Panel 11 : Language and Literature

The Legacy of *Emmanuelle*: Oriental Desire and Interracial Encounters in European Films Set in Thailand 1974-1980

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Abstract

Movie markets in Europe and the U.S. saw a considerable increase in the number of erotic films in the first half of the 1970s, followed by a transition to X-rated films in the second half. The development and rapid proliferation of the soft- and hardcore film genres can be attributed to the so-called "Sexual Liberation Movement" of the 1960s, changed viewer expectations, the liberalization of film contents, and the development of new film technology. A substantial number of European erotic films were made in Thailand. The film *Emmanuelle* (Fr 1974, dir. Just Jaeckin) marked the beginning and became an international box-office hit, followed by several French, Italian, Swiss, German, and Danish productions that sought to ride on the wave of *Emmanuelle*'s success. This paper seeks to give a concise overview of *Emmanuelle*'s legacy, i.e. European adult-oriented films made from 1974 to 1980 because they shaped Western representations and popular perceptions of Thailand for many years. It seeks to explore the cinematic portrayals of Thailand in selected films in order to determine the extent to which the country plays a significant role as a setting, and it explores the relevance of western interracial desires as well as the films' appropriation of the enduring allure of the East felt by many Europeans. The analyses are supported by theories of the erotic and exploitation film genres and discusses Western tendencies to mystify, sensualize and exoticize Thailand.

Keywords: Bangkok, exploitation cinema, interracial, Orientalism, representation, Thailand

1. Introduction

The introduction of the birth control pill in 1960 was a major catalyst of the so-called Sexual Liberation Movement that governed Western European societies' perceptions of body and freedom well into the 1980s. In great cultural upheavals traditional codes of sexual behaviors were challenged, intimate relationships outside of traditional marriage and other forms of monogamous relationships became accepted, and the public's notions of taboos, shame and sin shifted drastically. The legalization of abortion and broader acceptance of same-sex relationships followed.

Within this rapidly changing socio-cultural landscape, first softcore and later hardcore films flourished.[1] In 1970s-Germany, for instance, the so-called Porno-Welle (tr.: "porno wave")[2] was initiated by the popular films *Graf Porno und seine Mädchen* (WG 1969, tr.: "Count Porno and his girls") and *Schulmädchen-Report: Was Eltern nicht für möglich halten* (WG 1970, tr.: "Schoolgirl report, what parents do not believe possible").[3] The relaxation of pornography laws in the mid-1970s in many European countries allowed for the production and exhibition of increasingly explicit films and facilitated the formation of an industry that specialized in X-rated visual materials. Around the same time, from 1969 to 1984, the United States saw the Golden Age of Porn. Commercially produced soft- and hardcore films were received positively by cinemagoers and film critics alike.[4] Nowadays, X-rated films are still widely considered lowbrow entertainment, but many of them should be treated as authentic documents of socio-cultural critique because they often addressed and sometimes transgressed common conventions and concerns about the politics of body, gender, and race.

Representations of Thailand in Western literary and non-literary texts as well as in fiction films and documentaries since the 1950s have been diverse and complex, with images and stories that have had a lasting influence on Westerners' perceptions of the Thai nation. The first fictional story with Thailand as a setting for white-male exploration and conquest was published in the 1950s. The British novel *A Woman of Bangkok* (1956, Jack Reynolds, originally titled *A Sort of Beauty*) is about the tumultuous relationship of a young Englishman with Bangkok's number one bargirl. It became popular enough to be translated into German as *Versuchung in Bangkok* (1959, tr.: "Temptation in Bangkok"). In the decades that followed and to this day, the theme of 'Western-man-meets-seductive-Asian-woman' has been explored in numerous erotic and crime stories situated around Bangkok's entertainment zones.[5]

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[1] 'Softcore' implies erotic and/or suggestive sexual imagery that does not display sexual organs or penetration. 'Hardcore' visual material is pornographic in nature. It aims to stimulate feelings of arousal through the display of explicit images, including sexual organs and activity.

[2] See Eitler (2015) for a review of the porno wave in Germany and its impact on the country's cultural history.

[3] The film was produced by Wolf C. Hartwig of Rapid Film.

[4] Regarding printed materials, Playboy magazine reached peak sales figures in the 1970s and played an important role in the public's shift toward more liberal views.

[5] The theme had already been popularized, for instance by the Japan-set French novel *Madame Chrysanthème* (1887, Pierre Loti), the American novel *Madame Butterfly* (1898, John Luther Long) and its Italian opera version (1904,

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Secondly, the entertainment zone Patpong established several nightclubs in the late 1960s and expanded in the 1970s to cater to American GIs on their R&R stays.[6] Many of the western films that were produced in Thailand in the 1960s, particularly European action-adventure thrillers, Hollywood blockbusters, television documentaries, and Vietnam War reportages, featured impressions of Bangkok's nightlife.[7] The films' representations and the possibilities afforded by Bangkok's entertainment contributed to the capital's and by extension the whole country's reputation as viable film and travel destinations.

Emmanuelle (Fr 1974), directed by Just Jaeckin, was released at a critical moment during abovementioned social-cultural changes and rapid developments in the adult film industry. It was based on Emmanuelle Arsan's popular yet controversial erotic novel of the same name, published in French in 1967 and in English in 1971.[8] This film about the sexual awakening of a young Frenchwoman during her stay in Bangkok became an enormous international commercial success and established a solid association between Thailand and sexual freedom in the minds of many Western viewers.[9]

Figure 1: Emmanuelle Entertainment Co. on Ratchadaphisek Road, Bangkok

Many European film production companies tried to ride on the wave of *Emmanuelle*'s success, which from 1974 to 1980 resulted in the production of a substantial number of adult-oriented films fully or partially set in Thailand. At the time of their production and exhibition, these films reflected European countries' social and cultural concerns and revealed a fascination with and desire for interracial sexual encounters.[10] The study of *Emmanuelle* and its legacy gives thus valuable insights into Western portrayals of Thailand as seen in these stigmatized genres.

Giacomo Puccini), and by the American novel *Sayonara* (1954, James A. Michener) and its Hollywood screen adaptation (USA 1957). The British Hong Kong-set novel *The World of Suzie Wong* (1957, Richard Mason), in which an Englishman becomes enamored with a Hong-Kong courtesan, became a major success and was made into a Hollywood film (USA 1960). See Algie (2014) for a discussion of the novels *A Woman of Bangkok* and *The World of Suzie Wong*.

6   See Backman (2005) for an account of Patpong's history.

7   See Klemm (2015) for an analysis of Hartwig's Thailand-set action-adventure films of the 1960s.

8   Thai writer and actress Marayat Rollet-Andriane (né Bibidh), under the pen name of Emmanuelle Arsan, was for a long time thought to be the author. Later it was revealed that her French diplomat husband Louis-Jacques Rollet-Andriane wrote the novel (Wroblewksi).

9   In 1975 Jaeckin directed *The Story of O*, which was adapted from the French erotic novel of the same name (1954, Anne Desclos, as Pauline Réage); but this film resonated much less with European audiences.

10   See Williams (2004) for a detailed discussion of the relations between X-rated films and interracial lust.

The long-term effect of *Emmanuelle* is openly visible in Bangkok on Ratchadaphisek Road, where Emmanuelle Entertainment Co. massage parlor has been a major entertainment hub for many years (see Figure 1). By extension, the red-light districts of Bangkok also feature bars whose names are reminiscent of other fictional characters, such as 'Suzie Wong Agogo' in Soi Cowboy and 'Butterflies' in Nana Plaza, or inspire Orientalist fantasies, such as 'Sheba' in Soi Cowboy and 'Safari' in Nana Plaza.

This paper explores the legacy of the film *Emmanuelle*. This legacy consists of well over a dozen European films made in the second half of the 1970s which are partially or fully set in Thailand or rely on at least some significant Thailand connection. The paper then focuses on manifestations of oriental desire and interracial encounters in order to determine the nature of the films' representations of Thailand. Central questions are thus, whether the country plays an integral part to the stories or serves merely as an exotic background, and whether the cinematic staging of interracial relationships follows Western tendencies to depict Asian countries and cultures as mysterious, sensual, exotic, and erotic. An understanding of the legacy of *Emmanuelle* is crucial. On the one hand, it helps to recognize common perceptions and persistent misconceptions in the West about Thailand. On the other hand, it explains how some Thais have benefited from Western views about their country, namely through various business ventures that cater to Western patrons.

2. Precursors

Three Western films with nudist content include a Thailand episode and are precursors of the Thailand-set European erotic films of the 1970s.

The first nudist films were made in the U.S. in the early 1930s, while film censorship laws were still lenient. *Back to the Sun* (USA 1933) was shot in New York, Paris, Thailand and on Java (Back to the Sun, 1933, p. 361). Since the film is unavailable and may in fact be lost, assumptions about its portrayal of Thailand are speculative. Its alternative title, *The Nudists; or, Back to the Sun*, suggests that it may have included scenes of nudists frolicking under the sunshine. It was rejected by the New York censors because of indecent scenes which may have been of women on Java who "tempt men through the art of dance" ("Back to the Sun"). Popular travelogue short films shot in Thailand in the early 1930s, such as *Drums of the Orient* (UK 1932), typically featured a Khon dance group performance, which is not an erotic dance and were not subject to censorship – but particular scenes of nudists possibly were.

From the late 1950s to the mid-1960s relaxations in censorship laws led to the production of a considerable number of low-budget nudist films in Europe and the U.S. Elements of the nudist film genre were picked up and developed by the sexploitation film, a subgenre of the exploitation film. On the surface nudist films served to familiarize audiences with the nudist and naturist movements; however, their underlying intention was to exhibit female nudity. Doris Wishman was a champion of this genre. Her film *Behind the Nudist Curtain* (USA 1964) is partially set in Thailand. Although no print is in circulation, the film may still exist. Jarmick (2002) states that the story begins in a nudist camp where detective Sam is relaxing. He receives a new assignment, which is to pursue

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a spy. The chase takes him to Las Vegas, Hong Kong, Thailand, Paris, Haiti, Mexico, Hawaii, Berlin and Tokyo, and everywhere the private eye goes he gets to observe naked girls. To what extent *Behind the Nudist Curtain*'s representations of Thailand may be relevant cannot be determined here.

Die Oben Ohne Story - Flucht ins Paradies (CH 1965, tr.: "The Topless Story – Escape to Paradise", a.k.a. *The Topless Story*) combines the genres of travelogue documentary and nudist film.[11] Fashion designer Nathaniel Pierson travels to destinations around the world in search of inspiration. Reporter Jo follows him, hoping to get an exclusive story. She is accompanied by Pierson's secretary Maya. The journey takes them to New York City, the Aegean Sea of Greece, and beaches near Bangkok and Tokyo. The shallow story serves as a vehicle to include scenes of semi-nude women and men sunbathing at secluded beaches. Scenes at the so-called European Sunbathing Club supposedly take place at a Thai beach, but it looks suspiciously Mediterranean. Having observed many people sunbathing and swimming naked, Pierson concludes that he has to design more revealing swimsuits. The impressions of Bangkok are an assemblage of stock footage that includes Wat Pho, Wat Prakaew, the Chao Phraya River, the floating market, and so on. The glimpses of Bangkok are accompanied by instrumental music of Chinese rather than Thai origin and by Pierson's tongue-in-cheek voiceover commentaries, such as "My next port-of-call. Now, where is it? Can you guess? A thousand temples. Golden Buddhas", and "The Venice of the East – got it? It's not too cold either."

It is noteworthy that in *Behind the Nudist Curtain* and *Die Oben Ohne Story* Thailand was included as one of several international travel destinations that presumably welcome nudists. *Die Oben Ohne Story* employs many elements of a regular travelogue documentary: besides tanning nudists, it highlights the act of travelling, to which end it features airplanes and aerial views of islands and coastlines. *Behind the Nudist Curtain* must have also included images of travel and treated Thailand as an important destination for nudists. Neither film is meant to be erotic because the desire they express is for a celebration of the naked human body in harmony with nature. Nevertheless, films with nudist images are messengers of the Sexual Liberation Movement of the 1960s, and with their liberal attitude toward the naked human body they were precursors of the adult films of the 1970s.

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[11] The film was released in Switzerland (1965), Germany and Finland (1966). Werner Kunz, a producer and enfant terrible of Swiss cinema, wrote, produced and directed a dozen naturist films from 1956 to 1973. Kunz tested the limits of the law with ever more risqué productions. Uhlmann (2013, p. 170) states that Kunz's films belong to the exploitation genre and that he paved the way for a future generation of limit-pushing filmmakers.

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3. The *Emmanuelle*-Phenomenon

Emmanuelle (Fr 1974) is about a young French woman who moves to Bangkok as she accompanies her diplomat husband. Once there she makes the acquaintance of other high-society expatriates and embarks on a journey of sexual experimentation, during which she redefines her relationship with her husband, becomes more independent, and ultimately finds her place in the world.

Soon after its domestic release, *Emmanuelle* was exported internationally. In the U.S. it was marketed with a minimalist poster (see Figure 2), featuring a black background, the film title in white letters and with a positive upward direction, and in the lower right corner the contours of a woman's face with the words "X was never like this" seemingly escaping her red lips. The poster cleverly promises a new kind of erotic-cinematic experience and aroused viewers' curiosity. Not least because of it *Emmanuelle* became a world-wide sensation and established Dutch actress Sylvia Kristel as an icon of erotic cinema.[12]

Shot in Paris, Bangkok, and Chiang Mai (the latter city standing in for the rural hinterland of Pattaya), *Emmanuelle* creates a particular portrait of Thailand. Interior scenes set in Bangkok take place in nightclubs and restaurants, exterior scenes are set in city streets and along canals. Other parts of the film are set on a traditional estate in the countryside. Scenes seemingly taking place in an opium den had to be shot in a Paris studio.

Figure 2: *Emmanuelle*. US film poster with the slogan "X was never like this."
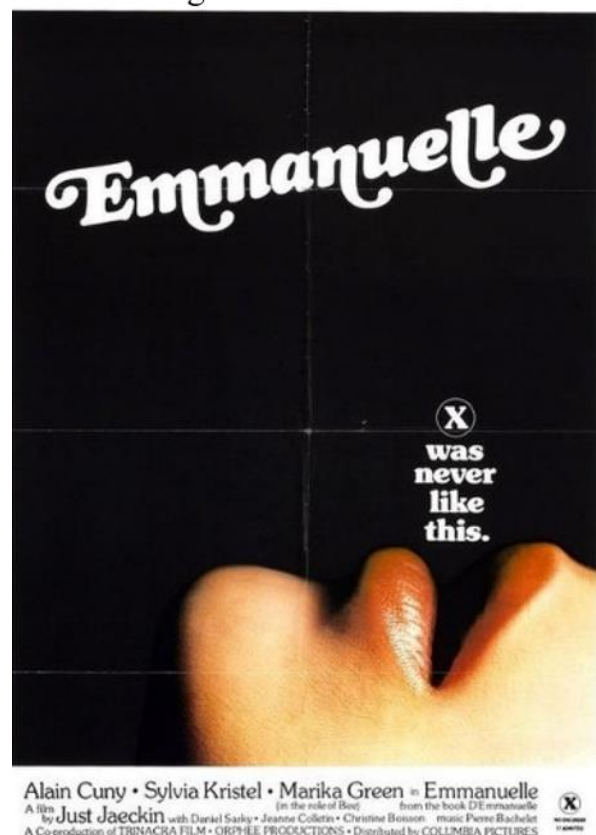
Emmanuelle features a number of intimate encounters. On separate occasions Emmanuelle gets very close to the three French women Marie-Ange, Ariane and Bee. She also has intercourse with her husband Jean and later with two white Frenchmen on a plane during midflight. There are scenes of erotic coupling between Thai house servants in the countryside estate and between two female dancers on the stage of a Bangkok nightclub. In Paris, Jean and a friend receive an erotic massage from two Asian women, and in Thailand he has intercourse with Ariane. Controversial are the scenes in which Emmanuelle – after having fallen under the tutelage of the much older and deviously appreciative Mario – is apparently raped by a Thai man in an opium den (although this scene may be interpreted as her drug-induced hallucination) and later sodomized

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[12] See Chaffin-Quiray (2004) for an excellent account of the novel-to-screen-adaptation process of *Emmanuelle*, as well as the film's public reception and influence on French and U.S. American film culture.

by a Muay Thai fighter who has won her in a bout. Also contentious is a scene in which a Thai nightclub dancer lights a cigarette lodged in her vagina.

