マレー語と英語のコードスイッチについて
大学生の会話の観察から
Remarks on Malay/English Code-Switching:
Observations of University Students' Conversations

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Code-switch, Malay language, conversation, loan words

ABSTRACT

　マレーシアの大学生の日常会話を観察すると，顕著な特徴として二言語が混合することだ．マレー語が主になり，英語が副となる．Mixed languageあるいは混種語の研究は長い歴史があり，マレーシアの言語に注目した研究もいくつかある．主な結論はコードスウィッチが社会・文化的そして語用論的要素を持ち寄っていることとされている．つまり，言語使用者は社会の機能や文化の規範を具現しているといえよう．本稿ではテープ録音されたデータを6つのカテゴリーに分けた．これまでコードスウィッチといわれていたいくつかのデータが英語からの借用語に似た特徴を持っていることを呈示する．二つの言語が相補的にそれぞれの意味を分担しているようだ．

1 Status of English in Malaysian Society

Malaysia is a multiethnic and multilingual country. There are three major ethnic groups: Malays, Chinese, and Indians, each of which has its own language. Indigenous people, known as *bumiputera* (meaning 'son of the soil' in Malay) or *orang asli* (meaning 'natives' in Malay), are often considered as Malays. The majority of the population are Malays (about 60% of the whole population), and this preponderance of Malays, according to some scholars (e.g. Omar 1992, 2000), elevated their language, which was called a "vernacular" language during the British colonial period, to the national and official language of Malaysia.[1] Chinese and Indian children, whose mother tongue is not Malay, learn Malay at school. The medium of instruction at state universities is Malay, and English is considered as an important second language. The significance of English in Malaysian society stems partly from its history. Malaysia was a British colony until 1957 when it achieved independence. Not only in Malaysia but also in Singapore has English been deemed as a colonial heritage which enabled citizens to communicate more effectively in international circles (Teodoro and Koh 1980: 185). The crucial difference between Malaysia and Singapore might be that while English is an official language and is used widely in everyday interaction in Singapore, Malay is the national and official language used as a *lingua franca* in everyday interaction in Malaysia. While the Malay language enjoys its prestige as the language of Malays and as a means of interethnic communication, English is not identified with any of these ethnic groups.[2] In recent years, however, the importance of English has been revived in urban areas (e.g. Kuala Lumpur) where many expatriates reside, and in certain areas of society such as private industrial sectors and in higher education. Although this revival of English is not very influential in rural areas and the insufficient literacy level of English in an academic context is still manifest among university students (David and Govindasamy 2003: 218), we cannot deny that English is establishing a status as a strong second language in Malaysia.

Because Malay is a national language, as mentioned above, when people from different ethnic groups meet for day-to-day communication, Malay is commonly used. Because of this linguistic situation, Malays have no knowledge of, or no need to learn, either Chinese or Tamil (the major Indian language spoken by Indian Malaysians) (see also Omar 1992: 17). When, however, Chinese speak with other Chinese, they normally use their common dialect(s), Mandarin, or a mixture of both. The same attitude seems to be prevalent when Indians speak with each other, though one of my informants [IN1] told me that more and more Indians prefer to use English among themselves, abandoning their mother tongue. Malay can thus be regarded as what Gumperz (1982: 73) calls a "we-code" for Malaysian nationals at an official level, although we could say that Chinese and Tamil when used as intraethnic languages are other "we-codes" in the private sphere.

