the whole corpus for particular sorts of feature – certain types of question, or formulations". The occurrences of the discourse types in paragraphs are then noted and marked. The discourse type is identified based on the knowledge on modes or speech function concepts. All texts were coded. For example code number T88.12.4 means text from the year 1988, paragraph twelve, and sentence four. In this paper, the translation of the data into English is also provided for those who do not understand Malay, but the analysis is based on the Malay original text.

From the analysis, it is found that the Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad's New Year messages were produced, constructed, and inscribed with 'interdiscursivity' features.

Interdiscursivity in Leadership Discourse

The Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad's New Year messages are interdiscursively complex. The messages articulated at least four major discourse types, namely **report, explanation, argumentation,** and **expression**. Table 1 shows the tabulations of the discourse types. It is clear that report, expression, and argumentation are used more dominantly compared to explanation. This means that in the process of production and construction of the new messages these three discourse types were the main concern for Mahathir.

Table 1: Interdiscursivity: Tabulations of Discourse Types in Mahathir's New Year Message

DISCOURSE TYPES	YEAR OF DISCOURSE
Report	1982, 1983, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1992, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999
Explanation	1982, 1988, 1992, 1993
Argumentation	1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1987, 1991, 1992, 1994, 1996, 1997, 1999
Expression	1982, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1996, 1997, 1998

Table 2 shows the interdiscursivity of each discourse type in each text. From the analysis, it is clear that Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad utilized at least two discourse types in each text, with report occurring more frequently. Interdiscursivity of certain discourse type according to the year of text is closely related to the situation or issue during that particular time and content of the message. For example, utilization of report, argumentation, and expression during 1987-1989 and 1997-1999 is closely related to the economic recession at that time. Because of that reason, the New Year messages of prime minister were constructed with the interdiscursivity of the mentioned discourse type. Next is the elaboration of the four discourse types.

Table 2: Interdiscursivity of Four Major Discourse Types in Mahathir's Texts

TEXT	DISCOURSE TYPE	TEXT	DISCOURSE TYPE
1982	Report; Explanation; Argumentation; Expression	1991	Argumentation; Expression
1983	Report; Argumentation	1992	Report; Expression
1985	Argumentation; Expression	1994	Argumentation
1986	Report; Expression	1995	Report
1987	Report; Argumentation; Expression	1996	Report; Argumentation; Expression
1988	Report; Explanation; Expression	1997	Report; Argumentation; Expression
1989	Report; Expression	1998	Report; Expression
1990	Report; Expression	1999	Report; Argumentation

The Report

In any organization, presentation of a report is a normal practice. The report functions are to expose, inform or brief about a particular matter to other parties. This discourse type is an exposition of the information that happens to be available. In other words, a report is about answering questions of 'what', 'who', 'when', or 'how'. The aim in utilizing report is to make the target audience **know** about the information.

In Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad's New Year messages, report is one of the discourse types that has been used in constituting the text or discourse. The report element in the New Year messages is normally located at the first part of the content section of the text. This discourse type seems to be an annual report by the government that Mahathir Mohamad leads to the people of Malaysia. In the discourse, it is found that a report element has been used to inform people about:

a. The situation of the country throughout the year (refer T82, T83, T86, T88, T89, T95, T96)

b. The actions and efforts that his government has taken in handling any problems, such as economic recession (refer T87, T98, and T99).

c. The achievement of the government's programmes and policy, such as heavy industry policy, privatization, host for an international conference and sport (refer T90, T92, and T97).

d. The government's new policy and programmes, e.g. foreign policy (refer T89, T92).

From the discourse analysis, it is found that the report has been constructed with at least three techniques, namely

- direct information report
- classification report
- time-based report

Direct Information Report

Direct information report means that any information, which is intended to be known by the audience, is located in the first sentence, the 'topic sentence' (Moody,1981) in a deductive paragraph. This strategy benefits the audience because they could grasp the information as early as the first sentence. The information is then developed further in the following sentences of the paragraph. Here are two examples of the direct information report.

(1) T99.03.1. Krisis ekonomi yang melanda negara kita sejak tahun lalu masih
lagi berterusan. 2. Spekulator pedagang mata wang masih dapat bergerak
secara berleluasa tanpa sebarang kawalan. 3. Dunia masih belum dapat
menerima hakikat bahawa betapa kawalan atau peraturan perlu dikenakan di
dalam dagangan matawang. 4. Kerana itu pedagang matawang masih bebas
menyerang mana-mana matawang yang tidak dikawal untuk mendapat
keuntungan yang besar daripada kesengsaraan rakyat negara-negara
berkenaan.