In the film's final scene Emmanuelle is sitting in front of a mirror (see Figure 3). This echoes the similar opening scene and suggests that the entire story may have been her daydream. More importantly, the final impression indicates that Emmanuelle has grown as a person. She is now liberated from social conformity, taboos, and male definitions of her body and character. She has taken full control of herself and her future. In the spirit of the 1970s sexual liberation movement, *Emmanuelle* was viewed as an affirmation and a celebration of the female body. The film empowered women in the sense that they felt encouraged to take control of their sexuality. Lesbians responded positively to the film (despite the rape scenes), because the film showcases a variety of female characters, from the initially naïve to the later (sexually) matured Emmanuelle, from the aggressive seducer Ariana to the lolitaesque Marie-Ange and the loving and passionate Bee. Not surprisingly, it is the unselfish Bee who becomes Emmanuelle's true lover.

Emmanuelle was the first ambitious European X-rated film set it Thailand. With it, the social acceptance of buying a ticket for an erotic film grew, which paved the way for a more liberal view of adult-oriented films in the public domain. At the same time, the film's popularity gave Westerners' interest in Thailand a considerable push, and the cultural environment was such that European erotic films

Figure 3: *Emmanuelle*. French film poster.

could try to emulate *Emmanuelle*'s style and atmosphere. Thus, *Emmanuelle* immediately became the template for more than a dozen European films made between 1975 and 1980.[13]

4. The Legacy of *Emmanuelle*

4.1. Black Emanuelle

The most widely distributed film of *Emmanuelle*'s legacy is probably *Emanuelle nera – Orient reportage* (It 1976, a.k.a. *Emanuelle in Bangkok*),[14] starring Indonesian-Dutch actress Laura Gemser. It was directed by Joe D'Amato and released in Italy and across Europe. With her dark skin, lean body and Asian features Gemser embodied the ultimate version of the exotic seductress of Western

Figure 4: *Emanuelle nera - Orient reportage*. Italian film poster.

Figure 5: *Emanuelle in Bangkok*. US DVD cover with the slogan "X has never been hotter!"

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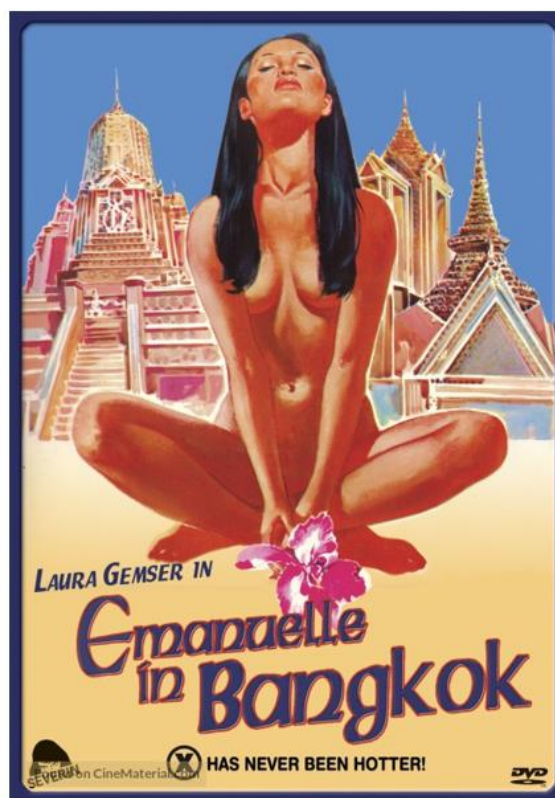
[13] According to Sylvie Blum-Reid (2003), *Emmanuelle* was highly influential in its shaping of the East-West literary and cinematic discourse. The film stirred up the French film industry and opened a discussion about censorship and cinematic portrayals of the naked human body (23).

[14] In the title of the Italian film, Emanuelle is written with one 'm' in order to avoid legal repercussions. Thus, the title *Emanuelle* itself is a nod to the exploitation film genre.

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male power-fantasies. Labelled as 'Emanuelle nera', i.e. 'black Emanuelle' (see Figure 4), Gemser was established as a contrast to the fair-skinned and blonde Emmanuelle character played by Sylvia Kristel.[15]

It is obvious that *Emanuelle nera – Orient reportage* borrowed from the original *Emmanuelle* film. For instance, the marketing hook "X has never been hotter (see Figure 5) titillates potential viewers and tries to outdo the slogan on the *Emmanuelle* poster "X was never like this". Both advertising hooks point to the symbolic power of the letter X and the seductive attraction viewers must have felt by attending a public screening of such a film and thereby enjoying the excitement of breaking a taboo.

Emanuelle is a US American newspaper journalist and travel photographer based in New York. In Venice she and her boyfriend Roberto, an archeologist, board a cruise ship set for Bangkok. Roberto will join an excavation site some hours' drive north of Bangkok, while Emanuelle is invited by Mr. Sanit, a distinguished man of the Thai elite.[16] Having arrived at their destination, they part ways. Emanuelle lodges at the renowned Siam Intercontinental Hotel and soon meets her Thai host who gives her a tour of Bangkok during which they are shadowed by a sinister-looking man. Sanit leads her to a Japanese masseuse named Gee – whose name is a reference to the character Bee in *Emmanuelle* – whom Emanuelle befriends. Roberto returns briefly to Bangkok, accompanied by new friends he made on the way, the American couple Jimmy and Frances. Besides exploring the city and some outskirts Emanuelle has several erotic encounters, but after her passport is stolen and the sinister thug and his gang have become a threat, she decides to leave Bangkok. She flies to Casablanca to reconnect with Roberto who had left Thailand before her. In Casablanca her adventures continue as she befriends Roberto's new fiancée Janet and the U.S. ambassador's daughter Debra.

Emanuelle's roaming through Bangkok and some city outskirts give her various impressions. Equipped with her camera and often in the role of a marveling tourist who gazes in awe at the wonders of the world around her, she explores China Town, random streets and busy public market, gets fleeting glimpses of towering billboard signs of Thai movies, passes Democracy Monument, Phra Sumen Fort, the Golden Mount, various temples on Rattanakosin Island, Ananta Samakhom Throne Hall, and Sanam Luang. Don Muang Airport, Siam Intercontinental Hotel and Wat Arun feature extensively. Idyllic and rural views are offered during boat rides on the Chao Phraya River and various canals, when Emanuelle observes life along the shores, and during a visit to what looks like Sam Phran garden resort in Nakhom Pathom province. She also takes pictures of performances of traditional Thai dance, a sword fight, a Muay Thai fight,

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[15] Gemser had made her debut in *Amore Libero – Free Love* (It 1974), followed by *Emanuelle nera* (It, Sp 1975, a.k.a. *Black Emanuelle*), and *Emmanuelle: L'antivierge* (Fr 1975, a.k.a. *Emmanuelle 2*). In the latter film Sylvia Kristel plays the main role. In one scene the two Em(m)anuelles pair up for a sensual body-to-body massage. *Emanuelle nera* already exploited the success of *Emmanuelle*, but *Emanuelle nera – Orient reportage* was the first and only film of the Italian-produced series that was shot in Bangkok.

[16] Sanit is played by Italian actor Ivan Rassimov who had already played in the Thailand-set exploitation film *Il paese del sesso selvaggio* (It 1972, tr.: "The land of savage sex", a.k.a. *Man from the Deep River* (USA)).

and rides an elephant. Emanuelle perceives Bangkok as other-worldly when she reveals to her Thai host: "Your city is fascinating. Sometimes I think that living here is like living in another dimension."

Having arrived in Morocco, Emanuelle continues her explorations as she roams the streets and markets of Casablanca, attends social gatherings in the luxurious home of the U.S. ambassador, and continues her journey to rocky hills and the desert. Although the portrayals of the Moroccan places, people and culture are steeped in European Orientalism and would be worthy of scrutiny.

Scenes of sights and sounds in Thailand are alternated with scenes of erotic titillation. Emanuelle discovers the country not only with her camera but also with her body. In the opening scene, she and Roberto share a moment of intimacy, later they have intercourse in the cabin of the cruise ship. She appreciates Gee's body-on-body massage, and in her hotel room she dances with a Thai bellboy and lets him massage her. In a small club, she, Roberto and their friends are treated to lascivious go-go dance performances, where one dancer plays with a burning candle, dripping wax on her body.[17]

A central scene of the Bangkok episode takes place in a luxurious teak house where Emanuelle, Gee, Sanit, Roberto, Frances and Jimmy share an opium pipe. The opium is ceremoniously prepared and then smoked by the group. Soon, the scene becomes an orgy where Sanit observes the guests losing their inhibitions and caressing one another, whereby male-to-male touch is avoided so as not to threaten the male viewer's heterosexual identity. The idea to the drug-induced erotic scenes is of course taken from a similar scene in *Emmanuelle*.

Sanit leads Emanuelle to a separate room. There, they caress each other and he philosophizes in the voiceover:

> You are not like them. You are different. You understand how to control your ecstasy. You are capable of letting the pleasures of the earth center all your senses. You live them with your entire body, not just with those few erotic zones Westerners conceive to love-making. I can make you cry out with pleasure. But you must first give back that which you have been given. And you do know how. This is God's gift to you. You know how to suspend yourself in a tunnel where time no longer has meaning. And when the moment arrives, when your pleasure is on the verge of becoming glorious pain, then, only then you permit yourself that most sublime moment of all, which the French call "le petit mort",[18] a little death, and we Orientals call "the great ecstasy".

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[17] A scene of a go-go-dancer 'playing' with ping-pong balls, and a quasi-gang-rape scene in which Emanuelle gives in to a group of Caucasian men have been cut from some DVD releases. This is also the case for scenes of Emanuelle taking pictures of a cockfight for gambling and a bloody struggle between a mongoose and a cobra. The latter scenes portray Thailand as a country of exotic animals and savage fights and place the film solidly in the Italian exploitation genre.

[18] "la petite mort" is correct.

This monolog is in the spirit of the philosophical musings of the character Mario in *Emmanuelle*. Sanit's praise for Emanuelle's self-control and deep understanding of pleasure, pain and ecstasy is based on the Orientalist notion that assumes a fundamental difference between the Occident, which stands for knowledge based on logic and science, and the Orient, which derives its knowledge from spirituality and uninhibited sensuality.

Regarding the attitude of women, *Emanuelle nera – Orient reportage* tries to strike a similar chord as *Emmanuelle*. The women are self-confident and proactive in their choices of partners. Emanuelle is as independent as any man she meets, which is emphasized through her work as a travelling photojournalist. Gee is portrayed as the ultimate oriental lover because she sleeps with any man and woman she feels attracted to. The carefree American Frances separates from her husband Jimmy just as quickly as she married him and takes off to India in pursuit of pleasure and spiritual awakening. The British archeologist Janet ends her engagement with Roberto because she needs more experiences before settling down. And the U.S. ambassador's young daughter Debra, who grew up without a mother, is taken under Emanuelle's protective wing, just like Bee guides Emmanuelle in the French film. Emanuelle tells her to be self-confident, to make her own decisions, and not to be tied down by others. Thus, the women in *Emanuelle nera – Orient reportage* are proud to be free of social constraints. In fact, it is a man, Roberto, who is the only character who ever shows heartfelt possessiveness, jealousy and regret over a breakup.

Nevertheless, despite their demonstrated independence, in some instances women appear to rely on men's approval. They like to celebrate and demonstrate their body in front of men. For instance, in a tent in the Moroccan desert, Emanuelle and Janet join a dark-skinned North-African woman's dance performance in front of a group of Tuaregs. Emanuelle and Janet were symbolically abducted by the men, and the seductive Nubian woman reminds one of a popular subject of French Orientalist painters. The excited men form a circle around the three dancers, then cover them all at once by lifting their robes over them, taking possession of them. As in so many scenes, men remain dressed and watch, while women are (semi-)naked and perform to satisfy men's interracial desires.

Emmanuelle attracted female audiences because it follows the adventures of a female main character and presents the events mostly from her perspective. *Emanuelle nera – Orient reportage* exploits many parts of *Emmanuelle*, but while it also has a female main character, it is already a step away from the female-centered experience of Oriental desire. This film is more attractive to male viewers because it emphasizes Emanuelle's body in such a way that it is likely to arouse male pleasure.[19] The films that make up the main body of the *Emmanuelle* legacy, to be discussed below, move yet

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[19] *Naughty Girls* (UK 1975) appears to be a variation of the female-centered *Emmanuelle*-concept as it is about the journey of a whole group of women. According to IMDb.com, it is one of very few British films with a Thailand connection and was shot in Thailand, Malaysia, Sydney and on Bali ("Naughty Girls") but it is not in circulation. One synopsis states that this is an X-rated "British sex film about four girls abroad and their adventures at work and play" (Speed, p. 177). Another one summarizes: "Four girls describe their sex experiences to an investigator" (Gifford, p. 857). *Naughty Girls* tried to benefit from *Emmanuelle*'s popularity by making female travelers from Europe the main characters and by including Thailand as one of several destinations where carefree women could explore their sexuality.
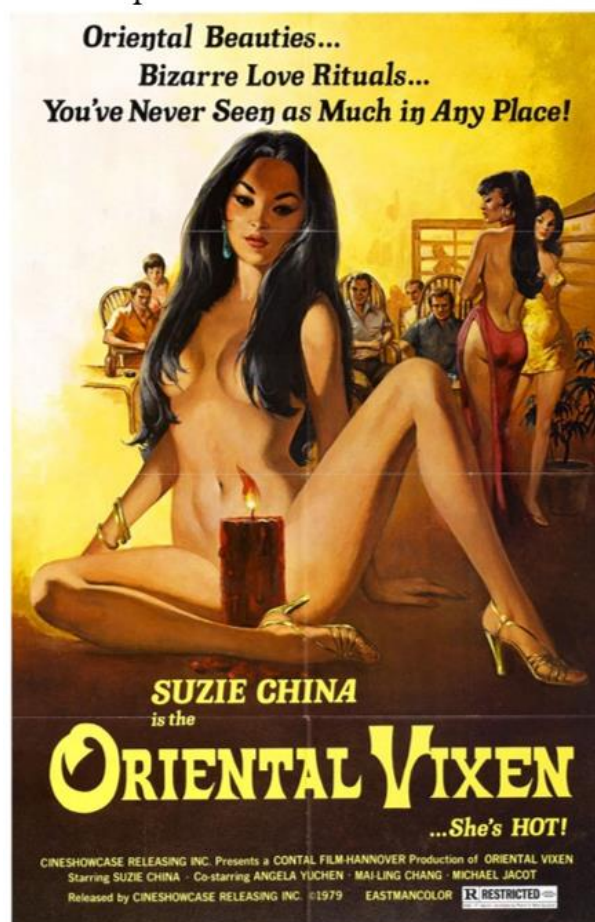
again a bit further away from the female-centered erotic experience because they feature predominantly white men's adventures in Thailand where women are objectified by the male gaze.

4.2. Swiss and German Productions: Softcore Fantasies

Swiss producer Erwin C. Dietrich[20] sought to profit from the *Emmanuelle* phenomenon with *Die Sex-Spelunke von Bangkok* (CH 1974), *Heißer Sex in Bangkok* (CH 1976), and *Nach Bangkok der Liebe wegen* (CH 1977).[21]

The softcore film *Die Sex-Spelunke von Bangkok* (CH 1974), the trailers and promotional posters are insightful regarding the portrayal of Bangkok and the intention to entice male viewers' oriental desires, to which end the depictions are based on interracial power dynamics. A dozen European men – a tourist group named "Je ferner, je lieber" (tr.: "The further, the better") – are sitting on board of an airplane ready to take off from Bangkok airport. They are daydreaming about their recent adventures and conquests which the film then tells in retrospect. Two evenings in a row the men are gathered in the lobby of a Bangkok hotel to discuss their plans for the night. First, they venture to a massage parlor to hook up with various Asian women. The following night is spent at the "Yellow Inn of Bangkok" where they watch the performances of female dancers and have intercourse with them in front of other patrons. A third sequence of intimate encounters is shown in slow-motion to indicate the men's dream-like reminiscing as the airplane has already departed. The blond tour-guide Sylvia has been frustrated because in Bangkok the men rejected all of her advances, but now, on the plane, stirred by their memories and in the absence of Asian women, a couple of

Figure 6: *Oriental Vixen.* US film poster.

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[20] From the 1960s to the 1980s Dietrich was a prolific Swiss writer, director and producer who worked across many genres, exploitation cinema in particular.

