LANGUAGE MIXING IN MULTILINGUAL MALAYSIA*

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Introduction

The language situation in Malaysia is extremely complex inasmuch one can find there, not only the presence of the national language *Bahasa Melayu* and that of *English* but also code alternations between Malay and English, any of the Chinese vernaculars of the area and English, an Indian vernacular – usually – Tamil and English as well as scores of other codeswitching varieties. Either language of a given pair may function as the matrix language with the other language serving as source for a number of embeddings. The writer has however limited his investigations to the occurrence of Malay-English codeswitching, since an interphase between an eastern national language and a western international language seemed to him most challenging. In general, codeswitching will be found only in the private domain but in Malaysia it is also allowed to occur in a number of different professional settings, that is, in the public domain. One finds it in university faculty meetings, in corporate meetings of the business world and at selected court hearings. The writer will here offer some examples of Malay-English codeswitching, so as to acquaint the reader with the nature of language switching in one particular environment.

1. Languages in the switching process

1.1 MALAY-English alternations

Bahasa Melayu or Bahasa Malaysia, henceforth Malay, may serve as the matrix language allowing a variety of elements from English to be embedded into it. This embedding process may involve single lexical items (insertional codeswitching), specific grammatical units (phrases, clauses, sentence) or random words groups. Most such alternations will occur within a given sentence (intra-sentential codeswitching). However, when independent clauses or free-standing sentences are selected, alternations may occur in the transition between sentences (inter-sentential codeswitching). The following examples are typical for this kind of language processing:

- a. Tetapi kalau dibayar itu, at least, kita boleh claim sekali sebab sebelum ini tidak dibayar.

 But if that is paid we can once because before it was not paid.
- b. *Mesyuarat senat* is the highest meeting at the university level, so *mesyuarat pengurusan*The senate meeting the academic administrative *academik* is the equivalent to that *senat* at the school level.

 meeting senate
- c. It's not that to stop you but just to know what is going on sebab kadang-kadang orang
 Because sometimes people
 bertanya kepada saya dan kalau saya tidak tahu ia mencerminkan pengurusan sekolah.
 ask me and if I do not know it represents school management.
- d. Saya berikan tanggungjawab ini kepada saudari, Cik Noriah. So the others please take I give this responsibility to you, Ms. Noriah note,

Example a. shows the insertion of a single lexical item, claim. In b. the verb phrase is the highest meeting at the university level is inserted, obviously followed by the marker so before its return to Malay. In c. it is the full English clause It's not that to stop you but just to know what is going on that starts the sentence and finally in d. one encounters an example of intersentential codeswitching where a full Malay sentence occurs in juxtaposition with a full English sentence.

1.2 ENGLISH-Malay alternations

For reasons that we will not explore here, English was chosen to be the matrix language, whereas elements of Malay were embedded into that English sentence. Again, this occurred at the lexical, the phrasal and the clausal level:

e. It is not a derma anymore.

gift

- f. Actually, minggu keempat is missing. The whole of minggu keempat the fourth week the fourth week.
- g. Kita perlukan diagnosis test that is neede as soon as possible.

We need

h. Okay, Tuan Pengerusi, terima kasih. Anything else? Mr. Chairman, thank you.

Sentence e. shows the embedding of a single lexical item, that is, derma. The noun phrase minggu keempat is embedded in f twice. The clause we need appears in g and full sentences in both languages stand in juxtaposition to one another.

1.3 ENGLISH and MALAY in mutual juxtaposition

Actually, d and h could have been shown in this section as neither qualifies as containing a matrix sentence and an embedded dement. Each language holds its own rather than one language being subordinated to the other. Two more examples of this kind of intersentential switching are as follow:

- i. *Beli ini satu*. Otherwise, there is nothing wrong. Buy this one.
- j. Some people would like to give, you know. So, they would complain, why don't you ask?

 Ada orang, mereka nak derma, mereka tak tahu.

 There are people, they do not want to donate, they do not know.

Although the institutions where these utterances were recorded (UKM, UPM) usually opt for lexical or phrasal insertions, one can still find cases where both languages occur in juxtaposition to one another.

2. Domain where language switching is allowable

2.1 The informal domain

Earlier research leaned heavily on the language mixing practices in conversations between family members and peers. The embeddings of Malay elements into English

sentences as well as the reverse were both common. Lexical insertions, phrasal and clausal embeddings as well as random word group insertions have all been identified as have been pairs of sentences with the two languages in juxtaposition. However, no group of speakers showed clear preference for any one particular type. Some of the mixed utterances produced in informal settings were as follow:

k. Ada perlu compromise.

