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Code-switching amongst Simalungun-Indonesian bilinguals

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**CODE - SWITCHING
AMONGST SIMALUNGUN - INDONESIAN BILINGUALS**

S.G. SARAGIH

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M.A. (Applied Linguistics)

USE OF THESIS

The Use of Thesis statement is not included in this version of the thesis.

**CODE-SWITCHING
AMONGST SIMALUNGUN - INDONESIAN BILINGUALS**

BY

Sylvia Saragih B.A. (Hons), Dip. Ed., G. Cert. Ed. (TESOL)

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Award of

Master of Arts (Applied Linguistics)

at the Faculty of Arts, Edith Cowan University

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates code-switching within a bilingual speech community. The languages used in this community are Indonesian, the national language of Indonesia, and Simalungun, one of the regional languages spoken in North Sumatra.

Conversations amongst young bilinguals with balanced competence in both languages were recorded and passages containing examples of code-switching were transcribed for analysis. It was found that the base language of interaction was Simalungun, but that code-switching into Indonesian occurred in all conversations recorded.

Analysis of the language data collected led to the conclusion that code-switching was used by the speakers in different ways. Indonesian loans were used to fill lexical gaps in the regional language. Indonesian was also used when quoting speakers in different interactions. Some Indonesian expressions used were generally associated with a particular domain, such as government or urban lifestyle. Speakers also used Indonesian code-switching as a conversation strategy - to mark particular expressions in contrast to the base language, to indicate interpersonal distance or for humour.

Attitudes of the speakers obtained during post-recording interviews indicated that there was a general lack of consciousness of code-switching. Speech containing frequent code-switched expressions was not regarded as a particular style or described by a particular term. Speakers generally indicated positive attitudes to use of each language in its normal domain, but negative attitudes to mixing the two codes.

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any institution of higher education; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Signature..

Date.....17-7-97.....

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CHAPTER ONE : INTRODUCTION

In bilingual and multilingual communities throughout the world, speakers often change from one language to another within the same conversation. This can occur in association with changes in the situation, such as the person addressed, the topic or the formality of the interaction. It can also carry the rhetorical function of emphasising or marking a particular word or phrase. Such alternations in code can involve single words, phrases or lengthy stretches of text. This practice is usually referred to as **code-switching**.

That this is a common occurrence when speakers from different language backgrounds interact is not surprising, as changing code can be a means of ensuring clear communication. However, code-switching also occurs, often without the awareness of the speakers themselves, when bilingual or multilingual speakers of the same language background converse. The object of this study is to examine occurrences of intragroup code-switching.

The speech community which will be the subject for research into this question is a bilingual one in Indonesia, where the languages are **Simalungun**, a regional language spoken by a small ethnic group in North Sumatra, and **Indonesian**, the national language. One group of speakers with good competence in both languages is made up of students who have recently left rural towns to live in the urban centre of Medan. Instances of code-switching occurring in conversations among these young bilinguals will be described in this study. The patterns emerging will then be analysed in order to determine the possible functions of this linguistic phenomenon, within the context of intragroup conversational exchanges.

Many studies of code-switching have been made by sociolinguists, psycholinguists and ethnolinguists. They have analysed patterns of code-switching in many different speech communities, as it occurs between

bilinguals speaking a variety of languages. Methods of analysis have varied from detailed quantitative studies with strictly controlled variables to qualitative case studies. Some have focused on intergroup code-switching, while others have studied code-switching during interactions among members of a particular bilingual speech community. Some have attempted to explain the way in which speakers are able to produce a mixture of languages, combining elements of two grammars, while others have been more interested in the way in which the language mixing adds meaning to discourse. Attitudes to language mixing and the place of mixed code in the language patterns of speech communities have been referred to in many of these sociolinguistic studies. An overview of these studies will be provided in the literature review (p.6).

The present study examines patterns of code-switching during intragroup conversational exchanges between nineteen Simalungun-Indonesian bilinguals. A sociolinguistic approach has been used to describe the patterns underlying the linguistic data. Stretches of informal conversation containing examples of code-switching were transcribed and contextual features noted. Speakers were later given recollection tests to establish their bilingual competence. They were also interviewed in order to obtain information regarding their linguistic background, usage patterns and attitudes to code-switching. Finally, patterns of code-switching, as exhibited in the transcribed data, were analysed to determine a number of possible functions of code-switching in this speech community.

Theoretical Background

The theoretical basis for this study comes from the field of **sociolinguistics**. Sociolinguists examine language with the aim of identifying systemic linguistic variations and relating them to social meanings. Hymes (1972, pp.289-291), one of the first to establish the need for the discipline of sociolinguistics, sees code use as one of a range of sociolinguistic signs used and interpreted by

speakers in every interaction. He refers to switching between codes as part of the communicative competence of individual speakers. He also considers significant the attitudes of speakers towards the codes at their disposal in interpreting their functional roles.

Bell (1976, p.24) maintains that sociolinguists, when examining linguistic patterns, take into account extra-linguistic criteria such as the relationship between the speakers, their goals and attitudes. Some sociologists have studied code choice in order to determine how a particular society functions and to understand its basic cultural principles (Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo, 1982, p.1). Fairclough (1985, p.761) describes the relationship between discourse and social structure as an interdependent dialectical one. The study of patterns such as code-switching occurring in verbal interaction can also indicate ethnic and national allegiance, changing status, role relationships and emerging communicative needs (Errington, 1986, p.330).

Code-switching occurs in written language as well as in spoken interaction. Tilden (1986) has shown that it occurs between Indonesian and Jakarta dialect during direct speech passages in Indonesian novels. Written materials issued by the Simalungun Church also contain code-mixing. For example the program for a recent church anniversary in Medan (Tertib Acara Pesta Olob-oblob 2 Sept 1903 - 2 Sept 1996 , 8 Sept 1996) includes the program of events in Indonesian, then the church service in Simalungun, while an open letter in Simalungun written by the Secretary-General of the Simalungun Church to church members (Damanik & Girsang, 2 Sept, 1996) uses several Indonesian expressions such as *serentak* [simultaneously], *keterbelakangan* [backwardness] and *pewarisan* [legacy]. However, this study is based on the assumption that oral language is most deserving of study. Wilkins (1972, p.8) has maintained that linguistic change regularly appears first in speech, before it does in written language. As one of the aims of sociolinguistics is to study aspects of speech that reflect social change, oral language is therefore the most appropriate medium to study.

One of the problems facing students of oral discourse is that the speaker is often unconscious of many of the constraints under which his or her language is produced, both linguistic and social. Speakers are often unaware of stylistic variations which they are able to introduce into their speech in response to features of the interactional exchange. Blom and Gumperz (1972, p.302) state that code-selection rules, like grammatical rules, are "below the level of consciousness". Close analysis of actual utterances in context is therefore necessary to determine linguistic meanings .

Accordingly, sociolinguists have typically concentrated their research on the language patterns produced during oral interactions between two or more speakers. They see the choices between linguistic alternatives available to each speaker as constrained by extra-linguistic criteria (Bell, 1976, p.24). Wallace Chafe (1976, p.28) points out that a speaker makes many choices about how the content of an utterance is transmitted to the listener, and these choices affect how the listener will understand this content. He gives examples showing how word order choices can indicate such concepts as **givenness** or **contrastiveness**. Hymes (1972, p.290) defines the communicative repertoire of a speaker as "the set of varieties, codes or subcodes, commanded by an individual, together with the types of switching that occur among them". Individual speakers use the varieties available to them according to social norms established by the speech community. Grice's maxims (**Quantity, Quality, Relation and Manner**) are one example of how these constraints have been interpreted (see Wardhaugh, 1992, p.290). Hymes describes a speech event in terms of his SPEAKING acronym, one component of which is **Instrument**, including **channel** or **code** (see Wardhaugh, 1986, pp.245-6). Communicative competence thus depends on the appropriate use of linguistic forms in the context of interaction.

Sociolinguists stress the significance of **context** for the understanding of discourse. Brown and Yule (1983, p.33), for example, explain that just as a listener uses pragmatic aspects of an interaction to determine conversational implicatures, so must discourse analysts examine text in the light of the

Immediate context, both linguistic and extra-linguistic. Allan (1986, p.36) explains that the concept of context covers not only the physical setting of an exchange, but also the world spoken of in each utterance and the textual environment. Since one of the linguistic features of context is code (Hymes, 1968, p.110), one of the ways in which oral discourse reflects the context in which it occurs is the code or codes in which it occurs.

Code has also been interpreted by sociolinguists as being one way in which linguistic functions can be expressed by a speaker. Researchers have classified the possible functions differently. For example, Hymes (1968, p.117), in developing a taxonomy for use in ethnographic work across cultures, listed them as follows: **expressive, directive, poetic, contact, metalinguistic, referential** and **contextual**. Halliday (1978, pp.19-20), whose focus was on early language development, divided them into **Instrumental, regulatory, interactional, personal, heuristic, imaginative** and **informative**. One of the major aims of some researchers of code-switching is to determine the functions which it may express in a particular speech event. Critical discourse analysts have also demonstrated how use of particular language codes can have important implications in social interactions, especially where a difference of status exists between interlocutors. Fairclough (1985, p.757) points out that most linguists have concentrated on the cooperative nature of conversational interaction, neglecting the conflict and contrasts in status which can become clear through different styles of speech or codes.

Code switching is thus one of the features of language with which sociologists are concerned, as this aspect of linguistic interaction can reflect social patterns and attitudes within a particular speech community. This study is based on the theoretical assumption that choices made by speakers during interactions carry meaning. By studying the linguistic patterns resulting from code choice within exchanges, the meanings carried by this feature of language within a particular speech community may be determined.

Literature Review

Researchers interested in the phenomenon of code-switching have used a variety of methods to obtain and analyse linguistic data. The language pairs appearing in these studies come from a wide range of speech communities. Some researchers have been interested in the psycholinguistic aspect of code-switching, how a speaker can produce and combine two codes, while others have focused on functions of code-switching in linguistic exchanges. Findings from these studies will be discussed in the following section.

Methods used by researchers interested in code-switching have varied from quantitative analysis of experimental data collected with controlled variables to qualitative descriptions of natural occurrences of code-switching. Examples of controlled studies are those by Arnedt and Gentile (1985) and Marcon, Coon and Boco (1986), who used a puppet in order to observe the responses of bilingual and monolingual subjects to use of unfamiliar language. Beebe (1981) carefully controlled the language data she collected for one particular variable - ethnic identity of the interlocutor. Lambert (1967) employed quantitative methods to determine language attitudes of his subjects. He used matched-guise tests to control for the language of the speaker as a component of the speech situation. Poplack, Wheeler and Westwood (1990) used frequency counts to analyse tags, potential switch sites and intrasentential switching.

The **case-study** has been a frequently-used research design in this field. Researchers collecting data on bilingual language production by children have recorded large amounts of natural data from a small number of subjects. An example here is Atawneh (1992), who gathered longitudinal data from three bilingual siblings. Huerta (1977), Kwan-Terry (1992) and Lanza (1992) collected data from single children to analyse their code-switching behaviour. Aikio (1986) used a case study approach to study language shift in a small bilingual speech community in Finland.

Some researchers have been able to collect adequate data through **questionnaires**, for example Sudja'i (1986) on language use in different contexts, Sobin (1984) on judgements of grammaticality in code-switching examples and De Heredia-Deprez (1990) on language usage within the family. Poplack (1980) asked informants to rate their own language competence on a seven-point scale, while Valdes-Fallis (1978) used a four-point scale for a questionnaire on language usage.

Interviews have also been used by many researchers to obtain a wide variety of language data. Shanon (1991) used interviews to gather anecdotal evidence of faulty code selection. Reyburn (1975) gathered information during interviews with his bilingual subjects on the basis of which he was able to determine twelve classes of bilinguals. Swigart (1992) interviewed her informants in her study of language attitudes held by Wolof-French bilinguals. Labov (1984, p.84) maintained that a sociolinguistic interview combined with participant observation of group sessions was the best way to collect natural linguistic data with minimal interference from the observer's paradox, wherein the presence of the observer prejudices the quality of the natural language data. Accordingly, in this study, the researcher was present during recording sessions in order to observe but did not actively participate. Interviews to obtain background information from speakers were not held until after each recording session.

Participant observation has been used by several researchers. Pedersen (1987) used this method to gather data on language selection by German minority children in the Danish border region. Blom and Gumperz (1972) used this method to obtain data on code choice in social interaction in Norway. By participating in exchanges, they were able to stimulate the speakers to cover a broad range of conversational topics. Rayfield (1970) joined a number of community organisations and was able to collect linguistic data from the American Yiddish speech community through participant observation. Lumintintang (1981) used participant observation to gather data on language selection by high school students in Jakarta. Haviland (1982) used it to obtain

data on language selection by Australian Aboriginal speakers. Atawneh (1992) used diary notes made by an observer together with one recording per child to obtain his data.

Several researchers have taken great care to collect large amounts of **natural data**. For example, Yoon (1992) recorded bilingual subjects in nine 30-minute sessions in three contexts. Sudrajat, Indarsyah and Zamzamah (1990) made 20 recordings of conversational exchanges between a variety of interlocutors. Kwan-Terry (1992) made fortnightly recordings to collect longitudinal data for her study. Hall and Guthrie (1981) recorded 300 hours of spoken language data from their subjects by means of microphones sewn into the children's vests. They were thus able to record data at different times of day and in different contexts with minimal awareness on the part of the subjects. In this study, an attempt has been made to collect natural data by recording self-selected groups of friends in their boarding houses.

Students of code-switching have **analysed data** in a variety of ways. Those using a quantitative approach have tabulated data according to frequency of alternative code choice in relation to particular variables. For example Atawneh (1992) tabulated code-mixed utterances according to part of speech. The low frequency of certain functional word types led to the conclusion that these were a closed class for code-switching. Treffers-Daller (1992) analysed the relative frequency of inter- and intrasentential codeswitches with reference to factors such as age, schooling and language proficiency. However, single-word switches were omitted. Yoon (1992) analysed his data according to the size of the constituents, whether the switches were Korean or English and whether they followed equivalence constraints. He was able to demonstrate by the high frequency of violations of the equivalence constraint, that this could not be accepted as a universal rule with regard to code-switching. Greenbaum (1980) also used frequency of syntactic units in his analysis. Kumar (1987) drew up a feature matrix table for codeswitching motivation according to four variables. Sudrajat, Indarsyah and Zamamah (1990) analysed their recorded data according to code choice: Indonesian, Lampung dialect or a mixed

variety. One of the variables identified was whether the interlocutor was of the same ethnic group as the speaker.

Rayfield (1970) administered a **recollection test** to her subjects, in order to determine to what extent Yiddish synonyms for English loanwords had been forgotten. She also recorded the length of time her subjects took to reply. Her results enabled her to conclude that English loanwords were being used as an extension of the Yiddish lexicon, rather than indicating language attrition. In this study, recollection tests will be administered to speakers to determine whether code-switching is linked to lexical gaps in the base language.

Most researchers into code-switching have used **post-hoc categories** to analyse their data. This involves identifying patterns of language form and use arising from the data collected. For example Clyne (1985, pp.98-105) identified nine types of **Integration** and **transference**. Lanza (1992, p.640) divided switched items into **contentives** and **functors**. Shanon (1991, pp.342-343), like Aikio (1986, p.375) was able to depict his data diagrammatically to demonstrate patterns existing between the languages of the code-switches in polyglots, combining quantitative and qualitative methods. Kumar (1987) depicted the types of code-switching arising from his data on a matrix table showing overlap on four levels. Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo (1982) made a taxonomic description of the speech varieties they identified in terms of their social meanings. In this study, the surface patterns of code-switching arising from the recordings will be described and analysed with regard to possible social meanings carried.

Codes

The term **code** is used in the literature to refer to a language, a dialect or a speech style. These terms appear to be points on a continuum, placed according to the differences perceived by speakers. Boundaries between codes are defined according to the norms of each speech community.

Researchers have perceived and labelled mixing or alternation of codes within one exchange differently. Instances of this phenomenon have been labelled **borrowing**, **interference**, **code-mixing** and **code-switching**. Borrowing is used to refer to expressions taken regularly from one code into another, usually to fill culture-specific lexical gaps. Interference is used negatively to describe the application of linguistic rules from one code to another, for example in the interlanguage of second language learners.

This study is mainly concerned with the type of code alternation referred to as either code-mixing or code-switching. Pandit (1990, Note 1, p.55) sees these terms as equivalent, pointing out that while Kachru (1978) and Pfaff (1979) use the former, Sankoff (1972) , Poplack (1980) and Woolford (1983) use the latter. He maintains that "the terms appear to be used as free variations in the literature on the subject." Some researchers have defined code-switching by distinguishing it from interference or borrowing. Reyburn (1970, p.53) saw interference patterns as stable, involving loan words with morphological adaptation and phonetic influences, while code-switching varied according to features of context. Poplack (1980, pp. 583-4) also distinguished borrowing from code-switching on the basis of morphological and phonological integration. Hasselmo (1970, p.180) classed unchanged items as code-switches, while categorising those demonstrating phonological or morphological adaptation as part of the base code. Auer (1988, p.210) used the term transfer or code fluctuation to describe a switch from one code to the second and then back again, while referring to a change from one code into another as code-switching. Romaine (1989, p.114) seems to use the length of expression as a criterion for her terminology. She states that borrowing, code-mixing and code-switching form "a continuum ranging from whole sentences, clauses and other chunks of discourse to single words."

In the present study, code-switching is taken to be the insertion of expressions from the guest language into the base language of an exchange. They may vary from single words to complete utterances. Expressions which have been frequently employed to fill lexical or cultural gaps are regarded as

representing one type of code-switching. The term code-mixing appears more appropriately used to describe exchanges in which code-switching frequency is so high that there is no clear base language. This type of language mixing does not occur in the data from this study, in which the base language in all interactions recorded is clearly Simalungun.

The fact that code-switching is a world-wide phenomenon can be seen from the wide range of **language pairs** which have been used as examples of code-switching in linguistic studies. Many researchers have analysed code-switching patterns amongst Spanish-English bilinguals, particularly in the United States (Poplack, 1980; Woolford, 1983; and Jacobson, 1990). The bilingual French-English speech community in Canada has also been the subject of several studies of code-switching such as that by Lambert in 1967. Code-switching patterns amongst Yiddish-American bilinguals have been studied by Rayfield (1970) and Swedish-American speech patterns have been described by Hasselmo (1970). In Europe, German-Danish bilinguals in border regions (Pedersen, 1987) and migrant groups speaking Italian (Auer, 1988) have also been studied. Dutch-French speakers of different ages in Brussels have been studied by Treffers-Daller (1992). Bilingual families speaking Arabic and English (Atawney, 1992), and French and a migrant community language (De Heredia-Deprez, 1990) have shown that it can also occur in a micro speech community as small as a single family. Bokamba (1988) contributed a study on code-switching between Bantu languages and European languages in Africa, while Swigart (1992) studied code-switching between Wolof and French in Senegal. Goyvarts and Zambele (1992) studied code-switching between three languages in Zaire, while Blommaert (1992) studied Swahili-English code-switching. There have been several studies of code-switching between Indian languages, and between Indian languages and English (Kachru, 1978, Naval, 1989, and Pandit, 1990). Language mixing in the Philippines between local dialects, Pilipino and English has been studied by Marasigan (1983), Pascasio (1984) and Bautista (1991), while Li Wei (1995) has studied code-switching between Chinese and English amongst migrant groups in the United Kingdom.

Some studies have examined code-switching not just between different languages but between linguistic styles or dialects. Errington (1986) studied the way Javanese speakers switch between higher and lower speech styles for different communicative effects. The studies of Gumperz (1971) have analysed code-switching between two Norwegian dialects, demonstrating that code-switching can occur between regional varieties, just as it can between languages. Speakers of Australian Aboriginal languages have been shown to code-switch frequently between regional languages (Haviland, 1982) as well as between stylistic varieties of English (Malcolm, 1982).

Poplack, Wheeler and Westwood (1990) identified the relatedness of the two languages involved as a significant factor in code-switching patterns, pointing out that their study of Finnish-English switching involved two unrelated languages. Most of the studies mentioned above describe code-switching between unrelated languages (English and Asian languages, French and African languages) or distantly-related languages (English and Spanish, German and Italian). In contrast, the present study will involve two languages which are closely related, both belonging to the West Malay-Polynesian group. For this reason, it cannot be easily compared to other studies which examine code-switching patterns occurring between a regional language and a national language, since most of these involve unrelated languages.

The relative status of the two languages is also significant. The problematic status of the national language in countries such as India, Singapore and the Philippines cannot be compared with the situation in Indonesia, where the national language has never been strongly challenged (Mohr, 1984) and has been readily accepted by all minority groups. A comparable relationship is perhaps that of Malay and regional languages such as Kadazan in Malaysia (Lasimbang, Miller & Otigil, 1981). Studies of code-switching between languages with a similar relationship to that between Indonesian and Simalungun are those by Blom and Gumperz in Norway (1971) and by Lafont in France (see Jacobson, 1990, p.4).

Since few studies have been made of code-switching between **related languages**, where one is the national language and one is a regional language, this study will help to expand the field by examining patterns of linguistic interaction in this type of bilingual community.

Findings of Code-switching Studies

Studies of code-switching in speech communities around the world have produced findings regarding the way code-switched utterances are produced, the way contextual features influence code-switching, the significance of linguistic competence, and the communicative functions which code-switching can carry. Findings have also shown that code-switching can indicate the social standing of the interlocutors with respect to each other and can function as a marking device to indicate that inference of some kind is necessary. Researchers have also found varying attitudes towards code-switching in different speech communities. Since these findings have influenced the present study, they will be reviewed here.

Some studies of code-switching have examined the phenomenon from a **language production** angle, in an attempt to determine how items from two languages can be produced within a single utterance (Woolford, 1983; Arnedt and Gentile, 1986; Faltis, 1989; Clyne, 1985; Pfaff 1979 and Poplack, 1980). Such studies have drawn up lists of constraints on code-switching in a search for universal constraints. They have analysed code-switches according to length, word class and syntactic position within an utterance, in order to discover the processes involved in the production of code-switched utterances. Woolford (1963, p.522) for example, drew up a generative model, showing that when producing hybrid sentences, speakers follow phrase structure rules to fill terminal nodes. Clyne (1972, p.106) found that code-switching could be produced by a process of "triggering" when particular proper nouns, loan words or bilingual homophones were used. He showed that this could even be anticipational - that is, code-switched items could precede a "trigger". However,

he was unable to apply his theory to passages with a high frequency of code-switching. He described these as passages of "marginal switching" where he maintained the base language could not be identified. Poplack (1980) found that code-switching occurred where the two codes map into each other, that is where the grammatical systems were parallel. She also found that instances of code-switching in her data were limited by the free morpheme constraint and did not occur with bound morphemes. Similarly, Atawney (1992, p.225) found that "Certain lexical items simply cannot be mixed because of restrictions in the host language." Yoon (1992) showed that constraints drawn up by researchers with reference to certain language pairs cannot always be applied to code-switching patterns where different language pairs are involved. Poplack, Wheeler and Westwood (1990) found that the frequency of switching was influenced by the relatedness of language pairs involved. A study on bilingual acquisition by Huerta (1977) found that code-switching by a bilingual child was not detrimental to the simultaneous acquisition of the two languages.

These findings demonstrate the linguistic complexity of the phenomenon of code-switching. They show that understanding of how speakers produce hybrid utterances is still limited and that attempts to draw up sets of universal constraints have not yet succeeded, since there is a great deal of variation between code-switching patterns in different speech communities. Although the present study will not focus on the issue of production of code-switched utterances, the description of the surface patterns which occur in the data in this study may be useful to linguists interested in this aspect of code-switching.

Sociolinguistic studies of code-switching have shown that choice of language code can be made in response to situational factors, such as interlocutor, physical context and topic. This has been compared to the way in which linguistic choices with regard to lexical items, word order, and intonation are made. Researchers have been able to show that speakers choose a code (variant, dialect or language) in response to the identity of the **Interlocutor** or listener. Raposo-do-Amaral (1985) maintained that children developed this ability at the age of four. However, her study measured code-switching in

response to verbal instructions, rather than observing it in natural interaction. Kwan-Terry (1992) and Chengappa (1984) showed that even pre-school children of two and three years of age had developed the social sensitivity to choose appropriate codes in response to listener identity. In most cases, children identified particular care-givers with a particular language. Where parents used mixed language, children also used similar patterns, demonstrating quite complex metalinguistic awareness (Goodz, 1989). Lambert (1967) observed how language switches in response to changing speech partners could complicate social relations in the French Canadian context. Li Wei (1995, p.309) observed that code-switching occurred most frequently in Chinese immigrant families during inter-generational interactions. Beebe (1981), in a carefully controlled experiment, showed how the ethnicity of the interlocutor prompted dialect shifts in her Chinese-Thai subjects. Burt (1992) showed how strangers code-switch in an exploratory fashion before settling into an agreed basic code for a conversation. This clear function of code-switching did not emerge in the present study, since interlocutors in the recorded conversations were members of the same social networks. There was no need for them to change code in response to listeners, since they were already acquainted. Speakers did refer to this type of code-switching during the post-recording interviews, however.

Changes in physical context and topic of conversation have also been examined in studies of code choice and code switching. Fishman (1972, p.437) concluded that the language variety chosen depended not only on the interlocutor, but also on the occasion and the topic. In their study of natural language variation, Hall and Guthrie (1981) analysed language data according to five types of interlocutor, as well as physical and temporal contexts (before school, in the classroom etc.). Malcolm (1982) showed that Australian Aboriginal children used their Aboriginal language when playing games based on bush life and English for other types of games. In their Norwegian study, Blom and Gumperz (1972) found a correlation between use of the local dialect and local topics, while the standard dialect was associated with pan-Norwegian domains, such as education or church. Titone (1991)

found that speakers code-switched in response to stereotyped verbal habits, in which particular syntagmatic blocks were associated with particular codes. Clyne (1985, p.7) also found this concept of domains fundamental to an understanding of code-switching patterns. Romaine (1989, p.160) showed that code can become associated with a certain class of activities and networks of interpersonal relationships. In the present study, domain association will be examined as one of the components of the speech event which may influence code-switching patterns.

Some sociolinguists have focused on the correlation between language **competence** and code-switching while others have identified communicative functions of code-switching. One view which has been put forward by Littlewood (1984) and Kwan-Terry (1992) is that code-switching signals inadequate mastery of the second language or even confusion between the two. Dabene (1990, p.10) refers to "code-switching by incompetence", contrasting it with "intentional code-switching". The opposite point of view is held by Nababan (1993, p.32), who states that speakers who code-switch sometimes wish to show off their learning or social position. Poplack (1980, p.612) identified the language dominance of the speakers as the single most significant factor determining intragroup code-switching patterns. She maintains that intragroup code-switching requires the highest degree of bilingual competence, while emblematic code-switching involving mainly tags and idioms, used with non-group members, requires a lower bilingual competence. Valdes-Fallis (1978, p.97) identified ten code-switching patterns employed by four types of bilinguals. Hyltenstam and Obler (1989) also stress the competence required by speakers in both languages in order to code-switch with facility. Heller (1988, p.3) has interpreted code-switching as a conversational strategy which facilitates communicative goals. Blom and Gumperz (1972, p.285) interpret "rules of codification" as a part of the communicative competence of speakers in every speech exchange. Hasselmo (1970) also examined the competence aspect of code-switching in his analysis of oral narratives by Swedish-Americans. He identified the speakers' use of "preformulations" which facilitated narration in a particular code.

Researchers have identified various **communicative functions** carried by code-switching. For example, Romaine (1989, p.148-151) has identified joking, addressee specification, quotation and emphasis among others. Atawneh's list of communicative functions of code-switching includes emphasis, verisimilitude, role playing and technical and sociocultural authenticity (1992, p.220). Beebe (1981, p.141) interprets dialect choice as a communication strategy which "attempts to convey a message not explicitly encoded by the words of the utterances themselves". She does not go on to explore what this "message" may be, however. De Heredia-Deprez (1990, p.103) is more specific, maintaining that choice of the interlocutor's language indicates agreement, seeking agreement or parody. She also makes the interesting observation that it is not the choice of language which is significant, but the decision to change the language, that is the act of code-switching itself. Gal (1988, p.256) agrees that with high-frequency code-switching, the contrast between the codes signals that some conversational inference is necessary.

Marasigan (1983, p.96) points out that while some conversational functions of code-switching can easily be identified from the surface forms, others seem to be similar to stylistic or semantic signals and are more difficult to identify. An example she gives of the latter is the use of code to personalise or objectivise the topic of conversation. The correct interpretation of such a communicative function is limited by the shared knowledge of the interlocutors. In the present study, an attempt will be made to identify communicative functions of code-switching, both surface and stylistic, in Chapter 5, pp. 99 - 107.

One function of code-switching identified by several researchers has been that of **solidarity marking**. Kaldor (1970, p.208) demonstrated that code-switching was used by her speakers (overseas students on an Australian campus) as a way of showing ethnic solidarity. Auer (1988, p.209) found that code-switching indicated shared membership in particular social networks. Haviland (1982, p.65) analysed language choice in a detailed situational context, attempting to demonstrate that it was a function not only of the kinship

relation of the speakers, but of the politeness level required and the wish to include or exclude listeners. Yoon (1992, p.443) also maintained that code-switching patterns change with the social relations existing between interlocutors. Kachru (1978, pp.36-37) found that language mixing places a speaker hierarchically in the social network. Blommaert (1992, p.68) showed that the use of Campus Kiswahili functions to exclude those of a different educational background. The argots described by Kaplan, Kampe and Farfan (see Jacobson, 1990) protect the speech community and strengthen group identity. Gal (1988, p.247) maintains that code-switching is a conversational strategy which can be used to indicate any change in footing, and thereby influence interpersonal or intergroup relations. She also found that differences in code-switching patterns reflected differences in the political position of ethnic groups within the broader social network.

Some researchers have interpreted conversational exchanges rich in code-switching as examples of a separate language style in itself. Poplack (1980, p.588) saw mixed code use as an emblem of a group's identity. Gal (1988, p.259) refers to such high-frequency code-switching as used by Puerto Ricans in New York or Italian migrants in Germany as "a syncretic form of conversation". Myers Scotton (1983, p.126) states that the unmarked choice for an exchange can be an overall mixed code pattern. Marasigan (1983 p.57) also describes "Mix-mix" in the Philippines as functioning in this way. Swigart (1992, p.94) identifies Urban Wolof as the unmarked informal code of the educated urban society. One of the aims of this study will be to find whether intragroup code-switching patterns in the speech community studied are also of this type, and could thus indicate a separate group identity within the social network of the urban centre.

Basic to many interpretations of code-switching patterns has been the concept of contrast. Myers Scotton (1983) has referred to this as **markedness**. She has explained that in every speech exchange there is an unmarked or expected code. The unmarked code is established by members of a speech community on the basis of frequency (Greenbaum, 1980, p.302). If an

alternative code is used, the contrast between the expected and the actual code employed must carry meaning. Gumperz (1982, p.97) agrees that code-switching depends for its impact on the juxtaposition of two codes "to generate conversational inferences". He points out that "verbal sequences are chunked into contrastable units" (p.90), and explains that the direction of switch may also carry semantic value. Zentella (1981, p.123) suggests that some meanings carried by this marking could be indication of an aside, sarcasm, persuasion or dramatic force. Goyvaerts and Zambele (1992, p.80) propose that each bilingual has as part of their linguistic competence a "markedness dictionary" which contains information about contexts and codes which is under constant revision.