(1. *The economic crisis that has hit our country since last year still continues.
2. Money trader speculators are still operating freely without any control. 3.
The world has yet to accept the fact that control or regulations should be
imposed in the currency trade. 4. Because of that money traders are still
free to attack any currency that is not controlled so as to gain high profit
from the suffering of the countries involved.*)

(2) T97.03.1.Suatu peristiwa yang boleh semua rakyat berbangga ialah
pelancaran **Measat II**, sebuah lagi satelit canggih untuk komunikasi dan
penyiaran. 2. Pemilikan dan pelancaran satelit ini di Kourou, Guiana Perancis,
menandakan kemampuan dan kecanggihan syarikat milik rakyat Malaysia.

(*1. One event that Malaysians could be proud of is the launching of the
Measat II, another sophisticated satellite for communication and
broadcasting. 2. Owning the satellite and launching it at Kourou, France Guiana,
indicates the sophistication and ability of a Malaysian owned company.*)

From these two examples, it is clear that the information of the report paragraph
is located at the first sentence. In T99 it was reported that the economic crisis is
still going on. While, in T97 it is a report of the successful launching of the
Measat II satellite.

Clasification Report

Classification report is normally constructed according to certain view, area or field.
In order to produce this type of report, the addresser uses adverbial phrases related to
a specific area, such as *dalam bidang ekonomi* 'in the economic field', *dalam bidang
politik* 'in the political field', and *dalam konteks persekitaran antarabangsa* 'in the
international arena context'. In fact, by using this technique the addresser made his
audience focused on the field that he had stated, thus achieving his report objective.
The examples of such classification report are given below.

(3) T83.02.1. <u>Dalam bidang ekonomi</u>, sementara banyak negara-negara, termasuk
negara yang maju, mengalami kemerosotan yang teruk, kita di Malaysia,
walaupun terpaksa berjimat cermat lebih dari dahulu tetapi tidaklah hingga
terpaksa meminta bantuan luar, mengemis dan merana. 2. Ekonomi kita masih

kukuh, dan peluang-peluang kerja masih begitu banyak, sehingga banyak kekosongan yang tidak dapat diisikan oleh warganegara.

(1. While many countries, including developed countries experience serious deficit <u>in the economic field</u>, we in Malaysia need not go to the extent of asking for foreign aid, begging and suffering even though we have to be more thrifty than before. 2. Our economy is still stable, and job opportunities are in abundance, so much so that it cannot be filled by our citizens.)

(4) T83.03.1. <u>Dalam bidang politik dan keselamatan Negara</u>, kita terus stabil. 2. Pada bulan April yang lalu, kita telah mengadakan Pilihanraya Umum dalam suasana yang tenang dan Parti Barisan Nasional sekali lagi diberi kepercayaan meneraju Kerajaan Malaysia. 3. Sepanjang tahun 1982 tidak ada perkara-perkara yang tidak diingini berlaku dan ancaman pengganas komunis dapat dibendung dengan berkesan. 4. Perhubungan kita....

(1. We have maintained our stability politically <u>and in the area of national security</u>. 2. Last April, we held the National Election peacefully and Barisan Nasional Party was again given the trust to govern the country. 3. Throughout 1982 there were no undesirable incidents and communist threat was contained effectively. 4. Our relationship....)

Time-based Report

In contrast to classification report, time-based report utilizes time adverbial phrases at the beginning of the paragraph. With this technique, the addresser has actually limited his scope in the paragraph to a particular time span. Examples of the time adverbial phrases are *Tahun 1988* 'in 1988', *Sepanjang tahun 1991* 'Throughout 1991', *Tahun ini* 'This year', *Pada bulan Oktober* 'In October', etc. The utilization of this type of time adverbial phrases in the discourse is shown in (5) and (6).

(5) T92.04.1.<u>Sepanjang tahun 1991</u> beberapa perkara penting telah diperkenalkan. 2. Antaranya ialah Wawasan 2020, Dasar Pembangunan Nasional (DPN) dan Rancangan Malaysia Keenam (RM6). 3. Semua ini bertujuan menentukan satu khalayak atau target bagi semua rakyat.

(1. <u>Throughout 1991</u>, several important matters were introduced. 2. Among them were Vision 2020, National Development Policy and Sixth Malaysia Plan (RM6). 3. All these are intended as targets for the people.)