[21] Eppenberger & Stapfer state that the output of Dietrich's company was so high that former employees could not recall some production details (p. 118), and that *Heisser Sex in Bangkok* was released in 1973, followed by *Die Sex-Spelunke von Bangkok* in 1975 and *Nach Bangkok der Liebe wegen* in 1977 (p. 93), yet admitting uncertainty about those years (p. 175). The order and years given in the text are more likely.

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them sleep with her. These midflight scenes and the tour-guide's name are obvious references to *Emmanuelle* and Sylvia Kristel.

The actual film begins with stock footage of Bangkok to establish the city as the setting. The impressions are those of airport runways, landing and departing airplanes, life along the canals, patches of jungle, and cock fights for betting. The use of stock footage is seen not only in this but also in many other films of the *Emmanuelle*-legacy. It was a convenient and inexpensive way to establish Bangkok as the story-setting.

A poster promoting the film as *Oriental Vixen* (see Figure 6) has a titillating announcement: "Oriental Beauties... Bizarre Love Rituals... You've Never Seen as Much in Any Place! SUZIE CHINA is the ORIENTAL VIXEN ... She's HOT!"[22] This shifts the focus away from Bangkok, toward the oriental woman imagined as object of pleasure. The description of a "vixen", i.e. a female fox, dehumanizes her and marks her as sexually promiscuous.[23] The poster can also be construed as an attempt to establish the male spectators sitting in the chairs and at a distance as appreciative voyeurs – and with them the male viewers in the darkness of a movie theater– of the women who appear to derive their own pleasure from flaunting their bodies and receiving lustful looks. Moreover, the poster is meant to awaken the Orientalist male-power fantasy of being master over an entire harem.

A male voiceover in an official English language trailer makes these promises:

> Learn the secret pleasures and vices of the Far East. Nothing is withheld in *Banging in Bangkok*. Featuring the most thrilling girls of all Thailand. [...] The venomous enchantment of the East will lure you to shocking depths of degradation. [...] The exotic perfume of the erotic Far East will go to your head and haunt you forever after you've seen *Banging in Bangkok*. (*Die Sex-Spelunke von Bangkok*, DVD extras)[24]

Here, Bangkok is transfigured as a mysterious city of the "erotic Far East", and the film title marks it as a city Wester male penetration. Positive associations ("pleasures ... thrilling girls") are juxtaposed with warnings of danger ("vices ... shocking depths of degradation ... haunt"), and enticing ambiguity ("venomous ... enchantment ... lure"). Bangkok is imagined as a dangerous yet alluring city where the yearnings of hedonists will be satisfied. The reference to "exotic perfume" is to appeal

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[22] One of the actresses credited is Mai-Ling Chang. Coincidentally, in 1979 German satirist Gerhard Polt performed his sketch *Mai Ling* about a German man who is "very satisfied" with his Thai mail-order bride.

[23] Obviously, the name Suzie China is a reference to the novel *The World of Suzie Wong*.

[24] The trailer promotes *Die Sex-Spelunke von Bangkok* as *Banging in Bangkok*, which is consistent with the English language soundtrack when one of the men says: "Let's go banging in Bangkok." IMDb.com misleadingly states that *Banging in Bangkok* is an alternative U.K. video box title of *Heißer Sex in Bangkok*.

to the viewer's olfactory sense and hints not only at the smell of lotus flowers but also at the supposed pleasure of smoking opium, a drug that Westerners used to associate with the Golden Triangle.

Exchanges between a male and a female voiceover on the trailer define gender roles and construct power dynamics (m.v. = male voiceover; f.v. = female voiceover):

> *m.v.:* "You'll be tempted by the little …"
> *f.v.:* "… Thai girls. Those little Thai girls are for us."
> […]
> *m.v.:* "What is your secret, little Thai?"
> *f.v.:* "You'll find out."
> […]
> *m.v.:* "I'm taking you now, doll, just like this."
> *f.v.:* "I'm ready for you."
> […]
> *f.v.:* "My little lotus blossom. I'm going to deflower you."
> *F.v.:* "Take me!"

The dialogs define Thai women as petite ("little"), treat them as inanimate objects for play ("doll"), flowers ("lotus blossom"), and mysterious ("secret"), and portray them as eager conquests ("I'm ready for you", "Take me!"). The female voice strangely merges with male desire when she says that the Thai girls are for "us", meaning for Western men.

The Asian women's staged seductiveness and hyper-sexuality as well as the scenes of acted-out interracial desire, which are all presented as based on mutual attraction, create the main spectacle. This is supported by the fact that the actresses are of various ethnic backgrounds and their skin color ranges from light to dark shade. Furthermore, soft- and hardcore films often include lesbian scenes to double the male viewer's pleasure. However, in *Die Sex-Spelunke von Bangkok* such scenes are absent. This may be attributed to the film's intention to focus solely on interracial heterosexual couplings and to avoid any threat to the male sexual identity. The film essentially serves to affirm Caucasian men's masculinity, heterosexuality, and virility through mutually satisfying intimacy with Asian women. Furthermore, the film constructs a two-class system between white and Asian women. The men's repeated rejection of tour-guide Sylvia in Bangkok and their final agreement to sleep with her on the airplane mark the white woman as white men's last choice as a sexual partner, stigmatizing her (and by extension all white women) as unable to compete with Asian women's ability to awaken and satisfy Western men's desires.

The other two Bangkok-set films by Dietrich are variants of *Die Sex-Spelunke von Bangkok*, perpetuate its messages, and also borrow from *Emmanuelle*.

The story of *Heißer Sex in Bangkok* (CH 1976, tr.: "Hot Sex in Bangkok") is similar and some of the actors are the same. A group of bowling buddies heed the call of pleasurable adventures and travel to Bangkok. The package tour costs less than a thousand Swiss Francs, implying that a trip to Thailand is affordable. The men are portrayed as typically sleazy sex tourists because they visit massage parlors and bath houses. Their comments and humor are sexist and racist. Every Thai woman is attractive to them, flirtatious, and available. No white man is ever rejected. Once their vacation has ended, the men leave reluctantly and daydream of a quick return. *Heißer Sex in Bangkok* features stock footage of Bangkok and tortured animals. The Thai actresses are credited with Hong-Kong Chinese pseudonyms, which not only protects their identity but also blurs the lines between Thai and Chinese nationality.[25]

Nach Bangkok der Liebe wegen (CH 1977, tr.: "To Bangkok for Love") was shot in Zurich and Bangkok.[26] It is an erotic film with comedic elements. A travel agent of Asian descent recommends a goofy Swiss man to travel to Bangkok, enticing him with the possibilities of passionate encounters. The film then follows him to Bangkok where he has intercourse with some Asian and Caucasian women. The alternative German title *Sexpuppen aus Fernost* translates as "Sex Dolls from the Far East", pointing to the notion that Asian women from the Far East, which here include everything from Southeast Asia to Japan, are pleasure-providing puppets.

Drei Bayern in Bangkok (WG 1976, tr.: "Three Bavarians in Bangkok", a.k.a. *Bathtime in Bangkok*) was shot in Bangkok and the Bavarian Alps and is an important German film.[27] Under the pretense of promoting a Bavarian brand of beer abroad but in truth hoping to go to bed with many Thai women, the lord mayor of a small town and his friend travel to Bangkok. The village vicar, who is the mayor's friendly rival, tracks them down.[28] Sightseeing tours and slapstick chases around Bangkok ensue, as well as a run-in with Thai thugs, a puzzling identity switch, and several semi-erotic scenes.

Because the film includes a flurry of outdoor scenes, for instance impressions of Sanam Luang, the Grand Palace, Chinatown and Silom, food markets, canals, and a floating market, it treats Bangkok as more than just an exotic background. Following the *Emmanuelle* original there are scenes at airports, hotels and gardens, which present the city as a travel and holiday destination. Curiously, scenes at a beach resort, possibly shot in Rayong, imply that Bangkok offers beautiful

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[25] One of the actresses' names is Suzi (Eppenberger & Stapfer, p. 93), a reference to *The World of Suzie Wong*.

[26] Dietrich started the film but at some point Swiss film producer Edi Stöckli got hold of it and made it his first hardcore film on VHS for German adult business pioneer Beate Uhse (Berndt & Schweer, 1991).

[27] Over the decades German company Lisa Film has produced this and many other films in Thailand.

[28] The idea for an amusing rivalry between a vicar and a mayor is taken from a series of French-Italian films of the 1950s and 1960s set in small town Italy. They feature the conflicts between the catholic priest Don Camillo and the communist mayor Peppone.

beaches. Superficial intercultural experiences are also made, for instance when the mayor, craving Bavarian-style sausages, visits a food market where by accident he eats freshly made Thai sausages instead.

The story unfolds in such a way that strikingly blond German women and dark-skinned Thai women alike have many opportunities to undress in the presence of men. In fact, all women in the film are uninhibited, always eager to get naked and to seek physical contact with the German men. For instance, having arrived at the hotel, the men are stunned by three Thai masseuses who disrobe in a hurry and chase after them. A key scene takes place inside a massage parlor, labelled as a Turkish bath. Thai women sit behind a large window waiting to be selected by a patron. It is extraordinary that after having made his choice, the mayor pays cash for her at a counter. The scene blatantly condones the scenario of (Western) men paying an establishment for the sexual services of Thai women, and the inclusion of the financial transaction even increases this notion. The whole scenario may appeal to a power-fantasy where a man is master over an entire harem.

All in all, the film includes elements of the holiday and travel genre, and follows the concept of softcore titillation and lowbrow humor films popular in Germany at the time. It is ironic that the "Bavarian sex film" was a prolific genre, in light of the fact that Bavaria was and still is Germany's most catholic-conservative state. Older generations of Germans subscribed to traditional morality and were likely to be shocked by the homemade films that violated taboos and endorsed liberal dealings with physical desires.

4.3. French and Danish Productions: a Push toward Hardcore

Five French films – some of them coproduced by Hong Kong and/or Italian companies – belong to *Emmanuelle*'s legacy:

Jambes en l'air à Bangkok (Fr 1975, tr.: "Legs in the air in Bangkok")[29] is a softcore film with elements of comedy, travel and adventure. Ducas is a wealthy industrialist, Patrick a photojournalist and Ducas' personal assistant. Patrick's duty is to provide his boss with information about erotic extravaganzas; thus, he travels to Bangkok to explore bars and massage parlors. Once there, he sleeps with a Thai masseuse and the French photographers Anna and Dorothée. There is also an explicit group scene that includes two Western men and two Thai women. At one point Patrick visits a massage parlor in Patpong where he selects a masseuse from a group of women waiting behind a window. This scene may have inspired the similar one in *Drei Bayern in Bangkok*. Moreover, *Jambes en l'air à Bangkok* includes impressions of city streets, markets, canals, temples, a Khon dance performance and a Muay Thai fight.

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[29] The original length is 98 minutes ("Jambes en l'air à Bangkok") but only shorter versions are available. Henri Sala directed this and other X-rated films, e.g. *Emanuelle e Lolita* (1976); see The European Girls Adult Film Database.

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In *Jouir à Bangkok* (Fr 1977, tr.: "Enjoying Bangkok") two robbers steal Max's briefcase during a delivery. His companion Paulette sleeps with their manager in order to save his job. But Max has already secured a new position as an illustrator for posters of X-rated movies. Max then meets Soja who convinces him to travel to Asia. The film does not feature any Asian actresses but rather constructs an opposition between two women: one being blond and fair-skinned, the other dark-skinned and of north-African descent.[30] The contrast of skin color and the interracial sex scenes are the film's main spectacle. *Jouir à Bangkok* appears to be the first European film that associates Bangkok with hardcore. However, it only pretends to be partially set in Bangkok by using a collage of stock footage of a Bangkok market along the street and a staged fight between two swordsmen, strangely alternate with stock footage of Hong Kong. This approach reveals the producers' assumption that viewers would be oblivious to the actual setting. The word "Bangkok" in the title and a handful of authentic impressions suffice to establish Thailand's capital as the story setting in the mind of the viewer.

In the softcore film *International Prostitution: Brigade Criminelle* (Fr, HK 1980) the young French police officer Philippe Degato is on a mission to solve a murder mystery and has to chase an Italian pimp from Paris to Antwerp, Bangkok and Hong Kong. Through the Asian woman Tazzi (Laura Gemser), he is introduced to various facets of prostitution. The film shows a school for prostitutes, massage parlors, prostitution on a train, and a casino-brothel where a man can win and lose a beautiful girl. Due to the promotional movie poster (see Figure 7) the viewer connects Laura Gemser's face and fictional character with the word "prostitution" and invited to extend this connection to Bangkok and Asian women in general.[31]

Le journal érotique d'une Thaïlandaise (Fr, It, HK 1980)[32] is a hardcore film also available in a softcore version.[33] In a shallow story agent Paul Vernon, disguised as a fashion photographer, travels to Bangkok on a mission to find two colleagues who have vanished. Together with the two blonde models Yvonne and Claudine he explores Bangkok's sites and nightlife. His oriental desires are fulfilled by the charming Thai woman Clito who is being hassled by a group of mobsters. Vernon wants to help her but she refuses this for his own protection. The film is set in Paris and Bangkok. The Bangkok scenes feature a considerable number of authentic places, such as Don

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[30]   Played by established adult actresses Carole Piérac and Hare Krane.

[31]   Dietrich distributed the film on VHS in Gemrany as *Kriminalbrigade im Kampf gegen den schwarzen Markt der Liebe* (tr.: "Criminal brigade in the fight against the black market of love") ("Prostitution International").

[32]   Significantly, Hong Kong's Spectacular Trading Company was a co-producer. The Hong Kong cinema boom of the 1970s brought forth films like the Thailand-set *The Big Boss* (HK 1971) with Bruce Lee and the Italian-Hong Kong coproduction *Crash! Che botte … strippo strappo stroppio.* (HK, It 1973, tr.: "Crash! That banged … I ripped my stomp", a.k.a. *Superman against the Orient*). An obscure coproduction is *Massage Girls in B'Kok* (1979). It has been described as a lowbrow mixture of sex and crime about two men on a trip to Bangkok where they get into trouble with gangsters ("Die Massagesalons von Bangkok"). And: "Against a background of paradisaical [sic] beaches and exotic animal farms, Thai girls survive in a capital of adult entertainment, as nude dancers, nude models, or nude masseuses. Some do not survive. Documentary-style drama" ("Massage Girl in B'Kok"). The German and English titles point to Western involvement in the production process and the popular association of Bangkok with massage parlors.

[33]   It starred established adult film actresses Brigitte Lahaie and Sylvie Cointre.

Muang Airport, Siam Intercontinental Hotel, Victory Monument, city streets, canals, and an excursion to what appears to be Sam Phran garden resort. The touristic activities of sightseeing,

Figure 7: *International Prostitution: Brigade Criminelle*. French film poster.
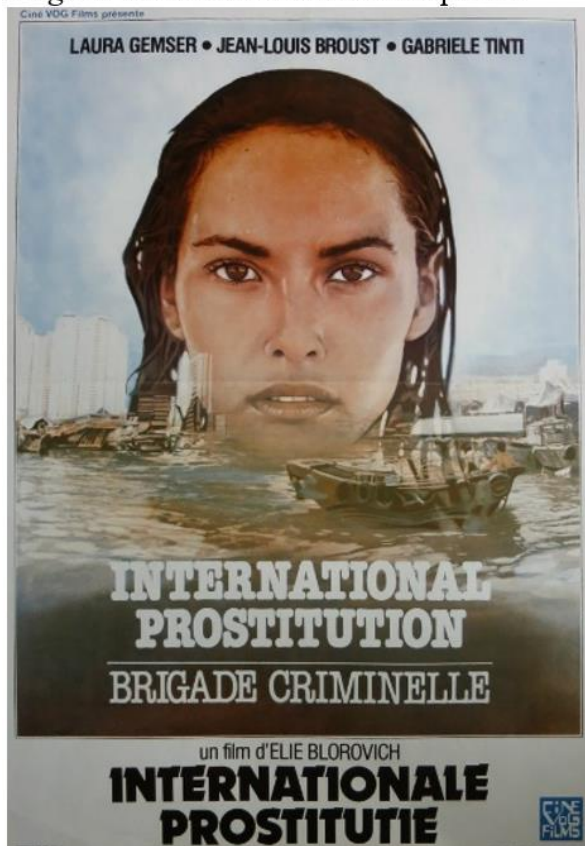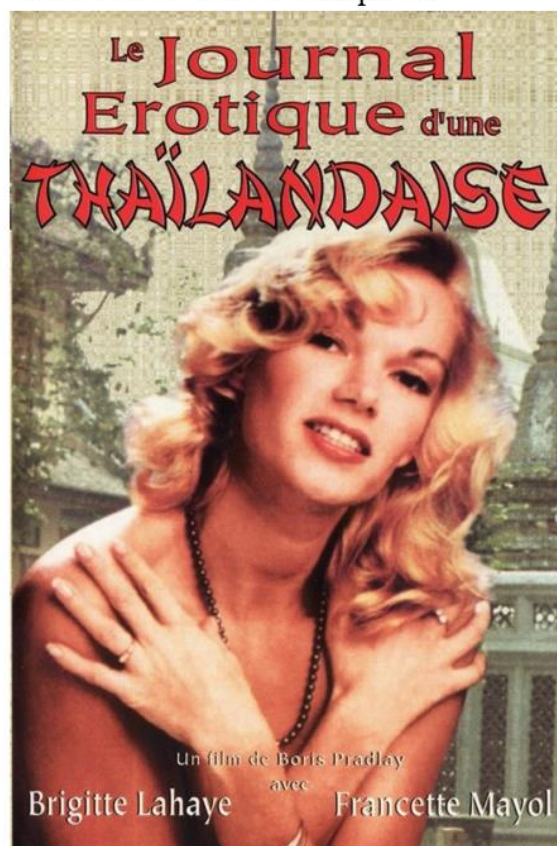
Figure 8: *Le journal érotique d'une Thaïlandaise*. French film poster.

elephant riding and touring the canals are alternated with explicitly erotic encounters between the characters. A standard scene occurs at a massage parlor where a man choses one of dozens of waiting women, which, once again, reflects the epitome of the male-power fantasy, just like the whole film caters to the male gaze. The male perspective is emphasized by the fact that Vernon sometimes adopts the role of a photographer. Even though many sites in and around Bangkok are featured, they merely serve an ostensibly exotic tourist experience in an Asian country.