However, the value of interpretation of code-switching meanings based on markedness has been questioned in the Canadian study of Genesee and Bourhis (1982, p.22), as they found that listeners' evaluation of language choices changes during a conversational exchange. Gumperz (1982, p.93) sees code-switching as more than merely a contrastive emphasis of part of a message. He sees it rather as a discourse phenomenon which is used within a speech community to generate conversational inferences. It appears clear, however, that the concept of code-switching as a discourse strategy, signalling added meaning to an utterance through syntagmatic and paradigmatic contrast, is a useful one, which has been used by many researchers in attempts to interpret code-switching functions.

Language attitudes towards code-switching have also been reported by researchers in a variety of speech communities. Romaine (1989, p.153) maintained that the rate and the type of code-switching in a particular speech community is influenced by the attitudes of speakers towards it. Poplack (1980, p.585) warned that judgements of code-switching given by speakers should be questioned, as they could be overtly stigmatised by the speech community. An example of this is the study by Blom and Gumperz (1971, p.302) in which speakers expressed disapproval and surprise at their own use of code-switching when conversations were played back to them. Swigart (1992, p.97)

explains that attitudes to code-switching appear on two levels - when asked directly, most speakers denounce it, but accept it when asked to comment on recordings including examples of code-switching. The fact that bilinguals are often not aware of code-switching in their own speech and that of others was shown by Clyne's study (1985, p.109). One group of his subjects was not aware of polysemy in conversations containing cross-linguistic jokes they watched. The fact that speakers cannot give reliable information regarding code-switching norms is significant in the planning of any study of this phenomenon.

Indonesian Studies

There have been very few **Indonesian studies** dedicated solely to code-switching, although some studies have included data and opinions regarding this phenomenon. These include Tanner's study of Indonesians living abroad (1977), Kartomihardjo's ethnographic study (1979), Lumintintang's study of Jakarta dialect and Indonesian (1981), Tilden's study of code-switching in Indonesian novels (1985), Sudja'i, Fuad Effendy, Tjokrosoejoso, Tarjono and Setyapranata's study of the Chinese community in East Java (1986), and Sudrajat Indarsyah and Zamamah's study of Indonesian interference in Bahasa Lampung (1990). Errington's recent research (1995) into use of codes and speech levels in Java has also provided some insights into Indonesian language use patterns. The most detailed Indonesian study of code-switching available, however, is that made of Javanese communicative codes by Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo (1980).

Tanner (1977) identified the neutral function of Indonesian as a code choice between speakers of different ethnic groups, especially in interactions where social status was unclear. The fact that Indonesian does not, like Javanese, have speech levels, meant that speakers could choose to use it as a "safe option".

Kartomihardjo (1979) collected recordings of interactions between speakers in East Java in a variety of settings in order to discover factors influencing language choice. However, the only examples of intrasentential code-switching he includes in this report are Javanese terms of address used in Indonesian utterances, although he refers to "intermittent" use of the two languages in the recorded data. He identifies a correlation between the use of Javanese and familiarity and the use of Indonesian and distancing by the speakers in his study. He also maintains that while Indonesian indicates seriousness, Javanese is used for expressing opinions and personal feelings. He maintains that "the use of Indonesian on informal occasions suggests distance, insecurity, or an inability to use Javanese" (p.66).

Lumintintang's focus was code-use by high school students in Jakarta (1981). She was particularly interested in the use of Jakarta dialect. Data was collected regarding situational factors influencing language usage, and types of interaction were identified where Jakarta dialect, Indonesian and a mixed form were likely to be used.

Suhardi, Aswadi, Dewa Putu Wijana and Widya Kirana (1982) examined use of Javanese lexical items in examples of formal oral and written Indonesian. They identified limited competence in Indonesian as a factor, but also described the use of Javanese items as a conscious strategy to achieve a specific effect, without, however, detailing what this may be (p.94).

Mixed language was included as a category in the questionnaires administered by Sudja'i, Fuad Effendy, Tjokrosoejoso, Tarjono and Setyapranata (1986). Physical contexts, topics and interlocutors were identified as variables influencing language choice. Since the speech community was a multilingual one in East Java, the code choices available were Indonesian, Javanese, Chinese and "Bahasa Campuran" [mixed language]. Unfortunately, this mixed code was not defined, so that the tabulated information provided is difficult to interpret.

Sudrajat et al. (1990), in their analysis of language data, also identified and tabulated "mixed language" as a separate category, without, however, defining what they meant by this. Their data, based on questionnaires, indicated that 25% of speakers used mixed code (Lampung language and Indonesian) in informal intragroup situations. Reasons for code-switching mentioned were limited competence in the regional language, clarification and a wish to liven up conversations (p.36).

J.J. Errington (Personal communication, 6 November, 1995) has also collected recordings of a variety of oral interactions in Java. He interprets one function of codeswitching as a floor-seeking strategy. He also noticed that kinship terms, particles and tags leak easily across language boundaries. He stresses the point that code choice is often below the awareness of interlocutors, who are concerned with the communicative exchange, rather than the linguistic strategies used to infer meanings.

The study of code-switching in Central Java by Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo (1980) is the most detailed available in Indonesia so far. The base language of interaction is a regional language, Javanese, while the code-switched items appear in the national language, Indonesian. The researchers point out that code-switching is greatly facilitated by parallel structures between the two related languages. They identify Indonesian forms used for particular topics "where the Javanese forms are not as well known as the Indonesian" (p.51). Examples are topics related to education, politics, health, science and banking. Functions of code-switching to Indonesian from Javanese identified in their study include: neutrality (avoidance of speech levels required in Javanese), marking asides, euphemisms and to give the impression of official authority or mock dignity. They also found that Indonesian was often used to disclose personal feelings (p.64).

The national survey of bilingualism carried out by Nababan, Burhanudin, Rachmadi, Nainggolan and Sitindaon (1992) in several Indonesian provinces provides interesting information, as the survey used included details on mixed

language usage. The survey reported that 88% of Indonesians speak a regional language as their first language, learning Indonesian at school entry age. In North Sumatra, 62% of informants spoke a regional language as their first language, but there was a clear trend amongst children of increasing numbers learning Indonesian as their first language (p.38). Respondents were asked to give the language used in a variety of situations. They were able to choose their regional language, the national language or a mixed language variety. They were even asked to explain their reasons for code-switching. Results mentioned were the lack of an equivalent term in Indonesian, intimacy and familiarity. No detailed analysis of code-switching data was included in their report. They did, however, identify inter-ethnic marriage as a factor influencing code-switching, as more than one language was available to members of a family (p.32).

In North Sumatra, the study by Tampubolon (1986) is the only one to mention code-switching. Tampubolon refers to a mixture of Toba Batak language and Indonesian as a "pidjin", interpreting it as a mid-point between full competence in both languages. Speakers of this variety, usually those who have left the rural areas to settle in urban centres, are seen as able to use the regional language only for communicative effect, having lost their full range of expressive competence. He describes a cyclical process of language attrition whereby speakers gradually lose their competence in the regional language, while extending it in the national language.

These Indonesian studies indicate that code-switching is a generally-occurring aspect of language use in this multilingual nation. However, there have been very few studies of this phenomenon as yet. Of those that are available, most of the data has been collected through questionnaires. Since other researchers, such as Blom and Gumperz (1971), have found that speakers are often not aware of their own usage patterns, data collected in this way cannot be regarded as reliable. Romaine (1989, p.161) stated that speakers must share codes and principles of interpretation, which can best be determined through conversational analysis. The best way of finding out actual code-switching

practices is to record and analyse language use in context. This is what has been done in the present study.

There have been very few studies made of the Simalungun language. Although a dictionary has been published (Saragih, 1989), there have been no sociolinguistic studies made of the language. Since an increasing number of younger speakers of Simalungun are moving to the urban centre of Medan to study, their daily language patterns may be undergoing some changes. Studies of the code-switching patterns of this speech community may provide interesting data regarding changing language usage. For example, Kartomihardjo (1979, p.149) observed in his Javanese study that there is "a growing tendency to use Indonesian in situations ... where the local language was formerly employed". However, it may be that bilingual speakers in this speech community are not losing their first language competence, but are adding to it, thus gaining "a double stack of rhetorical devices" (Reyburn, 1975, p.96).

Gumperz (1982, p.62) has maintained that code-switching as a linguistic phenomenon occurs most frequently in informal speech situations where the speakers are members of cohesive minority groups in modern urbanising regions. This study will be made in such a context. Most studies of intragroup code-switching have been between unrelated languages. Since it appears to be a common phenomenon in multilingual nations such as Indonesia, where most speakers are competent in at least one regional language and the related national language, it is hoped that this study may provide valuable data for the field of code-switching as a whole.

CHAPTER TWO: THE SPEECH COMMUNITY

Code-switching patterns are influenced by the norms of the speech community. These norms determine the contexts in which the languages are habitually used and mixed. The linguistic relationship of the two languages, their political status, as well as the attitudes held by the speakers towards the two languages, and to code-switching itself, also influence the way in which code-switching is used by speakers. For this reason, a study of the speech community from which the language data has been taken will precede the description of the linguistic patterns themselves. In this way, the code-switching data from this study can be placed into context.

A group of speakers who share sociolinguistic norms is usually referred to as a speech community. Coulthard (1993, p.35) points out that speakers must share rules of interaction and interpretation of language, as well as linguistic resources, in order to form the networks which make up a particular speech community. Gumperz (1971, p.114) defines a speech community as speakers who use "a shared body of verbal signs" to interact. Just as the social patterns of the speech community influence language usage, so do linguistic patterns of usage reflect the social world of the speakers. Gumperz (1982, p.69) maintains that "Acceptable [code-switching] usage is learned through constant practice by living in a group and varies just as control of lexicon and style varies in monolingual groups". In order to attain an understanding of code-switching patterns, language samples should be interpreted against the background of the linguistic norms of the speech community. The norms most relevant to the present study will be those which determine language code choice in particular contexts.

The application of the term **speech community** seems to vary greatly. It can be used to refer to a micro-community of speakers, such as a single family (De Heredia-Deprez, 1990) or a group of friends, whose language usage varies in some way from the language used around them. Tanner (1967) uses it to refer

to a group of multilingual Indonesian speakers from different ethnic groups living overseas. It is most often used to refer to a sub-group of speakers within a society who share a particular language variety due to their occupation or their social position.

In this study the term will be used to refer to a subgroup of Simalungun-Indonesian bilinguals. Speakers of Simalungun form a wide community sharing a common language and culture. However, they can be divided, according to their place of residence, into rural speakers and urban speakers. Urban speakers tend to have greater competence in their second language, Indonesian, than those living in rural areas, where Simalungun is the dominant code. In this study, the term *speech community* will be used to refer to Simalungun-Indonesian bilinguals who, although they grew up in rural towns and villages, now live in the multilingual urban centre of Medan, where they make up a small minority of the population. Bruner (1974, p.255) described Medan twenty years ago as "a city of minorities" and that is still the case today.

The particular representatives of the speech community who have been chosen as participants in this study are young students who have moved to the city from rural centres. In the towns and villages where they grew up, the regional language, Simalungun, was the dominant code, the national language being used in limited contexts. In the urban centre of Medan, Indonesian is the dominant language of interaction, spoken by all, usually as a second language.

The participants in this study are typical insofar as there is a general movement of young people from the rural to the urban areas, as is shown in Figure 1, p.27. New arrivals tend to cluster together in boarding houses and in social groups on campuses of tertiary institutions. They gradually become absorbed into the general urban society as they find work and settle permanently in the city.

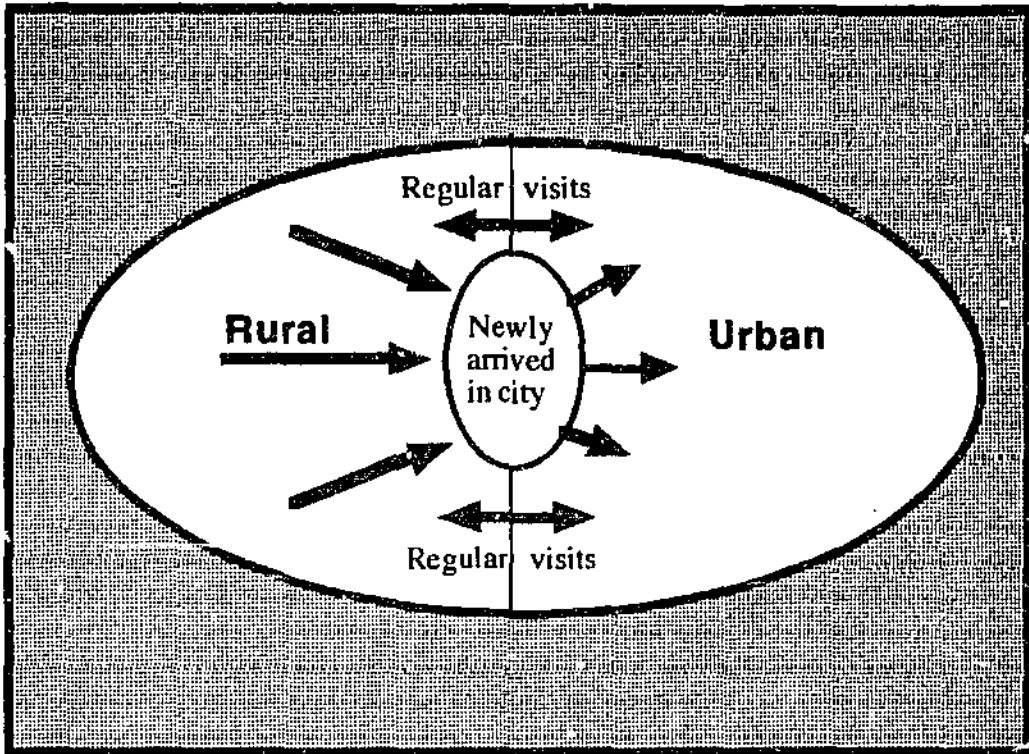


Figure 1. Urban Migration of Simalungun Speakers

All participants in the study originated from rural areas. They had moved to Medan in order to study at university. Some had attended senior high school for three years in the regency capital, Pematang Siantar. Six participants had moved to Medan only 1 to 3 months before taking part in the study. Nine participants had lived in Medan for 18 months to 3 years, while four had lived there for 4 to 6 years. This can be seen on Table 1, p.52.

The diverse range of code-switching patterns throughout the world can be accounted for on the basis of both the variety of bilingual speech communities which employ them, and the differences in the languages used (Yoon, 1992, p.435). Bilinguals learn the norms of code-switching in their particular speech community just as monolinguals learn the norms and conventions associated

with different styles of language (Gumperz, 1982, p.69). Bilinguals also learn interactional norms associated with each language. This set of social features is referred to as a "rights and obligations set" by Myers Scotton (1983, p.117). Auer (1988, p.189) makes the important point that in order for these norms to be maintained there must be regular contact between the speakers in a particular speech community and other speakers of the language. Py (1986, p.165) refers to the connections between a speaker and his speech community as a lectal chain, linking the individual with the norms of increasingly wider speech communities. If this chain is broken through isolation, then variations develop more quickly.

The children of Italian workers living in Konstanz were able to maintain the norms associated with their first language since there was frequent contact with the home country (Auer, 1988, p.188). In the present study, the urban Simalungun youth also have frequent contact with rural speakers of the language through interactions with speakers newly arrived from the villages, as well as during regular visits home for holidays and to attend family gatherings. In several of the conversations recorded in this study, speakers discussed plans for students now studying in Medan to organise and participate in activities in the village during the vacation, including choir performances, traditional dance performances and sporting competitions (See Recording Sessions 6,7 & 9, Appendix B). Two speakers also described recent short weekend visits home (See Recording Sessions 5 & 8, Appendix B).

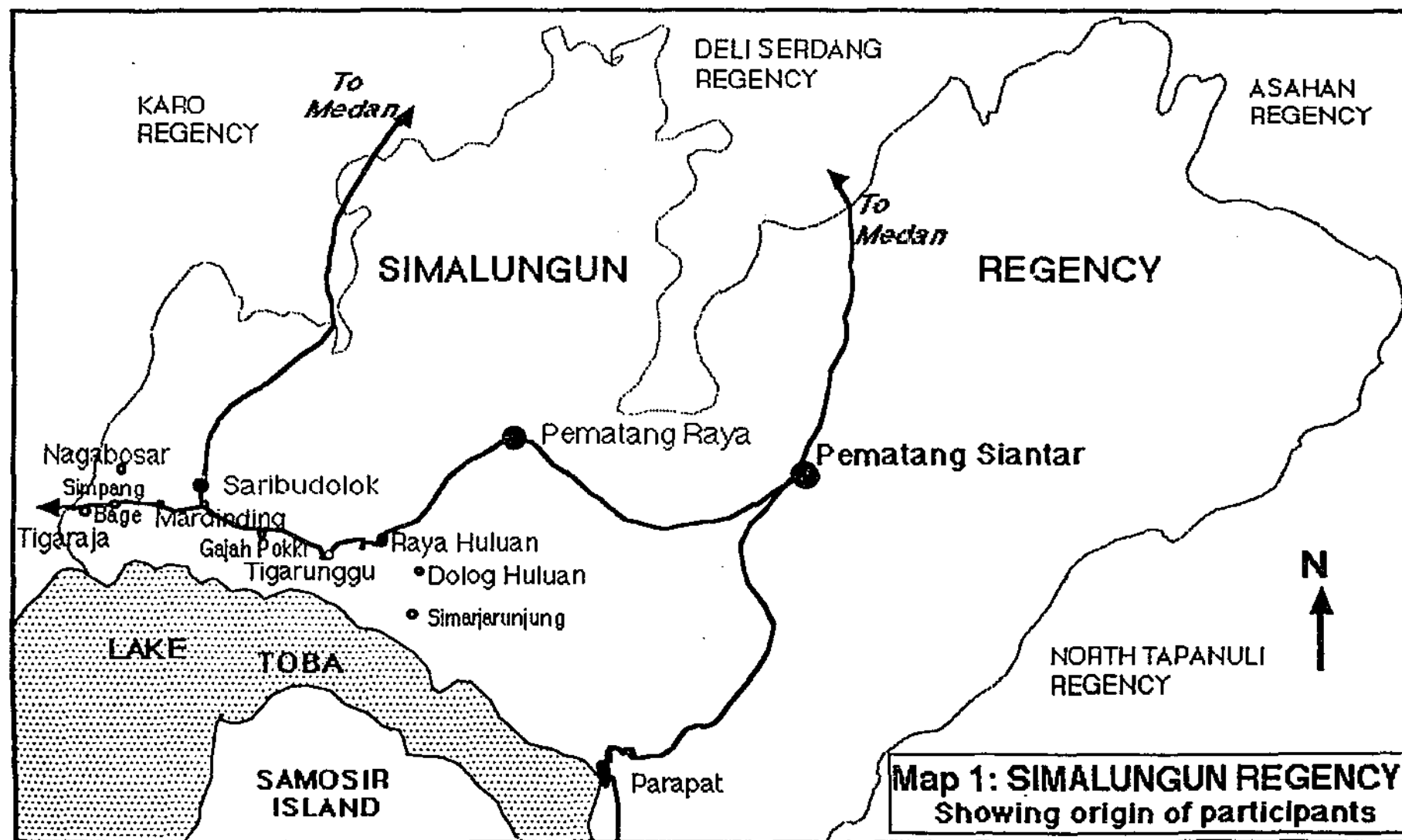
Since networks between the urban and rural speakers of the language are regularly maintained, there are limited opportunities for language variation to occur. However, code choice is one aspect of language use which may be undergoing some change, since the daily code usage patterns in the urban community vary from those in the rural areas, where Simalungun is still the dominant code. Results of several studies have in fact shown that code-switching could in some speech communities be an indicator of linguistic change in process. Scotton and Ury (1977, p.6) concluded from their West Kenyan study that code-switching between the local language, Swahili, and

English was a symbol of change. Fase, Jaspaert and Kroon (1992, p.7) maintained that "changes in language choice during intragroup communication are the result of changes of norms". Bokamba (1988, p.23) also sees code-mixing as one of the contributing factors to language variation and change. One of the questions arising from the present study is whether code-switching patterns in this speech community could be an indicator of changes in the norms governing language choice in some contexts.

The fact that the two languages spoken are related may be one factor influencing the code-switching patterns used. The speech community to be studied here is a bilingual one, whose members use both Simalungun and the national language, Indonesian. The Simalungun and Indonesian languages are related members of the West Malay-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language grouping. The Simalungun language is one of approximately 418 regional languages spoken in the nation of Indonesia. Indonesian (*Bahasa Indonesia*) has developed from Malay, the language traditionally spoken by the coastal Malay people of the region. Similarities between the syntax and the morphology of the two languages spoken by members of this speech community facilitate intrasentential switching, as structural constraints on points where codes can be switched are few. The expectation would be, therefore, that there would be frequent use of intrasentential code-switching, unimpeded by gross variations in linguistic structures.

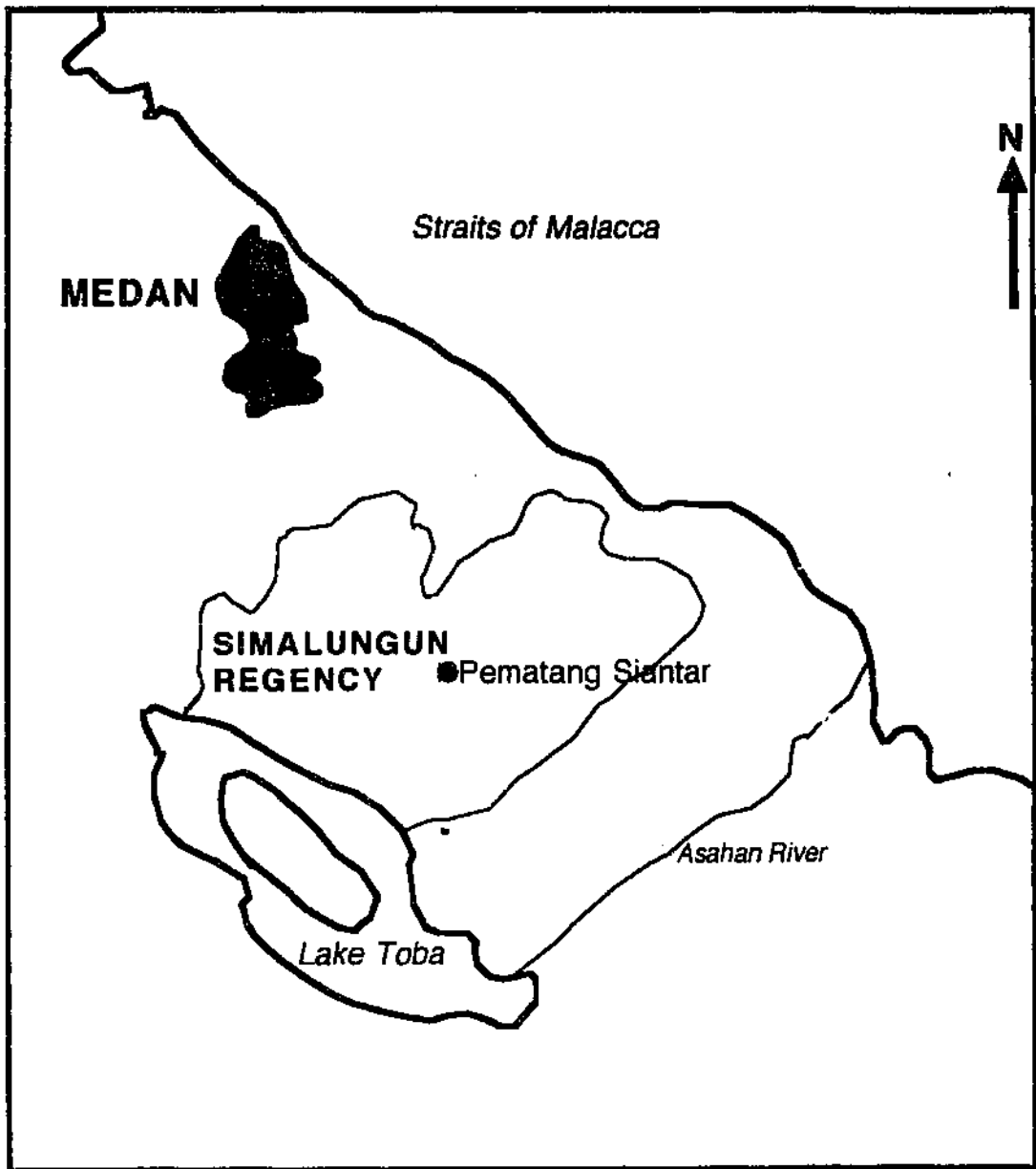
Political status of Simalungun and Indonesian

Whereas Indonesian is the official national language of Indonesia, **Simalungun** is one of many regional languages spoken throughout the archipelago. It is estimated that the Simalungun language is spoken by approximately 1/3 million people (Wasis, 1991, p.798). Exact figures cannot be obtained, since detailed information on regional languages has not been included in any post-independence census. Since regional languages reflect ethnic allegiance, they can be seen to symbolise diversity rather than unity (Bruner, 1974, p.277).



The speakers of Simalungun form a distinct group, resident either in the rural areas of the Simalungun regency (see Map 1, p.30) where they form the majority ethnic group, or as migrants living in the city of Medan, where they form a minority group in a city where no one ethnic group is dominant (Bruner, 1974, p.225). Map 2 (p.32) shows the geographical relationship between the rural area where most Simalungun people live and the city of Medan. Simalungun speakers also live in other cities throughout Indonesia, such as Pekanbaru and Jakarta, where the Simalungun community maintains a network of social relations through traditional *adat* ceremonies and has established active branches of its own church.

According to Ferguson (1959), in most bilingual communities, there exists one language which has higher prestige than the other. Such a situation frequently entails **diglossia**, where the two languages largely function in separate domains. Typically, the higher language has attracted prestige due to its association with education, government and culture, whereas the lower language is unacceptable in many domains and its functions are limited, as is its lexis. Wardhaugh (1992, p.91) explains that the higher language is regarded as more expressive and is not used in everyday conversation. In contrast, the lower language lacks prestige and borrows terms from the higher one. In this type of situation, the lower language may be gradually replaced in more situations by the higher language, and language shift may occur, otherwise known as **language attrition** (Romaine, 1989, pp.39-41). An example of this is the case, cited by Eckert (1980, pp.1058-9), of the French regional language, Occitan. Although it was formerly a highly-regarded and literary language, it is now being replaced by the official French, which is associated with modernity and higher socio-economic levels. However, many bilingual communities do not fit the pattern described above. An example is that described by Blom and Gumperz (1971, p.276) in Norway, where Ranimål, the local dialect, has higher status than Bokmål, the standard dialect



Map 2: Simalungun Regency and City of Medan,
North Sumatra.

It appears, therefore, that there are several types of diglossic situations. Ferguson (1959) has shown that bilingualism can exist with or without diglossia. Since many speech communities are multilingual, rather than just bilingual, they cannot easily be classified, but must be described separately or compared and contrasted with other communities around the world. Platt (1975

pp.92-95) describes the complex multilingual speech communities in Singapore and Malaysia, which have much in common with those in urban areas in Indonesia. In each of these countries, bilingualism or multilingualism is the norm. Members of a speech community speak one language at home and a different one, usually the national language, at school or at work.

Additional languages may be used with neighbours or colleagues from a different ethnic group. In such speech communities, code-switching is common, as can be seen in the media in these countries, where announcers and actors frequently mix languages. Comedians are able to make extensive use of bilingual puns, since the wider community is multilingual. A major difference, however, between Indonesia and these neighbouring countries is that in Indonesia no foreign language has official status. Although English terms are used increasingly in many fields, the English language is not used by the general community. At a recent seminar held in Medan (Simalungun Language : Now and in the Future, 28th June, 1997), it was stated that modern Simalungun people ideally should be competent in five different languages. English was named last, after Simalungun, Indonesian, the language of one's spouse and the language of the residential region.

Simalungun people, like most Indonesians, speak both their regional language and Indonesian, with some knowledge of neighbouring regional languages. It appears that the language usage patterns in the Simalungun-Indonesian community are similar to the fourth type of diglossia described by Fishman (see Romaine, 1989, p.34) in which the two languages are genetically related to each other, but the higher language is used in written contexts and as the formal choice for spoken interaction, while the lower language is the vernacular. However, a close examination of the domain usage patterns of the two languages reveals a more complex pattern than that described by Fishman.

The Simalungun language is not taught in the schools of the region, even where the majority of pupils is Simalungun, although it is used in the primary

classrooms to clarify material presented in the national language. This is similar to the situation with other regional languages throughout Indonesia. Regional languages have not been included in new curricula since 1968 (Tambunan, 1985, p.11). According to data from a survey of bilingualism in Indonesia, 88% of Indonesians first learn a regional language at home, then learn Indonesian when they begin primary school. (Nababan et al., 1992). Although use of regional languages is encouraged in the constitution as a reflection of the diverse cultures of Indonesia, it is not promoted in the schools. Publications in regional languages are also not encouraged by the national government, despite suggestions made at a regional language conference in 1976 to ensure that regional languages did not die out. (Nababan et al., 1992, p.6). Except in the school classrooms, the Simalungun language remains the dominant language of oral interaction throughout the rural areas of the Simalungun regency.

Simalungun speakers are aware that their ethnic group is a minority one, especially when compared with the dominant group of neighbouring Toba Bataks. Damanik (1989, p.41) maintains that Simalungun people tend to use the Toba language when conversing with Toba Bataks and Karo language when conversing with Karonese. He suggests that this may indicate that strong tolerance and politeness is part of the Simalungun culture, to the extent that speakers are willing to put aside their own language and use that of their interlocutor. Findings from this study have corroborated this. Most participants stated in post-recording interviews that when conversing with Toba Batak friends, they tended to use the Toba regional language, which they had learnt from friends, rather than Simalungun or Indonesian. One stated that her Toba friends found Simalungun too hard to learn, and that it was easier for her to learn the Toba language. Giles and Smith (1979, p.46) label this process whereby a speaker uses the interlocutor's language "convergence" and describe it as part of their accommodation theory.

Indonesian, the national language, functions very successfully as a unifying force throughout the islands of Indonesia where diverse ethnic groups live.

The Malay language, which had long been functioning as a lingua franca throughout the archipelago during the colonial era, was first declared the national language at a Youth Congress in 1928 when the country was still a colony under the Dutch. The language became a symbol of independence and has now become a symbol of unity. It no longer carries its former association with revolution and has been refined ("Buku", 1996). It is used in all schools, whereas foreign languages such as Mandarin or English are not permitted as the language of instruction. Although lip service is paid to the importance of maintaining regional languages in accordance with Paragraph 36, Chapter XV in the Constitution (Sugono, 1994, p.1), in practice, they are only used in the schools in the first few grades until children have learnt enough Indonesian to understand lessons (Anwar, 1990, p.137).

Indonesian is also used in government offices and in the media. Local newspapers in regional languages are rare. The only programs where regional languages are heard on television are cultural programs which include songs from different regions. However, Indonesian comedians regularly make use of phrases in regional languages in their routines, as a ready source of puns.