There is a need for

1. *Tadi Norah*, *marah*, *marah* like that, (I) don't know.

Now, Norah is angry, angry.

m. I rasa it is unfair kalau kita kata macam M. Nasir boleh nyanyi,...

feel if we say how M. Nasir can sing

n. Apa kau orang cakap ni? Releklah! Okay, let us talk seriously about the Chinese....

What are you all here saying? Relax!

I don't know what is bersanding.

being on the dais.

p. Then, buat apa? do what?

o.

q. What about money, you tak nak duitke?

You don't want cash, do you?

r. *Dugaan*. So, we must be more patienr.

A divine test.

Similar switching episodes can also be heard, not only in the interaction among family members and peers but also between seller and buyer on the market place. Such data can be found in Maya David (1999) and Shanta Nair-Venugopal (2000) but are not limited to Malay and English.

2.2 The formal domain

The writer's most recent research was based on data collected while the speaker was under a grant from the Institute of Language and Literature (Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka: Tabung Cipta Derma Dewan 2001). The settings identified at that time as favorable to language alternation in any of its manifestations were (1) the language-centered faculties of three Malaysian universities, namely UKM, UPM and UUM, (2) one staff meeting of a private corporate business and (3) a number of court hearings either reported in the legal journal Kanun or observed (without recording) at the Higher Court of Kuala Lumpur. All manifestations, whether modes or submodes, of codeswitching witnessed in the informal domain also occurred in the formal encounters, except for the fact that specific encounters would select preferably certain submodes in the sense that language-centered faculties at one university (UKM) would select overwhelmingly English lexical insertions, at another university (UPM) Malay phrasal insertions and at the third (UUM) English clausal and/or sentential insertions including scores of institutions monolingual utterances in either language. Conversely, the language use patterns at the corporate meeting revealed greater variability as, not only did Malay and English take turns in serving as matrix languages, but also did the patterns of embedding vary depending on whether English or Malay served as matrix. When English was the matrix, the embedding process was random and the result became a total language merger as if English and Malay had merged into one single variety. On the other hand, when Malay

served as matrix, the embedding process resulted into an only slightly more liberal mode than what had been found at some of the universities included in this study. Finally, The Higher Court hearings revealed a quite different kind of codeswitched discourse. Intrasentential codeswitching was all but absent. Intersentential codeswitching, however, was the rule of thumb even though the kind of intersentential processing differed from the one witnessed at the universities as multi-sentence citations in English would be inserted into the Malay discourse when reference was made to a text (deposition, judgment, quotation, citation) that had originally been rendered in that language. This served the purpose of avoiding translations into Malay that might be legally risky. Some typical examples of codeswitched discourse as witnessed in the formal domain are the following:

- s. Berapa copy yang dia perlu hantar berbind (lexical/UKM).

 How many that he needs to send bound
- t. Bolehlah and also the opening will be by the Indonesian attache (phrasal/UPM). That is possible....
- u. Satu formula yang saya dah belajar di pusat lain, we must give this minimum notice of One formula that I learned in another center,...
 one week, kerana untuk membolehkan orang untuk perancangan yang lebih awal.
 - because of enabling a person to (accomplish) an earlier planning (clausal/UUM).

 Dia agree kalau MBI nak consolidatekan account semua sekali all this...I don't think so

 He if wants to (vb.) all accounts at once
 - It can work (Merger/Corporate).
 In that case, tak payah kita nak ambillah (Phrasal/Corporate).
 not difficult we want to take (it).

3. Conclusion

V.

w.

It has been the purpose of the present essay to report on some of the research that has been carried out in the field of codeswitching. The Malaysian scenario has proven to be most valuable in showing how different modes and submodes of switching exist side by side in this Asian Nation where different cultures have joined together to yield a unique texture of its own. The essay describes how specific switching processes are adopted by certain speakers as they perform their professional tasks. Accordingly, the Malaysian has shown that codeswitching between Malay and English has a place, not only in the informal, but also in the formal domain. As a corollary, the essay has tried to clarify some of the notions involved when two languages join together in the conveyance of meaning.

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^{*} The present essay is a revised but shortened version of a paper delivered by the author at XV World Congress of Sociology in Brisbane, Australia in July, 2002. It has been adapted to serve the readers of the newsletter of the Research Council of Sociolinguistics (RC25) as an informative essay on a novel field of sociolinguistic inquiry.