Interestingly, one of the many alternative titles is the German *Emmanuelle – Im Teufelskreis der Leidenschaft* (tr.: "Emmanuelle – In the Vicious Circle of Passion"), which ties the film to the original *Emmanuelle*. The same is true for a promotional poster (see Figure 8), which centers on the blonde adult actress Brigitte Lahaie.

The hardcore film *Body-Body à Bangkok* (Fr 1980, tr.: "Body-to-body in Bangkok") includes some footage from *Le journal érotique d'une Thaïlandaise* and is a puzzling collage of a staged photoshoot in Paris, an outdoor group orgy in a park, and explicit scenes in a hotel room. These are alternated with scenes in Bangkok which include a photographer taking pictures of two blonde

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women on a canal boat – a reference to the boat ride of Emmanuelle and Bee in *Emmanuelle*. Later, the photographer and a Thai woman roam through Bangkok's streets in a rickshaw, stroll through a busy market, and visit an elephant camp and a crocodile farm. Thai people are completely incidental to the 'story' and are viewed from a distance, for instance when Thai children are seen jumping into the murky canal water – an impression found in many 1970s and 1980s Western films and photographs produced in the Bangkok context. *Body-Body à Bangkok* follows the concept of using the word "Bangkok" in the title and combining random impressions of the city with scenes of interracial lust.

The five French films discussed above began to reduce the actual screen time given to the characters' explorations of Bangkok and to shift the focus to very explicit interracial sex scenes, where a location such as Bangkok served more and more only as an 'exotic' background.

The idea of relying on viewers' already established equations of Bangkok and Thailand with uninhibited interracial sex was taken a step further by the prolific Danish pornography production company Color Climax Corporation (CCC), which was founded in 1967 and is still operative today. As the former leader of Europe's adult materials industry it produced a large number of films and magazines with explicit contents. In the 1970s CCC used Super 8 mm film stock and later switched to video technology. From 1977 to 1983 it produced at least eighteen pornographic films with a Thailand connection. Some use the words 'Bangkok' and 'Thai' in the title, such as *Bangkok Bangers* (Dn 1979), *Lesbian Thai Maid* (Dn 1979), and *Thai Tease* (Dn 1980). Other titles are more explicit, such as *Young Thai Whore* (Dn 1979). Many of these films feature seasoned Thai adult actresses whose true identity is unknown. While some films were shot on location in Thailand, such as *Oriental Ecstasy* (Dn 1980) which features scenes in Phuket, most were shot in Denmark or elsewhere in Europe and predominantly indoors to keep production costs low. This is why the CCC catalog includes titles such as *Young Thai Tourist* (Dn 1983), in which adventurous Thai women are visiting Copenhagen. Most of the titles were likely to attract their target viewers as they indicate a low inhibition threshold and promise to satisfy their Oriental desires. Their main selling point were the inclusion of Thai performers with notably dark skin, as well as graphic depictions of interracial intercourse. Since all CCC films were widely distributed in Western Europe, were dubbed into other language – German in particular – and are still in circulation as "vintage porn" today, they have contributed to the shaping of more than one generation of Western viewers' misconceptions about.

5. Conclusion

The paper has given a comprehensive overview of the body of European films made between 1974 and 1980 constituting the legacy of *Emmanuelle*. They are either set in Thailand, often in part, or include another connection to Thailand, for instance through the use of stock footage or a title referring to Bangkok.

Emmanuelle was preceded by two nudist films in the 1960s, which implies that Thailand was a welcoming destination for free-spirited Westerners. The films that tried to benefit from *Emmanuelle*'s success emulated its structure or some of its ideas to various degree, and as the 1970s progressed they changed from softcore to increasingly hardcore content. With growing explicitness they also deviated from the theme of emancipation seen in *Emmanuelle* and, less so, *Emanuelle nera – Orient reportage* to ever more explicit scenes of oriental desire and interracial encounters based on the theme of 'Western-man-meets-Thai-woman'.[34]

During the 1960s and 1970s, Cold War fiction films and novels treated Bangkok as a zone of dangerous conflicts between Western and Communist spies. Vietnam War documentaries presented Thailand as an important ally in the West's mission to stop Communism. Documentaries, on the other hand, highlighted Thailand's beauty, presenting it as a paradise for European travelers and tourists. It is not surprising, then, that in the footsteps of the character Emmanuelle more fictional tourists, spies and photojournalists followed.

Regarding the portrayal of Thailand, some of the main characters explore Bangkok, whereby famous sights and landmarks come into view but oftentimes only in passing. The characters' wanderings through Bangkok suggest that the city is an integral part of the story. In *Emmanuelle* and *Emanuelle nera – Orient reportage* Thailand, and Bangkok in particular, plays an important role in the development of the story, yet in the majority of the legacy films the country serves merely as an exotic background. Moreover, several low-budget productions used only stock footage to establish Bangkok as the main location, thereby counting on the city's reputation and treating it as an undeveloped stage on which the adventures of Westerners take place. In such films Bangkok is not explored at all and remains an elusive location.[35]

After 1980 Thailand suddenly ceased to be a shooting location for European X-rated films. A major reason was the impact of the new video recording technology (VHS), which lowered the production costs of soft- and hardcore films significantly. The video cassette moved the place of exhibition of adult-oriented films from screens in specialized city cinemas to the viewers' television sets in their living rooms. Other contributing factors forcing the end of the *Emmanuelle* legacy may have been a growing awareness of the dangers of the disease HIV/AIDS in the first half of the 1980s and possibly changes in Thai laws to curb unwanted foreign film production, but these

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[34] The complete absence of transgender and gay male erotic scenes in the *Emmanuelle* legacy films is notable and can be attributed to the fact that the target audiences were heterosexual white males.

[35] Surprisingly, none of the relevant films are situated in Pattaya. In the 1970s this city at the Gulf of Thailand was already frequented by American GIs on R&R but had not yet transformed into a hub for European tourists.

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reasons are speculative. Furthermore, even though *Emmanuelle* was successful in North America, U.S. film productions did not try to copy it. This may be so because in 1970s-America adult-oriented films were mostly produced domestically. The only relevant hardcore film *One Night in Bangkok* (USA 1985) is not an exception because it followed years later and borrowed its title from the popular song of the same name by Murray Head (1984). Here again, as in several *Emmanuelle*-legacy films, another city stands in for Bangkok, Hong Kong in this case.

All in all the European films discussed in this paper played a significant role in instilling the popular and persistent notion that Bangkok is a destination for gratifying sexual adventures. The cinematic staging of oriental desires and interracial encounters as seen in the films discussed here adheres to Western practices of the pre-globalization era to imagine Asia as alluring and to portray Asian countries and cultures as mysterious, sensual, and seemingly always awaiting Western penetration of any kind. Many scenes cater to male power-fantasies, particularly those where Thai women appear to be always available and willing to serve the visitors from the West. *Emmanuelle* and the Thailand-set adult films it inspired remain important documents in our understanding of Western representations of Thailand and in how these representations mirrored the state of European cultures and film industries.

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Error Analysis as a Key Factor in Second Language Pedagogy

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Abstract

Errors made by learners have always impacted Second Language (L2) classroom because of its crucial relation to Second Language learning and Second Language teaching. With respect to L2 learning, it is always accepted that a study of learner errors is part of the systematic study of the learners' language. Further, it is a vital component which provides useful insights into the process of second language acquisition/learning. With respect to L2 teaching, a good understanding of the nature of learner errors is necessary before a systematic means of eradicating them could be found. As Dulay, Burt & Krashen (1982) assert, people cannot learn a language without first systematically committing errors. The present study was motivated by the need to analyze a sample of writing in English done by the university undergraduates for their assignments and exams and thus to make some generalizations about the learner performance in general and the pedagogical implications in particular. The sample consisted of 90 writing papers done by the First year undergraduates of the Faculty of Management and Finance of the University of Ruhuna, Sri lanka for their end-semester exams. These 90 writing papers consisted of 30 end-semester answer scripts, and 60 writing assignments (two each per student) of 30 students. The purpose of selecting 03 such writing samples from each student was to avert any confusion regarding what have been analyzed as errors could be actually considered as mistakes, so that a rather large sample would ensure more generalizing potential. The analysis was done using both a linguistic-based classification and a process-based classification. With respect to the linguistic-based classification, it was revealed that the students made more morpho-syntactic errors than lexico-semantic and orthographic errors. In terms of process-based classification, it was revealed that most of the errors they have made are errors of omission where they have left out some required linguistic elements.

Keywords: error analysis, learner, linguistic-based, process-based, Systematic

Japanese in Bangkok Linguistic Landscape:

Case Study of Gateway Shopping Mall, Ekamai

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Abstract

This paper examines the linguistic landscape of a Japanese lifestyle mall in Bangkok. The shopping mall decorated in Japanese style in Ekamai was the selected survey side as the case study revealing the presence of Japanese language in a part of Bangkok. Data gained from seventy photographs of shop signs are used as main instrument. Then, they were analyzed quantitatively to see the distribution of languages in the survey area. Results revealed that English is presented at the highest frequencies (total of 87%) while Japanese is spotted 73%. The number revealed is quite surprising due to great amount of English presented in "Japanese life style mall". It can be seen clearly that the role of English is prominent as presented in Huebner's (2006) study. As the previous studies suggested, English dictates a great deal of world businesses even in a decade later after his study.

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1. Introduction

Languages used in multicultural societies have received attention over the past twenty years or so as one of indications of how globalization integrates members of the world through various ways of communication. It is believed that through globalization, multilingual becomes nominalized as observable from road signs, shops, street names which people might have not noticed. However, those signs and symbols represent how the world is crafted into consumerist, corporatized and to some extent, mundane (Bolton, 2012).

In research field, Linguistic landscapes captures attention of anthropologist, linguists and cultural theorists to understand linguistic situation since it is believed that language used in an area can signify various social phenomenon i.e. issues of identity and arisen from unbalance visible languages in multilingual situation . For the recent studies, definition of linguistic landscape proposed by Landry and Bourhis's (1997) essay on *Linguistic landscape and ethnolinguistic vitality* has often been used as:

> The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government building combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration.

One of research themes drawn from this definition refers the spread of English as a lingua franca and its relation to local linguistic variety (Lou, 2012). Recent influential studies of this field include Scollon and Scollon's (2003) *Discourse in Place: Language in the Material World* and Gorter's (2006) collection of linguistic landscape studies in many parts of the world included Israel, Bangkok, Tokyo, Friesland, and the Basque Country are clear indication of how this concept creeping in the field to grasp attention of how language, especially English, blended, especially English, in globalization era.

This current study, therefore, aims to bridge the gap of both criticisms by adding more data of shop signs to Huebner's (2006) *Bangkok's Linguistic Landscapes: Environmental, Print, Codemixing and Language Change.* The major focus is drawn from Huebner's (2006) study on Bangkok linguistic landscape which far too little attention has been paid to Japanese language, the language prevalently found in current period (Takahashi, 2011). For this reason, further investigation is done by analyzing shop signs in the shopping mall decorated in Japanese style in Ekamai, Bangkok as the case study revealing the presence of Japanese language in a part of Bangkok.

Notion of Linguistic landscape

The scope of Linguistics landscape study varies greatly depends on what concept of linguistic landscape each study took. From its original concept, Landry and Bourhis(1997) claimed that linguistics landscape refers to languages' visibility on object marking a specific territory. Language planning, furthermore, was stated as the initial use of linguistic landscape. In certain multilingual societies, using language to draw boundaries seems vital such as Belgium and Quebec where language planner regularized to serve as " territorial solution to language problem" (Hick,2002)

From that original use, linguistic landscape studies have been extended to the field of English as global language by investigating the intrusion of English in different setting. Visibility of English in many places was presented such as Rafael et.al's (2006) *Linguistic landscape as symbolic construction of the public space: The case of Israel* pointing out the growing importance of English in contemporary Israel. From that study, they found that 75% of the data presented in English even their target area of study were in Israel, place for Jewish, Palestinian and Israeli.

Drawing on cascade or gravity models of Labov (1966), the result of this study presented that the social stratification model minimally supported if taking only existence of English into account since the use of English did not correlate population density or locations.

Function of linguistic landscape

It can be seen from the mentioned studies that linguistics landscape serves two functions:

informational and symbolic. By informational, it means language is used to mark the geographical territory as mentioned earlier about Belgium and Quebec. Symbolic function refers to the value and status that one's feel where language has emerged. To be more specific, the absence or presence of a particular language within a territory might trigger a linguistic practice as in Quebec where the result of Landry and Bourhis (1997) pointed out the absence of minority language in public signs. The researchers predicted that retrieval of in-group language may be promoted in order to maintain group's identity.

In similar sense, viewing from English as lingua franca, the occurrence of English as prominent language internationally can be interpreted as phenomenon of "a symbolic expression... to join the English language community and to associate with the values that are typically attached to it (Backhause 2007,p.63). Numerous numbers of research confirm the link between English and commercial usage around the world. For example, mixing between Korean and English in advertising was found in Lee's (2006) study, similarly, Griffin (2004) points out that pervasive use of English in window shops, doors and a shop sign in Rome, Italy is the indicator of English as commercial purposes to be attractive and fashionable. However, this appears to be a questionable issue that when English is talking over this consumerist world, what happened to other linguistic varieties of a specific place? Should those languages be downplayed as what happened to minority languages in Quebec?

Taking a closer look at absence of languages, the question was raised about language situation in Thailand, transaction of multicultural visitors. To make it more specific, how linguistic landscape of capital city represents the existence of our international "guests". To explore this issue, previous studies on Bangkok's linguistic landscape were carefully reviewed.

Language situation in Bangkok

From the previous studies, both Huebner's (2006) *Bangkok's Linguistic Landscapes: Environmental, Print, Codemixing and Language Change* and Troyer's (2012) *English in the Thai linguistic netscape* have not mentioned much about how other languages apart from English play

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role in Bangkok context. This might be resulted from the original attempts to investigate on how World Englishes is manifested in a particular space rather than emphasizing on multilingual aspect and choices of using foreign language in the area of studies. The variable of space may be another issue that multilingual in landscape could not be described in details. For example Huebner's study, fifteen neighborhoods in central Bangkok were chosen, these target areas were too great for including all the variations in pattern of language used in each area. Later, Troyer (2012) expanded Huebner's study by including Thai online netscape with the attempt to point out multilingual environment in Thai online newspaper.