There is a high degree of consciousness in Indonesia regarding the quality of the national language. Articles often appear in the press regretting the large number of foreign words being used in Indonesian, especially those originating from English. There has been a national campaign over the last few years to use correct Indonesian with the slogan: "Pakailah bahasa yang baik dan benar!" [Use good, correct Indonesian!]. Signs in the English language in Jakarta have been taken down, and "correct" versions of foreign terms have been suggested. These more acceptable lexical items are usually taken from Sanskrit or from one of the regional languages. In fact, regional languages are often referred to as being reservoirs of new terms which can be adopted into the national language (Minad, 1994, p.68 and Suhardi et al., 1982, p.3). Thus, the purity of the national language is seen as being under threat from foreign languages, while the attitude towards borrowing from regional languages

remains positive. Some critical studies have been made of the mixing of regional language syntax and lexis with Indonesian (Lumantaintang, 1981 and Suhardi et al, 1982), but these have been few in number.

Indonesian is the first language of an increasing number of Indonesian citizens, especially those born in the large cities with varied ethnic makeup, such as Jakarta and Medan. Wallace (1979, p.80) observed this process twenty years ago. He noted that Indonesian had become a symbol of modernity and of generational solidarity amongst the urban youth, although terms of address from local languages were usually carried over. He concluded that the attempt to replace the many terms for 'you' with 'anda' had been a total failure. Bruner (1974, p.255) contrasted Medan, "a city of minorities" with Bandung, with its dominant Sundanese culture. It is this diversity which has ensured that Indonesian, traditionally the language of the Malay ethnic group, has become so strongly established in Medan. The mixed residential patterns of the city have also led to greater use of Indonesian, as regional languages cannot be used with neighbours of different ethnic backgrounds.

Another reason for use of Indonesian has been suggested by Tanner (1967 pp.22-28), who sees the national language as a language of neutrality, because it can be used by members of the same ethnic group when negotiating relationships or avoiding distinctions which would be necessary when using a regional language such as Javanese. Tanner describes Indonesian as a "linguistic highest common denominator" and a "neutral, democratic language" which has become a "truly successful national language". Examples of this can also be seen in the Simalungun-Indonesian speech community. At a recent family celebration of a child's admission to the Simalungun church [maluah] attended by the researcher, half of those present were from the neighbouring Karo ethnic group, as the father of the child was Karo. Most speakers consciously chose to make their official speeches in Indonesian, in deference to the host, although hymns were kept in Simalungun (7-7-96, home of Cukup Barus, Jln Batang Gadis, Medan).

The great majority of Indonesian citizens, like the participants in the present study, speak their regional language as their first language and Indonesian as a second language. The bilingual survey carried out by the Language Development Institute in 1992 put this group as 88% of the population (Nababan et al, 1992, p.2). According to the 1980 census, only 17.6 million Indonesians spoke Indonesian at home. This indicates that the language samples collected from the subjects of this study may be representative of common language usage patterns throughout Indonesia, as well as of the linguistic usage of their own speech community.

Domains

One of the norms of interaction in a multilingual community is language usage in particular contexts referred to as **domains**, "major clusters of interaction" (Fishman, 1972, p.441). Fishman named five domains: family, friendship, religion, education and employment. The language domains in which each language is habitually used in the community need to be clarified, so that the examples of language recorded for analysis can be understood in the context of broader community norms. The significance of individual language usage in a particular speech event can then be interpreted against this background.

There appears to be some relationship between the process of language shift and domain usage. Fasold maintains, for example, that in cases of language shift, the domains of the home and religion are usually the last where the lower language is maintained. Based on studies carried out in Oberwart, Austria by Gal and in East Sutherland, Scotland by Dorian, he states that if religious activity is undertaken in the high language, then "the shift will be nearly complete" (see Fasold, 1984, p.241). Aikio (1986, p.369) noted that a minority language appears to be maintained longest in the family domain, observing that the process of language shift could be demonstrated by a longitudinal study of three generations. Errington (1988, p.8) noted that in Java, Indonesian has progressively displaced Javanese in a range of prestigious contexts.

In order to place the language samples gathered in this study against the background of speech community norms, domain usage patterns for the two languages will next be discussed, first for Simalungun, then for Indonesian.

Most Medan residents of Simalungun ethnic identity still speak the **Simalungun language** at home, in traditional gatherings, at church, and in informal gatherings with members of their own ethnic group. However, at school, at work and in the local ethnically-mixed community, they use Indonesian. All participants in the present study stated that the normal language of interaction in their homes was Simalungun. In this speech community, formal family meetings, at which Simalungun is also used, are held regularly.

Simalungun is used at traditional ceremonies of all kinds - weddings, funerals and a host of minor occasions, at which adults take turns speaking, making use of formulaic patterns and appropriate traditional sayings. Linguistic virtuosity on such occasions is admired. Invitations to traditional ceremonies are written in the Simalungun language, although Indonesian versions are produced for members of other ethnic groups, especially for weddings. Frequent attendance at these *adat* ceremonies also ensures that contacts between urban and rural speakers are maintained, since a broad sample of relatives travel either to or from the city to attend them.

The terminology used to discuss traditional ceremonies must be taken from the Simalungun language, as Indonesian equivalents do not always coincide with particular semantic distinctions required. A particular verbal repertoire of Simalungun terms is thus a part of the ceremonial life of the speech community.

All family ceremonies, such as weddings, funerals, departures, welcomes, engagements, presentations of grandchildren to the grandparents, are carried out in the Simalungun language, even in the city of Medan. The concept of

family is a very extended one, often including second cousins on relatively minor occasions, especially if living nearby. Uncles hold almost the same position as fathers, and first cousins who share a family name are regarded as brothers and sisters. Since the family is so large, significant ceremonies occur regularly. Non-attendance is regarded as a serious slight. Frequent family occasions such as these necessitate every adult member of each family grouping speaking formally before those present, expressing thanks, sympathy or giving advice. If a participant is unable to use Simalungun effectively for this, his or her standing in the family structure is lowered. In some families it is even preferred and expected that more than one regional language be mastered, if intermarriage between neighbouring ethnic groups is common in the ranks of the family. If someone from another ethnic group has married into the family, they are permitted to speak in Indonesian on formal occasions. However, if they are able to learn Simalungun, even imperfectly, they are praised. Thus, ability to speak correctly in a public situation is an essential prerequisite for being an active member of the Simalungun ethnic group. The prestige of this language is therefore high in family circles.

The second domain where the Simalungun language is valued highly is in the religious domain. When early missionaries brought the Lutheran religion to the Simalungun area, starting in 1903, the language of interaction was the Toba Batak language. This caused some problems and led to a split in the church in 1952 (Saragih, 1979, p.134), when a separate Simalungun Church (HKBPS, later renamed GKPS) was established, identical to the Toba Batak Church (HKBP) in all regards but the language used.

Translations of the Bible, hymn books and church newsletters have been made available in Simalungun. The Simalungun church is almost the only source of written materials in Simalungun. Simalungun Bibles, hymn books, and church periodicals, such as the monthly Ambilan pakon Barita [Sermons and News] are produced by the church headquarters at Pematang Siantar. The church has also published a Simalungun-Indonesian dictionary (Saragih, 1989). In addition to encouraging use of the Simalungun language, the Church actively

fosters other aspects of Simalungun culture. Church anniversaries are marked by competitions in traditional dancing and singing of traditional Simalungun songs in addition to hymns. Weekly prayer meetings are held at the homes of all church members in turn. Householders need active competence in the language to lead prayers and read from the Bible in Simalungun during these regular meetings. An excellent knowledge of the language is essential for anyone who aspires to any position within the church organisation, whether it be choir leader, elder or Sunday school teacher. Therefore all members of the Simalungun community who are also members of the Simalungun church maintain an active use of their language during church activities, even if they do not use it in the workplace or in the wider community.

The Simalungun church maintains the regional language for its services and prayer meetings in Medan. However, there are signs of an increase in the use of Indonesian in the church. Sunday school classes for children are held in Indonesian. A new Indonesian service was added to the regular Simalungun service at some Medan branches of the church in 1996, to accommodate church members not fluent in Simalungun. These include members of other ethnic groups who have married Simalungun speakers, and young people born in Medan of mixed parentage. The youth choir sings hymns in Simalungun, Indonesian and occasionally in English. The service at a recent Church anniversary (44th anniversary of the Hang Tuah branch, 19th June, 1996) was held in Indonesian. It was followed, however, by announcements in Simalungun. Entertainment such as skits and songs presented by each sector was all in Simalungun. Thus, although the Church is trying to accommodate members of its congregation who are not fluent speakers of Simalungun, the regional language remains dominant.

However, not all Simalungun people resident in Medan attend the Simalungun Church. Many who are Roman Catholics or members of other Protestant churches attend Indonesian language services. For them, therefore, the language of the religious domain has changed from Simalungun to Indonesian. Most of the participants of this study stated that they still regularly

attended church services in Simalungun. Five of those interviewed said they usually attended Indonesian services, whereas two attended services in both Simalungun and Indonesian.

In the wider urban community domain norms determine that Simalungun speakers use Indonesian, as they are interacting with members of different ethnic groups. The major groups resident in Medan are Javanese, Malay, Toba Batak, Karo Batak, Chinese and Indian. Indonesian is also used between speakers if they are interacting in a domain where they habitually use Indonesian, such as at school or at work, where members of other ethnic groups are usually present, even though the two interacting may both be Simalungun.

It would seem therefore, that the relationship between Simalungun and Indonesian is not that of a higher and lower language. Both languages are highly regarded and seen as appropriately used in different domains, each with their particular verbal repertoires. Indonesian is necessary to obtain a good education and wider employment possibilities, while Simalungun is essential in the traditional ceremonies of the family and in the church. The two languages have a symbiotic relationship.

The speech community which is the focus of this study is a bilingual one, whose members use different languages on different occasions. Positive attitudes are held towards both languages and, even though one is associated with traditional values and the other with modern life, they are not seen as different in level, merely in function. This situation can be compared with that described by Lasimbang et al (1992) between Kadazan and Malay, where positive attitudes are held towards both languages.

It can be seen that in this speech community, the patterns of language use indicate that the two languages are associated with particular domains - for example Indonesian with education and government and Simalungun with the family and religion. If diglossia is defined merely as a situation where the two

languages fulfil different functions, then perhaps Indonesian and Simalungun are in a diglossic relationship. If the Indonesian language begins to take over some of the traditional functions of Simalungun, this could lead to verbal impoverishment (Py, 1986, p.166) and eventually to language shift (Romaine, 1989, p.36). One example of this appears to be the domain of religion, where Simalungun-only usage is changing so that Indonesian is also regarded as an appropriate code for church services and religious activities.

However, language usage is not always clearly defined or restricted to particular domains. Code-switching is a phenomenon which indicates that domain is not the only factor influencing language choice. Since speakers change from one language to the other within conversations, other factors must be operating. These will be discussed in Chapter 5, p.80.

Language Attitudes

Language choice by speakers is partly determined by their attitudes to the languages used in their speech community. It appears that in this community, neither language is regarded purely positively or negatively. Rather, each is seen to function in a different way.

Simalungun parents hope that their children, whether born in the rural areas or in the city of Medan, will learn to speak Simalungun well, so that they will not disgrace the family on traditional occasions and may become active members of the church congregation. Children grow up associating the language with *adat* ceremonies and church meetings. They see the language as essential in certain contexts and have a positive attitude towards it.

Similarly, Simalungun parents encourage their children to learn Indonesian well, as they see it as a tool to a good education, which is essential to attain a position of social prestige in the community. To this end, rural families often send their children to school in Medan, so that they can obtain the best

education possible. They see the Indonesian language as necessary in order to get a good white-collar job and concomitantly, higher social prestige. Therefore, they have positive attitudes to the national language as well.

In trying to interpret the significance of code-switching as a linguistic phenomenon, it is essential that the attitudes of the speakers towards it be ascertained. In other studies, speaker attitudes have been used to determine the significance of a type of linguistic usage. Hymes explains, for example, that speakers themselves make distinctions between codes, labelling them as distinct languages or dialects according to criteria significant within their speech community (Hymes, 1972, p.289). Wardhaugh explains that speaker consciousness of code use can be employed to divide diglossic from code-switching speech patterns (Wardhaugh, 1992, p.109). Similarly, Hyltenstam and Obler (1989, p.8) use language attitudes of speakers to distinguish code-switching from borrowing. Errington (1988, p.17) compares attitudes held by contemporary Javanese speakers with traditional scholarly descriptions of speech styles. Rayfield (1970, p.12) regarded the language attitudes held by her American-Yiddish speakers essential to her description of their language usage patterns. Whether speakers refer to or monitor their code-switching or deny it is a powerful indication of the status of the languages involved within a particular speech community (Gal, 1988, p.246).

All multilingual communities have more than one code available for interaction. However, the extent to which code-switching is present varies considerably, according to the attitudes of the speakers towards this type of expression. "Whether speakers will use these possibilities or not depends on the social value that is given to language mixing generally in the community" (Hyltenstam & Obler, 1989, p.8). Marasigan (1983, p.57) reports for example that in Metro Manila, a language style mixing Tagalog and English, known as Mix-mix, is now regarded as prestigious as it is used by the educated elite and in the print and visual media. In Singapore a similar language style involving a mixture between English and Malay elements is also gaining in prestige. Kachru (1978, p.36) reports that in India, "the languages which a multilingual person

'mixes' contribute to placing him in the hierarchy of the social network in which he functions". It appears, then, that in some multilingual speech communities throughout Asia code-switching is regarded as a normal form of communication, which varies along with other linguistic aspects of interaction according to context.

A major problem in studying this linguistic phenomenon, however, is that speakers are often not aware of their own employment of it. Gal (1988, p.246) notes that whereas speakers in some communities monitor and allude to code-switching, others are unaware of it or deny it. Code selection rules can be compared with grammatical rules. "Both operate below the level of consciousness and may be independent of the speaker's overt intentions" (Blom and Gumperz, 1971, p.436). Gumperz (1982, p.61) explains that this is because the main concern of speakers "is the communicative effect of what they are saying". Errington agrees with him on this point based on his study of Javanese code-switching (Personal communication, 6-11-95). Clyne (1985, p.109) found that some bilinguals were not aware of code-switching in statements they were nevertheless able to retell. Pandit (1990, Note 22, p.63) quotes a statement from a Hindi-English bilingual denying that he ever code-switches, despite the fact that his denial itself contains code-switched items. Swigart (1992, p.96) also quotes several examples of this phenomenon. This would indicate that when the focus is on the message, rather than the form, code is not consciously noted.

Swigart (1992, p.98) makes the important point that although bilingual speakers are not always consciously aware of which language they are using, they are able to adjust their language code in situations where only one code can be understood. She points out that Wolof-French bilinguals are adept at producing pure French utterances in speech situations where interlocutors do not understand Wolof. However, they seem unable to produce pure Wolof, perhaps because all Wolof speakers have some competence in French. A comparison can be made to the speech community being described here. When on campus and interacting with speakers from other ethnic groups,

speakers are able to produce Indonesian without recourse to code-switching. However, when interacting with other Simalungun speakers, all of whom are fluent in Indonesian, it being the national language, code-switching from Simalungun to Indonesian appears to be common, albeit unconscious.

Such discrepancies raise the question of whether it is worthwhile to collect statements regarding code-switching usage from speakers. Certainly it indicates that such statements cannot be taken at face value. Romaine (1989, p.160) comments that it is not worthwhile to ask speakers for their own interpretation of code-switching functions, as speakers "are unlikely to be accessible to such introspection". However, although speakers are often unaware of their own usage, or their motivation for code-switching, they can be aware of the usage of those around them, often expressing strong opinions regarding this type of language style. Gumperz (1982, p.62) recorded that speakers in his study interpreted code-switching by others as evidence of lack of education, bad manners or informal style. Such attitudes are revealing and may be useful in analysing the way in which code-switching is interpreted.

Swigart (1992, p.85) overcame this problem of overt attitudes to code-switching by obtaining responses to taped conversations including code-switching. Although speakers had expressed negative attitudes towards this practice when interviewed, their responses to the recordings indicated acceptance of code-switching as an unmarked code at a deeper level.

Speakers sometimes show their awareness of their own code-switching language during an interaction, by overt reference to the fact that a guest code is being used, or by hesitation, pauses and repetition. Romaine (1989, p.142) refers to this as **flagging**. However, such indications of speaker awareness of code-switching are insufficient to gauge their attitudes to it. In the present study it was felt necessary to interview speakers to find out their attitudes. Fifteen of the speakers recorded were interviewed subsequent to the first recording session(s), to obtain background information, including their language usage and attitudes to the two languages, as well as to code-switching itself.

Although all speakers demonstrated use of code-switching in their recorded speech, only six admitted mixing the two languages (I,D,Q,F,M and L). Two actually denied it categorically (R and S). All speakers agreed that their friends sometimes mixed the two languages, even when conversing with fellow Simalungun speakers. Their attitudes to such usage varied, however, from clearly negative to quite positive. Statements made by speakers in response to direct questions about code-switching have been included in Appendix A, grouped according to general types of attitudes shown: Negative, Positive, and Appropriate in Some Situations. They will now be summarised.

Some speakers maintained that their friends mixed languages because of lack of competence in Simalungun (A,E,Q,M and L). H maintained that use of mixed code enabled Simalungun friends brought up in Medan to learn to speak Simalungun better, when mixing with friends from the village. She therefore saw it as a positive force for language maintenance, as it functioned as a type of interlanguage. C and D stated that mixed language was appropriate when speaking with younger cousins in Pematang Siantar or with new Simalungun acquaintances in Medan. Similarly, M stated that ministers often used mixed code during sermons, enabling those who did not speak Simalungun well to understand. He also saw this as a positive way of improving the linguistic competence of urban Simalungun youth.

Several respondents stated that Simalungun was often mixed with Indonesian when joking (D,P,M and J), but some had a critical attitude to this type of usage. J mentioned that it was often used when teasing others. S had a clearly negative view of code-mixing, stating that speakers who spoke this way were ashamed to use their own language properly.

It is interesting to note similar negative attitudes towards code-switching in many bilingual communities. McClure (1981, p.72) notes that "... multilinguals from many speech communities tend to stigmatise all code-switching as incorrect". Wardhaugh (1992, p.108) mentions the derogatory attitudes held to mixed codes in Canada and Singapore. In many parts of the world, labels

given to speech styles including frequent code-switching are often derogatory. Examples of these are Singlish, Franglais and Texmex. The fact that these labels exist in some speech communities and not others may provide a clue to language attitudes. The fact that no such label exists in this speech community may indicate that negative attitudes are not prevalent. However, some participants in this study did express negative attitudes to code-switching.

Some maintained that they felt mixed code usage was strange (F,C) or had clearly negative feelings about this style (A, Q). Some stated that mixing of Indonesian during conversation with Simalungun friends was a way of showing off (A,E,O and R). This attitude seems to be in line with that expressed by members of other speech communities. Javanese speakers use Indonesian expressions "to show that they are not complete bumpkins" (Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo, 1980, p.56). Australian Aboriginal speakers who use Standard Australian English expressions are regarded as flash or posh (Malcolm, 1997, p.58). One of the speakers in this study commented during her post-recording interview that she interpreted the extensive code-switching by D as showing off. The fact that D was not a close friend of either of the girls in the group would back up this interpretation of his frequent use of Indonesian expressions.

Other participants, however, regarded use of mixed code as appropriate in certain situations. P and C felt that in Medan, use of mixed code was normal when meeting with Simalungun friends. A, F and E also felt that this was because language use practices were influenced by those around them who used mainly Indonesian, for example on campus. E and L stated that mixed code was common in Medan and Siantar. D, I and F felt that Simalungun has been modernised by using many Indonesian terms, so that its speakers would not be left behind. Some speakers stressed the need for balanced usage of both languages (F, M). While all intended to teach their children Simalungun, even if marrying someone from a different ethnic group or living in a different province, the importance of both languages was acknowledged.

The large variation in the attitudes expressed by this group of speakers of similar background and lifestyle is surprising. They expressed attitudes ranging from very positive to very negative. Some regarded code-switching as a normal type of everyday usage, while others stated they would not like to be friends with those who spoke in mixed code. Some saw code-switching as a danger to the purity of Simalungun, while others saw code-switching as a way of maintaining the Simalungun language, making it possible to use Simalungun in contexts where Indonesian would otherwise be used.

Although they all make use of code-switching, even during intragroup interaction, as evidenced by the recorded material, some have yet to recognise their own usage patterns or to accept code-switching as a normal linguistic phenomenon. This broad range of attitudes may indicate that the speech community is experiencing a change in its language usage patterns, involving an increasing amount of code-switching by village students attending tertiary institutions in Medan.

CHAPTER THREE: METHOD

As outlined in previous chapters, the aim of this study was to find out how code-switching was used during intragroup conversation in a speech community which has not previously been studied. The most suitable approach was deemed to be a descriptive case study. Samples of natural conversation including numerous examples of code-switching were required. Interpretation of the code-switching patterns in context according to the interactional norms of the speech community was made possible by participant observation of the speakers during recording sessions, together with sociolinguistic interviews of the participants.

Nineteen speakers were chosen to be representative of the speech community. The situations in which code-switching frequently occurred were identified through a pilot study. Then samples of natural discourse were recorded. Instruments used were an initial questionnaire, a recollection test, and an interview. Summaries were made of each conversation, then passages containing clear examples of code-switching were transcribed to facilitate contextual analysis. Examples of code-switching occurring in the discourse samples were first described on a surface level, then interpreted with regard to the functions of code-switching in the context of interaction.

Subject Selection

Code-switching only occurs in the speech of bilinguals with a high level of competence in two codes (See Introduction, p.16). For the purposes of this study, bilingual subjects who were competent in both Simalungun and Indonesian were required. In the city of Medan, young Simalungun people who were balanced bilinguals could be found amongst students not long resident in the city. Many young people from rural centres where Simalungun is the dominant code of interaction move to Medan for senior high school or tertiary study. They are therefore coordinate, rather than compound, bilinguals

(Fattis, 1989, pp.119-20) since the first language they acquire at home and in the general community is Simalungun, with Indonesian being acquired at school. In contrast, Simalungun speakers born in Medan are likely to have acquired both languages simultaneously and thus be compound bilinguals, since they have grown up in a multiethnic urban setting where Indonesian is the normal code of interethnic communication and Simalungun is only used in the home and perhaps at church. It was felt preferable to limit subjects to one type of bilingual speaker, i.e. coordinate bilinguals with Simalungun as their first language. Amongst such speakers it could safely be assumed that Simalungun would be the normal code of intragroup interaction.

In the questionnaire filled out prior to each recording session, all participants listed their first language as Simalungun, which they still used with their families, while Indonesian was their second language, learnt around the age of six, when they first began school. The place of origin of each student was also listed in the questionnaire, in order to ascertain whether the students' language variety was *Simalungun Atas* [Upper Simalungun] or *Simalungun Bawah* [Lower Simalungun]. It can be seen on the accompanying map that the participants came from two main geographical regions: one around Pematang Raya (Simalungun Bawah), and one around Saribudolok (Simalungun Atas) (See Map 1, p.30). The variety spoken by speakers from Raya is regarded as being of higher status.

In order to find out whether code-switching with Indonesian was used by such speakers, a pilot study was carried out. A research assistant was asked to invite a group of four Simalungun friends to the house of the researcher, where their informal conversation was recorded. As predicted, the matrix language of the conversation was clearly Simalungun, but each speaker used Indonesian words and phrases during the interaction. Code-switching was deemed to occur with sufficient frequency to make a study of usage patterns possible. A trial recollection test followed by an interview was also administered to one member of this group. Participants in the pilot study were not recorded again as part of the data collection for this study, but one of them

acted as a research assistant during the transcription stage. Access to this speech community was firstly through a personal acquaintance from a rural area who was able to contact Simalungun students living in Medan, and secondly through a tutorial group for senior high school students preparing for matriculation exams organized by a branch of the Simalungun Church.

In order to ensure that participants in the study were balanced bilinguals and were of pure Simalungun ethnic background, a one-page questionnaire was completed by students selected by the research assistant or by tutors at the tutorial group. Participants were asked to give the ethnic group of their parents, their home language and other languages spoken. They were also asked the length of time they had been resident in Medan. They all signed an agreement that their conversations could be used (anonymously) in a linguistic study. Only one student was found to be inappropriate as a participant, due to the fact that his father was a Toba-Batak and that his first language had been Toba, rather than Simalungun, despite his fluency in Simalungun, having lived in the region most of his life.

Variations in age, sex and length of residence in an urban centre could only be limited to some extent. Research assistants, who were tertiary students, were asked to invite their Simalungun friends who had not long been resident in Medan to participate in the recording sessions. In fact, participants varied in age from 18 to 25 years. Seven participants were male, while twelve were female. Some of the students whose speech was recorded had only been living in Medan for six weeks, as they were attending the tutorial classes, while others had been attending university in the city for several years (See Table 1, p.52). It was considered that the advantages of self-selection outweighed any disadvantage posed by these variables. Blom and Gumperz (1971, p.297) found that self-recruitment of groups through an established social network meant that the speakers had already established conversational norms. "The fact that participants have pre-existing obligations towards each other means that, given the situation, they are likely to respond to such obligations in spite of the presence of strangers."

TABLE 1: RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS OF PARTICIPANTS

SPEAKER	AGE	HOME TOWN	LARGE TOWN	MEDAN
A	18	Merek Raya	3 years	1 month
B	20	Raya Huluan	?	2 months
C	20	Dolog Huluan	6 years	3 months
D	20	Simarjarungjung	-	2 years
E	19	Dolog Huluan	-	5 years
F	22	Pematang Raya	3 years	3 years
G	17	Sondi Raya	-	3 years
H	22	Sondi Raya	3 years	4 years
I	21	Gja Pokki	-	2 years
J	25	Sondi Raya	3 years	3 years
K	19	Pematang Raya	-	2 months
L	18	Sondi Raya	3 years	2 months
M	19	Kampung Jawa	3 years	2 months
N	20	Pematang Raya	-	2 years
O	20	Simpang Bage	-	18 months
P	20	Tigaraja	3 years	18 months
Q	20	Mardinding	-	18 months
R	20	Nagabosar	-	18 months
S	22	Tigaraja	3 years	1 year

Indeed interaction between strangers can also include code-switching, as was shown in Burt's study (1992). In such cases, it is usually experimental, however, being used by speakers as a politeness strategy to establish an appropriate footing for an exchange.

Relationships between the speakers in this study included close friends, flatmates, classmates and members of the same ethnic student organisation. These relationships ensured that the speakers would interact according to established community norms. It would thus be easier to collect examples of

five, the second in a group of two. Based on the pilot study, it was estimated that this number of participants would provide sufficiently varied examples of individual speech patterns to be representative of the speech community.

Recording Sessions

In order to collect data which would give an accurate representation of code-switching norms in the community, it was essential to obtain recordings of natural language exchanges which contained examples of code-switching. The problems involved with this were the presence of the observer, the size of the group and the setting.

Some researchers have collected data without the intrusion of an outsider into normal linguistic interactions. Errington (Personal communication, 6th November, 1996) issued his Javanese research assistants (usually schoolteachers in rural areas) with small cassette recorders and asked them to record examples of everyday interactions. This avoided the obvious effect that a foreigner's presence would have had on the language produced. Scotton (1992) also used this technique in her Zimbabwe study. In this way she was able to collect 22 hours of naturally-occurring language for quantitative analysis. Mishoe (1991) asked a family member to videotape a gathering in which she felt her presence would be intrusive. She was then able to analyse the linguistic interaction in context with minimal interference from the observer's paradox.

In the present study, however, it was felt that the advantages of participant observation outweighed the drawbacks. In any sociolinguistic study, it is essential that examples of language usage are interpreted correctly. This can be done most easily if the context of each interaction is observed directly. Audio recordings are clearly unable to provide the information given by physical context, facial expressions, and body language to enable accurate interpretation of sociolinguistic meanings.

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friends and parents.

In some code-switching studies, recordings of a variety of genres have been studied. For example, Gysels (1992) examined four different texts: a narrative, a discussion, an interview and a political speech. In the present study, although only one genre, informal conversation, was expected, in fact a variety of discourse patterns were recorded in the course of these conversations, including questioning-response, joking and teasing, group discussion and lengthy narration.

The size of the groups recorded varied from two to five. It was felt that code-switching patterns used between two people could more clearly reflect the relationship between them, while the larger groups of four or five would facilitate more relaxed interaction. This was indeed the case. There was more joking and repartee in two of the larger groups. The dyads tended to have more serious discussions, sharing problems and giving opinions. By recording interactions between different-sized groups, a broader spectrum of exchanges was observed than would have been the case if the sessions had been restricted to groups of the same size.

An important aspect of every interaction is the physical context. Some researchers have made recordings of the same speakers in a variety of physical contexts. An example is Hall and Guthrie's 1981 study of kindergarten children's code choice, in which subjects were recorded speaking in ten different situations throughout the day. In the present study, physical context was not identified as a variable. However, an attempt was made to record language exchanges in a natural location for the speakers. Unfortunately this was not always possible. The physical surroundings of each recording varied somewhat. One group was recorded in a room adjoining a church which the students attended, with heavy rain and hymn singing in the background. Most were held at the students' boardinghouses. At these recording sessions, there were occasional interruptions (guests arriving, people calling from outside, friends borrowing guitars, traffic noise) but the atmosphere was relaxed, since

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Unfortunately, four of the participants in the first recording sessions could not be contacted in order to attend the follow-up sessions. These were : B, G, K and N. All recordings took place prior to the long university holidays. G and N returned to their villages and could not be contacted the following term. B and K did not pass their university entrance exams and could also not be contacted by their former classmates. The fact that four out of nineteen participants did not take part in the follow-up sessions meant that the data collected was not complete. However, since a qualitative rather than a quantitative approach was taken, this did not overly prejudice the results. Basic background information was obtained on these four speakers from the initial questionnaires: their ages, origins, ethnic background and length of residence in Medan. Information regarding their language use norms and attitudes could not , however, be collected.

The follow-up sessions were conducted by the researcher and each participant individually. After listening to the recorded conversations, a list of items code-switched by each speaker was drawn up, ranging in number from ten to twenty. These included single words and phrases. During the recollection test, each code-switched item was given orally by the researcher. The participant was then asked to give the Simalungun translation of each . It was not explained that the items had been taken from their own speech, although occasionally the linguistic context was given. Surprisingly, none of those responding to the test commented or guessed that these were words they themselves had used during the previous session.

A similar recollection test was used by Rayfield (1970) in her study of Yiddish-English bilinguals. In this way she was able to show that her subjects had retained competence in Yiddish while choosing to use English expressions in their speech. The aim of the recollection test in this study was to determine whether code-switched items were used to fill lexical gaps in the Simalungun speech repertoire of the speakers. If the speakers were able to provide the Simalungun equivalents, this would indicate that their choice of Indonesian items was not prompted by limited expression but was perhaps a

conversational strategy. If they were not able to provide the equivalents, this would indicate that Indonesian expressions were used by the speaker to fill lexical gaps. A discussion of the results of the recollection test can be found in Chapter 5, pp.85-87.