When students from different ethnic groups talk with each other, they use Malay, but they often insert English words into their Malay-dominant conversations. In Muysken's typology (2000: 3), most of the cases in the data examined are categorized as "insertion." Code-switching does not occur in all communications, nor does it occur to the same extent even if the same people talk in similar settings (see also Heller 1988: 9, among others). Gumperz (1982: 60) refers to "situational code-switching," suggesting that different language choices are employed in different social contexts. Different "social settings" such as home, school, or work, or different "social categories" such as

friends, family members, strangers, or social inferiors are shown to influence the choice differently. In two samples from the tape-recorded data the speakers use English less often than in two other samples (see section 2). One is a conversation between a male Chinese student [CH] and a female Indian student [IN1] who used to be a Tamil teacher. In this conversation, IN1 rarely embeds English, whereas CH uses English more often. Another sample comes from another conversation between CH and a Malay student [M2]. M2 has learned Arabic due to her religious faith, and says that she rarely speaks English. She also mentions that if someone uses English, s/he may be considered to be trying to "show off." Because of this social orientation and lack of practice, members of her in-group dare not even say a single word in English. In this conversation, both students rarely use English words. Out of a total of four tape-recorded conversations, only two contain sufficient instances of code-switching. Since all the recordings take place in informal university settings, it might be "social categories" rather than "social settings" that determine the choice of language. IN1 seldom uses English in her daily life and her major at the university is Tamil. While CH uses more English when talking with Indian students, English is seldom used in the conversation with M2. In short, occurrences of Malay/English code-switching in a Malaysian context seem to be largely dependent on what Gumperz calls social categories.

2 Students Who Participated in Conversations

In this paper, I consider three tape-recordings of students' conversations at the University of Malaya. Conversation 1 [CON1] was tape-recorded on 18 September 2003, Conversation 2 [CON2] was tape-recorded on 27 September 2003, and Conversation 3 [CON3] was tape-recorded on

4 February 2004. CON1 was carried out by two third-year students, CH and IN1, who met in the faculty building where they study (see section 1 above). CON2 was carried out by two third-year undergraduate students (a Chinese [CH] and an Indian [IN2]) who conversed on a street near the central library. They talked about topics relating to their everyday life (e.g. marriage, food, and friends). CON3 was carried out by four third-year undergraduate students (one Malay [M1], one Chinese [CH], and two Indians [IN3] [IN4]) who were discussing the organization of their assignment in a seminar room of the university. In all the conversations, Malay is used as the dominant base language, into which English is embedded. No other language is used. All the students were studying at the University of Malaya at the time of the recordings. They all majored in either Japanese, Tamil, or Italian, and in most of their courses, the medium of instruction was Malay, except in the courses of their major. Except for CH, who participated in three conversations and did the recording himself, all the students took part in only one conversation.

3 Use of English in Conversation

3.1 Loan words

The data attested to three clear cases of loan words. The first instance is the English loan word *vegetarian*, used to refer to food which does not contain any animal products. By using *vegetarian*, people seem to make a distinction between "eating vegetables" (and also "eating meat") and "eating only vegetarian food." English is in italics. CH and IN1 are talking about eating vegetarian food.

(1) IN1: makan *vegetarian* bukan   maksud *you*
         eat   not   mean
         hanya makan
         only   eat

sayur-sayuran   lebih...
vegetables   more...

IN1: 'Eating **vegetarian food** does not mean that you only eat more vegetables...'

The second instance is *standard*, meaning that something (e.g. language) is standardized, but it does not refer to "a level of quality," which is one of the meanings of *standard* in English.

(2) IN1:

Mereka	bukan	kerana	Inggeris itu
they	not	because	English that
penting,		tau	tapi,
important		know	but
mereka tau		Inggeris itu ***standard***
they know		English that

IN1: 'They speak English not because English is important, you know, but they know that English is a **standard** language.'

The third instance is *register*. Unlike *vegetarian* and *standard*, *register* has a Malay equivalent, *daftar*, which also means 'record' or 'list' aside from 'to put one's name on an official list.'

(3) CH:

Ei.	Kalau	nak	power point,
	if	want	
saya	kena	***register,***	
I	have.to		
buat	pendaftaran.		
do	registration		

CH: 'Hey, if we want to use PowerPoint to do the presentation, I have to register, do the registration.'