The information gained, especially from Huebner's study, were useful for current study since there was a section mentioning about how non-Thai signs were presented. Languages other than English were dominant in some areas of Bangkok such as Arabic in Nana and Japanese in Thong Law and Thaniya Road. As mentioned earlier that one of the basic questions raised as a foundation of this study was to figure out what foreign languages, as representation of ethnic groups living and working in Thailand, had not been described in the previous studies. To answer that, further investigation was made by reviewing Scoiortino & Punpuing's (2009) *International Migration In Thailand 2009* to see the rank of nationalities legally working in Thailand over ten year period, covering 2006 when Huebner conducted the study.

Figure 1: Number of foreigner with work permit in Thailand, 1997-2007

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Total	63,582	69,751	73,613	76,796	59,978	71,165	86,205	106,988	135,984	154,220	133,810
: Japanese	10,224	11,368	13,608	13,355	14,144	13,677	16,738	19,467	21,098	22,976	24,312
: British	7,903	8,934	6,144	5,694	5,166	5,150	6,216	7,392	8,485	9,494	11,247
: American	7,128	8,023	6,090	4,683	4,185	4,099	4,827	5,541	6,429	7,234	7,838
: Chinese	5,964	6,648	5,656	5,890	5,458	4,883	6,008	6,520	9,573	11,268	11,299
: Indian	6,237	6,937	6,506	5,083	5,555	5,144	5,917	6,752	8,263	9,296	9,704
: Filipino	2,117	2,397	3,135	2,725	2,777	2,337	2,819	3,501	4,709	5,916	7,525
: Australian	2,480	2,764	2,093	2,106	1,916	2,090	2,399	2,723	3,125	3,405	3,641
: Myanmar	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	4,559	5,247	6,117	7,818	8,664	n.a.
: Others	21,529	22,680	30,381	37,260	20,777	29,226	36,034	48,975	66,484	75,967	58,244

In keeping with that study, another point to ponder was raised that why Japanese was not used much in linguistics landscape even there were huge amount of Japanese working in Thailand over a decade. They are also considered as a long term investor of the country. As mentioned earlier, Japanese was partially mentioned in Huebner's article ,but for some reason the language did not appear in the result section of this study as can be seen in figure one .

Figure 2. Bangkok signs by script form Huebner (2006)

Script	Thai	Roman	Thai/Roma	Thai/Roman/Chines	Thai/Chines	Other	totals
Number (%)	158 (26%)	106 (17%)	203 (33%)	38 (6%)	17 (3%)	91 (15%)	613 (100%)

To fill up this missing gap, this study was focused on a specific area to fill up the information about Japanese in Bangkok by taking a closer look at a newly open shopping mall claimed to be decorated in Japanese style in hope to figure out how Japanese has been combined.

This study builds on Huebner's study of language situation in Bangkok by exploring how Japanese, as part of 15% in Huebner's result, has been presented in Bangkok. Therefore, it seems crucial to mention the relationship between the two countries to see how Japanese should be one of prominent language.

From economic power status, Japanese should be one of the dominance languages to facilitate communication between Japanese investors and Thai Joint-ventures, as well as workers. Looking from Japanese language learning perspective, currently, Japanese language is one of the major foreign languages, which are learned by Thai people nation-wide. According to the survey by the Japan Foundation in 2006, Thailand has the seventh largest number of learners of Japanese language in the world. Nearly 40 percent of teachers are Japanese.

Seeing this information, it can be implied that Japanese should be seen quite often in Thailand's big cities especially Bangkok, not only at Tonglor and Thaniya as Huebner's study represented. Therefore, this current study aimed to investigate how Japanese was presented in Bangkok. That is to say, the research question for this study was;

1) How Japanese language is employed in Gateway, Japanese life-style mall?

Survey area The target area of this study was the newly opened lifestyle mall in 2012 called Gateway Ekamai. TCC groups, the mall's investor, clearly stated that their place was build under "Japanese-lifestyle concept" with its slogan "a never-ending Japan experience at Gateway Ekamai". For this reason, it can be expected that high density of Japanese signs could be found in this mall. The reason of investigating was the high density of Japanese living in Thailand as it has been known that Ekamai has been the highest dense area where Japanese stay in Thailand. Over 50,000 Japanese have lived in this center area as well as the increasing numbers of new Japanese expats.

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2. Method

To answer the research questions, research instruments included seventy photographs of shop signs are taken and then analyzed quantitatively to see the distribution of languages in the survey area.

To see how Japanese was used in the mall, seventy shop signs were photographs. The definition of signs was minimized from Backhaus's (2006:55) that a sign refers "any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame …, including anything from hand written stickers to huge commercial billboards". However, signs in this study refer only to shop signs displayed outside shops were included since it would be impractical to include very detailed ones since those pieces of signs might not be visible for people. The attention to minimize definition of sign, thus, resulted from the previous fuzziness of unit of analysis in previous linguistic landscape works as Gorter and Cenoz (2008: 351) pointed out that

> The unit of analysis- the large number of language signs next to each other makes it difficult to decide what each linguistic sign is. Are all the linguistic items in a shop window part of 'one' language sign or should they be considered separately? What about other ads, graffiti or posters next to the shop window? Can the whole street be considered a unit of analysis?

However, the attempt to trim down this problematic issue by using one particular type of signs might be prone to lacking of diversity as Backhaus (2007: 61) revealed that "many aspects of a city's linguistic landscape are not captured when focusing on one type of sign only". The purpose of this study, on the other hand, is to focus on one particular language situation rather trying to capture overall linguistic condition. Thus, emphasizing only on shop signs as representatives of how Japanese has been displayed should be adequate for the purpose.

The shop signs are then grouped according to language presented in each signs. Then, signs found from each floor are separated to see the pattern of distribution. Then, qualitative data are collected by interviewing participants to investigate how these linguistic distributions influence their perceptions aiming at answering the second research question.

3. Results

The explanation of quantitative finding about language distribution of the target area pointing forward how Japanese is used at Gateway, Ekamai.

The overall picture of linguistic situation drawn from analyzing seventy shop signs is presented as following;

Figure 3: Signs distribution in each floor
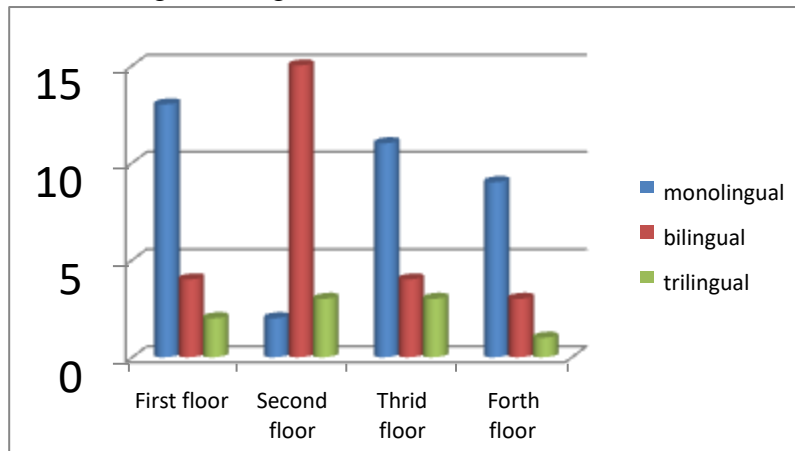
From figure 3, it appears that the second floor exhibits high number of bilingual shop signs than other floors. For this reason, further investigation is done to see the language distribution occurred in the second floor of this target area.
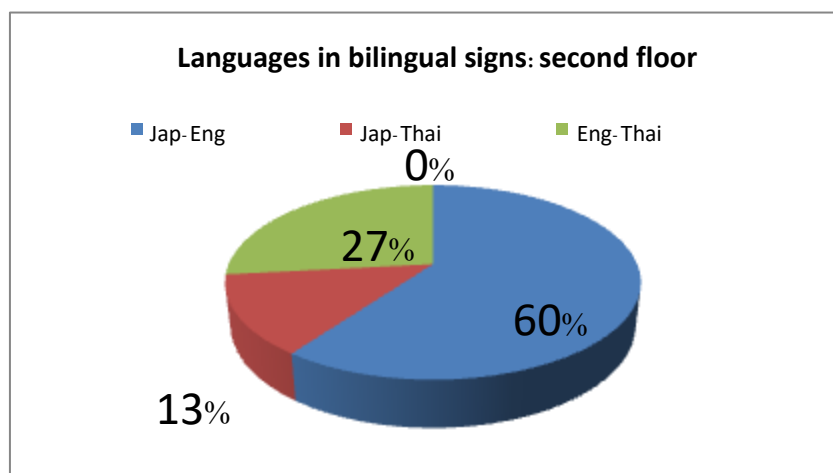
To this point, it can be seen that English is presented at the highest frequencies (total of 87%) while Japanese is spotted 73%. The number revealed is quite surprising due to great amount of English presented in "Japanese life style mall". Taking a look at how languages are distributed in each floor, now we can see that the first floor ranked highest in monolingual signs, English scripts are commonly found as presented below;

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The first floor

Picture1-2: International brands with English script on the first floor

The first floor contains the highest number of monolingual signs as can be seen from figurs. The photos presented above show the use of English. Picture 1-2 appears to be common since the names are international brands, so English usage is common.

The second floor

Picture 3-4: Japanese shops with English scripts

This floor contains the highest numbers of bilingual shop signs as seen in Figure4. English is commonly included in these signs either with Japanese or Thai. What interesting is how the "Japaneseness" portrayed in banking business because financial institutions have their own symbols to present. Variety in decorations may not be found much, however, there are some decorations such as bamboo in UOB and wooden door frame from SCB giving the sense of Japanese tradition to match Japanese theme of this mall.

The third floor

Picture 5-6: Japanese shops with English scripts

This floor contains moderate number of monolingual signs because there are a lot of international chain stores so that English is highly used for general recognition of their brands. Although there are some Japanese chain stores as in this floor, English is still employed as being a part of global business.

The fourth floor

Picture 7: English script with Japanese meaning

This floor is the mixture of chain stores and private owned shops. However, English is commonly found on these shops signs. The only sign contained a sense of Japanese is Picture 16 because it contains the Japanese lexicon "Tomodachi" which means friend in Japanese.

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4. Discussion and Conclusion

From the data, it is quite surprising to see that even in the place claimed to be "Japanese lifestyle mall" is filled with English employed in shop signs. Accordingly, it can be seen both informative function, symbolic function of linguistic landscape, from Bourhis & Landry, (1997), can be found; however, it is apparent that symbolic function contains more aspects to be discussed than the informative one.

To answer the research questions, it becomes apparent that English appeared highly in Japanese lifestyle mall at 87% on the second floor of the mall, the highest multilingual shop signs. Japanese, on the other hand, ranks the second. The qualitative data also presents similar result as most participants elicit that English is important for their communication purposes while walking around the mall.

Emphasizing on that point, Japanese language does not actually have informative function according to the findings. Participants' perceptions towards the linguistic representation of these signs are parallel with the quantitative finding as they state that having English in shop signs is enough to aid their comprehension. Moreover, data from non-Japanese, both with and without Japan experience, point out the unimportant function of Japanese language on the shop signs.

It seems true that English in public space is somehow signifying its power in globalization process (Moriarity,2015). In this case, Shohamy's (2006) has been confirmed that the presence of a language in public space sending out the powerful and significant symbols to the audience while the absence of a particular language also portray the trivial status in that society. Again, it appears that the issue of power from unbalances linguistic varieties seems applicable in the finding of current case study. That means, symbolic function of English is also detected clearly since it consistently represent as a symbolic internationalization which is similar to Huebner's (2006) study since English is still prominent on signs even there is a regulation to include Thai on the signs for the sake of tax reduction. From that economical power, people beliefs tend to mandating themselves with this global language rather than paying attention to other languages.

However, looking into business field might not be adequate to draw the conclusion of Japanese role in Bangkok linguistic landscape, further investigation is also done to figure out the presence of the language in academia. Phongpaichit (2005) revealed how Japanese has become the focus in Thai academia from 1960s until now, but the language itself has not gained popularity despite a long term relationship with Thailand. It is also pointed out that Thai researcher has focused mainly on Japanese economics, politics and international relations as models for development rather than the country or culture itself. The major implication was that these fields of study did not include knowledge of Japanese language even there have been a growing numbers of scholars interested in Japanese popular culture.

These "behind the scene" information should somehow shed a light on why Japanese is not widespread in Bangkok's linguistic landscape. Clearly, Japanese business' language policy influences people' perceptions of knowing English as mandatory for career development and it seems that perception is attached with them that English is important for surviving aboard. Thus, it can be said that major incentive to use English in Gateway generated by business purposes as

Bhatia (1987;1992) pointed out that English has been adopted in both bilingual and multilingual advertisements in order to display linguistic creativity and attract consumers' attention. This business issue also spread to Thai academia where most of studies emphasizing on how to use Japan as a model of development for economic prosperous with little attention paid to the language.

Furthermore, the issue of using language to motivate the feeling of exposure to international environment may be a sensible explanation for the high usage of bilingual signs in the second floor at Gateway. Various code-mixing languages in shop signs might be placed to continue their feeling of modernity from BTS station where English is highly found. According to Huebner's (2006), 21 % of English and 61% of Thai/ Roman script was found Basically, English in BTS station should be evaluated by its informative function because having international language is important for multinational visitors. On the other hand, English at BTS station can also play a part in persuading visitors as explained in business's terminology as "spillover effect". That means, customers might have secondary effect from primary exposure to international environment from the BTS by walking straight to the place where multilingual signs and decorations are displayed.

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A Sexual Understanding Towards, Sex Before Marriage

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Abstract

The study was conducted to determine the perception of high school students and identified the source of information about sex in the District of Buruanga towards premarital sex. The survey questionnaire was administered to 80 respondents to examine their perception on pre-marital sex.

Study revealed that respondents, conveyed on a disagreed perception towards pre-marital sex; that there is no significant difference on the respondents, insight on the practice of premarital sex as grouped according to sex. It shows that, the high school students in the District of Buruanga disagreed on the practice of premarital sex; that, mass media (television, internet, social networks), books and friends were the respondents, main source information about sex.

Young people should be informed in order that teenage pregnancies, early or untimely experience of motherhood or fatherhood could be avoided. It is important to understand deeply the importance of sex before marriage.

Keywords: perception, premarital sex, sex before marriage, sexual understanding

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Introduction

Premarital sex as normative behavior is not surprising in an era when men and women typically marry in their mid-to-late twenties. Indeed, not only is premarital sex nearly universal by age 30, but it is also very common at much younger ages. Evidence from the past 50 years suggests that establishing abstinence until marriage as normative behavior is a challenging policy goal. Instead, these findings argue for education and interventions that provide young people with the skills and information they need to protect themselves from unintended pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases once they become sexually active, Finer (2003).

Thirty two percent of young Filipinos aged 15-24 had engaged in sex before marriage, up from 23 percent reported a decade ago. This finding came from the 2013 Young Adult Fertility Study (YAFS 4), Commision on Population. Ordinario, (2016) find out that 35.5 percent of young male Filipinos and 28.7 percent of young females have engaged in PMS.

Sexuality is an instinct imprinted into the genes of each living creature. Attraction to the opposite sex has been the key factor behind reproduction and survival of each species. Most of the species are born with only seasonal sexual necessities. They mate and reproduce only at limited times a year. Human beings, on the other hand, have active sexual instincts throughout his/her life; right from the very day he/she discovers his/her sexuality in pre-adulthood. This instinct has found overpowering the cultural advancement we have gained over the past.

Adolescent pregnancies, is becoming a matter of increasing concern. Johnson, (1972) revealed that pregnancy in the adolescent is the largest single reason why female students drop out of secondary schools. Early pregnancy and parenthood are established indicators of high-risk status for both mother and child with regard to future health problems, poverty, and child abuse and neglect.

Adolescents and/or puberty is a period of a development between the age of 11-12 years to 19 years or early 20s (Papalia et al., 2002). Adolescents involved in this research are those who were studying in Junior High Schools, aged 11-12 years to 15-16 years. The age is included into puberty (Hurlock, 1996).

According to the World Bank, as cited by Ong, (2009) the Philippines is among the top ten countries where there is an increasing number of teenage mothers. Premarital sex is term, which refers to any sexual activity between consenting unmarried partners. It is a voluntary sexual intercourse between persons not married to each other.

In this modern time, sensitivity is necessary in the making of decisions. This will help the person visualizes ahead of time the occurrence of events, incidence or consequences of his or her actions. The decisions of a person come from within; however, this personal decision sometimes needs the perspective of others to consider important details before its finality. One of the important details in life that extremely need prudent and careful decision is whether   to engage or not to engage pre-marital sex. Since the action to be done is a big part of person's life in the future. Its decisiveness or certainty must be thought well and be given an intense meaning.