(6) T99.05.1. <u>Tahun ini</u> juga negara kita berjaya menganjurkan Sukan Komanwel yang ke-16, sukan paling besar selepas Olimpik. 2. Kejayaan kita menganjurkannya telah menjulang nama baik dan maruah kita sebagai rakyat sebuah negara membangun yang jika diberi apa peluang pun akan berjaya

(1. The country's economy suffers a deficit <u>due to</u> the simultaneous drop of the export price of our commodities. 2. <u>As a results</u> our income decreased and the development of our country is also affected.)

(8) T92.03.1. Sekarang dunia akui bahawa Malaysia lebih mampu dan lebih berjaya mencapai perhubungan baik di antara kaum daripada negara-negara berbilang kaum lain. 2. Salah satu <u>sebab</u> kejayaan kita ialah rakyat Malaysia menghargai keamanan dan kestabilan sebagai nikmat yang mesti dipelihara. 3. Dengan itu kita membendung perasaan perkauman dan kita pupuk sikap toleransi terhadap cara hidup masing-masing. 4. Di hampir seluruh negara tidak ada percubaan untuk memaksa budaya sesuatu kaum ke atas kaum lain. 5. Di negara ini di mana Islam menjadi agama rasmi, tidak adanya paksaan memanglah secueuk [*sic*] dengan ajaran Islam. 6. Perlembagaan negara juga menjamin agama dan budaya lain diamalkan tanpa gangguan.

(1. Now the world has recognized that Malaysia is more able and more successful in achieving good relationship between races compared to other multi-racial countries. 2. One of the reasons for our success is that the Malaysian people value peace and stability and consider it a blessing that must be preserved. 3. With that we curb racism and we instill tolerance in our daily lives. 4. Throughout the whole country, there are no attempts to force one's culture onto others. 5. In this country, where Islam is the official religion, there is no compulsion inline with the teachings of Islam. 6. The constitution also guaranteed the free practice of other religions and cultures.)

In T88.04, it is found that the word *kerana* 'due to' is used in the first sentence to explain the cause of the economic recession, that is, a drop in the export price of commodities. While in sentence two, *kesannya* 'as a result' is used to further explain the effects.

In T92.03, element of cause-effect explanation is located in the second sentence, i.e. *sebab* (because) 'reason'. This word is used to explain why the country is successful in maintaining solidarity among its multiracial population.

Comparative Explanation

Another explanation technique, which is practiced by Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad in his New Year messages, is comparative explanation. Mahathir Mohamad utilizes situational comparative and time comparative. The situational comparative is revealed by the use of the word *berbanding* 'compared to', meanwhile, the comparison of time is revealed through the combination of words such as *dahulu – sekarang* 'previously – now' or *dahulu – hari ini* 'previously – today' intra-sentences or inter-sentences. With these comparisons, the information can be easily understood. T82.06 in (9) is an example of a situational comparative explanation, while T93.04 in (10) is a time comparative explanation.

(9) T82.06.1. <u>Berbanding</u> dengan kebanyakan negara membangun yang lain, Malaysia adalah sebuah negara yang subur. 2. Tetapi bukan itu sahaja, negara kita juga tidak terdedah kepada bencana alam seperti gempa bumi, letupan gunung berapi, banjir yang besar-besar ataupun ribut taufan. 3. Ini semua adalah rahmat dan nikmat yang dikurniakan Tuhan kepada kita, jika kita renungkan.

(1. <u>Compared to</u> other developing countries, Malaysia is a fertile country. 2. But not only that, our country is also prone to natural disasters, such as earthquakes, volcano eruptions, floods or typhoons. 3. All of these are God's blessings to us if we were to reflect.)

(10)T93.04.1. Jika *dahulu* ramai yang meramalkan Malaysia, dengan penduduk berbilang kaumnya dan keperluannya mengagihkan kekayaan antara kaum, akan mengalami kemerosotan dan ketidakstabilan, *hari ini* jelas bahawa semua ramalan itu tidak tepat. 2. Sebaliknya negara dapat membuktikan bahawa proses penyusunan semula masyarakat atau 'social engineering' kita bukan sahaja tidak menjejaskan pertumbuhan ekonomi tetapi juga pertumbuhan yang tinggi dapat dicapai dalam suasana yang aman dan stabil. 3. Demikianlah kejayaan …