3. 2 Quotation

There is only one instance of quotation. CH and IN1 are talking about the kind of food vegetarians can eat apart from vegetables. They first refer to eggs but then come to the conclusion that most eggs produced in rural areas in Malaysia may contain "blood." The implication is "don't eat eggs from the village!" In this connection, CH refers to water lilies, which are also prohibited by the Chinese when one is vegetarian in spite of the fact that they are plants. CH inserts direct speech followed by the quotative verb *kata*, 'say,' which alerts IN2 to what Chinese people traditionally believe. When CH reports, his voice changes slightly to authenticate the content of the report.

(4) CH:

tapi,	kadang kala	mereka kata
but	sometimes	they say
yang	itu	bunga	teratai,	kan
which	that	water	lily	right

IN2: Mhm

CH

Sebelum bunga	itu	mengembang,	ia
before flower	that expand		it
akan	menjadi	kecil-kecil [P]
will	become	small
biasanya	orang	cina	guna
normally	people	Chinese	use
sebagai	sejenis	makanan,
as	one kind	food
sup.	Jadi,	mereka kata. ***If you***
soup	so	they say
vegetarian, you cannot eat.
sebab	kalau	*you*	makan, *you*
because	if		eat
macam	seolah-olah		makan
like	as if		eat
bunga	teratai	sendiri.
water	lily	self

CH: 'But sometimes, they refer to water lily, right?'

IN2: 'Mhm.'

CH: 'Before the flower grows, it is small [P] and Chinese people normally use it to

prepare food and soup. So, they say **if you are vegetarian, you cannot eat it** because if you eat it, it is as if you would eat water lily.'

3. 3 Pronoun "you"

In Malay, the use of the second person pronoun is highly dependent on the relative status of the speaker and the addressee. I was even told through personal communication with Malaysians that they would prefer not to indicate the second person by using a pronoun. This situation seems to resemble Japanese society where the use of "you" can be rude in some contexts. I have only one instance of the use of *awak* 'you'. This form is popular among students and is used without too much attention being paid to the social status of the speaker/addressee (Mintz 1994: 80).

(5) IN2: Tak　boleh　makan　daging.
　　　 no　 can　 eat　 meat
　 CH: Tak　boleh?
　　　 no　 can
　 CH: Saya　lebih　syorkan　 itu
　　　 I　 more　recommend　that
　　　 kawan　kan　makan *vegetarian.*
　　　 friend　right　eat
　 IN2: **Awak**　makan *vegetarian*?
　　　 you　 eat

　 IN2: 'We can't eat meat.'
　 CH: 'You cannot?'
　 CH: 'I would like to recommend my friends to eat vegetarian.'
　 IN2: 'Do **you** eat vegetarian?'

Ozog (1987: 75-76) observes, based on his collection of casual conversations between university students in Brunei Darusaalam, that the first and second person pronouns are very frequent in mixed language. In my data, however, there is no instance of the use of *I*. The first pronoun, *saya* 'I,' appears frequently in conversations (see (5)). When the second person is mentioned, it is not always verbalized. There are two options: it is either omitted (contextually inferred) or replaced by the English pronoun *you*. In (6), CH is surprised to learn that IN2 is already married. *You* seems to be used when some emphasis is placed on the second person or on what is reported about that person.

(6) CH: **You**　sudah　kahwin kah?
　　　　　　already　married PART
　 IN2: *Register Marriage*

　 CH: 'Are *you* already married?'
　 IN2: 'It's an arranged marriage.'

The use of *you* in (7) illustrates the same point. It appears that CH uses *you* to change the direction of the conversation. Instead of answering IN2's second question ("Sekarang nak balik?"), he returns to her by asking a new question. After CH's turn, IN2 tells him that she is waiting for her father. Note that IN2's first two utterances do not contain *you*, the reason perhaps being that they are simple interrogatives.