Teenagers are vulnerable population to engage pre-marital sex. For their best interest they need protection not only by the state but also by the experienced people around them. This protection may   not be by means of legal action but through the clearness of their   minds regarding pre-marital sex issues so that they could think well with certainty.

Pre-marital sex is terminologies which are mostly overheard by people from the teenagers. Some engaged in this act in a casual way and think its effect after they have committed such activity. It is of common knowledge that when a man and woman engaged in sexual intercourse it is coupled with procreation. This will result to pregnancies and for teenagers this will be an early entrance to the world of motherhood. The only issue that is not good to think about is when one or both participants are senseless on the consequences of the acts that they have done. Premarital sex is term, which refers to any sexual activity between consenting unmarried partners. It is a voluntary sexual intercourse between persons not married to each other. The whole are of sex and how to handle it can be a great struggle for today's singles. Premarital sex is a huge problem in society today, there are many people who have been married have lost their virginity before their honeymoon.

From this scenario, there are students dropped from school untimely the reason of not coming back to school anymore is the premature pregnancy due to pre-marital sex. This fact sounds the alarm and needs sensible attention.

The researchers' find out that there are numbers of students dropped from school untimely and later information was received that the reason of not coming back to school anymore is the premature pregnancy due to pre-marital sex. This fact sounds the alarm and needs sensible attention.

To better put into perspective it is fairly important to investigate the sexual understanding of the high school students in four secondary institutions in the District of Buruanga as regards to premarital sex and thus this study was conducted.

The major purpose of this study was to find out what are the perceptions of young people—students attending high school, in particular — hold toward premarital sex relations.

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Specifically, this study sought to answer the following questions:

1. What perception is manifested most by the respondents about premarital sex?
2. Is the respondents' insight on premarital sex differ in terms of their sex?
3. Among the seven (7) sources of information namely:
    a. mass media *(television, internet, social networks);*
    b. sex education in school / teachers ;
    c. books;
    d. magazine;
    e. parents;
    f. friends;
    g. others, please specify _____

from which or whom did the respondents get much of their information about sex?

Methodology

The researcher used a descriptive research design, utilizing content analysis as the main technique. According to Sevilla (2010) it is the design appropriate for studies that aim to obtain facts or to ascertain the prevailing condition or situations as they exist at the time of the study. The main intention, however, is to use the data for problem solving rather than for hyphothesis testing.

This study was conducted in the District of Buruanga, Buruanga, Aklan. Buruanga is located at the western tip of Panay Island. It is a coastal town bounded on the north by Malay; south by Libertad, Antique; and west by the Cuyo East Pass of the Sulu Sea. It is 81 kilometres (50 mi) from the provincial capital Kalibo, (Figure 1).

Buruanga has 15 barangays, with an economy based on farming and fishing. It is 5th class municipality with a total population of 19,003 based on the 2015 census, "PSA".

Source: www.google map

Figure 1. Map of Aklan showing the study area.

The respondents of the study were the high school students officially enrolled in four (4) secondary institutions in the District of Buruanga. The schools included in the study were: Buruanga Vocational School, Buruanga National High School, Habana Integrated School and Buruanga Academy Incorporated.

In this study the researcher used a modified questionnaire. The questionnaire was patterned from the online Premarital Sex-A Survey Analysis.

Prior to data gathering, permission was obtained from the school administrator. Upon approval, parents consent was secured before questionnaire was distributed to the respondents and explained to them on what they should do or write on the questionnaire.

All the quantitative data obtain was tallied, organized, tabulated and rank for statistical treatment.

Results

Respondents' Insights on Premarital Sex

Table 1 presents the respondents perception on the practice of premarital sex. When the overall percentage was computed, it revealed that among the twelve (12) items, respondents agreed that Item No. 4, of the instrument which says that "sex before marriage is alright when safe sex practices are applied (like: use of artificial or natural family planning)" attracts significant attention with the rating of 0.35%. Followed with Item No. 7 which states "It is alright to have premarital sex in a relationship in which two people love each other" obtained a rating of 0.25%. And, Item No. 6 "it is acceptable for a couple who are involved in a sexual relationship to live together without being married" has 0.19%.

Table 1. Percentage (%) of respondents who agreed on the practice of premarital sex.

Respondents Perceptions	M	F	T
It is alright to have sex for pleasure?	0.24	0.55	0.11
It is okay to have sex just for fun if both people involved agree and do not expect a relationship to develop?	0.08	0.04	0.05
It is okay to have sex before marriage if it is with the person you are planning to marry?	0.24	0.15	0.18
Sex before marriage is alright when safe sex practices are applied (*like: use of artificial or natural family planning)?*	0.40	0.33	0.35
It is alright to have sex with someone whom a person have only known for a week?	0.00	0.00	0.00
It is acceptable for a couple who are involved in a sexual relationship to live together without being married?	0.36	0.11	0.19

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It is alright to have premarital sex in a relationship in which two people love each other?	0.32	0.22	0.25
It is alright to have premarital sex in a relationship that has lasted at least a week?	0.12	0.02	0.05
One need not love a person whom he or she is going to have sex before marriage?	0.08	0.10	0.10
It is alright to have premarital sex with a man or woman who is married to another?	0.04	0.04	0.04
It is socially acceptable for women to have premarital sex as men?	0.12	0.04	0.06
Man or woman can engage premarital even if they are not yet married?	0.28	0.13	0.18

Sources of Information on Sex

Table 2 below shows the results that will answer the question raised in this study which says "from where the respondents of this study get much of their information regarding sex". The male and female respondents express that they acquire their information about sex from different sources.

Among the seven (7) items utilized as sources of information about sex, mass media (*television, internet, social networks* got the highest rank, 64 of the respondents says that mass media was their source main of information, and this was followed by books, that 44 of the respondents revealed as to where information about sex was taken, followed with friends, that 42 of them get hold their information from friends.

Table 2. Source Where Much of the Information About Sex was Obtained

Sources of information	F	Rank
1. mass media (television, internet, social networks)	64	1
2. books	44	2
3. friends	42	3
4. sex education in school / teacher	40	4
5. magazine	30	5
6. parents	17	6
7. others	16	7

Discussion and Conclusion

Respondents' Insights on Premarital Sex
Fonacier (2016), indicate that the Filipino unmarried youth are generally conservative. The lower the conservatism is, the higher the probability of engaging in PMS. Moreover, a gender difference exists in explaining conservatism and PMS behavior. In relation with, more than 4 out of 10 high school students report having had sex, and about a third of high school student are currently sexually active. Yet among those students, only 60 percent are using condoms to protect themselves when they have sex (CDC 2011). Results showed that, majority of the respondents strongly disagree on the practice of premarital sex. This means that respondents are likely to preserve the accepted societal order about sex and likely to go against liberalism. This signifies that they disagree on some items that are utilized in this study which describes insights which favored premarital sex.

When grouped according to sex, respondents' perception on premarital sex varies from one another. Male respondents agreed that Item No. 4, of the instrument which says that "sex before marriage is alright when safe sex practices are applied (like: use of artificial or natural family planning)" attracts significant attention with the rating of 0.40%. Item No. 6 which states "it is acceptable for a couple who are involved in a sexual relationship to live together without being married" has 0.36%. And, Item No. 7 which states "It is alright to have premarital sex in a relationship in which two people love each other" obtained a rating of 0.32%. The male respondents manifested that they tilted away from being conservative on their insights about premarital sex. The result expresses that from those who responded the questionnaire are slightly conservative. This means that a good number of male respondents are likely to preserve the accepted societal order about sex and likely to go against liberalism.

On the other hand, the insights of the female respondents are enthusiastically different the male respondents. This can be confirmed when the 0.55% of female respondents agreed on Item No. 1 of the instrument which articulate that, "it is alright to have for pleasure". This thought that female respondents suggest that if in case they will decide to engage in premarital sex they would like first to be acquainted with man. Respondents agreed that Item No. 4, of the instrument which says that "sex before marriage is alright when safe sex practices are applied (like: use of artificial or natural family planning)" attracts significant attention with the rating of 0.33%. %. And, Item No. 7 which states "It is alright to have premarital sex in a relationship in which two people love each other" obtained a rating of 0.22%.

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Sources of Information on Sex

The result illustrates that though man has been viewed by their double standard role in the society (Szeman, 1985) still they would not like to have premarital sex without love to their partner in bed. The Filipino values of high respect to woman can be viewed from what the males expressed in their responds. In addition, some (35 or 39%) of the female – respondents show that they are slightly conservative. This was similar way of declaring that they are likely to preserve the accepted societal order about sex; respondents certainly opposed liberalism.

Furthermore, some of the items in the instrument are answered by most of the respondents with disagree. This means that to several point they are not in favor on pre-marital sex. To those who oppose the idea of premarital sex is believed to have disprove the words of Leyson(n.d.) which verbalize that " virginity is no longer a universally expected prerequisite for the marriage covenant". The researcher did not lock the result of this study since there might be new thoughts that may arise.

Additionally, to some extent the result of this study is in harmony with the what has been explained by the article entitled *Caring for Your Teenager* (2003) which says publicly that at late adolescence, a lot of young ones appear to value modification of situations and ideas and they now plan the future. They started to increase their thoughts and at this moment there is augmentation of their competence to solve problems; however, with the presence of their innocence in life they inconsistently apply their newly acquired ability and occasionally they may act with lack of correct judgment.

Summary

The study was conducted to determine the perception of high school students on premarital sex in the District of Buruanga. Specifically, it attempted to determine the respondents' perception towards premarital sex and identified the source of information about sex. The survey questionnaire was administered to 80 respondents to examine their perception on pre-marital sex.

Findings

1. Respondents' conveyed on a disagreed perception towards' pre-marital sex.

2. Study revealed that there is no significant difference on the respondents' insight on the practice of premarital sex as grouped according to sex. It shows that, the high school students in the District of Buruanga disagreed on the practice of premarital sex.

3. Mass media (television, internet, social networks), books and friends were the respondents' main source information about sex.

Conclusion

In this permissive point in time though the respondents are at their late adolescence stage they did not absolutely submit to the liberal view on pre-marital sex. To some extent quite a lot of the respondents do not agree to pre-marital sex. The inherited values of conservativeness among Filipinos are still present in the minds of the young respondents. The mass media and the printed materials were rated significantly by the respondents, as a source of their information on sex issues. The knowledge about sex from public discussion like those that are viewed over the television, internet, and social networks, as a rule present correct information and more valuable truthful facts could be offered by the school. Young people should be informed in order that teenage pregnancies, early or untimely experience of motherhood or fatherhood could be avoided.

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Speech Act Analysis of Interpersonal Responses
on Success and Failure in the Classroom

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Abstract

This research study examines the undergraduate students' interpersonal responses in Thai classroom conversations to find out how they respond to questions and to analyze the response interpretations indicating success and failure in the classroom. The concept of John Austin's Speech Act Theory is the framework employed in the analysis

The study is a qualitative one setting a specific prompt for the students to respond to. The conversations are based on three topics of discussion: the respondents' performance in a pronunciation test, their test 2 achievement, and their understanding of an in-class lecture. The participants were eighty-eight undergraduate students who participated in the course General English II. The interpersonal responses in Thai were recorded, transcribed, and translated into English.

The study found out that a locutionary act corresponds to a direct response and can identify success or failure by language use as a linguistic device whereas an illocutionay act corresponds to an indirect response and can identify success and failure through an interpretation of the response. The occurrence of perlocutionary acts is not relevant to this study. The students responded both directly and indirectly. The direct responses are stated in direct assertion pattern whereas the indirect responses are stated in the cooperative component pattern, the satisfaction pattern, and the briefing pattern. The responses are also classified as success responses, failure responses, and additional responses which are further sub-classified as partial success – partial failure responses and uncertain responses.

Keywords: failure, response, speech act ,success

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1. Introduction

People use language to communicate with others in order to express feelings and to convey different kinds of messages. When they want something, they ask for it. When they receive something, they express their appreciation. When they make mistakes, they apologize. When they get frustrated, they mutter. When they are angry at people, they yell. In other words, people speak out to let everybody else understand them. It is easy and straightforward when the utterance of messages in all communicative situations follow certain patterns of corresponding forms and functions: declarative form functions to make assertions, imperative form functions to request, and interrogative form functions to ask questions (Grundy 95). However, Grundy proposes in his book *Doing Pragmatics* that conversation is not so simple. He suggests that many sophisticated forms of language communication are created by the interlocutors making varying conversational patterns even though they were created by the speakers of the same conversation. Often the varieties of interpersonal communication patterns can be very complicated, yet they are understood by the interlocutors.

Among the different mechanisms for conversational analysis linguists have provided in order to cope with the possible complexities of the conversational patterns, John Austin's 'Speech Act' theory, proposed in 1962, is a basic tool to examine statements in language communication. To understand 'how' and 'why' certain forms or patterns of language are used by the interlocutors in a conversation, the theory does not only provide rules to categorize statements or utterances as to whether they occur according to the patterns of corresponding forms and functions or not, it also sets the direction for researchers to focus more on actual speech, hidden intentions of speech, and recognition together with responses to speech. In *How to Do Things with Words*, Austin categorized ways to look at speech under speech act theory into three acts, namely Locutionary, Illocutionary, and Perlocutionary.

Conversation and speech take place in all instances of interpersonal communication. The ones between a teacher and students are illustrative and interesting examples. Most interpersonal communication and interactions that teachers have with students occur in classroom settings. The conversations can include a variety of topics based on different activities. These topics can extend checking students' understanding of lectures, working on exercises in order to prepare the students for exams, discussing the results of the exams, showing the students' performance. While lecturing, the teacher may ask such questions as "Do you understand?" and "Do you have any problems with these?" Concerning exercises to prepare for exams, students may be asked by the teacher "Can you do it?" and "Is it complicated?" In discussing the results of exams, the teacher

may introduce the conversation by asking "How was the exam?", "How was your test score?", and "Did you do well on the exam?" Based on different activities, the students' responses in each conversation will differ. However, the interpretation of the students' responses and utterances in the classroom conversations can still be viewed as successful or failed.

Students' responses in interpersonal conversation in Thai classroom situations are varied and can be about success or failure. Therefore, it is of linguistic interest to conduct this study to display how Speech Act Theory can be used to analyze university undergraduate classroom responses indicating success and failure.

The theoretical frameworks used in this study are John Austin's "Speech Act" theory and the concept of "Meaning" in John Searle's four significant elements in interpreting speech.

Speech Act Theory

Speech Act Theory was first developed by John Austin in 1962. It is sometimes referred to as Language Acts or Linguistic Acts involving linguistic communication (39). Searle, a later developer of Speech Act Theory, explains in his work that although the concern is linguistic communication, the main concepts are not about grammatical elements like words and sentences. He emphasizes that the significance of Speech Act Theory is more the symbolization of statements and utterances that generates the fundamental set of language interaction (39)

Austin categorizes the components of a speech act into three separate acts including a locutionary act, an illocutionary act, and a perlocutionary act.

Locutionary Act

When a speaker produces a statement, he or she performs a locutionary act. In performing a locutionary act, the speaker can be describing, informing, announcing, criticizing, identifying, questioning, clarifying, etc. The act of the locutionary act is said to be displayed in an obvious, apparent, and non-concealed way (Austin 98-99).

Illocutionary Act

Unlike the act carried out in a locutionary act is displayed directly by the utterance itself, the act of the illocutionary act is something beyond statements and utterances; it is accomplished at an underlying level. It is, in a simple word, the actual meaning of the speech or intention of the utterance made by making a certain statement. Austin also makes a remark in his book that "We must notice

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that an illocutionary act is a conventional act: an act done conforming to a convention (105)." The examples of illocutionary acts include acts of promising, warning, convincing, supporting, and protesting (Austin 102-103).

Searle maintains that the illocutionary act is prior to any other acts in language communication. He claims that "... the production of the sentences taken under certain conditions is the illocutionary act, and the illocutionary act is the minimal unit of linguistic communication" (39). In order for the illocutionary act to be accomplished, the hearer has to have the same background assumption of the situation as the speaker. Austin emphasizes that the uses of lexical items in verbal communication are determined by the circumstances in which the lexical items occur (100).

Perlocutionary Act

A perlocutionary act does not focus on the meaning of the statement; it rather concentrates on the ways the statement influences people. The statement influences considered perlocution can be on the cognition, emotions, and actions of not merely interlocutors, the speaker and hearers, but also of conversational outsiders as well (101). Vanderveken, of the University of Quebec, and Kubo, of the University of Matsuyama, define Austin's perlocutionary act as the effect that statements have on an audience such as amusement, embarrassment, pleasure, conviction, and so on (3).