The recollection test was administered first, followed by the sociolinguistic interview. Both were recorded, ensuring accurate data collection. The recollection test was administered orally. The researcher read the list of code-switched items, while the participants responded by giving the equivalent of each item in Simalungun, or by explaining that there was no equivalent. The actual words used by each participant, together with any lengthy pauses, were later noted.

Interviews are a popular technique used to collect information about a speaker's linguistic history and language attitudes. They have been used by many researchers, including Labov (1984), to contextualize the language usage patterns of individuals. Information regarding the linguistic history of an individual can determine the type of bilingual competence held (Reyburn, 1975, p.96). Scotton (1983, p.124) asked subjects to listen to pre-recorded conversations including code-switching, then interviewed them about the relationships demonstrated by the language patterns used. Interviews can also be used to collect anecdotal evidence of linguistic usage. For example, Shanon (1991) asked his subjects to tell of occasions when they had accidentally used an inappropriate code.

Language attitudes can be directly expressed in an interview. It must be borne in mind however, that opinions stated by speakers on their own language usage patterns during such interviews are not necessarily reflected in their actual speech. This appears to be particularly clear in the case of code-switching. Speakers from a variety of speech communities appear to hold negative views of this linguistic phenomenon, seemingly unaware that they themselves make frequent use of it. Some researchers have even listed examples of speakers denying that they code-switch, their denial itself

containing examples of code-switching (Swigart, 1992, p.96, Pandit, 1990, p.63.). Fishman (1991, p.49) explains that one of the problems with asking subjects direct questions about their use of language is "the inherent covertness of much of the attitudinal and competence data that may be of crucial interest" .

Each participant was interviewed in some detail according to a set of guidelines. Each interview lasted around 20 minutes. The interviews were conducted in Indonesian, since this was the normal language of interaction between the researcher and the participants. Information was collected regarding the language history of each speaker, particularly their acquisition of Indonesian and the code used in various contexts, for example which language they used with their family, friends, and teachers, whether at home, at school or at church. They were asked, for example, which language they used for private prayer and which language they used when writing a letter home to their parents. They were then asked to evaluate their own language competence in the two languages on a scale of 1 to 5 (low to high). Some of this data can be seen on Table 2, p.61.

In language questionnaires, it is quite common for researchers to ask respondents to rate their language competence on a scale. For example, in a study of Kadazan speakers in Malaysia, parents were asked to rate their children's competence in their two languages on a 4-point scale. It was found that 40% of children had equal competence in the local and the national language. It was however pointed out that this type of assessment could only indicate relative strength or weakness in the two languages (Lasimbang, Miller & Otigil, 1992, p.343).

The aim of using the scale in this study was to ascertain the relative competence of Simalungun and Indonesian for each speaker. In fact several of the participants found it very difficult to answer this question. It was explained that a priest in their church, for example, would have a competence of 5 for Simalungun, whereas a friend from another ethnic group may have a rating of

Simalungun, whereas a friend from another ethnic group may have a rating of 1. A small majority of those interviewed stated that they had equal competence in the two languages, while the others had greater competence in Simalungun. Of the latter, only two participants put the difference between the two languages as more than one point. None professed higher competence in Indonesian than in Simalungun.

TABLE 2 : INTERVIEW DATA

(BS= Bahasa Simalungun, BI= Bahasa Indonesia,

BT= Bahasa Toba, BK= Bahasa Karo)

Competence scale 1 (low) - 5 (high)

SPEAKER	COMPETENCE	CODE USED	CODE USED	CODE USED
	B.S. : B.I.	WITH FAMILY	WITH FRIENDS	AT CHURCH
A	5:3	BS	BI/BS	BI
C	4:3	BS	BT/BI/BS	
D	3:2	BS/BI	BI/BT	BS/BI/BT/BK
E	4:3	BS	BI/BS	BI
F	4:4	BS/BI	BS/BI	BI
H	4:4	BS	BI/BS	BS
I	3:3	BS	BS	BI
J	4:4	BS/BI	BT/BS	BS
L	3:3	BS	BS/BI	BS
M	4:4	BS	BS/BI	BI
O	?	BS	BI	BS
P	?	BS/BI	BI/BS/BT	BS
Q	4:4	BS	BI/BS	BS
R	5:4	BS	BS/BT	BS
S	4.5:4.5	BS	BT/BI/BS/BK	BS

All respondents maintained that they used Simalungun with their parents, but four mentioned that Indonesian was sometimes used with siblings or younger cousins. Languages used with friends included the two regional languages, Toba and Simalungun, as well as Indonesian. This reflects the ethnically diverse social network in which these students move in the urban centre. They all stated that as Simalungun Batak, they were in the minority on their different campuses, being outnumbered by both Toba Batak and Karo Batak students. Only a minority boarded in purely Simalungun houses. Most shared accommodation with students of other ethnic groups.

The majority of participants still preferred to attend Simalungun church services. Those who attended Indonesian services explained that they did so for practical or social reasons, and stated that their language of private prayer remained Simalungun. C, P and S stated that they often attended church with friends from different ethnic groups, and thus were exposed to different regional languages at these services.

During each interview, participants were also asked to talk about their future plans and the ways they were likely to use the two languages in the future. Although none planned to return to settle in their home towns or other rural areas, most stated a preference for marrying someone from their own ethnic group and maintaining Simalungun as the language of the home with their children.

Only at the end of each interview did the researcher mention mixed codes. In this way, the data collection was not influenced by awareness of the speakers of the phenomenon in question. Participants were asked about their attitudes to language mixing and whether they or their friends ever mixed Simalungun and Indonesian. The interesting variety of attitudes was expressed. These can be seen in Appendix A, p.127.

Transcription

The dominant code of each conversation recorded was clearly Simalungun. Since the focus of the study was to observe patterns of code-switching, it was considered sufficient to transcribe only those passages containing examples of the phenomenon to be studied. However, in order to be able to place each passage in the context of each conversation, summaries were made of each recording session. These appear in Appendix B , p.130.

In the recorded conversations, the researcher identified 48 passages in which varied examples of code-switching could be clearly heard. A research assistant was then able to transcribe these passages. Transcription conventions used by Gardner (1994) were followed. Simultaneous speech by more than one participant was shown by indenting. All Indonesian code-switched expressions, including loans, were indicated by boldfacing, while pragmatic information was italicised. Items which occurred in both languages were underlined, as it was usually not possible to classify them.

Analysis

The analysis of the data was carried out on two levels, description and interpretation. Firstly the surface patterns of the discourse were described. The length of switched items, their position within each utterance, the domains from which code-switched items were taken, interactive aspects of code-switching evident in the conversational exchanges, as well as surface marking of code-switching by speakers, were described with reference to examples from the transcribed passages.

Following this description on a surface level, an attempt was made to interpret the surface patterns, to determine the ways code-switching may function in this speech community. Patterns indicating that code-switching reflected language competence and domain association were discussed first, then those which seemed to be used by the speakers in order to negotiate meaning, that is cases in which the Indonesian code was chosen as a marked form for stylistic reasons.

There were two major problems encountered in collecting code-switching data from this speech community. The first was the need to record natural data, while being able to observe the speakers. The presence of the researcher and the unfamiliar physical context in two of the sessions may well have affected the language patterns used. The second problem was that some speakers could not attend follow-up sessions. The fact that not all speakers could be interviewed meant that correlations between personal factors and code-switching patterns could not be drawn. However, since the study was a descriptive case study, this did not overly influence the validity of the conclusions reached.

To summarise, three hours of informal conversation were recorded. The speech of nineteen participants interacting in nine sessions in different-sized groups provided a good range of passages containing code-switching which then formed the language data for close analysis. Initial questionnaires, recollection tests and post-recording interviews provided sufficient background information regarding the linguistic history and code use norms of participants. This enabled the code-switching data to be described and usage patterns to be interpreted in context.

CHAPTER FOUR: **SURFACE PATTERNS**

The language data collected in the recording sessions will be described firstly according to the manifestation of code-switching at the surface level. The alternation between languages in the conversations will be shown to involve the base code, Simalungun, and the guest code, Indonesian.

The Indonesian expressions are interpolated into the base code with varying frequency. These expressions also vary in length and occur in a variety of linguistic contexts. The lexical categories of single-word switches in the data appear to differ from those in other speech communities. Some ways in which code-switching reflects the interactive nature of the conversational exchanges will then be described. Examples of surface marking of code-switching by speakers will also be given.

This description of surface patterns will form the basis for the interpretation of code-switching usage in this speech community in Chapter Five.

Base Language

Before describing the patterns of code-switching in linguistic data collected, it is important to establish the base language. Shanon (1991, p.341) referred to this as the "matrix language". Yoon (1992, p.434) used the terms "host language" and "guest language". Scotton (1983, p.19) used the term "embedded language" to refer to the code switched to. Hasselmo (1970, p.208) identified two "modes" in his data, English-based and Spanish-based. Jacobson (1990, p.7) used the term "frames". He identified three of these: one in which English expressions were embedded in Spanish, one in which Spanish expressions were embedded in English, and one in which use of both languages was balanced.

In the data from this study, the base language in all conversations recorded was clearly Simalungun. The guest language occurring in the form of code-switched expressions in each case was Indonesian. In a number of cases Indonesian expressions were predominant in an utterance, as in the following example:-

J: Istilahni **suruh main final berimbang** do pe **kedudukanni**.
[I mean **when they had to play in the final**, their **positions were equal**] (43)

However, the introductory phrase establishes the base language to be Simalungun, as does the use of the possessive suffix and the emphatic particles in the second clause.

Frequency of code-switching patterns has been analysed by some researchers such as Valdes-Fallis (1978, p.97), who defined ten patterns. However, only two of these (# 1, #3) are based on the general frequency of code-switching, while the others indicate motivation (emphasis, quotations, discourse markers). A problem with frequency counts of code-switching appears to be whether words or switches should be counted. Since switches can vary in length from one word to a complete turn in an interaction, how they are counted affects data collected. Although frequency of code-switching is an important aspect of linguistic patterns, a quantitative analysis was felt to be beyond the scope of the present study, which aimed to examine the different ways code-switching was used by the interlocutors.

There was a great deal of variation in the frequency of switching throughout the recorded conversations and the passages selected reflect this variation. This can be seen by an overview of the number of boldfaced switches in the transcribed passages (Appendix C, p.145). An example of frequent switching is Passage 2, while an example of occasional switching is Passage 25. There were many stretches of conversation in which there were very few examples of code-switching. Since passages transcribed were chosen with the aim of collecting samples of code-switching, they do not reflect the overall pattern of code-switching in the conversations, which was generally of the "occasional" type

Length of Switches

Researchers such as Yoon (1992, p.437) have analysed code-switched expressions by dividing them into **intersentential**, in which whole sentences alternate between codes, and **intrasentential**, in which a sentence in the base language contains words or phrases in the guest code. Poplack (1980, p.613), used this distinction to define bilingual competence, maintaining that intrasentential code-switching was an indication of higher bilingual competence. Atawney (1992, pp.222-223) analysed code-switched expressions according to their length, with the aim of testing constraints on code-switching between Arabic and English. He divided these expressions into lexical mixes (single words) and phrasal mixes. A frequency count showed that lexical mixes were much more common in his data. Yoon (1992, p.437) also found that smaller-sized constituents were switched more frequently. Scotton (1983, pp.22-23), divided intrasentential switches into three basic patterns: the matrix language with embedded code constituents, matrix language islands and embedded language islands. Gumperz (1982, p.90) observed that switched verbal chunks form 'contrastable units', such as topic-comment or noun-noun complement.

In the data from this study, both intersentential and intrasentential code-switching occurred. However, intrasentential switches were the most common ones used. Of the intrasentential switches, most, as in Atawney's 1992 study, were single-word items. Examples of these were the frequently-occurring tag **kan** [isn't it], referents such as **pembinbing** [supervisor] (30) and descriptors such as **ngerl** [scary] (25). Many short phrases, consisting of two Indonesian words, also occurred, for example, **dapat jodoh** [to get a partner] (31), **salah tingkah** [to misbehave] (33), **pemerintah setempat** [local government] (35), **sambil berlibur** [while on holiday] (36) and **hanya meminta** [only ask] (41). Three- or four-word phrases were less common but did occur in many passages. For example, **kan lebih tinggi** [higher isn't it] (20), **situasi dan kondisi** [situation and conditions] (39), **dengan dosis sekian** [with a certain dosage] [42] and **luran wajib tiap pemain** [compulsory fee for each

player] (37).

In the data recorded in this study, there were few examples of intersentential code-switching. Some occurred partway through turns, while others made up a complete turn. Examples are given here:

Soal blaya kan?

[It's the problem of finances, isn't it?] (38)

Saya ini bukan guru SD.

[I'm not a primary school teacher.] (34)

Mulai lima puluh tahun sebelum Masehi.

[Since the year fifty B.C.] (26)

Ikan gabus ikan kakap, bagus kau cakap.

[Gabus fish, carp fish, you should speak properly.] (19)

Nggak ada lagi.

[There aren't any more.] (16)

Jangan marah-marah gitulah kak S.

[Don't be so angry, S.] (11)

It can be seen then that there is a significant amount of variation in the length of code-switched expressions. However, at no stage does Indonesian become the base code of an interaction. Since the length of code-switched items varies, it can be assumed that code-switching is functioning in more than one way in the discourse. This will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

Linguistic Context

Code-switched expressions occur in a range of linguistic contexts in the conversations recorded. While most are interpolated into base-language utterances, some begin an utterance which is mainly in the base language, while some occur at the end of a base-language utterance. Others make up an entire conversational turn.

The most common pattern of code-switching in the passages transcribed was for expressions in Indonesian to occur part-way through an utterance in the

base language, Simalungun. A number of examples follows:-

C : Ah, lang adong ai ma halani **kekurangan modal** on nian sipata boama makkorja pe marayoh do diri.

[Ah, no I didn't because I was **short of funds**, what could I do, sometimes I can't be bothered working.] (6)

G: Ai do... na **orang-orang tertentu**. Sugari sonai pe age ihutatta na ma gok hudida sonai madu so lang tarjual.

[Sure thing....**certain people**. For example in our village I've seen lots of people who can't sell their **honey**.] (7)

Q: Aturanna anggo sada **dosen, pembimbing** bana, **harus** ro do bana **setiap hari** nian, lang boi songon **Ibu** ai.

[Actually, a **lecturer**, if she's a **supervisor**, **should** come **every day**, not like that **lady**.] (30)

As can be seen from the third example above, sometimes more than one code-switched expression can occur in one utterance.

Sometimes, a sentence partway through a conversational turn begins with a word or expression in Indonesian, while the remainder stays in the base language. Most of these expressions are connectives, such as **sementara** [meanwhile] (1,2), **sedangkan** [whereas] (4), **selama** [during] (5), and **apalagi** [especially] (8). Sometimes a phrase in Indonesian begins an utterance, such as **Kabar-kabar** [The news is] (6), or **Sebagian besar** [Most] (9).

Some code-switched expressions appear at the end of an utterance, often in connection with other interpolated expressions, as in the following examples:-

E: Jai **untuk mempertahankan** on ninnuhurhu porlu ma hita **lebih giat belajar**.

[So to **maintain** it we have to **study harder**.] (9)

E: Balakangan on, songonna moru do otik **tingkat pendidikan**.

[Lately, it's as if the **level of education** has dropped.] (8)

L: Anggo hita Simalungun on ge, lang podas-podas do **kawin**.

[But we're Simalungun, we don't **marry** young.] (20)

O: Goranna pe cinta.
[It was love.] (35)

However, by far the most common form of finally-positioned code-switching is that represented by the frequent use of the tag *kan*.

This tag usually appears at the end of a base language utterance, as in the following examples:

- D: **Padahal** au lang huboto **kan**?
[Even though I didn't know, did I?] (1)
- J: Seng adong **sistem wacana** pe **kan**?
[It didn't have a **comprehension test** anymore, did it?] (15)
- P: Pak M. do **kan**?
[You have Mr M. **don't you?**] (34)

In some cases, usually during a passage where turn-taking is rapid, a whole utterance appears in the guest language, Indonesian:-

- A: **Ya, sebagian usaha mungkin.**
[Yes, to some extent.] (4)
- L: **F, permi dulu, F!**
[F, goodbye F!] (11)
- F: **Mengertikah, engkau, G?**
[Did you understand, G?] (12)
- F: **Nggak ada lagi.**
[They don't have them any more.] (16)

Another linguistic characteristic of code-switching in this speech community is that lexical items from the guest language can be integrated into the base language by means of the addition of affixes. Hasselmo (1970, p.182) refers to this as "ragged code-switching" as the phonological and morphological systems seem to be overlapping. Kachru (1978, p.35) noted that attachment of inflections to base words from the guest code was common in his data.

Bokamba (1988, p.36) also noted the addition of Lingala prefixes to French stems in the speech of his subjects. In the data from this study, Simalungun affixes sometimes occur joined to Indonesian base words. There appears to be some individual variation in which combinations are favoured. In some cases only a prefix is added:

marsemangat [to be enthusiastic] (40)
irekam suara [recorded] (29)
icarter [hired] (36)

Sometimes, a Simalungun suffix is added to an Indonesian base word:

kabarna [the news] (6)
maksudhu [I mean] (36)
enakan [most delicious] (26)
panitiiani [the committee] (48)

Two affixes can also be attached to the same code-switched base:

mancocokkon [to match] (32)
ipromosihon [promoted] (7)
ipraktekkon [put into practice] (35)

It appears, then, that code-switched items appear in the base language in a variety of linguistic contexts, varying from a base word integrated into a noun or a verb phrase, up to a complete utterance. Code-switched items usually appear interpolated into base-language utterances but they can also begin or end an utterance. It is clear that the bilingual speakers in this speech community are adept at integrating Indonesian words or phrases into their intragroup interactions in a variety of ways.

Lexical Categories

Some researchers have observed that function words, such as conjunctions, prepositions and articles, are not usually code-switched (Gumperz, 1971, p.118). Scotton (1992, pp.24-26) concluded that content (nouns, verbs, adjectives) and system morphemes (articles, pronouns, inflections) are accessed differently by the matrix language. Goyvaerts (1992, p.7) maintained that the matrix language was the source of all system morphemes, while

content morphemes appeared in the guest code. Atawney (1992, p.223-225) agreed that there appeared to be a constraint on switching linking words in his data. In his analysis of lexical switches, he found that nouns were the most common class of single-word switches, followed by verbs, adjectives, adverbs and prepositions, in that order. Together these made up 68.9% of switched expressions. He noted that prepositions were the least common and articles did not appear at all, concluding that these function words formed a closed class.

In the data from this study, it was also found that of single-word switches, referential items (nouns) were the largest class, with verbs and adjectives also occurring in significant numbers. There were only two occurrences of prepositions in the guest code: **untuk** [for] (16), and **sebagai** [as] (35). However, in contrast to Atawney's study, linking words (conjunctions) did occur regularly as code-switches in this data. Examples of occurrences follow:

- padahal** [even though] (1)
- maksudku** [I mean] (43)
- apalagi** [especially] (8)
- sementara** [meanwhile] (1,2,39)
- sedangkan** [while] (4)
- jadi** [so] (1,4,17,36,42)
- barangkali** [perhaps] (3)

By far the most frequently-switched link word was **jadi**, for which the Simalungun equivalent **jal** occurred as well. It usually occurred in extended passages of narrative.

Some connectives were identical in both codes. Examples of these are: memang [indeed], baru [then], mungkin [perhaps]. In these cases, it cannot be determined in which code the speaker was formulating his utterance.

It can be seen then, that in contrast to findings from other studies, the lexical items occurring as single-word switches in the guest code are not limited to

content words, as some system words such as linking words, were also code-switched by the speakers in this study.

Interactive Patterns

Gumperz (1982, pp.59-60) noted that bilingual speakers are able to construct a fluent interactional unit containing code-switched items. It is appropriate that code-switching be examined here in the light of the interactive patterns of discourse built up between the speakers in each conversation. A code-switched tag is frequently used to include other speakers in the discourse. It appears that sometimes interlocutors work together to provide a code-switched item, while at other times an item introduced by one speaker is repeated by another within the same exchange.

Swigart (1992, p.94) noted that Urban Wolof speakers frequently inserted the French tag *quol* in their speech. Poplack (1980, p.602) found that tags accounted for 22.5% of total switches in her data. A similar usage occurs in the data for this study.

Kan is the Indonesian equivalent of the longer form **bukan** [isn't it?, you see?, don't you think?]. Its use indicates a need for the speaker to receive feedback from the interlocutor. It can also indicate hesitation or uncertainty, such as in Passage 3, where the interlocutor supplies the phrase the speaker is groping for (in Indonesian), after which he continues his narration.

D: Bali kan terkenal kan eh= [Bali is famous isn't it]

A: =Daerah turis, daerah turis. [A tourist spot, tourist spot]

D: daerah turis. [A tourist spot]

The tag **kan** is used frequently by the speakers to check understanding or to request agreement. For example, in Passage 24, the first speaker asks his friend to help him with a factual detail about which he is uncertain :

M: Sampal kelas piga J tartangar anggo iaha, sampal kalas dua gatni kan?

[**Until which class was J. held back, until second class, wasn't it?**]

L: Alo... Kalas tolu.

[Yes... third class.]

In Passage 9, the first speaker gives his opinion on why people in the village like to send their children to school in the city, then uses the tag to elicit his friend's opinion. Similarly, the first speaker in Passage 29 uses the tag three times in one expression, when giving her opinion on stenography. Her friend immediately agrees.

P: **Kan steno** do na porlu **kan latihan** dassa, anggo **rajin** diri **latihan** **kan** mittor podas do **steno** ai. [You see with **stenography** you just need **practice**, if you **work hard** you see and **practise**, you can learn to do **stenography** quickly, **can't you?**]

Q: Alo. [Yes].

It appears that the major function of the code-switching in this case is to elicit some response from the interlocutor.

It can also be used in order to emphasise the speaker's opinion in contrast to that of his or her interlocutor, such as in Passage 12.

H: Ahu, **kan**, anggo i huta siholan bani... [**As** for me, if I'm in the village I miss...]

Interaction is most clearly correlated with code-switching in passages where the interlocutor changes. This has been referred to as situational code-switching (Blom & Gumperz, 1971, p.294). In the data from this study, there are only two direct examples, due to the expectations of the participants that the base language of interaction should be Simalungun. The first example occurs in Passage 11, when the brother of one of the speakers calls from outside, using Indonesian. This elicits a response from one of the speakers in Simalungun and comments to the others in Indonesian.

L: (*From outside*) **Jangan marah-marah gltulah kak F. Ngeri kali!** [**Don't be so angry, F. Terrible!**]

H: (*calls to L outside*) Uhurmu ma halak **stres**. [**Already stressed out!**]

F: Eh, eh, eh. (*expressing disapproval*)

H: **Daripada stres. Ya, biasa do ai.** [Rather than be stressed out. Yeah, that's just normal.]

After a passage of rapid grumbling from his sister, the brother calls out in Indonesian again that he's leaving, to which his sister responds in Indonesian. The other interlocutor speaks to the brother in Simalungun, to be answered again in Indonesian.

L: (*calls from outside*) F, **permi! dulu FI** [F, goodbye FI]

F: (*loudly*) **Jadi plgilah!** [So go then!]

L: **<O.K. Dadal>** [**<O.K. Bye-bye!>**]

H: **Boan siluah da!** [Bring us something home!]

L: **O.K. [O.K.]**

The interactive pattern here would indicate that the normal code of interaction between the brother and sister is Indonesian, while the friend usually speaks to him in Simalungun, in an asymmetric exchange, as the brother continues to use Indonesian.

The second example occurs in Passage 13, where the words referring to the placing of the microphone are given in Indonesian, as they were aimed at the researcher, rather than his friends in the group.

H: **Langsung ijawab, bang.** [Just answer.]

J: (*Repositioning mike*) **Oh, dari sini aja. Maksudni?** [Oh, just from here. What do you mean?]

Often a code-switched item introduced by one interlocutor will be picked up by another. For example, in Passage 25, the terms **cewek** [girlfriend] and **tunangan** [fiance] are repeated. In Passage 26, the first code-switched item **mulai** [starting from] is repeated and completed by the interlocutor, then used again by the first speaker to make a joke. In Passage 31, a code-switched expression used by the first speaker in one context is taken up and used by the second speaker to refer to her friend:

O: **Dapat jodoh** ma si Dorce. [Dorce found a partner.]

Q: **Ho attigan dapat jodoh lang?** [And you, when will you find a partner?]

In some cases, such repetition seems to indicate to the first speaker that the interlocutor has understood the utterance. For example, in Passage 34, the interlocutor repeats the humorous words quoted by her friend, *Saya Ini bukan guru SD* [I'm not a primary school teacher]. In Passage 35, the interlocutor repeats the second word of the code-switched expression *pemerintah daerah* [local government], indicating appreciation of the joke. Other examples of repeated code-switched expressions occur with the following words: *biaya* [costs] (36), *sumbangan sukarela* [voluntary donation] (37), *mencukupi* [to be enough] (38), and *kawin* [to marry] (20).

The interactive patterns described above show that speakers do not use code-switching as part of an individual speech style. The pattern of code-switching is one shared with others in this speech community. Code-switched utterances play a part in the cooperative construction of dialogue between speakers of this speech community.

Surface Marking of Code-switching

Hasselmo (1970, p.180) noted that the speakers in his study often marked code-switches by pauses, inflections or set phrases. This would indicate that some speakers displayed a degree of awareness of their code-switching and that it was not entirely subconscious.

Since the base language of interaction in each conversation recorded in this study was Simalungun and according to their responses during subsequent interviews, speakers were largely unaware that they were code-switching, it is interesting that several occurrences of code-switching were accompanied by hesitation and even one reference to the Indonesian language. The first example occurs in Passage 39.

S: Haduan, harus hari Ini juga dicari tempat walaupun
mendapat ... bahasa Indonesia () kan harus ibuat tempat
agepe inganan ai sempit.
[Second, we had to find a place that very day even though
we got ... In Indonesian () you know we had to find a
place, even though it was limited.]

The speaker seems to be aware that he has just expressed two complete clauses in Indonesian. He pauses, then explains that he is speaking Indonesian, before continuing. Unfortunately his next phrase is unclear, and it could not be transcribed. The following expression reverts to mixed code.

There are several examples of repetition of expressions in both languages. Some of these consist of an Indonesian expression being repeated in Simalungun. This could indicate consciousness by the speaker that he or she has left the base language of interaction, and is followed by a "correction" in Simalungun. One example occurs in a passage of frequent code-switching.

D: **Berbahagia** ma bana, sonang ma bana **memakan uang orang tua dari kampung ai**. [He must be happy, he must be pleased to use up the money of the parents from the villages.] (2)

Another example occurs in Passage 34 when a speaker is quoting another speaker. She starts in Simalungun, then repeats the first word in Indonesian, the appropriate code for quotation:

O: "Anggo, kalau **nggak tahu kalkan pulang ajalah kita**", nina dosen ai.
["If If you don't know it, let's just go home", said that lecturer.]

In Passage 40, the speaker corrects his negative from the Indonesian *tidak*, to the Simalungun *lang*.

R: Malo do bana mian mambaen **semangat** hambani anggota dalam keadaan **tidak**, lang marsemangat soni kan? [He's good at making the members enthusiastic, even though they aren't, not keen you see?]

In Passage 7, one of the speakers, when discussing distribution problems for a new product, hesitates after the prefix of a code-switched word, but then completes it, before continuing the rest of the utterance in Simalungun.

C: Cuma ai do lang **penyaluranni** lang adong **ter**, **tertuju**, ai sugari dong nian homa boi do hita sada **penghasilan** in humbatta.

[But there's no **distribution**, nowhere to, to **send it**, if there was for example, we could **produce** something in our village.]

In a number of other passages, speakers use the expression **aha** or **ahani** [what, what is it] before an Indonesian expression, indicating hesitation. Although this also occurs in single-code utterances, its occurrence before code-switched items may be significant.

M: Ai ma ahani aha goranni **kenyataanni**.

[That's what, what do you call it, the **reality**.] (20)

R: Kemungkinan ai ma **persiapan** dalam rangka ahani_ kemerdekaan ai nigon ma.

[Perhaps they were **preparations** for the what is it **independence** like that.](37)

J: Maksudku, aha do ... a ... menurut **perkiraan**, menurut pandangan na aha, hasil ahani pas do memang atap lang.

[I mean, what ... er ... **according to estimates**, according to the **opinion** of what do you call it, the **result** of it was **suitable** actually or not.) (43)

From the above examples it can be seen that hesitation sometimes occurs in combination with code-switched expressions, indicating that there may be a relation between the two. Clyne (1982, pp.106-7) has noted that hesitation pauses occur prior to trigger words, that is terms borrowed from the guest language. Other researchers have referred to this occurrence as "flagged code-switching" (Romaine, 1989, p.141). It could indicate that speakers have some degree of metalinguistic awareness that they are code-switching.

Summary

In conclusion, it has been shown that code-switching occurs with varying frequency in the conversations recorded. Code-switched expressions are used by all speakers to some extent. Their length varies but most code-switching is intrasentential. Instances of complete turns in Indonesian are not common. Code-switched expressions occur in a variety of linguistic contexts. While most

single-word switches are content words, there are also instances of function words being regularly switched. Code-switching is not only produced by individual speakers, but is created interactively by the speakers. Hesitation and repetition of expressions in both codes indicate some awareness by speakers of code-switching. What these surface patterns indicate about the way in which code-switching is used and interpreted by speakers, will be the focus of the following chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE: ANALYSIS OF CODE-SWITCHING PATTERNS

As shown in the previous chapter, the surface patterns of code-switching exhibited in the data appear complex. This reflects the multiple ways in which code-switching functions during interactions between members of the Simalungun-Indonesian speech community in Medan.

This analysis will explore the possible functions of code-switching in this data namely:

- the expressive function of quotation
- intrasentential use of the second code to cover lexical gaps in the base code
- how expressions in each code are associated with particular domains of language use in the speech community
- the use of code-switching as a communication strategy to indicate interpersonal relationships
- the use of marked code to achieve a variety of discourse effects.

Quotation

In studies of bilingual communities throughout the world it has been noted that the guest code is sometimes used to express the words of another speaker, or the same speaker in a different situation. For example, Valdes-Fallis (1978, p.97) lists quotation as one of ten patterns of code-switching used by his Spanish-English speakers. Hasselmo (1970, pp.197-200) also gives examples of "quotation switching" in his Swedish-English data. In the conversations recorded for this study, the guest code was used to quote speakers who used Indonesian, without being translated into Simalungun. Speakers who used Simalungun were quoted in the base code. There are also examples of quotations in mixed codes.

Examples of all three can be clearly identified in Passage 1. The speaker is narrating an incident involving exchanges between, firstly a tutor and students, and secondly himself, pretending to be a tutor, and another student. During interviews, participants in the study indicated clearly that the unmarked language of interaction between a tutor and a student, even if both are Simalungun, is Indonesian. Thus, D accurately evokes the exchanges in his story by switching to Indonesian when quoting an exchange between a tutor and a student.

D: **Jadi ihatahon, "Bang, bang, kalau er nomor on, lokasinya di mana?" Jadi roh tentor ai, "Itu, dik, di Fakultas Hukum di D.A."**
 [So he said, " Sir, sir, if er this number, where is the location?"
 So the tutor came up, " It's there, in the Law Faculty at D.A."] (1)

The base language of the narrative is clearly Simalungun, despite a number of Indonesian phrases used intrasententially. Each example of direct speech is delivered completely in Indonesian, with the exception of the Simalungun demonstrative *on* [this] in two of the student's questions.