(1. <u>Previously,</u> many people predicted that Malaysia with her multiracial population and her need to redistribute wealth equally among races would experience decline and instability. Today, it is clear that the prediction is not accurate. 2. On the other hand, not only have we proven that our process of social engineering does not affect economic growth but also high growth rate can be achieved in a peaceful and stable environment. 3…)

The Argumentation

Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad in his New Year texts also utilizes argumentation discourse type. Argumentation is an utterance (oral or written) to express an opposite opinion, to contradict or to defend a decision or view. In his New Year texts, the Prime Minister uses this discourse type to answer any questions or issues, which emerge from the people during the year. Ideationally it is found that the argumentation used by Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad is to (a) uphold his government policies, (b) put forward his leadership ideology, (c) convince and gain people's confidence, and (d) defy slanderous remarks against his leadership. Argumentation type of discourse is found in T82, T83, T84, T85, T87, T91, T92, T94, T96, T97, and T99.

Normally, the argumentation is practiced in deductive paragraphing, that is the argument is placed at the beginning of the paragraph, especially in the first sentence or so called 'topic sentence'. The rest of the sentences in the paragraph support the argument. In the following examples, the argument is underlined.

(11)T82.12.1. <u>Kestabilan politik ada kaitan yang rapat dengan kestabilan ekonomi</u>. 2.Negara yang kaya-raya dengan hasil minyak yang besar sekalipun tidak dapat mengecap kekayaannya jika keadilan ekonomi tidak wujud. 3. Jika kita lihat pergolakan di beberapa negara, kita akan faham bagaimana ketidakadilan ekonomi menghancurkan kestabilan politik. 4. Dan kerana tidak ada kestabilan politik maka ekonomi pula telah merosot dengan kesan yang buruk kepada tiap-tiap seorang daripada penduduknya.

(*1. <u>Political stability is closely related to economic stability</u>. 2. Even rich oil producing countries are unable to enjoy their wealth if there is no economic justice. 3. If we were to see the disorder in some countries, we would understand how economic injustice upsets political stability. 4. And, this will lead to economic downturn and with detrimental effects on the people.*)

(12) T94.21.1. <u>Maju mundurnya sesuatu bangsa bergantung kepada budaya, iaitu jumlah semua nilai hidup dan kepercayaan bangsa itu</u>. 2. Empayar yang besar dalam sejarah pun runtuh apabila budayanya tidak sesuai lagi dengan kemajuan. 3. Jika pada hari ini kita masih terus maju sebabnya ialah kerana kita belum lupa daratan.

(*1. <u>The rise and fall of a nation depends on its culture, that is all the values of life and the beliefs of the people</u>. 2. A great empire in history collapses when the culture is no longer compatible with modernization. 3. We are still progressing today because we have not forgotten our roots.*)

The argumentation in (11) is *Kestabilan politik ada kaitan yang rapat dengan kestabilan ekonomi* 'Political stability is closely related to economic stability'. This is clearly his opinion. This is also the main idea of the paragraph. The rest of the sentences in the paragraph are to support the main idea.

The Expression

Another form of interdiscursivity in the Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad's New Year messages is expression. This type of discourse conveys his leadership wishes in relation to economy, social, and politics, such as exploring new market, discipline and deligence, unity, childcare, education, and defending the nation's independence and dignity. Expression discourse is produced in three modes, which are **request, prohibition,** and **invitation**.

Request is implied through the use of main verbs with particle -*lah*, such as *utamakanlah* 'give priority', *jagalah* 'take care', *gunalah* 'use it', *berjanjilah* 'promise', etc. or through modality, such as *mestilah* 'must', *perlu* 'need', *boleh* 'can', *harus* 'should', *hendaklah* 'have to', *patut* 'should have', etc. Below are some examples. The request indicators are in italic.

(13)T88.16.1. Bagi yang sedang bekerja, <u>utamakanlah</u> produktiviti. 2. Di antara negara-negara yang sedang membangun di Asia Tenggara, Malaysia mempunyai prestasi produktiviti yang terendah sekali. 3. Kita bergantung hidup kepada hasil keluaran kita. 4. Di zaman moden ini, persaingan <u>tidak boleh</u> dielakkan. 5. Jika barangan ….

(1. For those who are working, <u>give priority</u> to productivity. 2. Among developing countries in South East Asia, the productivity of Malaysians is the lowest. 3. We are dependent on our products. 4. In this modern age, competition is <u>unavoidable</u>. 5. If our products….