(7) IN2: Nak　　balik?
　　　 want　 back
　 CH: Ha?
　 IN2: Sekarang nak　　balik?
　　　 now　　want　 back
　 CH: **You**　nak　 balik　 kah　 ataa
　　　　　　 want　 back　 PART　 or
　　　 ke　　*library*?
　　　 to
　 IN2: Tak.　Saya　dah　　pergi　 ke
　　　 no　　I　　already　go　　to
　　　 library. Saya　nak　　tunggu
　　　　　　 I　　want　 wait
　　　 ayah　saya.

father   I

IN2: 'Are you going home?'
CH: 'Ha?'
IN2: 'Are you going home now?"
CH: 'Are **you** going home or to the library?'
IN2: 'No. I've been to the library. I'm waiting
for my father.'

(8) is another example where no special emphasis is placed on the second person, and therefore, it is unexpressed. IN2 is asking CH whether he knows a group of students from the fourth college. CH replies by saying that he has forgotten them. IN2 ensured CH's turn by asking CH the question.

(8) CH:	Saya	pun	sudah	lupa
	I	also	already	forget
	mereka.			
	they			
IN2:	Kenal	mereka	tak?	
	know	they	no	

CH: 'I've already forgotten them, too.'
IN2 'Don't **you** know them?'

3. 4 Reiteration

Reiteration occurs when two identical words or phrases are used in conversation. Reiteration is not only the property of an inserted language (i.e. English) but also of the base language (i.e. Malay). What is intriguing here is that the same word is reiterated in English at one time and in Malay at another time. This suggests that the "meaning" of reiteration in English and in Malay should be different in mixed language discourse. In (9), the reiterated words are *and then* in English and *lepas itu* in Malay, both of which are used when two events happen or are expected to happen in sequence.

(9)M1:   *The first one, for the presentation like* Dr.

Asha *said, the first one is*
pengenalan, right?
introduction
CH: Mhm
M1: *So, then* pengenalan, *we just use like why*
introduction
we choose the alam sekitar
environment
topic, *right*?
CH: Mhm
M1: *So, that* for pengenalan lah. *And then,* [P]
maybe, ok, many for the races, Malay,
Chinese, Indian, this one for introduction
pengenalan. *And then,* introduction
second part is [P] *ok* [P].
IN3: Ah, pengenalan. Tajuk, *and then*?
introduction topic

M1:	Tajiuk, *and then*,	bagilah	sebab	kenapa
	topic	give	reason	why
	kita	pilih	tajuk	
	we	choose	topic	
	Alam sekitar, kan?			
	environment right			

IN3: Rasionalnya.
rational.POS
M1: Ah, ah sebab-sebab.
reasons
IN3: OK, rasional pilihan tajuk. **Lepas itu?**
rational selection topic after that
M1: **Lepas itu** [P] apa   lagi yang   kita nak
after that   what else which we want
masukkan dalam pengenalan?
do   in   introduction?

M1: 'The first one for the presentation, as Dr.
Asha said, the first one is introduction,
right?'
CH: 'Mhm.'
M1: 'So, introduction. We would like to
explain why we choose the environmental
topic, right?'

CH: 'Mhm.'

M1: 'So, that's for the introduction, isn't it? And then, many for the races such as Chinese, Malay, Indian. That one for the introduction. Then, the second part is...'

IN3: 'Ah, Introduction. Topic, **and then** (E).'

M1: 'Topic, **and then** (E), we give the reason why we had chosen the environmental topic, right?'

IN3: 'That's rational.'

M1: 'That's reasonable.'

IN3: 'Why the topic was chosen is rational, **and then** (M)?'

M1: '**And then** (M), ... what else do we want to do in the introduction?'

Note that *and then* in English is articulated in a higher tone than *lepas itu*. A closer look reveals that *and then* is used when the speaker "reviews" or "ensures" what was said in the previous turn. M1 initiates the conversation by suggesting that they have to provide reasons why they have chosen the topic about the environment. IN3 confirms what M1 has just said by reviewing the content of M1's utterance. When IN3 uses *lepas itu*, however, M1 does not have a clearer idea about what they have to do next. The pause after *lepas itu* suggests M1's hesitation and indetermination, showing clearly that *lepas itu* does not correspond to *and then*.