The last direct statement of the student is stated first in Indonesian, then repeated in Simalungun. Perhaps the student had already realised the mistake he had made, and was now adjusting his code to that more appropriately used between students. Alternatively, the narrator may have chosen to repeat the words of the student in Simalungun to clarify or emphasise his meaning.

D: **"Nggak di slitupun, bang," nini si dea, "Lang ijai han lokasini."**
 ["It wasn't there, sir," they said. "That wasn't the location."]

The other example of direct speech used in this passage is in Simalungun. This time it is the narrator's friend who is speaking to him:

D: **"Jonjong ma ho ijai ne, hatakon holi anggo ibere hu ham, isukkun ma ho ijawab."**

[Stand there, if they ask, if you get a chance, if they ask, answer them.] (1)

Since the unmarked code used for interactions between the narrator and his friend is Simalungun, when quoting his friend's words, D uses the base code.

In Passage 10, when relating her conversation with her teacher, G uses both codes, perhaps accurately representing the language actually used. First she quotes the teacher's question, in Indonesian, then Simalungun:

G: Ihatahon, **kan**, "**Kek mana?** Dapot ho do haganupan?" nini.
[He said, **see**, "**How'd you go?** Did you get them all?" he said.] (10)

She then gives her answer, first in Simalungun, then switching to Indonesian.

G: Sonaima pak. **Macam mana?**
[Some of them, Sir. **What can I say?**].

The fact that the speaker is quoting actual words used is indicated by the use of the expressions *ihatahon*, *nini* and *nikku* [he said, he said, I said]. This may indicate that Simalungun teachers and students in Medan use mixed codes for their utterances during informal interactions.

In other passages, however, speakers use Indonesian exclusively when quoting the words of their lecturers (Passages 29, 30, 34). There is one interesting example of a speaker quoting the words of a Simalungun student in Indonesian in Passage 32.

O: "**Minta kak, minta kak!**" nini. [**Give them to me, give them to me!**" she said.]

This may indicate that Simalungun speakers sometimes use Indonesian to interact informally. It should be noted, however, that in the context of this

narration, the other speaker was being portrayed negatively. Perhaps her inappropriate use of Indonesian was part of the explanation for O's indignation at her demand.

By using the guest code for quotation of other speakers, bilinguals are able to convey a narrated exchange with dramatic verisimilitude. Choice of code in this way can be compared with the imitation of the appropriate accent or intonation pattern by a monolingual when quoting another speaker.

Lexical Gaps

One explanation for code-switching is that speakers use expressions from the guest code because their linguistic competence in the base code is limited. This is referred to as the "Virtuosity Maxim" by Scotton (1983, p.125). When particular expressions do not exist in a particular code, the bilingual speaker takes them from the second code. Since the two codes used by the speakers recorded for this study differ in historical usage, there exist lexical gaps in each. While in Indonesian, terminology to describe traditional cultural concepts and kinship is lacking, in Simalungun, terminology to refer to modern aspects of city life and education does not exist. Clear examples of loan words taken from Indonesian which appeared in the recorded data are given below:

dosen [lecturer]

ekonomi [economics]

film [film]

mie [noodles]

rantangan [regular take-away food]

koor [choir]

komputer [computer]

It can be seen that these are referential expressions from the fields of education and urban lifestyle. Many of these terms are loans from other languages which have been accepted into Simalungun via Indonesian. It is important to distinguish such loans from other types of code-switches when

seeking to interpret mixed language patterns. This distinction has been made by some linguists on the basis of phonological and morphological integration with the base language (Poplack, 1980, p.584) or on the basis of frequency of usage (Scotton, 1990, p.103). Jacobson (1990, p.7) uses social rather than structural criteria to distinguish borrowing and switching. Hasselmo (1970, p.18) refers to "nonce-loans" which are single-word loans made momentarily during a speech event.

Romaine (1989, p.66) makes the point that balanced bilinguals, such as those in the present study, are the agents of lexical borrowing. The process of borrowing terms from another language until they become accepted into general use by monolinguals as well as bilinguals is an ongoing one, and in any language there are many terms which may be classified as either 'recent loans' or 'code-switches'. Kachru (1978a, p.37) sees borrowing as one step towards code-mixing. Scotton (1990, p.102) states that code-switching and borrowing "both represent normative use in a matrix language of linguistic forms from an embedded language". Loans have been regarded here as representing one type of code-switching, motivated by lexical gaps in the base language.

One general explanation of code-switching is linked to the process of borrowing described above. It has been suggested (Huerta, 1977, p.5) that young bilinguals use expressions from the guest code because they do not know the equivalents in the base code. In order to test this theory, recollection tests were administered to the speakers in this study. During the recollection tests, participants were asked to back-translate Indonesian items which they had used during the conversations recorded in the previous recording session. The lists varied from 10 to 20 items each. The origin of each list was not explained to the participants, as it may have influenced their responses. The researcher merely began each interview by asking the participant to provide the Simalungun equivalent of a number of expressions. Items included in each list included words equivalent in both languages, loan words for which no Simalungun equivalent was available, as well as Indonesian terms for

which corresponding Simalungun terms existed. Hesitations were noted. If no back-translation was provided, any comments by the speaker were noted.

Results of the recollection tests showed that speakers were able to readily provide the Simalungun equivalents for a variety of code-switched items such as the following:

<i>habis</i> [used up]	bois
<i>panas</i> [hot]	mokap
<i>pertama</i> [first]	parlobei
<i>makanan</i> [food]	indahan
<i>apa lagi</i> [what else]	aha do pe

Some code-switched phrases were also back-translated immediately:

<i>minimal untuk</i> [at least for]	huna otikni bari
<i>slang-siang</i> [during the day]	tongah ari
<i>kekuatan mental</i> [strength of character]	hakuatonni pikkiran
<i>hari kedua</i> [the second day]	ari na paduaon
<i>terlalu kecil</i> [too small]	maetek tu
<i>cara berpakaian</i> [the style of dressing]	sonaha marbaju
<i>sembilan tujuh</i> [ninety-seven]	siapuluh pitu
<i>dibandingkan dengan</i> [compared with]	ibandingkon dohot
<i>lebih banyak</i> [more]	bahatan

Many items received the response that the expression was the same in Simalungun. Most of these were vocabulary items shared by both languages, or loan words generally accepted into Simalungun from Indonesian to fill lexical gaps. Some examples follow:

<i>Informasi</i> [information]
<i>tentor</i> [tutor]
<i>mayoritas</i> [majority]

rencana [plan]

rata-rata [approximately]

tunjangan [donation]

There were very few items for which Simalungun equivalents exist which were not given by the respondents. Four speakers (C,D,O and J) were unable to provide equivalents which were however provided by others. These are listed below.

C: **sekitar** [approximately]

D: **cocok** [appropriate], **kebanyakan** [most], **mrlrp** [look like], **kebetulan** [by chance], **agak mahal** [quite expensive], **sekalligus** [at the same time]

O: **clnta** [love]

J: **terus** [keep on]

Such a small number of items for which the Simalungun equivalent was not immediately produced does not seem to indicate any lack of linguistic competence, except perhaps for speaker D, whose individual speech style contained a higher frequency of code-switching than other speakers recorded.

Items which gave rise to hesitations by respondents during the recollection tests were loans such as **informasi** [information] and **penelitian** [research], as well as phrases for which translations existed but were not in common usage, such as **uang makan** [food money] and **malam Minggu** [Saturday night]. Comments by the speakers were, in the first example, that the literal Simalungun translation, **duit mangan** was not used, and in the second example, that people in the village usually used the phrase **malam panjang** [long night], also in Indonesian. Comments such as **Apa yang kubllang?** [What should I say?] and giggles accompanying some responses also indicated that the speaker felt some responses to be inappropriate. One speaker (J) made a comment demonstrating linguistic awareness that the term **penelitian** [research] was the same as in Indonesian, "age lape masuk ge hu

Simalungun " [as it hasn't entered Simalungun yet].

Data from the recollection tests indicate that the speakers generally have a clear awareness about whether terms are the same in the two codes or whether there is an equivalent. In most cases, they were readily able to provide the appropriate back-translation. When back-translation was inappropriate, this was indicated by hesitation or comments by the participant.

Results from the recollection tests would indicate that speakers have access to Simalungun equivalents for many of the expressions spoken in Indonesian in the conversations. This shows that these code-switched expressions are not being used due to lack of linguistic competence in the base language. Therefore the explanation of lexical gaps can only be applied to a small proportion of code-switched expressions in the data.

Some researchers have maintained that many examples of code-switching are associated with the occurrence of loan words. Clyne (1985, p.106), for example, maintains that 30% of the German-English code-switching in his data was "triggered" by loan words. He meant by this that the speaker, in anticipation of a loan, would be more likely to use the guest code for adjacent expressions.

There are a number of examples of code-switching adjacent to loan words in the data from the present study. For example, speaker D uses the loanword **skripsi** [thesis] in Passage 4. His subsequent description of his planned thesis topic appears in Indonesian.

D: On ma hubaen **bahan skripsiku mengenai keberadaan bapak di kampung-kampung** halani huidah **tersiksa** tumangdo **keberadaan ibu-ibu di kampung-kampung** halani perbuatan ni bapa.

[I'd like to do **my thesis about the situation of fathers in the village**, because I've noticed that **women in the village**

are really **suffering** because of the **actions** of their husbands.]

It can be seen, however, that there is a large amount of code-switching in this passage. There may be other factors operating which could explain the code-switching of these expressions.

In Passage 15, J uses an Indonesian preposition *untuk* [for] before the loanword **grammar**. In Passage 16, he again uses it before the reference to a school subject. This unusual occurrence of a code-switched function word could perhaps be caused by the triggering process referred to by Clyne.

However, despite the presence of a large number of loan words in many passages, they cannot be clearly associated with code-switching of other sentence elements. For example, Passage 27, which contains four clear loanwords - *tugas*, *final*, *semester*, *nilai* [assignment, final, semester, mark] - has no other examples of code-switching.

There does not seem, therefore, to be a clear case for the "triggering" argument to explain the code-switching patterns used in this speech community.

Domain Association

The great degree of variation in frequency of code-switching throughout the recorded conversations may reflect the changing topics of conversation. Hymes includes **topic** as one of the seven components of a speech event (listed in Malcolm, 1997, p.60). As such, it is also one of the factors influencing code choice. Ervin-Tripp (1979, p.64) considers it to be one of three main variables along with speaker and situation. Fishman (1972, p.439) describes topic as "a regulator of language use in multilingual settings."

Kumar (1987, p.3) lists the topic as one determinant of code-switching frequency, noting that discussions on technical subjects contain frequent code-

switching. Fishman (1972, p.439) explains that a particular code is used by a speaker for a particular topic because of habit. Faltis (1989, p.119) explains that coordinate bilinguals learn each of their languages in a different context and have different associations with each. Hasselmo (1970, p.196) describes "lexical conditioning", when terms and concepts related to a particular topic have been learnt in one code. His data also point to pre-formulisation, and show that balanced bilinguals have difficulty reproducing discourse in one code that occurs normally in another. McClure explains that "When a topic which is habitually discussed in one language happens to come up in a conversation in the other language, there is a higher incidence of code-mixing and code-changing" (1981, p.79). Clusters of topics habitually discussed in a particular context make up a language **domain**. Since most of the instances of code-switching in this data occur intrasententially, changes in code cannot be clearly linked with changes in topic. However, the topic under discussion may influence the frequency of code-switching, as a domain normally associated with a particular code is referred to in the interaction. Romaine defines a domain as "a sphere of activity representing a combination of specific times, settings and role relationships" (1989, p.29), while Fishman describes domains as "major clusters of interactions" (1972, p.440). Heller (1988, p.7) maintains that "the notion of separate domains is ... fundamental to code-switching."

In order to understand the possible significance of domain reference in the data, it is necessary to understand the patterns of code use in the domains relevant to this particular speech community. Domain boundaries are established differently in each speech community. For example, Greenfield's domains for his New York speech community were: family/friendship, religion, education and employment (Fishman, 1977, p.441). In their Javanese study, Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo (1980, p.50) list a number of domains in which Indonesian is the neutral unmarked code. These are: school, the courts, hospitals and technical activities. They also point out that when speakers refer to concepts learnt through Indonesian extension literature, it is natural for them to use Indonesian.

In this Simalungun Indonesian speech community, there appear to be four clear domains in which Indonesian is the appropriate code of interaction: education, government, economic activity and urban youth lifestyle. The domains of friendship, the family, and the village are those in which Simalungun is the appropriate code. The religious domain appears to be one in which traditionally Simalungun was the appropriate code, but in which Indonesian is now used more frequently in Medan, as was described in Chapter 2, p.39-40. The data from this study will now be examined to determine if there are clear associations between code-switching patterns and references to particular domains.

As discussed in Chapter 2, p.35, the domain of education is clearly one in which Indonesian is the unmarked code. During interviews, participants explained that teachers used Indonesian from grade one, although the students themselves did not necessarily use Indonesian during oral interaction at school until junior high school. All reading and writing at school took place in Indonesian, although two respondents (I and F) stated that they learnt some traditional Simalungun script and proverbs at junior high school as their "local content" subject. Many of the participants moved to urban centres (eight of those interviewed moved to the provincial capital, Pematang Siantar) to complete their secondary schooling in senior high school. In these towns, where students were mixed ethnically, Indonesian became the main language of interaction at school, in the playground as well as in the classroom. At tertiary institutions in Medan, Indonesian is clearly the major code of communication on campus, between students of all ethnic origins as well as between lecturers and students. Even when lecturers and students are not in class, their interaction takes place in Indonesian on campus. One of the participants stated during her interview that she sometimes used Indonesian at home with her roommates after using it on the campus all day:

"Kadang sama-sama suku Simalungun pun mau juga pakai Bahasa Indonesia karena sudah terbiasa misalkan di kampus sana gitu kadang terbawa juga sampai di rumah."

[Sometimes two Simalungun people will use Indonesian because they're used to it, for example on the campus there sometimes you bring it home with you.]

Since the domain of education is clearly associated with the use of the national language, Indonesian, we would expect passages in the recordings on topics related to that sphere to have medium to high frequency code-switching patterns. This is in fact the case in Passages 2, 5, 8, 16, 29, 30 and 42. In some of these, the high incidence of code-switching can be partly attributed to quotation.

Surprisingly, there are some passages in the recorded data on topics from the educational domain which have a low incidence of code-switching, as shown below. Examples are Passage 10, where the topic is an examination, and Passage 17, where the topic is university entrance. Some passages on educational topics contain a high frequency of loan words but practically no switches. Examples are Passages 15, 17 and 27.

Thus it seems difficult to establish a clear relationship between frequency of code-switching and association with the domain of education, even though this would be the expected outcome given the patterns of language use in the speech community. However, one type of expression from the educational domain can be explained by domain association, that is expressions containing numbers. Many of the code-switched expressions in the recorded data consist of references to money, dates and expressions of time.

Some of the numbers in the two languages are identical, namely: dua [two], lima [five] and the multiples puluh [-ty], ratus [hundred] and ribu [thousand]. Some terms referring to time periods are also the same: minggu [week] and bulan [month]. For this reason, in several cases it is unclear which code the speaker is using. In the transcription, the numbers have been regarded as a code-switch to Indonesian if other Indonesian words precede or follow them, for example, ***seribu sampal seribu lima ratus*** [one thousand to one

thousand five hundred] (Passage 2). Since the preposition *sampai* appears in Indonesian, it is assumed that the surrounding numbers are also in Indonesian. In cases where the Simalungun numbers are different from those in Indonesian, code-switching can be clearly identified. For example, in Passage 5, the first speaker uses the Simalungun number *opat* [four] to refer to the number of weeks of his holidays, despite most of his utterance being in Indonesian:

Libur nami semester leblh kurang sekitar opat minggu.

[Our semester holidays are somewhere around four weeks.]

The speaker in Passage 8 uses numbers to refer to dates in both languages. He first mixes the numbers in the year he refers to, then, speaking softly, perhaps calculating to himself, switches to Indonesian numbers. He then reports more definitely to his friend, stating the year that the curriculum was changed. The fact that the speaker twice uses the shortened form of the Indonesian number *delapan: lapan* [eight] indicates that he is calculating rapidly. Perhaps this speaker uses Indonesian when making calculations, as this is the language he has used for mathematical calculations at school.

Another Indonesian reference to a date is made as a joke in Passage 26. To emphasise the length of time a particular noodle seller has been in business, one of a group of friends states that he's been selling since the year 50 B.C.

H: Mulai lima puluh tahun sebelum Masehi.

[Starting from fifty years B.C.]

Perhaps the speaker has chosen Indonesian since the date here is given in a historical context. This is the code used in history lessons at school.

More everyday references to dates appear in Simalungun. For example, in Passage 47, the speakers refer to the dates of their holidays using the regional language.

R: . . . goranni ai? (softly) tanggal sapuluh dua. [What's it called? On the twelfth.]

A: Sapuluh dua, bulan walu. [On the twelfth, eighth month]

In Passage 6, the length of a cultural festival is referred to in Simalungun, *tolu ari* [three days], while the actual naming of the dates is ambiguous, the numbers involved being identical in both languages. However, the preceding words in Indonesian *buka* and *penutupan* indicate that the numbers referring to the date could also be code-switched.

C: Pesta Danau Toba kira-kira tanggal buka tanggal dua puluh dua, penutupan tanggal dua puluh lima, tolu ari tong biasana.

[The Lake Toba Festival opens on, on about the twenty-second, closes on the twenty-fifth. It's always three days usually].

In Passage 17, a long utterance in Simalungun includes a code-switch to Indonesian for the phrase *tahun depan* [next year]. References to time periods appear in both codes in Passage 5. The second speaker even uses equivalent prepositions in both codes (*sadokah* and *selama*) to introduce time phrases within the same utterance: *sadokah libur on* [during these holidays], then *selama saminggu on* [during this week]. He then uses an Indonesian time phrase: *mingkin minggu depan* [maybe next week]. An Indonesian time phrase also appears in Passage 41, *hanya sekejap saja* [only for a moment]. In this case, the phrase is an often-heard idiom, here emphasising the ephemerality of the choir performance. In Passage 30, the speaker uses a time phrase expressing the concept of punctuality: *pada waktuna* [on time]. The definitive Simalungun suffix *-na* is added to the Indonesian phrase. The phrase *tepat-tepat* [punctually] is also used in the same passage.

Ordinals appear most frequently in Indonesian. For example, speakers referring to their choice of course constantly refer to *pilihan pertama* [first

choice] and ***pilihan kedua*** [second choice] (See Appendix B, Recording Session 4). Speakers in Passage 24 also use Indonesian ordinals to refer to the first and second day of exams:

J: **Hari pertama. Hari pertama.** [The first day, the first day]

H: Adong do **hari kedua** Bahasa Inggris? [Was English on the second day?]

While there is a tendency for dates to be expressed in Indonesian, everyday time phrases appear in both codes. However, references to money appear to occur most frequently in Indonesian, as do words connected semantically with money, listed below:

Passage 2: lima ribu siswa kali dua ratus ribu rata-rata berarti sekian ratus juta [five thousand students times two hundred thousand means so many hundred million]

Passage 2: dua ratus lima puluh ribu uang sikkolahku ditambah dengan belanja-belanja saku bulan dua ratus lima puluh ribu berarti lima ratus ribu [two hundred and fifty thousand school fees, plus monthly pocket money of two hundred and fifty thousand makes five hundred thousand]

Passage 6: **kekurangan modal** [not enough funds]

Passage 41: **mencari biaya tidak dengan modal kosong** [finding funds, not empty-handed]

Passage 41: **meminta sumbangan** [ask for donations]

This prevalence of code-switched phrases referring to numbers and money seems to be the result of domain association, either from the field of education or from economic activities, in which Indonesian is the normal channel of communication.

Some topics in the recorded conversations appear to be linked to the domain of government. In Indonesia, all governmental bodies use Indonesian as their communicative code and Indonesian is the language of all types of media. Many idiomatic Indonesian expressions which occur in the data from this study are those which would normally appear in the speech of government representatives. Examples are listed here:

- penghambat kemajuan** [hindrance to progress] (4)
- dengan catatan** [on the condition] (3)
- kekurangan modal** [short of funds] (6)
- kemungkinan besar** ([most likely] (4)
- orang tertentu** [certain people] (7)
- sebagai pedoman** [as a guideline] (8)
- paling utama** [the most important thing] (8)
- sebagian besar** [the majority] (9)
- desa teladan** [model village] (9)
- kegiatan budaya** [cultural activities] (28)
- pemerintah setempat** [local government] (35)
- soal blaya** [the problem of finance] (36)
- dalam rangka** [in the process of] (37)
- iuran wajib** [compulsory fee] (37)
- sumbangan sukarela** [voluntary donation] (37)
- daya tampung** [capacity] (38)
- situasi dan kondisi** [situation and conditions] (39)
- waktu makin mendesak** [time is running out] (39)
- harus tuntas** [must be solved] (39)
- menurut perkiraan** [according to estimates] (43)

Most of the above expressions occurred in conversations which took the form of meetings, discussing planned activities - choir performances in the village, sports competitions, prayer meetings. By using expressions associated with the domain of government, speakers were perhaps able to evoke an official tone.

Recording Session 7 demonstrates an interesting contrast in code-switching patterns. The first part of the conversation, from which Passages 36 - 41 are taken, deals with plans for group activities. The two speakers are in fact office-bearers in the Simalungun student organisation, Himapsi, and the conversation takes on many aspects of a committee meeting. This may account for the high frequency of code-switching, as other student meetings would normally take place in Indonesian, being attended by members of different ethnic groups.

The second part of the conversation in Recording Session 7 demonstrates a clear change in code-switching patterns, from high to low frequency. The topics covered in the second part include a narration of R's recent visit home and his difficulties with transport, as well as the research another friend was carrying out with chickens. Passage 42 was the only one in this long narration to contain examples of code-switching. The topic change from planning activities for the student organisation to personal narration of a visit to the village seems to be reflected in the change in code-switching patterns. Domain association with the normal code used in student meetings may have influenced the amount of code-switching in the first part of the conversation, while the topics of the second part (transport and chickens) were regarded as appropriately discussed in Simalungun.

Another domain where Indonesian is the unmarked code is that of modern urban youth lifestyle. This includes references to romantic love.

In Passage 35, there is a high frequency of code-switching in a conversation discussing a romantic association between two people. In Passage 31, a speaker uses an Indonesian phrase *dapat jodoh* [got a partner] when referring to a romantic attachment between characters in a TV show. The Indonesian term *kawin* [to marry] is used in Passage 20. In Passage 33, an Indonesian slang term *cewek* [girl] is used to refer to the girlfriend of one of the speakers.

In interviews, some participants stated that they wrote letters to their boyfriends and girlfriends in Indonesian, even if they were of the same ethnic group. One speaker during his post-recording interview maintained that to use Simalungun was not intimate, "sepertinya tidak mesra". Perhaps an influence here has been popular culture, in which romantic love has been portrayed in songs and films through the medium of Indonesian language.

The prevalence of Indonesian slang terms also reflects this domain of modern urban culture. Some examples are listed below:

gengsi	[prestige] (8)
sedap	[great] (10)
stres	[stressed out] (11)
gawat	[Oh no!] (16,48)
santai-santai	[relaxing] (22)
jago	[great] (23)
ngerl	[terrible] (26)
bos	[old man] (26)
tenejer	[teenagers] (33)
mentel-mentel	[showing off] (33)
asyik	[involved in] (33)
shopping-shopping	[to go shopping] (47)
sinis	[angry-looking] (48)

The use of such expressions evokes the domain of modern urban life, especially of young people. They tend to occur as single word code-switches in conversations with a low frequency of code-switching which basically deal with topics from the domain of friendship.

The domain of religion is one in which Simalungun is the traditional unmarked code, but there is a trend for Indonesian to be increasingly used in church services and meetings by the younger members of the speech community. Interview data showed that a number of participants (C,E,I,F and M) preferred to attend Indonesian language church services. However, others maintained

that it did not feel right to use Indonesian at church, and maintained that their language of private prayer was Simalungun (O,P,Q,H,J,S,R and L).

Unfortunately, the informal nature of the conversations recorded meant that few topics directly related to religion occurred. In Passage 47, the speakers discuss activities planned by the church youth group, using Indonesian loan words such as *katehlisasi* [catechism], and *sayembara* [competition]. In Passage 39, the Simalungun term *partonggoan* is used for "prayer meeting", while in Passage 40, an Indonesian base word appears with a Simalungun verb prefix, *markoor* [to sing in the choir]. This mixture of Indonesian and Simalungun terms used to refer to matters pertaining to the religious domain seems to reflect the bilingual usage of the Medan Simalungun speech community in church-related activities.

In conclusion, then, discussion on certain topics seems to contain a high proportion of loanwords and other code-switches. Expressions containing numbers, dates and time expressions seem to appear most frequently in Indonesian, adding fuel to the argument for **lexical conditioning** (Hasselmo, 1970, p.27), that speakers use particular expressions most commonly in one code. This appears to be what Clyne (1985, p.95) refers to as **lexical transference**, and Yoon (1992) terms **relexification**. This occurs where there are differences in lifestyle and domain usage associated with the two languages, necessitating frequent use of loan words by bilinguals moving between the two linguistic contexts.

It is also possible that the inclusion of a high frequency of code-switched items creates a particular effect. Some passages recorded here containing several idiomatic phrases from the guest code may function, via **domain association**, to evoke the domain of government, and set the tone at a more official-sounding level, whether seriously or in fun (Passages 3, 8 and 37). Similarly, use of slang terms and phrases from Indonesian associated with the domain of urban lifestyle may add a tone of urban know-how to conversations between students with 'country bumpkin' backgrounds (Passages 35 and 48).

For example, in Passage 33, the speakers are complaining about the younger village girls misbehaving during a sporting event organised by the students on holiday. Indonesian terms such as *tenejer* [teenagers], *mentel-mentel* [showing off] and *salah tingkah* [misbehave] when used to disparage the girls brings attention to the contrast between the urbanised students and their naive country cousins. Similarly, in Passage 37, the organisers of the sporting competition sound more like government officials when they use official-sounding terms from Indonesian such as *dalam rangka* [in connection with] and *luran wajib* [compulsory donation].

It appears, then that one explanation for code-switching in the speech recorded for this study is that of domain association. Speakers use particular expressions in the code in which they are accustomed to use them. They may also use expressions associated with a particular domain in order to set a tone evoked by that domain.

Interpersonal Function

Members of a speech community share norms of interaction. One of the norms of this speech community appears to be some degree of code-switching in all interactions. In some passages it is clear that the speakers are supporting and complementing each other in their code-switching patterns. This suggests that between members of this speech community, code-switching may be part of an accepted speech style which could function as a solidarity marker. Some researchers have stated that code-switching can function to indicate intimacy or distance between interlocutors. It can also be used to "hedge" identities when a speaker is unsure of an interpersonal relationship (Scotton, 1983, pp.126-7). Use of the guest code can also be used to indicate the role a speaker is assuming when joking. The interpersonal significance of code-switching will now be examined with reference to the data collected from Simalungun-Indonesian bilinguals in this study.

Most of the conversations recorded contain passages where the speakers are interacting in short utterances, creating discourse together. Frequent use of the Indonesian tag *kan* has already been discussed in the previous chapter. It clearly functions in this speech community as a device to obtain back-channel response from interlocutors.

There are also some examples of speakers repeating code-switched expressions introduced by their interlocutor. For example, *kawin* [get married] is first used by M, then repeated by L (Passage 20). This is despite the fact that several expressions exist in Simalungun for the same idea, readily suggested by participants during the interviews (*marumah tangga, mambuat boru, marhajabuan*). In Passage 37, the expression *sumbangan sukarela* [voluntary donation] is first used by R then repeated by S, who appears to be agreeing with the description of the payment as such. In Passage 38, R responds to a question with the code-switched phrase *tempat ai* [that place], which is then taken up by S, who first repeats it, then uses it in his next sentence. The verb *mencukupi* [to be enough] is also repeated by S, in affirmation of his interlocutor's conclusion. In Passage 3, an Indonesian expression, *daerah turis* [a tourist area] is provided by A, when D appears to be groping for a phrase. This is then repeated by D, indicating his acceptance of it as appropriate. These examples indicate that code-switching is not a phenomenon which occurs in the speech of only one speaker at a time, but is sometimes created by two interlocutors together, who suggest, accept and repeat expressions in the guest code.

This aspect of code-switching, the fact that it is created by the interlocutors together, may indicate that in this speech community, the use of frequent Indonesian expressions is a separate speech style. Linguists have observed that diverse bilingual speech communities have developed particular styles of interaction including frequent code-switching.

Hasselmo (1970, p.207) refers to such a code-mixed style as a "mode of speaking". He maintains that it is characterised by specific sets of content units

and discourse markers from the guest code. Clyne (1985, p.108) describes "marginal passages" in his data which contain unlimited switching. He believes that this is only possible with closely related languages. Huerta (1977, p.28) noted that in her Spanish-American speech community, code-switching was the normal style of linguistic interaction. Blommaert (1992, p.60) describes Campus Kiswahili, an "English-interfered variant of Swahili" spoken by university staff in Dar es Salaam. Valdes (1981, p.101) found that bilinguals chose a code-switching style in 29 out of 45 types of interaction. Malcolm (1997, p.59) also found that 18 out of 35 components of a speech situation allowed mixed dialects.

Wardhaugh (1992, p.108) points out that the ability of bilinguals to mix codes leads to a shared feeling of pride and solidarity between interlocutors when their speech contains a high frequency of code-switching. Poplack (1980, p.599) notes that intrasentential code-switching functions to establish an intimate relationship between the speakers. Since only members of a particular bilingual speech community are able to communicate in a code-switched variety, it acts as an in-group marker. Goyvaerts and Zambele (1992, p.79) state that bilinguals who code-switch frequently are demonstrating their "mutually multiple identities". Romaine (1989, p.132) compares code-switching to style-shifting among monolinguals, explaining that bilinguals merely have a wider choice of linguistic style.

Choice of code within a particular interaction is used by speakers in bilingual speech communities to indicate intimacy or distance. While the high code, due to its association with formal interactions, gives the impression of distance, the low code, which is usually used in more informal contexts within the family and peer group, evokes a more intimate atmosphere. While use of the low code can indicate in-group solidarity (Kaldor, 1970, McConvell, 1988, p.117), use of the high code can lend technical authenticity to a statement (Kachru, 1978, p.38). McConvell (1988, p.105) has shown that use of several codes reflects a nesting pattern of social arenas and can express the point of view of the speaker with regard to the topic. Lambert's matched guise test (1967, p.94)

clearly showed that the code used also influenced the listener's perception of the speaker. In languages which have politeness levels, such as Javanese, choice of code is governed by strict norms according to the relationship between interlocutors (Haviland, 1982, Kartomiharjo, 1981).

Just as choice of code for a particular interaction places the relationship between the speakers on a particular footing, whether distant or intimate, so can code-switching within a conversation influence this footing. Gal (1982, p.247) interprets code-switching as a conversational strategy which can create, evoke or change interpersonal relations. Since all the data from this study was collected from groups of speakers interacting in friendly informal situations, it is difficult to know whether the code-switching patterns exhibited here are functioning to indicate interpersonal relationships. However, the post-recording interviews were enlightening on this question.