Meaning

Like Austin, Searle regards speech as an action the speaker intends to carry out. His work concerning speech acts considers the illocutionary act as the most significant. He stressed his view that "speaking language is engaging in a rule-governed form of behavior. To put it more briskly, talking is performing acts according to the rules." (22), it introduces other elements that the speech interpretation depends on. There are altogether four elements: propositions, rules, meaning, and fact, that he claims important to the investigation of illocutionary acts. Among these four elements, meaning is an important one should be made clear.

Meaning is considered a very important element. To be able to explain the notion of meaning clearly, Searle uses Paul Grice's concepts of "natural meaning" and "non-natural meaning". When a speaker wants to say something and says it directly, the meaning is regarded as a natural meaning. In contrast, when the speaker does not want to be direct and says something else instead, the meaning is a non-natural one. The non-natural meaning is usually hidden and can be interpreted as an illocutionary act (42-43).

2. Method

The study is a qualitative one setting specific prompts for the students to respond to. The conversations are based on three topics of discussion: the respondents' performance in a pronunciation test, their test 2 achievement, and their understanding of an in-class lecture. The participants were eighty-eight undergraduate students who participated in the course General English II. The interpersonal responses in Thai were recorded, transcribed, and analyzed by using Speech Act Theory.

3. Results

3.1. Categorization of Response Patterns

The responses recorded and transcribed show that they can be distinguished and put into two different categories, namely Direct Responses and Indirect Responses.

3.1.1. Direct Responses

The response pattern found within the direct response category is Direct Assertion.

Direct Assertion

A direct assertion is a pattern in which an assurance is made by the respondent. With the literal meaning conveyed right in the surface statement, the response is clear and expresses either success or failure without ambiguity.

Many of the responses examined are of this pattern. Assurances were made directly by the respondents and an illocutionary act does not take place. Each of the responses counted as members of this particular category immediately and directly indicates either success or failure.

To identify the responses directly by considering the language use as an important linguistic device, the literal meanings of some lexical items signifying success and failure were found in the surface utterances. The words taken as direct signifiers are both positive and negative. Positive ones such as "ดี" meaning "good" and "เข้าใจ" meaning "understand" indicate success whereas negative ones like "แย่" meaning "bad" and "ไม่ดี" meaning "not good" indicate failure. When these words are recognized, the success and failure can automatically be understood. For instance, the response "เข้าใจค่ะ" meaning "I understood." in conversation about in-class lectures is regarded as a direct response showing success because it contains a positive signifier "เข้าใจ" meaning

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"understand." The literal meaning of this word allows the success message to be delivered directly. When a respondent answers "แย่กว่าที่คิดค่ะ" meaning "It was worse than I thought" in the conversation concerning test 2, the message reveals failure in the surface response through the literal meaning of the word "แย่" meaning "bad". The negative connotation is directly conveyed. Both examples show that the hearer does not need to interpret the responses.

3.1.2. Indirect Responses

The concept of Grice's natural and non-natural meaning introduced by Searle as one of the four significant notions to the investigation of illocutionary acts plays an important role in this response category.

Indirect response is a category in which a response contains a non- literal meaning and does not convey a message directly. An illocutionary act lies beneath such utterances and suggests that a response interpretation is definitely required. In this category, success or failure is to be interpreted indirectly as an illocutionary act. For example, the response "หนูตั้งใจมาก", "I was very attentive.", is not a direct answer to the question "เข้าใจเนื้อหาที่เรียนในห้องไหมคะ? ", Did you understand in-class lectures?" The literal meaning does not directly indicate the respondent's understanding of the question. Nevertheless, it indicates success indirectly. The interpretation of the respondent's being very attentive implies that she understood the lectures. Besides, sub-categorization can be further carried out. The three subcategory patterns found include a cooperative component, satisfaction, and briefing.

The Cooperative Component Pattern

The cooperative component subcategory pattern includes original factors regarded as significant elements which are useful for response interpretation.

In this subcategory, even though utterances cannot indicate success and failure directly, the original factors help the hearer to understand the illocutionary act and enable an interpretation of the message the respondent attempts to convey. An example of response in this subcategory pattern is seen in a response concerning an in-class lecture. In the conversation, the respondent was asked "เข้าใจเนื้อหาที่เรียนในห้องไหมคะ" meaning "Did you understand the in-class lecture?" She answered "เรียนบ้างหลับบ้างคะแนนเลยเป็นแบบนี้", "I sometimes slept and sometimes studied. So, my test score turned out like this." It is obvious that direct signifiers are absent from the response. The respondent did not answer the question whether she understood the lecture or not. The response

contains a non-literal meaning. Accordingly it has to be interpreted indirectly as an illocutionary act in order to identify success or failure. The interpretation of "เรียนบ้าง", "I sometimes studied.", cannot indicate complete success. The interpretation of "หลับบ้าง", "I sometimes slept.", is significant in that the non-natural meaning indicates failure. It suggests that when the respondent slept, she missed certain parts of the class-lecture. Additionally, the interpretation of "คะแนนเลยเป็นแบบนี้" meaning "So, my test score turned out like this." also emphasizes a negative connotation. In other words, it can be interpreted as indirect failure.

Indirect responses in the cooperative component subcategory pattern indicate both success and failure. This will be discussed further below under section 2, response classification.

The Satisfaction Pattern

Examples of the satisfaction subcategory pattern do not express the success and failure directly as surface utterances. They merely provide information concerning the respondents' personal justifications showing satisfaction. The justifications expressed are interpreted to indicate either success or failure.

In the satisfaction subcategory pattern, the responses lack natural meaning indicating success or failure. To illustrate this, in a conversation concerning test 2, a respondent was asked "การสอบเทสท์2 เป็นอย่างไรบ้างคะ ทำได้ไหม"meaning "How was Test 2? Did you do well?" The response "พอใจละครับ", "I'm satisfied.", has a non-natural meaning suggesting achievement.

The responses in this subcategory express respondents' justifications in various ways. They also indicate both success and failure. It is also remarkable that the word "พอใจ", "satisfied", pointing out the respondents' satisfaction is very vivid because it appears in most of the responses in the subcategory. However, there are some additional lexical items that share the same pattern and are recognized as indirect signifiers as well. They are will be discussed further below in the response classification.

The Briefing Pattern

Briefing is a subcategory pattern in which success and failure cannot be identified directly from the locutionary act but are interpretable as an illocutionary act. The example responses in this particular subcategory pattern reveal different types of information such as respondents' thoughts, background knowledge, emotional condition, awareness, etc.

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This subcategory pattern contains most indirect responses as examples. The success and failure can be interpreted from the respondents' personal information given. Some examples are the responses "ตอนแรกคิดว่าจะได้น้อยกว่านี้ แต่คะแนนก็เยอะอยู่", "I thought the score would be lower than this. This is high enough,." and "คะแนนกากบาทไม่ดีค่ะ", "The score for multiple choices wasn't good." Both responses contain a non-natural meaning. It is clear that the question "การสอบ เทสท์ 2 เป็นอย่างไรบ้างคะทำได้ ไหม", "How was Test 2? Did you do well?" is not answered directly. Nevertheless, an indication of failure can still be interpreted as an illocutionary act.

The briefing subcategory pattern indicates success, failure, partial success – partial failure, uncertainty, and inapplicability and will be discussed further in the response classification.

3.2. Response Classification

Success and failure were the two categories expected to be found as results of the response classification.

3.2.1. Success Responses

The responses belonging to this class are examples of both direct and indirect response categories.

3.2.1.1. Direct Success Responses

The direct responses showing success contain lexical items bearing positive and constructive meaning.

Among the responses in the pronunciation test activity, certain positive words signifying success are shown in the surface responses. To illustrate this, the word "ได้", "capable", appears many times. The meaning of the word itself identifies the capability or achievement in doing something. The presence of this lexical item in several responses in this activity such as "ตื่นเต้นเฉยๆ แต่ก็ทำได้นะ", "I was just nervous but I could do it," and "พอได้ค่ะ", "I could do it fairly well." indicate the respondents' confidence in their own capability and natural meanings directly indicate success.

Additionally, the word "ดี", "good," is another item containing an even more positive connotation. It is normally used to describe the quality or qualified characteristics of items or occurrences in a discussion. Accordingly, the responses regarding the pronunciation test contained this direct signifier, for instance, "ดีค่ะผิดพลาดเล็กน้อย", "It was good. There were only a few

mistakes "อ่านได้ดีค่ะ", "I could pronounce well,." and "ดีครับ", "It was good." are recognized as direct responses indicating success.

Apart from the two words discussed in the previous paragraphs, some responses regarding the pronunciation activity were also found comprising the word "โอเค", "ok", borrowed from English. Such a signifying lexical item definitely points out success. Even when it was stated alone in the response or attached with only a final particle, such as when the student number 25 responded "โอเคค่ะ" meaning "It was ok, the successful outcome can be understood in the hearer's mind at once.

The responses in the second activity, namely test 2, show that the direct responses indicating success appear in the same way as those in the first activity. The occurrence of some words discussed earlier, "ได้", "capable", and "ดี", "good", were noted. In addition,, there is the word "ผ่าน", "(I) passed" can be regarded as an additional direct signifying lexical item in this particular activity.

The word "ได้", "capable" signifying capability or achievement are found in such responses as "ทำได้ค่ะแต่reading ยากค่ะ", "I could do it but the reading part was difficult.", and "ได้อยู่ค่ะ", "I could do it." These two examples were direct answers to the question "การสอบเทสท์2 เป็นอย่างไรบ้างคะ ทำได้ไหม", "How was test 2? Did you do well?" The literal meaning of the direct signifying word and the natural meaning of both responses indicate successful outcome.

Examples of responses containing the word "ดี", "good," are the responses "ทำได้ดีกว่าเทสท์ 1", "It was better than test 1.", and "ดีค่ะไม่อยากเชื่อเลยว่าจะได้เยอะ", "It was good. I can't believe it." The presence of this particular word means that the quality of the respondents' performances and the literal meaning coincide.

The word "ผ่าน", "(I) passed," claiming success, appears in the responses in the test 2 discussions. It was not noted earlier in the pronunciation activity. The presence of this word in the responses of student number 26, "ผ่านค่ะเอาแค่ผ่านก็พอใจแล้ว", "I passed. I'm satisfied", and student number 51, "ยากแต่ก็ผ่านมาได้อยู่ข้อเขียนช่วยไว้", "It was difficult but I passed. The writing part saved me.", can also be found in every topic concerned with the test. Its natural meaning indicated directly success because in every test, the test taker will eventually be classified as either having passed or failed. When one word, "failed", suggests failure, it is obvious that its counterpart, "passed", asserts success.

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Granting that responses in the first two activities share some similarities, specifically they are direct signifying lexical items, the words signifying success in the responses concerned with the in-class lecture are quite different. Although the word "โอเค", "ok," is frequently found, words such as "ได้", "capable," suggesting capability or achievement and "ดี", "good," and "ผ่าน", "(I) passed" do not occur in the responses. The words noted as direct signifiers indicating success in this activity are basically "รู้เรื่อง" and "เข้าใจ" both meaning "understand".

In spite of the fact that this particular topic of discussion is not any kind of test, its responses still share one direct signifier to indicate success with the responses regarding the pronunciation activity. It is apparent that the word "โอเค", "ok", is noted in the response "โอเคค่ะ ", "It was ok." The response does not carry illocutionary force because its natural meaning is direct and clearly indicates a successful outcome.

The word "รู้เรื่อง", "(I) understood," appears in responses such as "เรียนรู้เรื่อง", "I understood.", and "มาเรียนทุกคาบค่ะอาจารย์สอนรู้เรื่อง" meaning "I attended all the classes. I understood what you taught." Examples of responses containing the word "เข้าใจ", "(I) understood" are "อาจารย์สอนเข้าใจนะหนูตั้งใจเรียน ด้วย.", "I understood what you taught. I was attentive.", and "ตอนเรียนเข้าใจค่ะแต่ถ้ากลับไปแล้วไม่ทบทวนก็จะลืม", "In class, I understood, but I would forget if I didn't review." The natural meanings of these responses directly indicate successful outcomes.

The direct responses indicating successful outcomes in the responses regarding all three activities contain various signifying lexical items all of which can be interpreted as indicating success. They also suggest the absence of any illocutionary act. A listener is able to automatically perceive the message that all the responses of this class carry merely from the natural meaning. In other word, the locutionary act itself in these particular responses, alone is sufficient for the mutual understanding of both interlocutors.

3.2.1.2. Indirect Success Responses

The responses recognized as indirect responses indicating successful outcomes were examined and assigned into three patterns, namely cooperative component, satisfaction, and briefing.

A. Indirect Success Responses in the Cooperative Component Pattern

Only one of the success responses is can classified into indirect success response class. It is given as an example of the cooperative component pattern since it mentions the original factor.

The response of student number 28 in the conversation concerning test 2, "เดาได้ก็ชอบเรียนอังกฤษ" meaning "I could guess because I like studying English." shows an implication. The interpretation of "ก็ชอบเรียนอังกฤษ", "because I like studying English", indicates success The implication is that if the respondent feels good about and likes doing something, she can do it well. The interpretation of "เดาได้", "I was capable of guessing" or "I could guess" emphasizes that the response contains a non-literal meaning indirectly indicating success.

B. Indirect Success Responses in the satisfaction Pattern

A few more indirect success responses were examined and assigned to the satisfaction pattern. The recognition of one lexical item suggesting respondents' personal satisfaction plays the most significant role in assignment to this particular pattern. The word "พอใจ" meaning "satisfied" occurs in every utterance and can indicate success. For instance, student number 77 responded "เกร็งคิดว่าทำเต็มที่ละพอใจ" meaning "I was nervous. I believe I did my best. I'm satisfied" occurs in the conversation regarding the pronunciation activity. It is apparent that the respondent did not answer the question "การสอบเป็นอย่างไรบ้างคะ ทำได้ไหม" meaning "How was the test? Did you do well?" directly. The response of student number 68 in the conversation concerning test 2 "พอใจละครับ", "I'm satisfied," is another example. It is also noted that the respondents did not answer the question "การสอบเทสท์2 เป็นอย่างไรบ้างคะ ทำได้ไหม", "How was the test 2? Did you do well?" directly. Both respondents expressed their personal satisfaction and can be interpreted as indirectly indicating a successful outcome.

C. Indirect Success Responses in the Briefing Pattern

The third pattern found under the indirectly indicating success subcategory provides some useful information for the interpretation indicating success.

In these responses, a successful outcome can be understood because the respondents claimed their scores were "high enough," and "very high". Student number 49 responded "ตอนแรกคิดว่าจะได้น้อยกว่านี้ แต่คะแนนก็เยอะอยู่" meaning "I thought the score would be lower than this. This is high enough." Student number 79 responded "เกินคาด เยอะเกิน กะแค่ผ่านพอ" meaning "It was beyond my expectation. The score was very high. I only expected to pass the test." Both responses are not direct answers to the question "การสอบเทสท์2 เป็นอย่างไรบ้างคะ ทำได้ไหม", "How was test 2? Did you do well?" but their non-natural meanings suggest the occurrence of an illocutionary act. Accordingly they are to be interpreted as indirect success responses.

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Apart from the scoring mentioned, different sorts of information are provided in the responses in this particular subcategory pattern. The non-natural meanings of these responses also help in identifying them as illocutionary acts. For instance, student number 81 responded in the discussion concerning test 2 by asserting that the test was not as difficult as the previous test, stating personal improvement, and claiming the performance on the grammar part of the test was better. Her response was "ไม่ค่อยยากเหมือนคราวก่อนกำลังตั้งตัวได้แกรมม่าทำได้ดีขึ้น" meaning "It wasn't as hard as the last test. I'm improving. I did better in the grammar part." The respondent did not answer the question "การสอบเทสท์ 2 เป็นอย่างไรบ้างคะ ทำได้ไหม" meaning "How was the test 2? Did you do well?" directly, but the interpretation of the response indicates success by interpreting the response as an illocutionary act.

The conversations concerning the in-class lecture also display indirect responses indicating success. These responses are even irrelevant to the question asked. The question "เข้าใจเนื้อหาที่เรียนในห้องไหมคะ" meaning "Did you understand the in-class lecture?" is not answered directly.