3. 5 Repetition

Repetition occurs when two synonymous, paraphrased, or related words, phrases, or classes are used in conversation. Unlike reiteration, repeated words are not the same words. I would like to include here cases where Malay paraphrases of English expressions are provided. David (2003: 15) dubs this type of repetition "echoing," stating that it serves to ensure the authenticity of the previous utterance, In her data, the use of English is a reproduction of the language spoken by the original speaker because it is relevant that in a setting like a court room, a witness attempts to be authentic by referring to the exact original wording in the original language. The English sentence is then translated by the witness into Malay using different words ("He said this is an old case" → "BG said that it was an old debt"). In my data, the speaker does not translate or interpret but repeats faithfully what was said previously: the speaker utters in English and reproduces the same content in Malay. This type of repetition might be interpreted as restructuring the utterance to highlight the poetic nature of the talk (Coats 1996: 230-231, cited in Gardner-Chloros et al. 2000: 1318), or to reinforce the speaker's communicative needs (Kwan-Terry 1992: 250). (3) is repeated as (11).

(10) CH: Tapi buat kajian ini pun
        but do research this also
        seronok, au? Kaji ini,
        interesting know do.research this
        kaji itu. Tapi oklah kalau *you*
        do.research that but ok.PART if
        nak bagi dia apa itu
        want give it what that
        success, bagi dia **berjaya** kan, *you*
            give it success right
        kena bertungkus lumuslah,
        have.to work hard.PART
        buat ini, buat itu, tak senang
        do this do that not easy
        tau
        know

CH: 'But it is interesting to do this research, you know. Doing this research and doing that research. If you want to be **successful** (E), be **successful** (M), you have to work hard. It is not easy to do this and do that, you

know.'

(11) CH: Ei. Kalau nak *power point*, saya kena
        if   want   I have.to

register, buat pendaftaran.
         do registration

CH: 'Hey, if we want to use PowerPoint for the
    presentation, I have to **register**, do the
    registration.'

3. 6 Adverbial phrases

Adverbial phrases such as *maybe* behave
similarly to *and then*. Students in conversation do
not only use *maybe* but also its Malay equivalent
mungkin. (12) and (14) illustrate this case.

(12) IN4: Pembentangan macam mana buat?
          presentation   like   where do?

M1: Pada saya, **mungkin** power point,
    at   I   maybe
    power point menariklah,   senang.
                interesting.PART   easy

IN4: 'How do we do the presentation?'
M1: 'As for me, I can **perhaps** use PowerPoint.
    PowerPoint is interesting and easy.'

(13) M1: kita dah   siap   tulis   semua, satu
         we already   finish write   all,   one
         power point saya buatlah.
                       I   do.PART
         Yang   untuk *type assignment.*
         which for

M1: 'When we have finished all the writing, I
    will be in charge of one PowerPoint, which
    is for type assignment.'

In (12), the students are talking about how to
prepare the presentation for the following week's
class. M1 suggests that she will take the role of
dealing with PowerPoint. In (14), the word *maybe*,
synonymous to *mungkin*, is used twice. The
context here is that M1 is trying to figure out
whether the concept "gender" is relevant for their
presentation. She suggests at the beginning of her
turn the importance of age, but she is still not sure
about it. Her uncertainty is expressed by her
frequent pauses in her turn. What is the difference
between *maybe* and *mungkin*? The answer seems to
be that these two words are responsible for
expressing two different sub-meanings of
"probability." From the contexts given, *mungkin* is
used when the speaker stresses the feasibility of her
decision (i.e. the use of PowerPoint), while *maybe*
is used when the speaker still harbors doubt about
her decision (i.e. she does not know for sure
whether "age" is the right category). (13) is uttered
by M1 shortly after the turns in (12), which
substantiates her determination.