Some respondents were of the opinion that friends who used many Indonesian expressions when speaking to other Simalungun speakers were *sok* (conceited). This coincides with the attitude in Aboriginal communities to Standard Australian English speakers in certain contexts (Malcolm, 1997, p.58). These opinions run counter to the interpretation mentioned above that a speech style including a high frequency of code-switching can function as a solidarity marker. They do indicate, however, that use of Indonesian expressions within a Simalungun discourse may sometimes be an attempt to impress other speakers, perhaps with urbanity or educational expertise. One participant interviewed referred to D, stating that he used so many Indonesian expressions to show off (Recording Session 1). Nababan (1993, p.32) also expresses the opinion that code-switching can be used to demonstrate superior knowledge.

Another interpersonal function of code-switching is that of joking. Speakers sometimes use a different code when they wish to take on a different role for humour. McConvell (1988, p.131) mentions that a more familiar code is often switched to for joking or swearing. In this data, speakers switch from the normal

in-group code to the national language for joking. A clear example of this is in Passage 12, where F asks her friend in precise, correct Indonesian whether she understood the funny narrative just told: *Mengertikah, engkau, ?* [Do you understand, I?]. She seems to be taking on the role of a pedantic teacher, in order to tease her friend. In Passage 19, when L quotes a traditional Indonesian proverb, he is also changing code for humorous effect, taking on the role of an older advisor. Since the conversations recorded were informal exchanges between friends, there were frequent examples of such teasing, which usually included use of Indonesian expressions for comic effect.

In conclusion, the fact that code-switching was used by all interlocutors in this study indicates that it may function as an in-group speech style. The use of frequent code-switching is, however, interpreted negatively, by members of this speech community, as an attempt to show urbanity or educational superiority. Code-switching is also used for humorous effect, when speakers wish to role-play.

Despite the explanations for code-switching mentioned above - quotation, domain association and interpersonal indications - there remain passages in which the function of code-switching is unclear. In attempting to find meanings for the code-switching patterns evident in the conversational data from this study, the possibility that code-switching is used as a general contrasting or marking device also needs to be explored.

Marking

The theory of **markedness** proposed by Carol Myers-Scotton (1983), states that speakers choose codes in response to the relationship existing between them. If the relationship is unchanged, the unmarked code is chosen. Scotton maintains that choice of the marked code indicates a change in the rights and obligations set for a particular exchange. In Scotton's study, the major focus is on changes in relationships between the speakers. In this study a more limited

concept of **marking** as a means of expressing contrast will be employed. Just as during monolingual exchanges, stress and intonation patterns are used to mark particular expressions, during exchanges between bilinguals, use of the guest code can function to draw attention to an expression or mark it off in some way from the surrounding speech.

This has been mentioned as one of the functions of code-switching by several linguists. Gal (1988, p.256) states that the contrast between the expected and the actual code used alerts the listener that a special inference is necessary when interpreting the utterance. Heredia-Deprez (1990, p.104) notes that bilingual speakers interacting in a particular dyad establish an unmarked code. Therefore divergences from this form both syntagmatic and paradigmatic contrasts. Swigart (1992, p.90) points out that the domain associations are not as significant with this type of code-switching as the discourse effect achieved by the code contrast.

It has already been shown that the normal unmarked language of interaction between the speakers in the recorded interactions is Simalungun, as they share the same linguistic background. The expectation in the recording sessions was also that the language should be Simalungun, since it was explained that the researcher was gathering data for a study on regional languages. In fact, Simalungun was the base language in all conversations recorded. However, code-switching occurred in each interaction. It will now be investigated whether the speakers used switches to their second common language, Indonesian, in order to emphasise particular words and phrases and mark them off from surrounding expressions in the base language.

There are several examples of code-switching in the data from this study which are clearly examples of a change in code functioning to stress meaning, as they are accompanied in the repetition of a word or phrase in both languages. They seem to be similar to one of the code-switching patterns listed by Valdes-Fallis (1978, p.97): that used for parenthetical remarks and repetition for emphasis.

In Passage 16, when J questions her first reply in the unmarked code, Simalungun, F repeats it in Indonesian.

J: **Untuk** Sos **kan** adong. [There were some (answer keys) **for** Social Studies, **weren't there?**]

F: Seng adong. [No there weren't any.]

J: **Untuk** Sos? Seng adong **be?** [**For** Social Studies? They don't have them any more?

F: **Nggak ada lagi.** [**They don't have them any more.**]

Similarly, in Passage 2, D repeats a phrase, firstly with the Indonesian term at the head, then with the Simalungun equivalent.

D: **Berbahagia** ma bana, sonang ma bana.
[He must be **happy**, he must be happy].

In Passage 43, J replaces an Indonesian base verb with a Simalungun one, "itottuhon", when he repeats a phrase.

R: Lang boi i **prediksi** halak, lang boi itottuhon halak ise na monang
iji. [You couldn't **predict**, you couldn't determine who was going to win.]

This type of marking, repetition of the same expression in both codes, appears to function as a means of emphasis.

Marking can also be used for asides. An example occurs in the data in Passage 3.

D: Eh, bahasa Batak pe gai jengesdo anggo ipilih i USU, **tapi dengan catatan** anggo menurut au **harus membuat program S-dua.**

[Oh, Batak language would be good to do at USU, **but on the condition that** in my opinion you'd have to do the masters.]

Here the speaker is using the code-switched expression to qualify his statement.

In Passage 1, the narrator inserts an aside into his narration using Indonesian, **Sementara waktu tinggal lima menit** [There were only five minutes left].

The change of code here seems to mark this statement as an aside, rather than as part of the narration of the interaction between himself and the students. Towards the end of the passage, the narrator uses both languages to express the same idea: that the incident was repeated. The first time he uses Indonesian: **beberapa kali** [several times], then Simalungun: **tolu kali** [three times]. Such repetition in both codes functions to emphasise the idea being expressed.

Another way in which speakers exploit the contrast possible with code-switching is for humour. As mentioned in the previous section (pp.102-103), jokes often consist of a speaker using expressions from an inappropriate code, thereby achieving different expressive effects, such as irony, teasing, and exaggeration.

Examples of irony can be seen in Passages 14 and 29. In Passage 14, F uses an Indonesian expression **bisnis** when referring to how little J has had to do of late. J responds in Indonesian, drawing out his words for comic effect: **mengisi: waktu:** [filling in time]. In Passage 29, Q ironically uses an Indonesian expression, **hebat** [great], to describe a friend's poor study habits. In Passage 24, X (an onlooker who joined in the conversation) referred to one of the teachers at a school with the disrespectful Indonesian term, **bos** [old man], resulting in laughter from the others.

When quoting the words of a minister of religion, the speaker in Passage 46 used Simalungun, inserting a slang Indonesian expression, **cas!** [give me five!] for humorous effect. The code-switched expression actually forms the punchline of the joke in this case.

In Passage 35, O uses an Indonesian phrase usually associated with official style. She states that a couple were forbidden to see each other by **pemerintah setempat** [the local government], referring to their families, evoking immediate laughter and a repetition from P. In Passage 44, M and J exchange Indonesian clichés, taking on the roles of people engaging in

Indonesian small talk. This is similar to the stock exchanges cited by Hasselmo (1970, p.184).

In Passage 25, L exaggerates the time a noodle seller has been operating, using an Indonesian expression: ***Mulai lima puluh tahun sebelum Masehi*** [Ever since the year 50 B.C.] .

From the above examples it can be seen that speakers use code-switching to Indonesian for a variety of humorous effects. The humour is dependent on the marked code of certain expressions, which enables them to contrast with the expected unmarked code of the interaction, Simalungun.

In conclusion, this interpretation of code-switching patterns has shown that speakers use code-switching in a variety of ways. They use it to fill lexical gaps, to create verisimilitude in quotations, to evoke a particular domain such as education or government where the guest code is the normal mode of interaction, to indicate urbanity, to create humour, to mark asides and to emphasise. It is possible that Simalungun speech containing code-switching may also represent a separate speech style indicating solidarity within this speech community.

CHAPTER SIX : CONCLUSION

This study has shown that code-switching occurs during intragroup interaction. Loans are used to fill lexical gaps in the base code and code-switching often reflects domain association. Code-switching is also used by speakers as a conversational strategy. The bilingual competence of all speakers in intragroup interactions widens their choice of expression to encompass two codes.

Code-switching is used by all speakers in this speech community, which consists of young Simalungun-Indonesian bilinguals brought up in the rural areas but now living in the city of Medan. Since the recordings made during this study were of intragroup conversation, code-switching was not a situational response to changing interlocutors. All speakers were members of the same speech community with similar language backgrounds. Participants in recording sessions were led to believe that the desired language of interaction would be Simalungun. The fact that under such circumstances, code-switching occurred in each conversation and was used by each speaker recorded, is significant. It indicates that code-switching from the base language Simalungun into Indonesian is a normal aspect of intragroup communication in this speech community. As urban migration of Simalungun speakers increases, so will the size of the the speech community which employs code-switching of Indonesian expressions into Simalungun as part of its intragroup linguistic style.

The variation in the frequency of code-switching throughout the recording sessions indicates that there may be differences in individual speech styles with regard to code-switching usage. One of the speakers recorded rarely produced more than one utterance free of Indonesian expressions (D), while others maintained the base language throughout, except for Indonesian loan words to fill lexical gaps, together with the tag *kan* (B and N). This would corroborate Poplack's division of code-switching patterns into three types: intersentential, tag switching and intrasentential (1980, p.615). While there are few examples of intersentential code-switching in the data from this study, most examples could be divided into the other two patterns: **tag-switching**

and **Intra-sentential**. It is possible that there is a relationship between length of residency in an urban centre and code-switching patterns. With such a small sample of speakers, however, no consistent pattern of variation could be identified in this study. Correlations between code-switching frequency, aspects of the linguistic background and language attitudes of the speakers could be sought in further studies.

The question of distinguishing borrowing from code-switching has been settled in this study by the observation that borrowing is a type of code-switching which occurs when there is no expression available to the speaker in the base code. Post-recording tests carried out on the speakers revealed that there were some items from the guest code for which Simalungun equivalents were unknown. There were others, however, for which the equivalents were readily supplied. The former were classified as loans, filling lexical gaps in the base language, while the latter were regarded as other types of code-switches. It appeared that speakers were choosing to use expressions from the guest code in many passages, despite the fact that the base code equivalents were readily accessible.

Code-switching occurred unevenly in the recorded materials. Some interactions contained high levels of code-switching, while others had medium or low levels. This was partly attributed to domain association. For example, when speakers were discussing matters related to their schooling or urban experiences, there was usually a higher frequency of code-switching. When the topic was village experiences the instances of code-switching tended to decrease.

Although there are many loanwords which have crossed the language boundary from Indonesian to Simalungun to fill lexical gaps, there are many other items which appear in Indonesian because they are normally used by the speaker in a domain where Indonesian is the base language. These include expressions referring to aspects of education, as the speakers have grown up in an Indonesian-based education system. It is also not surprising that words and phrases associated with the domains of economics

and government also tend to occur in Indonesian rather than Simalungun, as in the wider urban speech community these fields are also the province of the Indonesian language. Since speakers normally hear and use particular terms in one code, although they know the equivalent term in the other (as demonstrated in the recollection tests), they are more likely to use the more frequently-used item. However, the code-switching patterns emerging from the data did not regularly reflect topic variation, especially with regard to education-based topics. This led to the conclusion that domain association was not the only explanation for code-switching in this speech community.

It appears that some speech communities in other parts of the world have a higher frequency of code switching than the Simalungun-Indonesian community. Examples are Kachru's and Naval's Hindi-English speech communities, Poplack's Puerto Rican community in Spanish Harlem and Marasigan's Philipino community, which appears to mix three languages together: Tagalog, English and a local language. The fact that frequency of code-switching is lower in the present study may indicate that Simalungun used with frequent switches has yet to be recognised as a language variant. This is backed up by the fact that there appears to be no term used by the speech community to refer to a mixed language style. This contrasts to the Philipinos' reference to "Mix-Mix", and the Singaporeans' reference to "Singlish" or the Canadians' reference to "franglais". In fact when asked to comment on mixed code usage, some speakers interviewed did not immediately understand what was being referred to, and required further explanation.

Other researchers have mentioned the fact that speakers are largely unaware of their own code-switching (Pandit, 1990; Clyne, 1985; Gumperz, 1982). In this study, the fact that speakers recorded used Indonesian expressions despite the expectation(explained on p55) of Simalungun code is an indication that they are unaware of this usage. Follow-up interviews with speakers supported this conclusion. When asked directly about code-switching between Simalungun and Indonesian, only a few informants interviewed admitted to doing this themselves. Of these, a number

explained that they only code-switched in certain circumstances, such as when others didn't understand or when joking. Language attitudes expressed by the speakers towards code-switching varied widely. Some condemned it outright as a sign of lack of competence in Simalungun or as a sign of showing off. Others saw it as part of the normal linguistic style of their group of Medan friends. Some described it as a style which speakers used in order to maintain the language of the village, while adapting it to meet the changed situation of the urban youth lifestyle.

Other studies have also found that attitudes towards code-switching are frequently negative (McClure, 1981; Malcolm, 1982). Some of the participants in this study also expressed this opinion. Since the Simalungun language is the unmarked code of interaction between members of the family and friends from the same region, it evokes a feeling of solidarity and intimacy between the speakers. This was clearly demonstrated by attitudes expressed by the speakers during post-recording interviews. They regarded usage of Indonesian between Simalungun speakers as an indication of lack of pride in their ethnic language. In contrast, Indonesian, which is used in official contexts and with members of other ethnic groups or those with different language backgrounds, evokes a more formal, distant feeling. Speakers use Indonesian to role-play a speaker who normally uses this code, such as a teacher or a government official. Direct quotation of speakers who usually use Indonesian is also made in the guest code, during intragroup conversations. This adds dramatic quality to narrations. Humour sometimes results from a deliberately inappropriate code-choice. For this reason, joking or teasing often involves code-switched expressions, capitalising on the ability of bilinguals to comprehend both codes.

The analysis of surface patterns of code-switching in the data from this study revealed great variety, both in length of expression and types of words switched. Expressions switched varied from single words to complete utterances. Code-switched items were both referential (nouns) or functional (conjunctions, prepositions). Some code-switched items were idiomatic or

slang terms. This wide range of code-switched expressions indicated a variety of ways in which code-switching was being used by members of this speech community as a communication strategy. The major conversational strategies for which code-switching was employed were identified as quotation, defining of interpersonal roles, and marking particular expressions.

Other studies have shown how code-switching is used to mark particular expressions for special interpretation by the listener, indicating the attitude of the speaker in some way (Scotton, 1977; Gal, 1988; McConvell, 1988). Speakers in the present study also seem to use the guest code in this way. In monolingual interaction, marking of particular expressions is carried out by repetition and by intonational variation and stress. In bilingual interaction, the common knowledge of two codes makes a further type of contrast available. By choosing a guest code expression in preference to a base code one, a speaker draws attention to it, as it contrasts with the rest of the utterance, as well as with the expected form. In the data collected for this study, a number of clear instances of code-switching for contrast have been found.

Speakers appear to use code-switching as a conversational strategy in a manner comparable to a change in style (lexical choice between synonyms varying in connotation) or intonation (choice between suprasegmental patterns varying in connotation). Shanon (1991, p.340) makes an apt comparison when he compares the bilingual code-switcher to a musician who is able to switch between two musical instruments at any time to indicate changing nuances of expression.

Speakers in the Simalungun-Indonesian speech community of Medan have two linguistic codes at their disposal. When speaking with other members of the same community they may switch to Indonesian at any time without losing communicative clarity. They use this strategy to fill lexical gaps, to quote others and to refer to matters usually discussed in the national language. They also use code-switching as a conversational strategy to indicate interpersonal status, to make jokes, to emphasise points and to make conversational

inferences. These findings are parallel to those of Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo (1980) discussed in Chapter 1, p.22. This could indicate that the linguistic patterns occurring in the Simalungun speech community in Medan could be similar to those of other ethnic groups throughout Indonesia, who also have two codes at their disposal.

Code-switching therefore, does not indicate any lack of linguistic competence or the fact that speakers are forgetting their first language, as the first step in a process of language attrition. It indicates in fact an extension of competence. Speakers have at their hand an additional means of expression: the ability to switch into a code not normally used in peer-group interaction but which is readily understood, being the language of education and urban life in Medan. Speakers are thus able to use code-switching in response to domain references and as a conversational strategy to extend their communicative competence.

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APPENDIX A :

ATTITUDES TOWARDS CODE- SWITCHING**I. Negative**

A: "Nggak bagus lagi, campur-campur sok-sokan gitu, terbawa-bawa, Bahasa Simalungun jadi tertinggal. Anak kuliah sekarang udah lupa."

["It's no good any more mixing and showing off like that, you copy each other, and Simalungun gets left behind. Uni students these days have forgotten."]

Q: "Kurang enak. Dia tidak membanggakan bahasanya sendiri. Gampang dipengaruhi."

["It's not nice. They're not proud of their own language. Easily influenced."]

C: 'Sering jumpa pakai Bahasa Indonesia nampaknya janggal."

["If you often meet them and they use Indonesian it seems awkward."]

O: "Kalau dua-dua orang Simalungun pakai Bahasa Indonesia sok."

["If two Simalungun people use Indonesian they're showing off."]

S: "Rasanya seperti saya tidak setuju dia, itu mencampurcampur bahasa, soalnya ada kesan saya bahwa dia agak malu malu Bahasa Simalungun, dia orang Simalungun harus dipelajari."

["It seems like I don't agree with someone mixing languages up, the problem is it gives the impression that he's a bit ashamed to use Simalungun. He's a Simalungun person, he has to learn it."]

E: "Rasanya enggan kalau Bahasa Indonesia dengan kawan-kawan Simalungun dibilang sok nanti"

["I would be reluctant to use Indonesian with my Simalungun friends, they would say I was showing off."]

II. Positive

F: "Kayaknya itu baik ya karena kalau kita cuma tahu Bahasa Simalungun nggak tahu Bahasa Indonesia kan lucu juga kan, misalnya, kita mau sekolah ke mana-mana dipakai kan Bahasa Indonesia, cuman janganlah tinggal Bahasa Simalungun karena yang melestarikannya kita generasi muda, istilahnya, pemakaiannya seimbang gitu."

["It seems as if it's good because if we only know Simalungun and don't know Indonesian, it'd be funny, wouldn't it, for example we want to go off to school we use Indonesian, don't we, just don't leave Simalungun behind because we the younger generation have to keep it alive, actually, they should both be used in balance."]

I: "Kalau itu, bagus juga, campur-campur biar nggak ketinggalan suku dia itu. Biar nggak ketinggalan - langka."

["As for that, it's good, mix them so that our ethnic group isn't left behind. So we don't get left behind - an endangered species. "]

H: "Itu bagus karena melihat teman-teman kita yang orang Medan yang orang Simalungun dulunya orang itu sedikit pun tak tahu Bahasa Simalungun, tapi setelah menggabung dengan kami kadang campur Bahasa Simalungun, campur Bahasa Indonesia orang itu lama lama bisa juga omong, bisa jadi ngerti Bahasa Simalungun dan ngomong pun Bahasa Simalungun."

["That's good because if you look at our friends from Medan who are Simalungun, before they couldn't speak Simalungun at all, but after joining with us, sometimes mixing Simalungun and Indonesian, after a while they can speak and understand Simalungun."]

III. Appropriate in some contexts

D: "Di Medan ini aja yang agak berubah karena udah campuran Bahasa Indonesianya sikit, Bahasa Simalungunna sikit kek gitu. Kalau jumpa dengan kawan satu suku keknya."

[“In Medan it's a bit different because people mix a bit of Indonesian with a bit of Simalungun. When they meet friends from the same ethnic group you see.”]

A: "Kalau belum pernah jumpa tapi sama-sama orang Simalungun nggak janggal kalau belum kenal."

[“If you've never met but you're both Simalungun it's not awkward if you don't know each other yet.”]

F: "Kadang sama-sama suku Simalungun pun mau juga pakai Bahasa Indonesia karena sudah terbiasa misalkan di kampus sana gitu kadang terbawa juga sampai di rumah."

[“Sometimes even if both are Simalungun they still use Indonesian because they're used to it for example on the campus there, so sometimes they bring it home with them.”]

E: "Pembawaannya aja itu. Ada yang karena kurang faham dia, yang tinggal di kota itu."

[“That's just being influenced. Some do it because they don't understand it, the ones who live in the city.”]

P: "Biasa aja karena di sini juga kita udah mengalami kek gitu, kan, udah campur."

[“It's just normal, because here we've heard like that, so we mix too, you see.”]

APPENDIX B: CONVERSATION SUMMARIES

Passages selected for transcription, and which appear in Appendix C, appear below in boldface. The tape counter gives an indication of the length of each exchange (1 minute = 15).

Recording Session 1: Passages 1 - 4

Location: A large Sunday school room, next to the church regularly attended by the participants. The speakers sat on low chairs. The microphone was placed on a small chair between A and D. The researcher sat somewhat apart making observational notes. During the recording, several people came in, waiting for a Sunday school teacher who did not, however, turn up. They stood near the window quietly.

Speakers: There were two female students, A and B, and two male students, C and D. The speakers had been selected by one of their tutors before the start of the service. A and B were not well acquainted with C and D, despite being in the same tutorial group. They filled in the questionnaires which were checked before the session began. The voices of A and C were sometimes inaudible. D dominated the conversation, initiating most topics, while the others were quite passive, merely responding briefly, except B, who spoke fluently at times. The conversation ran for around 40 minutes. A, B and C had only been living in Medan for 1-2 months, while D had been here for 2 years. They were aged from 18-20 years and were all preparing to face their final high school exams in two more days.

COUNTER	CONVERSATION SUMMARY	NON-LINGUISTIC FEATURES
0	All speakers introduce themselves. D asks the others how they came to choose this group.	Singing from church next door
5	B answers that she heard of it through her sister. C answers, then A.	
14	D tells others that he wanted to be a tutor. He compares the classes with another school.	
25	D makes the point that the tutors are Simalungun. He asks the others about their origins. The others answer. D asks the others about their pocket money. B answers, then C, then A.	Singing
40	D tells about another school and its costs. He asks the others about their faculty choices.	Heavy rain
53	B tells her choice. D comments that he chose the same university, different faculty. D tells a story about the university.	
69	D asks C why he failed last year. C explains. D asks A and B about their senior high schools.	Rain drowns out voices.

COUNTER	CONVERSATION SUMMARY	NON-LINGUISTIC FEATURES
77	D tells the others that he's often taken for older than he is. They laugh. D tells a story related to this.	
86	B tells a story about asking someone if he was a tutor or a student.	
Passage 1 96 - 108	D tells a story about a trick he played on other students. D explains that he likes jokes. He asks the others about their experiences. A compares this tutorial group to others. B tells a story.	Heavy rain and singing
Passage 2 127 - 145	D compares this tutorial group to M and compares the value of money in the village with money in Medan.	
155	D criticises the other school. D asks others their plans if they fail.	
164	They laugh. A, B and D mention private lessons and English.	
181	D asks B about her English. D tells a story about teaching English. B comments on the story. D mentions Dutch and tourists.	
Passage 3 192-212	D tells of plans to go to Manado or to Bali. D gives his opinion of English. C admits to bad English and the others laugh. D advises the others to study Batak language.	Hymn in background
226	C criticises this suggestion. B comments on the difficulty of getting a job.	
250	D gives some suggestions. D repeats advice given by his relative.	Singing
277	C and D discuss the backwardness of Simalungun people. D asks A if she went to church then admits he didn't.	
293	Others laugh, then he explains why not. D mentions that he would like to study psychology.	
Passage 4 315 - 328	D tells of his thesis idea on Batak husbands. He tells a story about a father telling his son to go to church.	Rain
330	D states that mothers work very hard. He asks the others about the financial support they get from their parents.	
343	A says she is totally supported by them and they laugh.	

COUNTER	CONVERSATION SUMMARY	NON-LINGUISTIC FEATURES
347	D mentions opportunities to earn money in Medan. C comments	
358	D says he's tired. They laugh. D asks others about their first experiences in Medan. They laugh.	Pause in conversation
364	C tells about how hot it seemed. A agrees.	
368	D tells about his experience getting off the bus too soon.	Rain
400	D tells a story of his experience with a taxi driver. The girls comment and laugh.	
407	D asks others about not passing. He complains he is tired. B asks D about his village. A asks D about his family. They joke about their suitability to be partners.	
427	D asks A about common acquaintances. Discussion about the matriculation conditions. D discusses the Maths exam.	Hymn begins
475	C says he wants to get into economics. The others give their opinions.	
489	D tells a story about a female tutor. Giggles.	Pause in the conversation

Recording Session 2: Passages 5 - 9

Location: C invited E to attend the recording session at the home of the researcher. The two speakers sat at a round table with drinks in front of them. The researcher sat at the other side of the room and wrote observational notes.

Speakers: The two speakers were male cousins, their fathers being brothers. E was 19 years old, while C was 20. E had attended junior and senior high school in Medan, while C had attended high school in a large town and had come to Medan to attend tutorial classes prior to university entrance exams. They were boarding together.

COUNTER	CONVERSATION SUMMARY	NON-LINGUISTIC FEATURES
1	The speakers introduced themselves.	
4	C asks E about his holiday plans. E replies that he will help his parents in the village.	Whispered conversation between others
11	C asks E the length of his holidays.	
Passage 5	E tells about his holidays.	
14 - 23	C says he will also be going home. C asks E his plans after he finishes high school. They discuss their families.	
28	C asks E about his older brother. E replies that he is working in Sulawesi. E talks about looking for part-time work.	
41	E talks about the need for an aim in life.	Pause in conversation
51	They discuss what to talk about. They wonder about the aims of the session.	
Passage 6	C asks E about the Lake Toba Festival.	Pause in conversation
68 - 74	E replies. They discuss lack of money. C asks E about the best crop to grow now.	
Passage 7	They discuss pineapples, then honey.	
108 - 133	C mentions distribution problems with honey.	
134	E tells that buyers are suspicious of quality. They discuss what to talk about.	Pause. Laughter.
Passage 8	E mentions that many young people now go to school in Medan. C agrees. C says that young people go to school in Medan for prestige. E blames poor standards on the new curriculum. C disagrees.	
145 - 179	C gives the example of a successful relative who became a judge. He talks of parents' hopes.	
Passage 9	E says that most students succeed but they don't help those in the village like Toba people. E says most people nowadays finish high school at least. E tells about a village receiving an honour. Pause. C tells of the large number of village children who go to school in Medan.	
194-226		

Recording Session 3: Passages 10 - 16

Location: The students' boarding house. The participants either lived at this house or next door. They sat on mats in the front room. The microphone was placed on the mat in the centre of the circle. The researcher sat a little aside next to the cassette recorder, and wrote observational notes.

Speakers: The first four speakers knew each other well. They lived in the boarding house next door. G and H came from the same small town. G had just completed her matriculation exam after completing senior high school in Medan, while F, H and I were students at the national university. H had been living in Medan for 4 years, F for 3 years, and I for 2 years. A fourth speaker, J, joined in the conversation towards the end. He boarded in the same boarding house. He was aged 25 years and had lived in Medan for six years. He was also a student at the national university and came from the same town as G and H.

COUNTER	CONVERSATION SUMMARIES	NON-LINGUISTIC FEATURES
	Speakers introduce themselves. They give their nicknames.	
Passage 10 2-6	G tells of today's exam. F tells of her brother's plans and his friends.	F is called outside then returns. F hits floor repeatedly.
Passage 11 14-22	F complains about her brother. Her brother calls from outside for permission to go out. F tells him angrily to go.	
23	H asks G how she will celebrate the end of the exams. She replies that they plan to meet at the movies.	
28	They discuss their friends.	
32	F tells a story about a becak driver. The others comment.	
49	I asks others about their university choices. G tells her choices deliberately.	Pause in conversation
55	They discuss marks required and exams.	
63	H tell of L's bad luck in his exam. F helps to tell the story.	
78	They discuss some other friends.	

COUNTER	CONVERSATION SUMMARY	NON-LINGUISTIC FEATURES
87	They discuss food preferences.	
90	They discuss the meaning of the term 'galon'.	
102	Story about the economics lecturer.	
Passage 12	They comment on the funny story.	Laughter
104-117	G states that she misses home. H says that when she goes home she has to help in the shop.	
118	They discuss palm wine in the village. A funny story.	
132	They greet J.	J arrives at the door.
148	They explain about the session and invite J to join them.	J sits down.
Passage 13	F and H give J instructions.	J goes to pick up the microphone.
138-142	J introduces himself.	Giggles Pause
158	J asks others about research	
Passage 14	F and H ask J what he's been doing.	
165-170		
171	J asks G about her activities. They discuss places to go out. J asks where the boys went.	
190	J asks G about the exams. They discuss her possible results.	A plane flies over.
214	They discuss the scores needed for each faculty.	
220	F expresses her surprise at another friend's over-ambitious choices.	
226	J tells of his choices last year.	J hesitates, groping for a word.
248	I tells story about the advice of a tutor regarding choices.	
259	J comments about the differences this year.	
Passage 15	They discuss the English exam this year.	
267-273	The impressions of some others are discussed.	

COUNTER	CONVERSATION SUMMARY	NON-LINGUISTIC FEATURES
Passage 16 279-283	J asks others about answer keys. J discusses other exams.	
294	J tells G she'll probably pass. G expresses her thanks to God. They repeat the story about L and express sympathy.	
297	F and J discuss L and the number of questions he missed.	F hits floor repeatedly.
332	F repeats her surprise at a friend's choices. J discusses his own choices.	
352	H tells a story about someone saying goodbye.	
359	They discuss the social studies exam.	
389	They bring up the idea of taking English lessons from the researcher.	
407	H jokes about a beauty treatment	Pause. Bike speeds past.
433	F discusses another friend's choices.	Tape runs out.

Recording Session 4: Passages 17 - 26

Location: The front room of a boarding house where some of them lived. The speakers sat cross-legged on the mat. The researcher sat near the wall next to the cassette player. This conversation was recorded just after Conversation 3, but most of the speakers had not been present during the first recording session. Members of the other group held quiet discussions at the same time, sitting near the door.

Speakers: The four speakers, H, K, L and M, were close friends. While H was 22 years old, K and M were 19, and L was 18 years old. H had lived in Medan for 4 years, while the other three had just come to Medan to attend tutorials prior to the university entrance exams. M was a male student, while the other three were females. They had just completed their university entrance exams that day and the atmosphere was very relaxed.