A number of the respondents mentioned how much attention they paid in the class. Examples are the responses of students 1, 57, and 65. They responded with "ก็ตั้งใจอยู่ค่ะ" meaning "I was attentive.", "ตั้งใจเรียนมาก" meaning "I was very attentive.", and "ไม่ค่อยตั้งใจแต่เก่งอยู่แล้ว" meaning "I wasn't quite attentive but I'm normally good at it." Several talked about what they liked to do in class. For examples, student number 39 responded with "ชอบฟังอาจารย์เล่าบางทีก็ฟังเพลิน" meaning "I like it when you told stories." and student number 40 showed a personal preference as she responded "ดีค่ะหนูอยากเรียนกับอาจารย์ผู้หญิงอาจารย์ผู้ชายไม่ค่อยเท่าไหร่" meaning "It was good. I prefer studying with a female teacher." Some even stated the location where they actually sat in the class. To illustrate, the student number 49 responded "หนูนั่งตรงกลางเลย" meaning "I sat in the middle of the class." All these examples of responses can be regarded as not directly related to the question but can still be interpreted as indicating successful outcomes.

3.2.2. Failure Responses

Similar to the success responses discussed under the previous category, the responses indicating failure consist of both direct and indirect responses.

3.2.2.1. Direct Failure Responses

Direct responses indicating failure can be identified by lexical items containing words indicating a negative meaning.

In the conversation concerning the pronunciation test, there are words that convey negativity. As an example, the word "แย่" meaning "bad" directly indicates failure because of its obviously negative meaning. The response of student number 20 dealing with the pronunciation activity is vivid evidence. By stating "แย่กว่าที่คิดค่ะมันตื่นเต้น" meaning "It was worse than I thought. I was nervous.", the literal meaning directly indicates failure. The hearer does not need to make any interpretation because there is no illocutionary act to be interpreted.

In addition, the other two words "ไม่ได้" suggesting incapability of accomplishing something and "ไม่ดี" meaning "not good" also provide clear indications of failure. The occurrences of these two words were noted as responses in the direct failure response category regarding the pronunciation test. Examples are the responses of students 6 and 16 as they responded "หนูทำไม่ได้ค่ะ" meaning "I couldn't do it" and "ไม่ดีค่ะ" meaning "It was not good," respectively. Both respondents answered the question "การสอบเป็นอย่างไรบ้างคะ ทำได้ไหม", "How was the test? Did you do well?", directly. The natural meanings of both responses indicate failure.

Other lexical items such as "ผิด" and "ไม่ถูก", both meaning "incorrect", are found together with such phrases as "ไม่คล่อง", "ติดขัด", and "ตะกุกตะกัก" both meaning "not fluent." They also directly indicate failure in the discussion concerning the pronunciation test since the natural meanings of the responses signify the respondents' poor performances.

The three direct indicators, "แย่" meaning "bad", "ไม่ได้" meaning "not capable", and "ไม่ดี" meaning "not good", occur in direct responses concerning test 2 as well. To illustrate these, student number 15 responded with "ก็ไม่ดีค่ะ" which means "It was not good.", student number 38 responded "ไม่ค่อยได้ค่ะ" meaning "I couldn't quite do it", and student number 62 responded with "แย่ ครับ" which also means "It was bad". These responses are direct answers to the question "การสอบเทสท์2 เป็นอย่างไรบ้างคะ ทำได้ไหม", "How was test 2? Did you do well?" All these occurrences can be regarded as confirmation that these words are direct signifiers of failure.

Since the direct failure responses in the conversation concerning the pronunciation test and test 2 are quite similar in that they share the same direct indicators; the direct failure responses in the conversation concerning the in-class lecture are quite different. The direct indicator "แย่","bad", is absent from the list of responses related to this particular activity. The only direct signifier found in the direct failure responses is the word "ไม่เข้าใจ" meaning "(I) did not understand." The two responses categorized into this response pattern are the responses of students 30 and 33, "บางเรื่องยังไม่เข้าใจแต่หนูไม่กล้ายกมือถาม" meaning "I didn't understand some lessons but

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I was afraid to ask." and "ก็ยังไม่ค่อยเข้าใจค่ะไม่ค่อยเก่งภาษาอังกฤษ" which means "I don't quite understand yet. I'm not good at English." These two responses directly answer the question "เข้าใจเนื้อหาที่เรียนในห้องไหม คะ" meaning "Did you understand the class lecture?" Their natural meanings indicate failure.

3.2.2.2. Indirect Failure Responses

Among several indirect responses, those which can be regarded as responses indicating failure fall into the cooperative component pattern, satisfaction pattern, and briefing pattern.

A. Indirect Failure Responses in the Cooperative Component Pattern

There are two responses recognized as examples of the cooperative component pattern as they inform of factors implying failure. In order to help the hearer understand the message, the respondents provided their interlocutor with influencing factors regarded as useful for a correct interpretation.

The first example is the response of student number 19 which was discussed earlier in section 1. She stated personal behavior during classes to imply the failure in the conversation concerning the in-class lecture. The respondent did not answer the question "เข้าใจเนื้อหาที่เรียนในห้องไหม คะ"meaning "Did you understand in-class lecture?" directly. She stated "เรียนบ้างหลับบ้างคะแนนเลยเป็นแบบนี้", "I sometimes slept and sometimes studied. So, my test score became like this." Her response contains a non-natural meaning suggesting an illocutionary act. Therefore, the response must be interpreted as an indirect response, that is, as an illocutionary act to indicate failure indirectly. In addition, the interpretation of student number 65's response also indirectly indicates failure because the respondent claimed that his negligence in listening to the lecture was the cause of his poor performance in the test. He responded with"สงสัยผมไม่ได้ฟังเลยทำข้อสอบไม่ได้ส่วนมากก็จะฟังนะ" meaning "I probably didn't listen so I couldn't do the test. But I listened most of the time." but did not answer the question "เข้าใจเนื้อหาที่เรียนในห้องไหมคะ" meaning "Did you understand the class lecture?" directly. This response contains a non-natural meaning and must be regarded as an illocutionary act and can be interpreted as indirect failure as well.

B. Indirect Failure Responses in the Satisfaction Pattern

The indirect failure responses in the satisfaction subcategory pattern contain the negative lexical item "ไม่พอใจ" meaning "not satisfied". To illustrate this, the responses of students 59 and 80 are "ไม่พอใจเลย" meaning "I'm not satisfied at all." and "ไม่ค่อยพอใจเท่าไหร่หนูไม่เก่งค่ะ" meaning "I'm not quite satisfied. I'm not good at it." These two respondents expressed to the hearer their personal dissatisfaction toward the topic of the discussion. They did not answer the question "การสอบเทสท์2 เป็น

อย่างไรบ้างคะ ทำได้ไหม" meaning "How was test 2? Did you do well?" directly. An illocutionary act occurs in both responses. The interpretation of both responses implies failure.

Apart from the use of the word "ไม่พอใจ" meaning "not satisfied", some other responses in this pattern display the respondents' disappointment toward their scores. Student number 61 responded with "คะแนนได้นิดเดียวอยากได้มากกว่านี้" which means "I got very low marks. I want a better score." Student number 86 also responded "หนูว่ามันน้อยไปคิดว่าน่าจะทำได้มากกว่านี้ไม่รู้เหมือนกันว่าทำไมถึงเขียนแบบผิดๆ ไปมานึกได้ตอนหลัง" meaning "I think the score was too low. I should have gotten more. I don't know why I wrote something wrong and just recognized it later." In addition, student number 87 responded with "ไม่ค่อยเท่าไหร่อยากได้มากกว่านี้" which means "The score wasn't so good. I want a better one." Together with the description of the scores, all these responses are not direct answer to the question concerning test 2. The interpretation points out that the respondents are not satisfied with their performances. Therefore, failure is indirectly stated.

C. Indirect Failure Responses in the Briefing Pattern

Indirect responses indicating failure which appear in the briefing subcategory pattern are considered irrelevant responses to the question. The literal meanings do not provide any basis of an assumption of either success or failure.

In the conversation concerning the pronunciation activity, the responses reveal the respondents' emotional condition. Examples are the responses of students 76 and 78. They responded "เกร็งค่ะ กลัวอ่านไม่ได้" meaning "I was nervous and afraid that I wouldn't be able to pronounce correctly.", and "ตื่นเต้นค่ะ", "I was nervous." Both responses are not direct answers to the question "การสอบเป็นอย่างไรบ้างคะ ทำได้ไหม", "How was the test? Did you do well?" Yet, an interpretation as indicating failure can still be made.

Apart from the emotional condition, one respondent provides information of how she has done on the test. Student number 2 responded with "มั่วเอาค่ะ" meaning "I just winged it." The respondent did not answer the question directly either. The interpretation of this response shows that the respondent may not have known enough to do well on the test, so she pronounced randomly. Therefore, the indication of failure derives from this interpretation.

In the conversation discussing test 2, the respondents did not provide relevant information to the question asking about their achievement. They describe the score, their background knowledge, and their behaviors instead. To illustrate, the response of student number

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88 was "ครั้งนี้คะแนนตก" meaning "My score dropped this time." The only information given is the description of the respondent's score. However, the hearer can interpret his as failure by focusing on the word "ตก" meaning "drop" signifying a worse performance.

Another example is the response "วันนั้นรีบทำเพราะต้องรีบกลับบ้านจองตั๋วเครื่องบินไว้เดี๋ยวไม่ทัน" meaning "I was in a hurry. I had to go home. I was going to be late for the flight." This can be regarded as an extremely irrelevant answer to the question asked. Student number 4 did not even mention the test under discussion. However, it is possible for the interlocutor to interpret the response as indicating failure as the respondent is providing reasons for her poor performance.

3.2.3. Additional Responses

Earlier, success and failure were the only two types of responses expected to be found in the response category. However, a few more responses were discovered in the examination process as well. They are partial success – partial failure responses and uncertain responses.

3.2.3.1. Partial Success – Partial Failure Responses

All the direct partial success – partial failure responses typically indicated both success and failure in the response statement. Accordingly, an illocutionary act does not occur and an interpretation is not required. The signifying words used to signalize these binary responses do not differ from those recognized in the direct success response and direct failure response categories. They are the words "ได้" meaning "capable", "เข้าใจ" meaning "(I) understood", "ไม่ได้" meaning "cannot", and "ไม่เข้าใจ" meaning "(I) don't understand."

Regarding the directness, the responses in this particular pattern separate the success part from the failure part quite clearly. The response of student number 10 in the conversation concerning test 2 can be taken as an example. The student responded with "กากบาททำไม่ได้เลย ได้แต่ข้อเขียน" meaning "I couldn't do the multiple choices at all but I could do the writing part." It is a direct response to the question "การสอบเทสท์2 เป็นอย่างไรบ้างคะ ทำได้ไหม", "How was test 2? Did you do well?" It also indicates a clear cut that the respondent was successful in one part but failed in the other. The literal meaning of the word "ได้", "capable," directly indicates success whereas that of its counterpart "ไม่ได้", "not capable" directly indicates failure.

Another example was found in the activity concerning the in-class lecture where the respondent was asked "เข้าใจเนื้อหาที่เรียนในห้องไหมคะ" meaning "Did you understand the in-class lecture?" Student number 80 responded "หนูเข้าใจเป็นบางเรื่อง ถ้าไม่เข้าใจก็ถามเพื่อน" which means "I understood some lessons. I asked my friends to help me with the parts that I didn't understand." This response is direct. The literal meaning of the word "เข้าใจ", "(I) understood" indicates success whereas that of the word "ไม่เข้าใจ", "(I) did not understand" indicates failure. The word "บางเรื่อง", "some lessons," appears in this response and emphasizes partial success as well.

3.2.3.2. Uncertain Responses

The direct responses indicating uncertainty are mostly indicated by the occurrence of word "ไม่มั่นใจ" meaning "not confident" For example, the response of student number 31 in the conversation concerning the pronunciation test was "ไม่ค่อยมั่นใจเท่าไหร่ครับ" meaning "I'm not quite confident." The literal meaning of the response suggests that the respondent could not really tell whether his performance was successful or not. His interlocutor can understand the uncertain message without having to further interpret the response.

An indirect responses as an uncertain response is only observed in the briefing subcategory pattern. The response found occurred in a conversation concerning the pronunciation test. Student number 56 did not give the interlocutor the information regarding ability to perform adequately in the test. The provided information rather tells what the respondent thinks of the test and its components. By responding with "เหมือนจะง่าย แต่บางคำก็ยาก" meaning "It seemed easy but some words were hard to pronounce.", there was an illocutionary act to be interpreted. The non-literal meaning of the response suggests the respondent's uncertainty.

4. Discussion and Conclusion

This research was conducted to discover the ways the students responded in interpersonal conversation regarding success and failure in a Thai classroom situation. It can be concluded that the responses can be categorized into Direct and Indirect categories. The responses can also be classified as Success Responses, Failure Responses, and Additional Responses.

To begin with the categorization of the responses, the language use plays the most significant role in the identification process signifying direct responses. It enables the hearer to understand the messages through the literal meanings of certain signifying lexical items. The responses in the direct response category do not contain any illocutionary act. Therefore, the

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hearer does not need to interpret the utterances. All the direct responses are found in the Direct Assurance Pattern where the messages are communicated directly.

On the other hand, the language use is not really influential in conveying messages among the indirect responses. The responses in this category are not stated directly. They contain illocutionary acts requiring an interpretation as the means for the hearer to understand the messages. The indirect responses are stated in three different patterns including the cooperative component pattern where the original factors are stated, satisfaction pattern where personal satisfaction is expressed, and the briefing pattern where other sorts of information are provided.

Apart from the categorization of the responses, the response classification divided the responses into Success Responses, Failure Responses, and Additional Responses. Overall, the success responses are both direct and indirect.

The direct success responses are recognized by the presence of the language use as linguistic device. The direct signifiers indicating success are the words "ได้" "capable", "ดี" "good", "โอเค" "ok", "ผ่าน" "passed", "รู้เรื่อง" "understand", and "เข้าใจ" "understand".

The indirect success responses mostly deal with non-literal meaning and occur in all three patterns. The indirect success responses in the cooperative pattern are identified by interpreting the illocutionary act. Some of the responses occur in the satisfaction pattern and are identified by language use. Specifically, the word "พอใจ", "satisfied," suggests the respondents' personal satisfaction with the outcomes. In addition, many of the indirect success responses are found in the briefing pattern. These responses contain indications of scores, personal evaluation of the test, and the background knowledge: "คะแนนก็เยอะอยู่" "The score is high enough.", "ไม่ค่อยยากเหมือนคราวก่อน" "It wasn't as hard as the last test." and "เก่งอยู่แล้ว" "I'm normally good at it".

In addition to the success responses, several responses can be regarded as indicating failure. These are both direct and indirect responses.

Similar to the direct success responses, the failure responses are recognized by the presence of language use as a linguistic device. The direct signifiers indicating failure are the negative words "แย่" "bad", "ไม่ได้" "not capable", "ไม่ดี" "not good", "ผิด" "wrong", "ไม่คล่อง" "not fluent", "ไม่ถูก" "not correct", "ติดขัด" "not fluent", "ตะกุกตะกัก" "not fluent" and "ไม่เข้าใจ" "not understand".

The indirect failure responses, on the other hand, lack such direct negative signifiers. They occur in two patterns. One is the cooperative pattern where the respondents' behaviors are indicated, and the other is the satisfaction pattern where the word "ไม่พอใจ", "dissatisfied," occurs.

There are also additional responses which can be sub-classified as Partial Success – Partial Failure Responses and Uncertain Responses.

First, partial success – partial failure responses are identified by language use. The combination of positive and negative lexical items occurs in the statements. The word " ได้ " "capable" appears together with its counterpart "ไม่ได้", "not capable". The word "เข้าใจ" "(I) understood" also occurs in these utterances along the negative counterpart "ไม่เข้าใจ" "(I) did not understand."

Second, the responses revealing respondents' uncertainty are recognized by the use of the word "ไม่มั่นใจ" meaning "not confident".

At this point, the researcher is hopeful that this qualitative study has provided insights and better understanding of how important a role speech acts play in interpersonal conversation, in this case, in Thai classroom situations. It is clear that locutionary acts signal direct responses while illocutionary acts signal indirect responses. Perlocutionary acst, however, are not applicable in this particular research. In addition, the significance of language use and speech interpretation should also be paid a lot of attention. Since the relationship between the teachers and the students differ in all classroom situations, it is possible that students may not always feel comfortable enough to give direct responses to questions. Trying to understand what exactly they are conveying by using Speech Act theory might be helpful in enhancing both the students' knowledge and their relationship with their teachers.

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