(14) M1: *Maybe* umurlah.   Kita
                 age.PART   we
         berpandukan   pada
         base   on
         umur, kan? Sebab kaum,
         age   right because if
         macam ketiga-tiga kita ambil, kan?
         like three   we take   right
         Ah [P] So, umurlah
                     age. PART
         Kita cakap umur yang kita pilih ah [P]
         we   say   age which we choose
         ah [P] apa ini ialah 25-35.
                what this that is
         Lepas itu, *target.* Selalunya golongan dari
         after that   always   group   from
         25-35, kita macam melayu,
                we   like   Malay

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macam saya banyak pilih golongan orang,
like    I   choose      group  people
, ok macam   bagi
      like   for
orang   kampong ada, kan, maybe orang
people village    have right        people
kampong, mereka lebih
village        they        more
penting    kepada alam sekitar,  kan?
important at            environment right
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M1: 'Maybe the age. We base ourselves on age, right? Because if we are based on race, we shall take all three, right? So, age is a good point. We refer to the age, we choose between 25 and 35. And then, the target. Always the group from 25 to 35. Like Malay, I choose the group of people, ok, such as villagers, right? Maybe, villagers. They are more concerned about the environment, aren't they?'

4 Borrowing and Code-Switching

From the discussion above, it can be assumed that not all English words inserted in Malay discourse are code-switched but share some properties of borrowing. This observation is in accord with Muysken (2000: 3) who claims that inserted words are not easily distinguishable from borrowed words, though any convincing clarification for this distinction has not, to my mind, been proposed. According to Gumperz (1982: 66-67), borrowing deals with single words or clausal expressions which are incorporated into the grammatical system of the borrowing language. *Er hat das gefixt*, "He fixed it," contains *gefixt*, which is the combination of an English verb *fix*, and a prefix *ge* and a suffix *t* in German. Code-switching, by contrast, occurs in a conversational setting on the ground that its interpretation is intimately linked to contextual and socio-cultural properties. Code-switching can therefore be defined as a device to juxtapose cultural forms from two different languages which have two grammatical systems (ibid.: 59, 65). One important semantic property of borrowing is its meaning shift. Many English loan words in Japanese vocabulary are instances of narrowing the meaning of the original word. ドライバー 'driver' is not the same as its native word 運転手 'driver.' The difference is that the former is used when the driver operates a sports car in a competition (Michael Schumacher is a ドライバー), while the latter is used when the driver operates a car as his profession for the purpose of transportation (e.g. "bus driver" or "taxi driver"). The meaning of ドライバー is not parallel to that of *driver* in English; the original meaning has been dissected and its dissected part is one taken over by ドライバー so that the latter enjoys its share vis-à-vis the existing native word 運転手. Although the proposal in this paper is tentative, this complementary distribution is attested to particularly in two cases of the data: (i) the contrast between *and then* and *lepas itu*, and (ii) the contrast between *maybe* and *mungkin*. The complementary function encoded in these words arises from the conversational organization of discourse, whilst they also contribute to socio-cultural properties such as "ensuring," "hesitation," and "high and low probability" whose function is to facilitate the efficacy of communication. The data in this study suggest that future study is needed to clarify whether bilinguals in Malaysia are more receptive to loans or to codes, or are somewhere in-between.

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Notes

1 Although Malays are the majority in the whole country, they are not the dominant ethnic group in all states. In Sarawak, a state in East Malaysia, the populations of Chinese and Ibans are bigger than that of Malays.

2 English remained as an official language for 10 years after the Independence of Malaysia (then known as Malaya). This means that the official use of Malay (e.g. in schools, in administration, and for official ceremonies) in Malaysia has a relatively short history. In addition, Sarawak continued to have English as an official language until 1985 (see Omar 2000: 241).