(14)T90.22.1. Usahawan-usahawan Malaysia <u>mestilah</u> berani meneroka pasaran-pasaran baru. 2. Mereka masih terlalu bergantung kepada perlindungan kerajaan. 3. Mereka juga terlalu bergantung kepada para peniaga Negara jiran. 4. Para pekerja Malaysia pula <u>mestilah</u> sanggup melibatkan diri dalam beberapa bidang yang penting dalam proses perindustrian Malaysia.

(1. Malaysian entrepreneurs <u>must be</u> brave to explore new market. 2. They are too dependent on government aids. 3. They are also dependent on foreign traders. 4. Malaysian workers <u>must be</u> willing to be involved in various important fields in the industrialization process of Malaysia.)

Prohibition is stated through the word *jangan + lah* 'don't'. This form of expression is found in T84.11, T85.08, T85.14, T86.17,T89.13, and T97.11. Here are some examples of the prohibition expressions in the Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad's New Year discourse. In (15), the Prime Minister prohibits the people from being racist.

(15) T85.08.1. <u>Janganlah</u> kita bercakap seolah-olah tidak ada sentimen perkauman dan kita menolak hakikat kaum, tetapi di samping itu kita timbulkan bermacam-macam perkara yang menyempitkan lagi perkauman di kalangan kaum-kaum tertentu. 2. <u>Janganlah</u> kita cuba bermain dengan api perkauman kerana ia amat bahaya. 3. Perpaduan tidak akan wujud jika api perkauman ditiup tanpa tanggungjawab.

(1. <u>Do not</u> say that racial sentiment does not exist, but yet at the same time, we evoke various issues on racism. 2. <u>Be cautious</u> when we engage in racial issue as it can be sensitive to others. 3. Unity will not exist if there is racism.)

Invitation is normally found at the concluding part of the New Year discourse of Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad. This mode is used to invite people to cooperate, to thank God for His blessing, and to be positive. Invitation is indicated with the use of word *marilah* 'let's' and are found in T82.94, T84.12, T85.20, T86.15; 18, T87.18, T89.09; 11,T91.19, T90.27, T92.24, T95.23; 25, T96.26, T97.13; 25, and T98.27. An example of invitation is shown in (16).

(16)T98.27.1. Marilah kita semua menghadapi cabaran bersama. 2. Marilah kita berkorban. 3. Marilah kita bersatu padu mempertahankan kedaulatan dan maruah bangsa, Negara dan agama kita. 4. Dengan izin Tuhan, perjuangan yang terhormat ini akan berjaya.

(1. Let's face challenges together. 2. Let's sacrifice. 3. Let's unite to defend our dignity and the sovereignty of our country and religion. 4. God willing, this struggle will be successful.)

Conclusion

The New Year discourse of Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad is interdiscursively produced with at least four-discourse types. They are report, explanation, argumentation, and expression. Respectively, each of the discourse type is expository, explanatory, argumentative, and expressive in nature. It functions to inform, to explain, to argue/defend, and to express ideas of his leadership. This kind of interdiscursivity in the production of leadership discourse is aimed at making the people know, understand, and cooperate in the leadership process of the leader-addresser . In other words, this analysis shows that Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad utilizes four forms of discourse type in the process of his leadership. Generally, interdiscursivity of the discourse types is constrained by the context of genre and situation. Besides that, this analysis also shows the leadership discourse in action.

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Notes

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[1] Mahathir stepped down and passed the post to his successor, Abdullah Badawi in 2003.

[2] This study started in 2000.

[3] Following Fairclough (1995: 190-191) "discourse analysis papers should reproduce and analyse textual sample in the original language, despite the added difficulty for readers".

[4] A comment by Khoo Boo Teik (1995: 12-13) can justify this argument. Khoo Boo Teik writes, "First, it is well known that Mahathir handles major speeches with considerable care and responsibility and makes it a point to amend drafts of speeches submitted to him until they meet his approval. Second, many speeches contain phraseology and arguments that closely recall Mahathir's own writing, especially when the speeches deal with some of his favorite subjects, such as values, ethics, the press, and foreign investment."

Besides that, Mahathir Mohamad himself is prolific in writing his idea whereby several books have been produced. Among these are *The Malay Dilemma* (1970), *Menghadapi Cabaran* (1976) (in Malay), *Warisan Kepimpinan* (1980) (in Malay), *Guide for Small Businessmen* (1985), *The Way Forward* (1999), *Kebangkitan Semula Asia* (1999), etc. And in 1999 he was also a columnist for Japanese newspaper *Mainichi Daily News* under the title 'Dr. Mahathir's World Analysis'.