COUNTER	CONVERSATION SUMMARY	NON-LINGUISTIC FEATURES
1	Speakers introduce themselves. L asks the others about their results. M answers. L asks others about private universities.	
Passage 17	L expresses his feelings about his plans for	
11-15	next year	
16	L asks K her plans. L mentions his plan to attend theological college.	
Passage 18	L and M discuss how they should celebrate	Pause in conversation
24-26	the end of the exams. The boys state the importance of getting rid of stress.	
Passage 19	M makes a joke about L.	
37-39	L responds by quoting a proverb. They ask K about medicine. K says it's in the hands of God.	
Passage 20	L and M discuss the possibility of getting	
55-63	married if they don't get into university. M states that those of them who leave the village have higher aims.	
64	M states his goal of marrying a Westerner. They joke about the researcher's daughter.	
78	A discussion of terms of address.	
95	They come back to a joke mentioned before about L.	The two girls talk quietly together.
106	K admits it's her birthday. The others ask her age.	
Passage 21	K complains about failing an exam	
109 - 114	on her birthday. L and M advise her to be more optimistic.	
118	M asks N about someone at church. N answers.	Someone enters the room and borrows a guitar.
128	L tells a story about a religion teacher.	Girls whisper.
134	L asks M his second name.	Comments from someone outside the group.
140	The boys discuss the meaning of N's name.	
148	They complain of the heat. They discuss the expectations of the session.	
Passage 22	L encourages M to go somewhere	
160-167	now that the exams are over.	

COUNTER CONVERSATION SUMMARY	NON-LINGUISTIC FEATURES
168 They discuss directions.	
177 The boys tell the girls to talk.	
185 They discuss food on K's birthday.	
188 K asks about enrolling for a state institution. The boys discuss a state university.	K changes the topic.
205 They complain of the heat and lack of drinks.	
210 M states he is hungry. He asks what fish there is today.	Pause in conversation
Passage 23 M and L discuss fish in Siantar.	
215 - 217	
218 They discuss food in Raya.	Girls talk quietly.
231 L asks K about her results.	
Passage 24 They discuss a friend.	
233 - 245	
247 They discuss another friend.	
267 They discuss addresses.	
275 They joke about another friend.	
Passage 25 K asks L about a girl he's interested in.	
281-290 L and M joke about a girl's father.	
298 They state that they've run out of topics.	Pause in conversation
306 They discuss Simalungun food.	
Passage 26 L and M joke about a favourite	
320-322 place to buy noodles.	
324 They reminisce about food they used to eat after Sunday school.	
355 They ask researcher directly, if that is enough.	

Recording Session 5: Passages 27 - 30

Location: P's boarding house. The speakers sat next to each other at a plastic-topped table in the open middle section of the house, outside the kitchen, where the landlady was cooking. The researcher sat diagonally opposite the speakers. The cord of the cassette player hung across the doorway, impeding the entrance of others somewhat.

Speakers: The two speakers were close friends. They were both 20 years old and had lived in Medan for 18 months. They both attended the Catholic University.

COUNTER CONVERSATION SUMMARY	NON-LINGUISTIC FEATURES
<p>P and Q introduce themselves.</p> <p>Passage 27 P asks Q about her accountancy assignment.</p> <p>4-6 P asks Q why she went to campus that morning. They discuss the exam timetable.</p> <p>12 P asks Q about a friend's exam.</p> <p>24 They discuss plans for a choir performance.</p>	<p>Male singing from house.</p> <p>Two boys enter, step over cord, go into house.</p>
<p>Passage 28 P asks Q about other activities.</p> <p>28-32 Q explains that plans for soccer and cultural performance in the village didn't work out. Q tells P more about the Harisma organisation.</p> <p>44 P says she has no chance to go home. She is too busy with her homework.</p>	
<p>Passage 29 P explains problems she's been having with</p> <p>56-84 steno. Q gives advice and sympathises. Q agrees that steno is not so useful these days. Q asks about S's exam. Q questions P on one of the teachers. They discuss a friend's exam results. Q says she wants to go home but is having problems finishing her assignment.</p>	<p>They laugh.</p>
<p>Passage 30 Q tells P of the problems she has</p> <p>94-118 trying to meet her lecturer. Q criticises her lecturer. P defends her. P says the lecturer should do her work and look after her jobs at home. Q tells a story of what happens whenever she wants to meet the lecturer.</p> <p>119 Q repeats her complaints.</p>	<p>They laugh</p> <p>Voices from the house.</p>

Conversation Summary 6: Passages 31 - 35

Location: O's boarding house. There was some traffic noise in the background. The speakers sat around a small wooden table in the front room, with folding doors to the outside slightly closed. The cassette player, running off batteries, was on the table in front of the researcher, the mike aimed at the three speakers who sat around the other side of the table. The conversation took place shortly after the previous one, as had P and Q accompanied the researcher to O's boarding house nearby.

Speakers: P and Q from the previous recording session also took part in this one, with the addition of O, another close friend. Like them, O was also 20 years of age, had lived in Medan for 18 months and attended the same university. All three students come from different small towns, however.

COUNTER	CONVERSATION SUMMARY	NON-LINGUISTIC FEATURES
	The speakers introduce themselves.	
4	Q asks O about the TV program she was watching. O says they have been discussing statistics. O asks Q what she's been doing.	Traffic noise
9	Q answers that they've been doing a recording session. P explains that she was meeting her lecturer.	Noise from the TV in background. Pause
20	They discuss their exam preparations.	
Passage 31	Q asks O about TV program.	Pause in conversation
28-30	They joke about it. Q asks O for R's address.	Music from TV Pause in conversation
39	P discusses the problems she's been having studying.	
46	Q asks O about one of their subjects. They discuss one of their lecturers.	Traffic noise
55	Q says she's had no breakfast yet. Q tells of a friend who wouldn't lend her a book.	Laughter
Passage 32	Q tells about this incident.	
64-66	The others ask P about the plans for activities in the village. P talks about volleyball.	
Passage 33	O tells about problems with teenage girls on the volleyball team flirting. P tells about flirting in the choir.	Laughter

COUNTER	CONVERSATION SUMMARY	NON-LINGUISTIC FEATURES
	Q and O comment, P repeats the story.	
82	O discusses plans to go home on Saturday for the match and the statistics lecture.	
Passage 34	They discuss Mr M, the statistics teacher.	
89-98	O tells a story about him. P quotes him. P repeats his words.	
99	They discuss a friend who plans to attend the Lake Toba Festival despite her exams. M complains about the exam timetable.	
Passage 35	P asks if E's fiance will go too.	
115-136	O says they're not allowed to see each other. Q asks for details of how they met. O gives details of how they met. She explains that they're both active in the Harisma organisation.	Laughter
146	They talk about the next practice session.	Loud car horn outside

Recording Session 7 : Passages 36 - 43

Speakers: R, a friend of the research assistant had been contacted and asked to bring a friend. He brought S, a distant relative, with whom he had been working in the Harisma organisation (Simalungun students organisation). R was 20 years of age, while S was 22. They were both students at the Catholic University. R had lived in Medan for 18 months, while S had been there for one year.

Location: The recording was made at the home of the researcher. The speakers sat at a round table, while the researcher sat turned aside at a bench, making notes.

COUNTER	CONVERSATION SUMMARY	NON-LINGUISTIC FEATURES
	Speakers introduce themselves.	
Passage 36	R asks S about the preparations	Noise from children next door
2 -15	for sport in the village. R asks how many extra players there are. S lists them and explains about costs.	
25	R asks about payment for manager.	Child calls out.
Passage 37	R asks S about preparations for competition.	
34-38	S explains about the fees and donations. R asks about the planned prayer meeting.	Banging of chairs
Passage 38	R asks about the capacity of the location.	
42-47	S explains that they don't expect many to attend. R mentions the position of the chairs. They discuss the numbers expected to attend.	
63	S mentions that the room next door could be used.	
Passage 39	S and R continue to discuss the venue	
64-78	for the prayer meeting. S tells why they aren't able to hold it in one of the parents' houses. S explains about the importance of this meeting.	Ice-cream van passes house. Scraping chair
82	They discuss choir practice.	
Passage 40	They discuss the enthusiasm of the	
85-98	chairman of the Harisma organisation.	Pause
Passage 41	They discuss other possibilities for	
99-107	raising funds, apart from the choir. They discuss picture frames and embroidery, cakes.	Children's voices
130	They conclude that the football and the choir will be enough. S asks R why he wasn't there last Sunday.	
132	R tells about his trip home last Sunday. He explains that he had to mind the shop as his father returned late.	
148	He then tells of the problem he had getting on the bus. S comments and asks for the story to be continued.	
Passage 42	R explains that he talked to a friend on the bus about her research with chickens. R explains how he took her to his place and gave her a lift home.	
224	S comments on the story.	

Recording Session 8 : Passages 44 - 47

Speakers: The speakers were J, who had taken part in Conversation 3, and M, who had taken part in conversation 4. J was 25 years of age while M was 19. They both lived at the same boarding house. While J had lived in Medan for 6 years, M had only lived there for 3 months. J was a student at the national university, while M was sitting for university entrance exams.

Location: The conversation was recorded in the front room of the speakers' boarding house. A number of other friends sat near the door and listened.

COUNTER	CONVERSATION SUMMARY	NON-LINGUISTIC FEATURES
	The speakers introduce themselves.	
	J asks M if he watched the World Cup soccer game.	
Passage 43	They discuss the German victory and	
5 - 16	express the opinion that it was appropriate.	
	J discusses the Czech team.	
	J gives his opinion that the Germans won because of their stronger mental attitude.	
17	M tells of a wedding he attended the day before.	
Passage 44	They exchange platitudes about death,	
20-23	the cost of fish and rain.	Laughter
	J asks M about what happened on Saturday.	
28	J asks M about his visit home.	Pause in conversation
33	M gives some details about his visit.	
	J jokes about M getting his "salary" from his father.	
44	They discuss tests and enrolment dates.	
50	J asks M about his plan to become a priest.	
Passage 45	M explains his doubts about this.	
52-54		Laughter
	J asks him the date of the confirmation ceremony.	
Passage 46	J tells a joke about a young priest	
65-70	at a confirmation service.	
	They repeat the joke.	Laughter

Recording Session 9 : Passages 48 - 49

Speakers: I and H were close friends. At a previous meeting, they had taken part in Recording Session 4, along with two others. I had lived in Medan for 2 years, while H had lived there for 4 years. They were both students at the national university. H was 22 years old, while I was 21.

Location: Front room of H's boarding house. I boarded next door. The speakers sat on a mat. Another friend sat between them, but back leaning against the wall.

COUNTER	CONVERSATION SUMMARY	NON-LINGUISTIC FEATURES
	I and H introduce themselves.	
Passage 48	H asks I if she has finished her exams.	
5-15	I tells about the catechism competition in the village.	
	H asks I when she's leaving.	H speaks very fast.
	They discuss H's plans in Medan.	Laughter
	Then they discuss when a friend will return.	
		Pause in conversation
17	I asks H which of their friends are going home for the holidays.	
22	I mentions her plans to take English lessons.	Laughter
	They discuss the activities planned in the village by the youth group.	
33	H asks who has been training the choir.	
	I tells about the leader from another university.	
Passage 49	H tells a story about the rude behaviour of this leader when they were working together serving food at a ceremony.	
36-47		
48	I discusses those taking part in the traditional dancing in the village.	
	She explains that she is not good at dancing.	
57	H tells a story.	Plane passes over.
	I discusses which dances they will perform.	
76	She talks about the boys taking part.	
		Some friends arrive at the door.

APPENDIX C: TRANSCRIPTION

Selected passages from recordings made during nine recording sessions.

Transcription Conventions

Indication of Code

The base code, Simalungun, is transcribed in plain text.
Items in the guest code, Indonesian, appear in **boldfaced text**.
Words which have the same form in both codes are underlined.

If a base word of the guest language is used with affixes of the base language, only the base appears in boldface. For example:

fakultasni
produksina
ceritahon
ipromosihon
mancocokkon

If a base word which is shared by both codes appears with an affix, it is classified according to the code of the affix. For example:

maksudhu (base Indonesian, affix Simalungun)
maksudku (base Indonesian, affix Indonesian)

Prosodic Features

The conventions listed by Gardner (1994) are followed, except for that for overlapping speech.

Short pause	...	
Long pause	
Indistinct speech	()	
Latching	=	
Fast speech	>	<
Lengthening	:	
Incomplete utterance	(no punctuation)	
Other prosodic features	(<i>laughter</i>)	
Overlapping speech		indentation

Context

The context of each passage can be seen by reference to Appendix B: Conversation Summaries.

jawaban moriIni si direktur M. on. Ni nuhurhu, maksudni **pertanggung-jawaban mori**Ini si R. on. **Berbahagla** ma bana, sonang ma bana **memakan uang orang tua dari kampung ai**, **sementara** sonaima susahni mambuat duit dua ratus lima puluh ribu **ditambah dengan dua ratus lima puluh ribu** uang belanja. Halani marbeda do duit lima ratus ribu i kampung dohot i Medan on kan? Anggo tikki i kampung diri **dengan modal dua ratus ribu** domma songan na enak pengahap, anggo dong **sepuluh ribu uang kantong**. **Sementara** i Medan on **barangkali seratus ribu** pe lang sodap.

B: Huja pe lang boil (*laughter*)

D: Halani boido **dua kali habis** songon ahu **sendiri** hubaen saratus ribu **dua hari dengan segala macam-macam bermain-main**, bell ini, bell itu, **sementara** anggo i kampung lang kan?

Translation (2)

D: Yes, that's right. But as for me, I'm **happiest** at BKS here. One reason is, **compared** with M, before when I was at M, I **thought**, for example there were two hundred of us - oh not two hundred, there were five thousand students times about two hundred thousand, **that means so many hundreds of millions** I think, **doesn't it? Meanwhile** included in those five thousand there were **probably at most** I think **one thousand to one thousand five hundred**. So **meanwhile** most of those who studied there from the **village** if they were like **my own parents**, for example they gave me two hundred and fifty thousand for my school **fees plus monthly living cost** two hundred and fifty thousand, **that makes five hundred thousand**. (*softly*) **Meanwhile**, I don't **get in**. How about the **moral responsibility** of this **director** of M. According to me I **mean** the **moral responsibility** of this R. He must be **happy**, he must be pleased to **use up the money of the parents from the villages**, **even though** it's so hard to earn two hundred and fifty thousand plus two hundred and fifty living costs. Because five hundred thousand in the **village** is different than in Medan. **Isn't it?** When I was in the **village** with two hundred thousand I thought it was **great**, **ten thousand pocket money**. But in Medan even one hundred thousand isn't enough.

B: You can't go anywhere! (*laughter*)

D: Because you can **use it up twice**, like me, I can go through one hundred thousand in two days with all kinds of **playing around**, **buying this and that**, while in the **village** you can't, can you?

PASSAGE 3 (RECORDING SESSION 1)

D: Anggo lang lulus au UMPTN, adong dua **rencanaku**, sada, hu Menado halani adong i Menado Fakultas Kedokteran. **Barangkali** ijai ma ahu **sambil mempergunakan bahasa Inggris**, **carl ongkos** ijai eh **sekaligus mengikuti** eh **bimbingan use**, eh baru ma paduahon **barangkali** hu Bali halani Bali kan **terkenal kan** eh=

A: =Daerah turis, daerah turis.

D: Daerah turis. Jadi ahu marosuh hu Bali

Jawaban morilni si direktur M. on. Ni nuhurhu, maksudni pertanggung-jawaban morilni si R. on. **Berbahagia** ma bana, sonang ma bana **memakan uang orang tua dari kampung ai, sementara** sonaima susahni mambuat duit dua ratus lima puluh ribu ditambah dengan dua ratus lima puluh ribu uang belanja. Halani marbeda do duit lima ratus ribu i kampung dohot i Medan on **kan?** Anggo tikki i **kampung** diri dengan modal dua ratus ribu domma songan na enak pengahap, anggo dong sepuluh ribu uang kantong. **Sementara** i Medan on **barangkali seratus ribu** pe lang sodap.

B: Huja pe lang boi! (*laughter*)

D: Halani boido **dua kali** habis songon ahu **sendiri** hubaen saratus ribu dua hari dengan segala macam-macam bermain-main, beli ini, beli itu, **sementara** anggo i **kampung** lang kan?

Translation (2)

D: Yes, that's right. But as for me, I'm **happiest** at BKS here. One reason is, **compared** with M, before when I was at M, I **thought**, for example there were two hundred of us - oh not two hundred, there were five thousand students times about two hundred thousand, **that means so many hundreds of millions** I think, **doesn't it?** **Meanwhile** included in those five thousand there were **probably at most** I think **one thousand to one thousand five hundred**. So **meanwhile** most of those who studied there from the village if they were like **my own parents**, for example they gave me two hundred and fifty thousand for my school fees **plus monthly living cost** two hundred and fifty thousand, **that makes five hundred thousand**. (*softly*) **Meanwhile**, I don't get in. How about the **moral responsibility** of this **director** of M. According to me I **mean** the **moral responsibility** of this R. He must be **happy**, he must be pleased to **use up the money of the parents from the villages, even though** it's so hard to earn two hundred and fifty thousand plus two hundred and fifty living costs. Because five hundred thousand in the **village** is different than in Medan, **Isn't it?** When I was in the **village** with two hundred thousand I thought it was **great, ten thousand pocket money**. **But** in Medan even one hundred thousand isn't enough.

B: You can't go anywhere! (*laughter*)

D: Because you can **use it up twice**, like me, I can go through one hundred thousand in two days with all kinds of **playing around, buying this and that, while** in the **village** you can't, **can you?**

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A: =Daerah turis, daerah turis.

D: Daerah turis. Jadi ahu marosuh hu Bali

D: Halani ni nuhurhu **kan pagi-pagi** ari minggu sonai isuruh ma homa isuruh bapakni ma homani bani anakni **kan**, " Osor lobei horbo ambia", nini. **Sedangkan** ia i kode hundul-hundul. Mulak anakni hun angosor horbo, "Marminggu ho ambia" nini, **sedangkan** ia lang marminggu. **Jadi kan** lang marminggu anakni igilai. Tapi lang ibotoh sonaha ulahni ...humbani anakni **kemungkinan besar** anggo

A: **Salah** do memang.

D: Alo.

Translation (4)

D: I'd like to do **my thesis about the situation of fathers in the village**, because I've noticed that **women in the village** are really **suffering** because of the **actions** of their husbands. Oh, this is one of the things I've seen that **hinders the progress of people in the village**. So how about you, do you feel the same, what's your **opinion** in the **village**, especially in your own villages?

A: **Yes, to some extent**.

D: Because I think **you see early** on Sunday morning a **father** tells his son, **you see**, " Take the buffalo out to graze". **Meanwhile** he just sits in the coffee shop. When his son gets back from feeding the buffalo, he says, "Go to church, son", **while** he doesn't go to church himself. **So you see**, if his son doesn't go to church, he's angry with him, but he doesn't know what he's like... His son **most likely** if

A: it's really wrong.

D: Yes.

PASSAGE 5 (RECORDING SESSION 2)

E: **Libur** nami **semester lebih kurang sekitar** opat minggu.

C: Jai anggo ahu sadokah **libur** on, halani mangikuti ujian Sipermaru do pe ahu, **selama** saminggu on mungkin berada i Medan do pe. Jai mungkin minggu depan ma mulak . Jai boi do holi pajuppah use hita i huta (*laughs*).

E: Ai rencana mangihut, siap, holi porini **tamat** SMA?

C: Anggo boi nian manorih **situasi** sonon, mandihuti **perkuliahan** ma lobei **kan** ase songon na **lancar** otik.

Translation (5)

E: Our **semester holidays are somewhere around** four weeks.

C: As for me, during these **holidays**, because I'm sitting for the matriculation exams, I'll probably still be staying in Medan during this week. So I'll probably go home next week. So we could meet again in the village (*laughs*).

E: What are you planning to do after you **finish** high school, do you think?

C: If I can, depending on the **situation**, I'll go to **university** first, **don't you think**, so I can make a little **progress**.

D: Halani ni nuhurhu **kan pagl-pagl** ari minggu sonai isuruh ma homa isuruh bapakni ma homani bani anakni **kan**, " Osor lobei horbo ambia", nini. **Sedangkan** ia i kode hundul-hundul. Mulak anakni hun angosor horbo, "Marminggu ho ambia" nini, **sedangkan** ia lang marminggu. **Jadi kan** lang marminggu anakni igilai. Tapi lang ibotoh sonaha ulahni ...humbani anakni **kemungkinan besar** anggo

A: **Salah** do memang.

D: Alo.

Translation (4)

D: I'd like to do **my thesis about the situation of fathers in the village**, because I've noticed that **women in the village** are really **suffering** because of the **actions** of their husbands. Oh, this is one of the things I've seen that **hinders the progress of people in the village**. So how about you, do you feel the same, what's your **opinion** in the **village**, especially in your own villages?

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A: It's really wrong.

D: Yes.

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E: **Libur** nami **semester** **lebih kurang** sekitar opat minggu.

C: Jai anggo ahu sadokah **libur** on, halani mangikutl ujian Sipunmaru do pe ahu, **selama** saminggu on mungkin **berada** i Medan do pe. Jai mungkin minggu **depan** ma mulak . Jai boi do holi pajuppah use hita i huta (*laughs*).

E: Ai rencana mangihut, siap, holi porini **tamat** SMA?

C: Anggo boi nian manorih **situasi** sonon, mandihuti **perkuliahan** ma lobei **kan**, ase songon na **lancar** otik.

Translation (5)

E: Our **semester holidays** are **somewhere around** four weeks.

C: As for me, during these **holidays**, because I'm sitting for the matriculation exams, I'll probably still **be staying** in Medan **during** this week. So I'll probably go home next week. So we could meet again in the village (*laughs*).

E: What are you planning to do after you **finish** high school, do you think?

C: If I can, depending on the **situation**, I'll go to **university** first, **don't you think**, so I can make a little **progress**.

Translation (7)

C: **Most likely** they're ready to harvest the pineapples.

E: They've already been planted.

C: Those **seeds**, those **top-grade seeds** again, **you know** those?

E: One thing that still needs developing like that is **honey**.

C: **Honey?**

E: Er...

C: Oh, the **bees** things? There's a lot of those in the village, but there's no **dis**, **distribution**, nowhere to **send** it, if there was, for example it could be a **product** from there.

E: Actually () **around** eight thousand.

C: Eight thousand a month, how many **bottles** can be sent out?

E: () It's the way it's made.

C: If you don't have **experience** it's **hard**, mate.

E: Sure thing... **certain people**. For example in our village I've seen lots of people who can't sell their **honey**.

C: That's not the most **important** thing, there are **times** when () the **money** is **important**().

E: **Distribution** you say, not enough **distributors**, not enough distributing or buyers either, but I **doubt** if they've **promoted** it outside, it's still **limited**, the **amount produced** from there. For example if there was a lot **produced**, it could probably be distributed to the **towns**.

PASSAGE 8 (RECORDING SESSION 2)

E: Oh, songon na han hutatta na lobei nikku tene ma gok **pemuda-pemuda** na marsikolah i Medan on.

C: Aido

E: On sada-sada **kemajuan** do on humbani hutatta. Manurut ho sonaha do **kira-kira** ai?

C: Ninuhurku ai **kan** ase ibaen **orang** tuani sidea pe sidea i Medan on halani ididah do **mungkin** **kan** jolma-jolma na parlobe na umma ipasikkolahkon na **lain orang** tua nalain songonna **berhasil** do **kan**? **Mungkin** ai ma sada **sebagai** **pedoman** bani ase mambaen marsikolah anakna i kota Medan on. Sada nian ase dang do tong ai manjaga **gengsi** gatna **kan**, ai, sai dong do.....

E: Tai anggo menurut ahu ambia, na **paling utama** ase urang songon sidea ai hita. Na han huta ai, ar **mayoritas** hudidah i Medan on mulai SMP, SMA umma gok **apalagi perguruan tinggi**, homa ma **masuk** han hutatta **mayoritas** ma **perguruan tinggi negeri**, jai termasuk **bibit unggul** do nian han hutatta anggo isalurhon a.. **masalah-masalah pendidikan**, tapi aima... Balakangan on, songonna moru do otik **tingkat pendidikan**. Ai lang huboto terlobih homa aima songon na han Pematangsiantar songonna ah dong otik.

C: A tottu halani **perubahanni kurikulum** i **kan** songon na aha be jolma i.

E: **Mungkin** dong do deba **pengaruhni kurikulum** tapi

C: **Kurikulum kan** lape margattih? **Sembilan opat-sembilan...** (*softly*) **lapan empat, lapan...** **mungkin** margattih. **Sembilan tiga** do ra margattih **kurikulum**. Tai anggo huidah nian ma **termasuk**

berkembang ma pemuda atek pejolma-jolma na marsikolah hanhutatta.

Translation (8)

E: Oh, like in our village as I said before there are a lot of **young people** who are going to school in Medan.

C: That's right.

E: This is one particular kind of **progress** for our village. What do you think **about it**?

C: I think **you see** the reason their parents sent them to Medan is because perhaps they saw that **others** whose parents had sent them here **succeeded you see**. Perhaps that's **one guideline** for them to send their children to school here in Medan. The other reason is to get **prestige, isn't it?** That reason's always there.

E: But I think **the main thing** is so we won't be like them. Those of us from the village, the **majority** that I see in Medan starting from junior high, senior high, there are already a lot, **especially at university**, the **majority** from our village get into **government universities**, so we're **like first-grade seeds** from our villages, if we are directed **with regard to education**, but this....lately, it's as if the **level of education** has dropped. I don't know either about those from Pematangsiantar, they seem to be a bit you know...

C: It must be the **influence** of the **curriculum**, that's why they're like that **you see**.

E: Perhaps it's because of the curriculum, but

C: But the **curriculum** hadn't changed yet had it? **Ninety-four, ninety....(softly) eighty-four, eighty-... maybe** it changed. The **curriculum** changed in **ninety-three**. But I see that the **young people** or people going on at school from the village are **progressing**.

PASSAGE 9 (RECORDING SESSION 2)

E: **Sebagian besar berhasil** do. Namun aido, hurang memperhatikan hu huta ai use. Jai songon halak Batak, songon halak Toba agak maju boi sidea songon na nidokni pamarentah "marsipaturehutanabe" **kan**, jai sada **himbauan** hubani hita na dong i.... halak i **tarlebih** naboi hatahonon maju ma.

C: Nimma anggo **pengangguran** ihutatta **rata-rata tamat SMA** do ai.

E: Aa **tamat SMA** tai ai pe ge **tamat SMA** songonna hurang do a.

C: Na **ibandingkan** han huta ni halakan **kan jago** ma hita ai.

E: Songon **belakangan** on nini dop na dop margatih kipala desata, **termasuk desa teladan** huta ai. On sada **kebanggaan** do i **tatta nian** on, gatna sada **peluang untuk** hita na marsikolah i **luar kan, bangga** do hita. Jai untuk **mempertahankan** on ninuhurhu porlu ma hita **lebih giat belajar**.

C: Sosok.

(Pause)

C: Boi iparkirahon sagala na han huta, anggo na dong be nombah na na dong be marsikolah i Medan on.

E: Boi **mayoritas** sada, ai, **paling** **tidak** ma anggo lang SMP i Medan on. Memang sada hatar makasih on do ai humbani Tuhan boi maju.

Translation (9)

E: **Most of them succeed.** But that's it, they don't pay enough attention to their village. Like the Bataks, like the quite progressive Toba people they can, as the government says "help their villages" **can't they**, so it's a **suggestion** to those of us who are... people who can **first** be called successful.

C: They say that those unemployed in the village are generally those who only **finished** high school.

E: Yes, **finished** high school, but even though they **finished** high school it doesn't seem as if they did very well.

C: Compared with them, we're doing **really well**, aren't we?

E: Just like **recently** we got a new village head, our village was chosen as a **model village**, this is something for us to be **proud** of from our village, a **chance** for us who are studying **outside** the village to be proud, isn't it? So to **maintain** it we have to **study harder**.

C: That's right.

(Pause)

C: You could estimate that all those from the village, if they have children, they'll be going to school in Medan.

E: The **majority** could have one, that is **at least** one at junior high school in Medan. It's indeed something to **thank** the Lord for that we can progress.

PASSAGE 10 (RECORDING SESSION 3)

I: Naha do G, UMPTN ai?

G: UMPTN ai. Ya, nai ma **lumayan**, na mangawaskon nantuari pe gurukku nakanai pe gurukku.

I: Guru SMA opat?

G: Guru SMA opat.

I: Torus itandai do ho?

G: Itandai. (*softly*) Ihatahon, **kan**, " **Kek mana?**

X: (*From outside*) Eh,

G: Dapot ho do haganupan?" nini. "Sonaima **pak. Macam mana?**" nikku.

X: (*From outside*) Hujokko!

(*F leaves room in response to call from outside*)

H: **Sedap.**

G: () guru ekonomi **pas**, ujian IPS nokkan.

I: Ai iajari do ho?

G: Seng husukkun, seng pak au.

H: Tapi **bisa** ma ra bebas tene?

G: Seng pala bebas homa. Seng pak.

(*F reenters room, the others ask her what happened.*)

Translation (10)

I: How was the final exam, G?

G: The final exam, yeah it was **O.K.** The supervisor yesterday was my teacher, today it was also my teacher.

I: A teacher from Senior High 4?

G: A teacher from Senior High 4.

I: So did he recognize you?

G: He recognized me. He said, **see**, " **How was it?**"

X: (from outside) Hey!

G: "Did you get all of them?" he said. "Some of them, sir. **What can I say?**" I said.

X: (from outside)

Come here!

H: **Great.**

G: () It was my **own economics teacher**, for the social studies exam today.

I: Did he help you?

G: I didn't ask him, I wasn't game.

I: **But you could be** a bit free, couldn't you?

G: Not really free. I wasn't game.

(Freeters room, the others ask her what happened)

PASSAGE 11 (RECORDING SESSION 3)

F: (mumbles) Uhurmu bamu.

L: (From outside) **Jangan marah-marah gitulah kak F. Ngeri kali!**

H: (calls to L outside) Uhurmu ma halak stres.

F: Eh, eh, eh. (expressing disapproval)

H: **Daripada stres.** Ya, biasa do ai.

I: Ase ulang stres sonai. ()

F: <Ahu gigi do huida marbilyard lo tongon. Mangissop pe nai gigi do ahu **apalagi** marbilyard.> Is! () pak ni ge muse, is! Lao hudopar pe seng mudahan, kan?

L: Lau huluar tongkin, baya mardalan-dalani.

F: Anggo halak on mendingan kau () **kan?** Marbilyar-bilyard, ih. Naha pe ningon boisma ai.

L: **F, permissi dulu F!**

F: **Jadi pigillah!** (loudly)

L: <**O.K. Dada!**>

H: Boan siluah da!

L: **O.K.**

Translation (11)

F: (Mumbling) Whatever you like.

L: (From outside) **Don't be so angry, F. Terrible!**

H: (Calls to M outside) Already **stressed out.**

F: Eh, eh, eh.

H: **Rather than be stressed out. Yeah, that's just normal.**

I: So you won't be **stressed** like that. ()
 F: <I hate seeing him play billiards.> Smoking is bad enough, without billiards, yuk () his feet going there again, yuk! I want to hit him but I can't, can I?
 L: I want to go out for a while, for a walk.
 F: With this guy it's not too bad () PMP **wasn't it?** Billiards, yuk. Whatever happens, his money's always gone.
 L: **F, goodbye F! (loudly)**
 F: **So go then!**
 L: **<O.K. Bye-bye!>**
 H: Bring us something home!
 L: **O.K.**

PASSAGE 12 (RECORDING SESSION 3)

I: Nai mai ai oh
 G: Toh ko baya:
 I: Ala, ah.
 F: *(Precisely)* **Mengertikah, engkau, G?**
 I: Seng tartangar aida () a sok dai alo.
 G: Ah tartangar do.
 H: Ia kuatni suara ni ai do!
 F: Idingatko do irekam opereta i mik?
 G: O.
 F: I gawei **rekaman** hanami ijon sanggah lao natal.
 I: Siholan ma au huhuta lo.
 H: Seng ().
 I: Seng hubotoh.
 H: Aha pe use ujianna ipe use ahu.
 G: D-tolu ai.
 I: ()huta ge aima.
 H: Itampung ho do ganup nim D-tolu S-sada siap ai akper.
 I: Lang ().
 H: Ahu, **kan**, anggo i huta siholan bani
 I: Ala:
 G: Ahu ihuta isuruh marjualan. Songon na SD. Margarigi tanganni ge, margarigi ganup. Mangalop aha mangalop bagot hu juma.

Translation (12)

I: How did he, oh
 G: Do you know what:
 I: Yeah, ah.
 F: *(Precisely)* **Do you understand, G?**
 I: She didn't () ah she's really stuck up.
 G: Ah, I understood.
 H: What a loud voice!

F: Do you remember when we **recorded** our operetta on the mike?

G: Oh.

F: Oh, our **recording** before Christmas.

I: I'm homesick you know.

H: No.

I: I don't know.

H: What else do I need?

G: That degree.

I: The village, that's what.

H: You'll get all those degree courses and then nursing academy.

I: It's not ().

H: As for me **you know**, if I was in the village I'd miss

I: Yeah:

G: In the village I'd have to go out selling something. Like in primary school. My hands were all rough, rough all over. Getting what do you call it, palm wine from the fields.

PASSAGE 13 (RECORDING SESSION 3)

J: **Oh, perkenalan.**

F: Ala.

J: **Merekam.**

H: Halak na baru.

J: Oh.

F: Yak, Bahasa Simalungun tapi.

J: Oh.

H: **Langsung** jawab, bang.

J: (*Repositioning mike*) **Oh, dari sini aja.** Maksudni?

Several voices: Goranni. (*laughter*)

J: Hanima domma?

Several voices: Domma.

Translation (13)

J: **Oh, let me introduce myself.**

F: Yeah.

J: **You're recording?**

H: A new person.

J: Oh.

F: Yes, but in Simalungun.

J: Oh.

H: Just answer **straight away**.

J: (*Repositioning mike*) **Oh, just from here.** What do you mean?

Several voices: Your name. (*laughter*)

J: Have you all had a turn?

Several voices: Yes.

PASSAGE 14 (RECORDING SESSION 3)

J: **Cerita.**

F: Na ro handa do ham ai?

J: Han rumah ni **kawan**, marguro-guro.

F: Oh.

F: Marmeam-meam:

F: Bahat do tumang **blsnismu** huida sonari on. Sondahon on.

J: **Mengisi : waktu:**

H: () si P.

F: **Segan** ia. (*Laughter*)

Translation(14)

J: **Talk.**

F: Where have you just come from?

J: From my **friend's house**, just hanging around.

F: Oh.

H: Hanging around:

F: I notice you have a lot of **business** lately. Just lately.

J: **Filling in: time:**

H: () P.

F: He's **shy**. (*Laughter*)

PASSAGE 15 (RECORDING SESSION 3)

J: Bahasa Inggeris pe Bahasa Inggeris ni seng **untuk** songon **grammar**.

F: Lang.

H: Lang do.

J: Seng adong **struktur**, seng adong **vocabulary**.

F: **vocabulary**.

I: Ase les () i P.

J: **Baru** Bahasa Indonesia seng (*laughter*) Seng adong **sistem wacana** pe **kan?**

?: ()

H: **Cuma** lima, lima do?

F: Dua.

F: **Gawat**, () bah, Bahasa Inggeris biasana adong do **paragraf** aha sonai.

Translation (15)

J: The English, the English wasn't **grammar**.

F: No.

H: No, it wasn't.

J: There was no **structure**, there wasn't any **vocabulary**.

F: **vocabulary**.

I: You should take lessons () at the P.

J: And **then** Indonesian didn't, (*laughter*) It didn't have a

comprehension test any more, **did it?**

?: ()

H: **Only five, five** weren't there?

F: Two.

F: **Oh no** (). Oh. English usually has **paragraphs** and things.

PASSAGE 16 (RECORDING SESSION 3)

J: Anggo songon L ge boi do Bahasa Inggeris.

?: ()

J: Pitu puluh skor, eh

F: Lang, **maksudku** ge =

F: = Soal Bahasa Inggeris ai.

J: = **kunci jawaban** ai. *(laughter)*

F: **Kunci jawaban** aha do pe?

J: **Hari pertama. Hari pertama.**

H: Adong do **hari kedua** Bahasa Inggeris?

J: **Untuk** Sos kan adong.

F: Seng adong.

J: **Untuk** Sos? Seng adong be?

F: **Nggak ada lagi.**

Translation (16)

J: But I can usually do English.

?: ()

J: He got seventy for his **mark**, ah

F: No, **what I mean** is =

J: = the English questions.

F: = the **answer keys**. *(laughter)*

H: Which **answer keys**?

J: **The first day, the first day.**

H: Was there also English on **the second day**?

J: There were some **for Social Studies**, weren't there?

F: There weren't any.

J: **For social studies**? They don't have them any more?

F: **They don't have them any more.**

PASSAGE 17 (RECORDING SESSION 4)

L: Masuk lang masuk, ai ma nokkan tene malas uhur, naponting martonggo diri. Sai andohar namin boi masuk, ah pori lang pe masuk holi anggo adong **tahun depan** rencana mangulang-ulang, anggo lang swasta na jenges, tarlobih ma U., sendong parhutatta. Domma jenges homa fakultasni i jai **Jadi** ni nuhurhu sonaima dearan.

Translation (17)

L: Whether we get in or not, that's what we said, we should be glad, the important thing is to pray. Hopefully we can get in, oh if for example we don't get in we can plan to repeat **next year**, if we don't repeat we can get into a good private university, the best would be U., there's no one there from our village. The faculties are good there, so, **so** I think that would be the best.

PASSAGE 18 (RECORDING SESSION 4)

L: **Jadi habis-habis** UMPTN sonan, huja do sosok hita?

M: Marbilyard. (*Laughter*)

L: Mangan-mangan ma tong hita ge.

M: Ah?

L: Mangan-mangan ma hita.

Translation (18)

L: **So** now the entrance exams **are over**, where would be a good place for us to go?

M: Play billiards. (*Laughter*)

L: Let's keep on eating.

M: What?

L: Let's eat.

PASSAGE 19 (RECORDING SESSION 4)

M: Ham do gan na mambuat aha nami ai, buah nami ai.

L: Adong sonon da ambia, na makkatahon "**Ikan gabus ikan kakap, bagus kau cakap**" (*laughter*). Anggo lang mallapak nini.

Translation (19)

M: You were the one who took our what do you call it, our fruit there.

L: They say this, mate, they say " **Gabus fish, carp fish, you should speak carefully**". (*Laughter*) If not I'll hit you, they say.

PASSAGE 20 (RECORDING SESSION 4)

L: Anggo lang masuk ho: ... lang masuk ma. (*slowly*)

M: **Jadi** huja ma ho, **kawin** ma ho **kan**, lang mungkin.

L: Boi do.

M: Sapuluhwaluh taon pe.

L: Anggo hita Simalungun on ge, lang podas-podas do **kawin**.

M: () (*laughter*)

L: Ai na **kawin** dassa **perjuangan** diri.

M: Ai hita i huta, **kan** domma sikolah hita istilahni hu luar ni hutatta.

L: On do ge.

M: **Jadi** tujuanta pe **kan lebih tinggi** ma humbani parhuta-huta age pe lang pagijang-gijangkon uhur.

L: Nai pe dear.

M: Ai ma ahani, aha goranni **kenyataanni**.

Translation (20)

L: If you don't get in: ... just don't get in. (slowly)

M: **So** where will you go, you couldn't just **get married**, **could you?**

L: Yes I could.

M: You're only eighteen years old.

L: But we're Simalungun, we don't **marry** young.

M: () (*laughter*)

L: **Getting married's** my only **goal**.

M: If we're still in the village, we're leaving the village to go to school, **aren't we?**

L: That's right.

M: **So** we should aim **higher** than those who stay in the village, **shouldn't we?** Though we shouldn't be too stuck up.

L: That's right.

M: That's what do you call it, that's what you call **reality**.

PASSAGE 21 (RECORDING SESSION 4)

K: **Pas** homa UMPTN on ulang tahun diri **kalah**.

L: **Biasa** do ai.

M: Ulang ge isura-surahon ge ba ... Ulang **koreksi** ge ganupan, ase ulang songan na **stres** pangahapmu **tetap** ho ge, parasoan ... Siap ai tak naha pe **kejadian** berihutni **terserah** ma tene, lang nai do N?

L: Sonai do ala ti. Ulang tahun ho ma sadarion, anggo ninuhurhu **isedihkon** homa sadarion, **kan** borat do sonai, seng sodap.

Translation (21)

K: I've **failed** the entrance exams **right** on my birthday.

L: That's just normal.

M: Don't imagine things like that... Don't **correct** everything, so you won't be **stressed out**. You feel ... when it's over whatever **happens** after that just **accept it**, isn't that right, N?

L: That's right, ti. It's your birthday today, I think if you're **sad** today, that's a shame you know, **isn't it**, it's not great.

PASSAGE 22 (RECORDING SESSION 4)

L: **Jadi** attigan do hanima mulak hu Raya, **habis** UMPTN on?

X: **Tanggal dua puluh** sia.

M: Dokah dope X, aima **tanggal-tanggal dua puluh** sia aima rencana.

- L: Ho patar laho huja do.
 M: Hu Helvet ma hita patar.
 L: Au lang, ijon ma lobe, laho, adong horjakku ijon, ambia, manamot gan.
 X: Manamot.
 L: Ho hu Helvet ma ho lobei **santal-santal** i jai, lang biasa do sonai.
 M: Seng dong hasomanku. (*softly*)
 L: Ah?
 M: Seng dong hasoman. (*softly*)
 X: Hu Helvet pe lang ibotoh lo ambia.
 L: Ai boi dope kahoau i jai.
 X: Kahou ma holi (*softly*)
 M: **Jadi** anggo ho inan noha mula-mula ijon hu Amplas do diri mase laho hu Pancing!
 L: **Ma:lu: ber:tanya:, ja:lan-ja:lan.**

Translation (22)

- L: **So** when are you going back to Raya now that the entrance exams are **over**?
 X: On the twenty-ninth.
 M: That's not for some time, X, if you plan to go on the twenty-ninth.
 L: Where are you going tomorrow?
 M: We're going to Helvetia tomorrow, aren't we?
 L: I'm not, I'm just staying here, I have some work to do, hoeing.
 K: Hoeing.
 L: Go to Helvetia first, **relaxing** there, that's **normal**.
 M: I don't have a friend. (*softly*)
 X: What?
 M: I don't have a friend.
 X: I don't even know the way to Helvetia, mate.
 L: You never know I could be there.
 X: I wouldn't know. (*softly*)
 M: **So** when you first went from here to Amplas how come you ended up at Pancing!
 L: **Too shy to ask, just wandering around.** (*slowly*)

PASSAGE 23 (RECORDING SESSION 4)

- M: Anggo i Siantar adong, ikan do ambia ah, ulu dayak do ikan domma ihatahon **enak** ni in do nini.
 L: Ikan dencis.
 M: Domma **jago** tu ai ... i Siantar ai maksud mai.
 L: Seng boi otik-otik na pangan.
 M: Otik-otik ase boi tambu da, **tambah** tolu hali **kan puas** ma **perasaan** ai.

Translation (23)

M: In Siantar there is good food, mate, even chicken head to eat is really **delicious**.

L: Sardines.

M: That's really good ... in Siantar I mean.

L: You can't just eat a little.

M: If you eat a little, you can take some more, you only **feel satisfied** after having three **helpings**.

PASSAGE 24 (RECORDING SESSION 4)

M: **Sampai** kalas piga J. tartangar anggo iaha, **sampai** kalas dua gatni **kan**?

L: Alo ... kalas tolu.

M: Kalas tolu lang tartongar be ia **kan**?

Translation (24)

M: J. was still at school **until** what grade, **until** grade two, **wasn't it**?

L: Yes ... third grade.

M: In third grade he wasn't there, **was he**?

PASSAGE 25 (RECORDING SESSION 4)

L: Tapi saut holi **cewek** mai, M?

K: Ise do **cewek** ni ai?

M: Seng kotoh homa.

K: Sakalas ni **kan**?

M: Seng kotoh. Seng dong **tunanganku** lo.

L: Lang **tunanganni** gan, nini tapi dong gan idohor dohori gan.

M: Urus hanima malah bakku lo.

L: Ahado bamu.

X: Ahu lang **semangat** martunangan lo.

L: Mase!

X: Halani martunangan mau jadi pakkar i SMP 2 **malam-malam**.

L: Ia.

M: ()songon

X: Lang ho makkatahon ai.

M: Siah ai **mungkin** doi ikira ho.

L: Biasani mabiar do ia hu SMP 2.

M: Ai **ngeri** do tongon ge i SMP 2 ai, ai aha do tongon dong i jai. Seng na min marosuh au ijai anggo hudidah tak aho pe da.

X: Bos ni on. (*laughter*)

Translation (25)

L: But are you serious about your **girl**, M?

K: Who is this **girl**?

- M: I dunno!
- K: She's in your class, **Isn't she?**
- M: () don't know. I don't have a **fiancee**, you know.
- L: It's not his **fiancee** he says, but you can't get near her.
- M: You approach her for me.
- L: What do you want exactly?
- M: I'm not **keen** on getting **engaged**, you know.
- L: Really?
- M: Because if you get **engaged** you have to dare to go to Junior High 2 **at night**.
- L: Yeah.
- M: () like that.
- X: Didn't you say that?
- M: Maybe you counted nine.
- L: Usually he's too scared to go to Junior High 2.
- M: Oh, **it's** really **scary** at that Junior High 2, there's something there, I don't like going there in case I see something or other.
- X: The old man. (*laughter*)

PASSAGE 26 (RECORDING SESSION 4)

- L: Anggo aido anggo **lontong** si **enakan** anggo i Raya do.
- M: Anggo i Raya **kan?**
- L: Tai anggo mie si dokahan?
- M: **Mie** ni K ma
- L: **Mie** ni Jemba Raya.
- M: Mase?
- L: **Mulai-**
- K: **Mulai** SD.
- L: **Mulai** lima puluh tahun sebelum **Masehi**.
- M: Tai **laris** do tong **kan?**

Translation (26)

- L: The most **delicious** **rice cakes** are in Raya.
- M: In Raya, **aren't they?**
- L: But the oldest **noodles?**
- M: K's **noodles**.
- L: **Noodles** in Jemba Raya.
- M: Really?
- L: **Ever since**
- K: **Ever since** primary school.
- L: **Ever since** the year **fifty B.C.**
- M: But they still **sell well**, don't they?

PASSAGE 27 (RECORDING SESSION 5)

P: Mase mangumpul **tugas** hanima?

Q: **Tugas** aha ... **final**.

P: **Final** aha maksudna?

Q: Oh... **tugas final** aha, **semester**.

P: Oh, manambah **nllal**.

Q: Ah-ah.

Translation (27)

P: How come you're preparing an **assignment**?

Q: It's a , what d'you call it... **final assignment**.

P: What do you mean, **final**?

Q: Oh... the **final** er **semester assignment**.

P: Oh, for extra **marks**.

Q: Mmm.

PASSAGE 28 (RECORDING SESSION 5)

P: Maksud, maksudmu **kan** anggo markoor sonai, ho lau na koor ai dassa **kegiatan**na.

Q: Lang songon, i bulan walu on **kan**, aha, parbola. Bahat do nian **kegiatan**na. Adong hinan rencana nasida mambaen **kegiatan budaya** Simalungun, tapi lang **jadi**, atek sondio lang **jadi** lang huboto.

Translation (28)

P: You mean, you mean **don't you**, if you're forming a choir like that, the choir will be the only **activity**, **is that right**?

Q: No, that's not right. In August there'll be ah soccer, **won't there?**.

There'll be lots of **activities**. They did plan to hold a Simalungun **cultural event**, but it didn't **work** out, I don't know why it didn't **work** out.

PASSAGE 29 (RECORDING SESSION 5)

P: **Kan steno** do na porlu **kan latihan** dassa, anggo **rajin** diri latihan **kan** mittor podas do **steno** ai.

Q: Alo, manulis **steno** on hatni unduk diri mahassit harong lo.

P: Ulang unduk, dirgat soni.

Q: lang **tahan** unduk dirgat soni. Sondia manjamak buku ai anggo dirhak diri?

P: **Kan** i meja **agak** gijang do meja.

Q: Alo, anggo adong na gijang, ahu mejakai songon na **agak rendah** homa hu toru. Jai anggo **harus** manulis aha on diri, **harus** songon na unduk do diri.

P: Memang ido nian, tapi anggo umma biasa, lang loja, nanget pe bana. Aha do, boido, lang pala mahassit.

Q: boido ti. Anggo ahu **steno** on, manulis , manulis **steno** on ma mahisat tumang au, **apalagi** ipake **kan buku** na, buku tulis **steno** ai,

buku steno ai. Lang be marosu au mamake ai ba , alani lewat bana otik huatas ma **saiah** ,

P: Mase?

Q: Jadi anggo na so **bergaris** ido lang pala **tanda** na lewat otik bana.

P: Alo, tapi anggo ujian sonai **kan**, otik pe kin **salah** ma **isalahkan** **Ibu** ai, tapi anggo a... **buku steno** ai ibaen **kan** ma mittor **tanda sampe** idea sonai batasna ge?

Q: Alo, tapi **memperlambat** do huahap **steno** on, lang adong artina.

P: Memang ido nian, sonari ma bahat aha **irekam suara**. Lang pala aha ge **marsteno**.

Q: Lang pala **marsteno-steno**.

P: Alani **marsteno kan** dua hali horja, itulis bana soni **iterjemahkan** homa.

Q: Alo, jadi hape anggo guru onon, "**Terus latihan, terus latihan**" nina, hapna **memperlambat** - **mempercepat**, **mempercepat**, **memperlambat** do huahap ai.

P: Ate malorohana imate **latihan-latihan** anggo lang homa onnga sijamaklo lupa do homa hitada.

Q: Alo **jadi** ho si S nina bana ti ariari Senen on tolu nina bana ujian ho piga?

P: Dua. **Statistik** dohot **akuntansi**.

Q: **Statistik** ise dosen nima sonari?

P: R.

Q: Ibu R . Jadi Ibu R do statistik ih lang akuntansi Ibu R?

P: Eh akuntansi aha Ibu R, statistik ba Pak M, Pak M.

Q: Au pe nakkin ai songonna i lepak P on hudia nai pikkiran nai ninihurhu?

P: Marangan-angan.

Q: Jadi anggo si S tolu nina ti?

P: Alo, tolu.

Q: **Hebat** do hapni bana, marlajar **harus iforsirma**, anggo lang , **SK Smal** (laughter) **Nilai** ma iji, **turun**.

Translation (29)

P: You see with **stenography** you just need **practice**, if you **work hard** you see and **practise**, you can learn to do **stenography** quickly, **can't you?**

Q: Yes, writing **steno**, you lean over , you get a sore neck.

P: Don't lean over, sit up straight like this.

Q: I can't **stand** bending sitting up like that. How can you hold the book if you sit up straight?

P: But, you see, it's a fairly high desk.

Q: Yes, if there is one that's high. My desk is **quite low down**. So if you **have to** write and it hurts, you **have to** bend down.

P: That's right, but if you're used to it, you don't feel tired, you can gradually get it, it doesn't hurt if you take it slowly.

Q: Usually, yes. If I do **steno**, write, write **steno**, I feel lazy, **especially** if I have to use the book , the **steno writing book** that **steno book**. I don't like using it. If you **go out** a little, up a bit high it's already **wrong**.

P: Really?

Q: If there are no lines it doesn't show if you go past a little bit.

P: Yes, but if it's an exam, **you know**, if you make just a little **mistake** the teacher marks it **wrong**. But in the **steno book**, they show directly where the border is, **don't they?**

Q: Yes, but I think this steno **slows you up**, it's meaningless.

Q: Yes, that's right, now a lot of people are using **recordings**. They don't really need **steno** any more.

P: They don't need **steno**. Because if you use **steno** you're doing it twice, **aren't you**, first you write it, then you **translate** it again.

Q: Yes, but this teacher says "Keep on practising, keep on practising", she says, make it **slow- faster, faster**, I think it makes it **slower**.

P: But don't you have to **practise** anyway, if not you'll forget it.

Q: So you say S has three exams on Monday does she?

P: Two. **Statistics** and **accountancy**.

Q: Who's the **statistics lecturer** now?

P: R.

Q: Mrs R. So Mrs R is the **statistics lecturer** now, is she, not **accountancy**?

P: Oh, **accountancy** is Mrs R, **statistics** is uh Mr M.

Q: I thought something was wrong, M, what are you thinking about?

P: Daydreaming.

Q: So S's got three they say, has she?

P: Yes, three.

Q: She's **fantastic**, you have to **force** her to work, if not, she'll be in **trouble!** (laughter) Her **grades** will go down.

PASSAGE 30 (RECORDING SESSION 5)

Q: Anggo bana, anggo ro bana hu kampus mangurupi ma bana i kantor nai torus. **Jadi** anggo lang ro bana tongma homa diri. Hape lang homa diri na maperlambat ai **kan?** Hape anggo lao manjumpai bana diri

P: Ai do **memang**.

Q: Sulitna so maling lao manjumpai bana isuru ma lobe diri manuhor on. "**Ada lesmu?**" nina. Diri bujur mandokkon, "**Nggak ada, bu.**" "**Bellah dulu ini, baru datang kau kemari,**" nikku. Mittor ais ma diri hukode **keringatan**, homa ma lobe diri. Lao ma lobe diri sai. "**Yang mana, mana? Ah, tunggulah, besoklah dulu datang kemari lagi**" nina ma homa hudiri. Diri ma tong homa ahana.

P: **Jadi** porlu do homani lo, ibotoh-botoh diri songon ai, ya. **Pengalaman** mage ai ba.

Q: Maloja tu do diri songon ai ai. Aturanna anggo sada dosen, **pembimbing** bana, **harus** ro do bana **setiap** hari nian, lang boi songon **ibu** ai.

P: Bana **kan** porlu homa i jabu homa horjana, anakna bahat. (laughter)

Q: Mangurus **anak**.

P: Mangurus **anak**.

Q: Alo, tapi lang boi songon ai.

P: Lang **mungkin** homa ilupahon na **tugas** ijabu. Sondia tanggapann

suaminai manori bana

Q: **Jadi maksudmu** ijabu ma

P: Lang.

Q: Unang mangajar torus anggo nalao hujabu do.

P: Lang, lang **kan** ijabu pe iurus, ikampus pe iurus kan sonaido? Lang mungkin, ikampus ikampus tumang.

Q: Alo, marjanji bana kin, ari Sabtu, "**Sabtu kau datang ya jam segini**". Roh diri lang iji bana, **kan lang tepat-tepat**.

P: Lupa, ma bahat tu pikiran ge.

Q: Anggo nasida **sibuk** sonai **kan**, anggo lupa bana songon ai. "**Aduh Ibu sibuk ja**", nina, **jadi** anggo hita, "**Malas kau**" nina anggo lang siap tugasta **kan**? Anggo nasida aha **kan**, "**Ah, Ibu lagi sibuk, sana-sana dulu**". **Jadi** anggo hita lang roh **pada waktuna**, "**Ah, malas kali kau**" nina. Hape kita pe lape tottu **sibuk** atek lang **kan**?

Translation (30)

Q: As for her, if you come to campus you have to help her in the office all the time. **So** if you don't come she always blames you. But it's not me who slows things up, **is it?** But if I want to meet her

P: That's **for sure**

Q: It's incredibly difficult to meet her, then first she tells me to buy something. "**Do you have a class?**" she asks. I answer truthfully, "**No I don't, Miss.**" "**Buy this first, then come back here**", she says. Then I go to the shop **dripping with sweat**, I go anyway. "**Where is it, where? Oh, wait, come here again tomorrow**", she says to me. It's always my fault.

P: So we should be aware of things like that. Put it down to **experience**.

Q: I'm so tired of things like that. Actually a lecturer, if she's a **supervisor**, **should** come **every day**, not like that **lady**.

P: She needs to do work at home, **you know**, she has a lot of children. *(laughter)*

Q: Looking after her **children**.

P: Looking after her **children**.

Q: Yes, but that's no good.

P: She couldn't forget her responsibilities at home. What would her husband think of her?

Q: So you mean at home

P: No.

Q: She shouldn't keep on teaching if she goes home.

P: No, can't she do her work at home and also on campus, like that? She can't be on the campus all the time.

Q: Yes, she arranges to meet on Saturday, "**On Saturday come at this time**". I come and she's not there, **see** she's not **punctual**.

P: She **forgot**, she has a lot on her mind.

Q: If she's really **busy** like that, **you know**, if she **forgets** like that. "**Oh dear, I'm very busy**", she says, but if it's us, "**You're lazy**" she says if we haven't done our work **you see**? If she what do you call it **you know**, "**Oh, I'm busy now, just wait over there**." So if we don't come **on time**, "**Oh, you're so lazy**" she says. But we may well be **busy** too, mightn't we, don't you think?

PASSAGE 31 (RECORDING SESSION 6)

- Q: Sondia nakkin **film** ai **ceritahon** gan lobe. (*laughter*)
 O: Sondia **film** Si Dorce **kan lucu-lucu**.
 Q: Tartawa dassa diri.
 O: Tartawa dassa.
 Q: Bolak-bolak baboh ai.
 O: **Dapat jodoh** ma si Dorce.
 Q: Ho attigan **dapat jodoh** lang?
 O: Dokah nari dope kak.

Translation (31)

- Q: How was the **film** just now, **tell us** about it first. (*laughter*)
 O: Well it was a Dorce **film**, it was **funny**, **wasn't it?**
 Q: You were just laughing.
 O: Just laughing.
 Q: Laughing your head off.
 O: Dorce **got a partner**.
 Q: When will you **get a partner?**
 O: Not for ages yet.

PASSAGE 32 (RECORDING SESSION 6)

O: Aima nakkinai **kan**, hupinjam, ahana, **Jawabanna**, lape iahapho mahua, "**Minta kak, minta, kak!**" nini. Iahapho i **hebatma** homa halakon on. **Padahal** ahu laho mancocokkon tumang lang adong atek **masalah** diri. Songon na lang **percaya diri** au.

Translation (32)

O: Just now **you see**, I borrowed the **whatsaname**, the **answers**, I hadn't even looked at them you know, "**Give them to me, give them to me!**" she said. Oh she's just **fantastic** that one. **Even though** I just wanted to **check** whether I had a few **problems**. So it was as if I lacked **confidence**.

PASSAGE 33 (RECORDING SESSION 6)

- O: Boru **tenejer** ganup, songon na **mentel-mentel**.
 P: Oh, **jadi** mura do **salah tingkah**, **pas** akkin homa parpolli iperli dalahi i akkin homa, ma homa.
 O: Lang idingat manakkap **bola**.
 P: Manangkap **bola** be.
 X: Tongon te.
 O: Ai boto ai nina homa.
 P: Lang idingat manakkap **bola**.
 O: Cencen nabadia ganup.
 P: Haru sanga Porseni iahagekan i Sardolok marpoka grup magan

nasida ngadas iatas **pentas** adong nina na mamerli sanga marpokalgrup onda iperli ma ia mittor **langsung** merap ganup sora onde.

O: Lah tongon mada. **Anak-anak** SMP dope ra.

P: **Anak-anak** SMP, SMA, SMA kalas dua.

O: Alo lang **tahan mental** dope ge le, anggo iperli .

P: Ma mulai **asyik** marende iatas **pentas**, **jadi** adong ma gatna na mamerli, ma mittor merap ma ganup sora odde.

Translation (33)

O: They're all **teenage** girls, really **showing off**.

P: Oh, **so** they **misbehave** really easily, **just** when they're playing volleyball, they'll be eyed by the boys, oh that's right.

O: So they won't even remember to catch the ball.

P: Catch the ball.

X: That's right.

O: That's what he said too.

P: They didn't remember to catch the ball.

O: They were all "cencen".

P: It was hard, like when it was the Porseni **vocal group** in Saribudolok they say when they were up on the **stage** there were some flirting in the **vocal group**, when they were being eyed, they completely lost their voice.

O: That's what they're like. Maybe they're still junior high school **kids**.

P: Junior high, senior high, second year senior high.

O: Yes, they have no **mental strength** if they're being eyed off.

P: They'll be **in the middle of** singing on the **stage**, and if there's someone eyeing them off, their voices go off key straight away.

PASSAGE 34 (RECORDING SESSION 6)

P: Statistik kan?

O: Statistik payah tumang huahap statistik on da!

P: Pak M do kan?

O: Alo, pak M.

P: Anggo bapak M le anggo na hubotoh ina iajarhonna ai **persis** do songon ai kin sarupa tumang.

O: Aido memang. Alo **tapi** alani otodiri ido idokkon na rado homa lang homa ibotoh.

P: Lupanim sada idokkonna idokkon diri duanim hape najelas-jelas sadanim, duaningun homa ai mariah do til

O: **Pas** ro bapak ai, "**Saya ini bukan guru SD, saya ini dosen**". Ro ma usengan sonai nina, age takkap-takkap baba do ibaenna mangajarhon, hita ma lang daot diri homani,

P: Alo, ti, "**Saya ini bukan guru SD**" nin. Payah do le anggo guru SD radope iangin-angin nanget-nanget.

O: "Anggo, **kalau nggak tau kalian pulang ajalah kita**", nina dosen ai. **Jadi** diri porlu do diri iahap diri na marlajar ai halani dang ibotoh ge.

Translation (34)

P: **Statistics, isn't it?**

O: **Statistics**, I find this **statistics** really hard.

P: Mr M **isn't it?**

O: Yes, Mr M.

P: If it's Mr M, from what I know, what he teaches, exactly the same thing comes up later in the exam.

O: Yeah, that's right. But because I'm stupid, I don't even understand what he tells us.

P: You forget. He says one, I say two, apparently it's **clearly** one, but you say two. It's so funny!

O: That lecturer came up, " **I'm not a primary school teacher, I'm a lecturer**". That's what he said, because if they taught any old way, we'd be the ones who wouldn't know anything.

P: Yes, so, "**I'm not a primary school teacher**" he said. It's hard, primary teachers can still be persuaded little by little.

O: " **If, if you don't know it, let's just go home**", said that lecturer. **But** I still wanted to study because I still didn't understand it.

PASSAGE 35 (RECORDING SESSION 6)

P: Lang gendo dohot **tunanganna** ai bana ijai?

O: Age lang be gan, lang ba gan halletna ai ba.

P: Mase?

Q: Si aha do **kan**? Si Karo?

O: Ilarang gan nina, marboto do gan nasida.

P: Ise mallarang?

O: **Pemerintah setempat**. (*laughter*)

P: **Pemerintah**.

Q: Ise mallarang tongon ah?

O: **Keluargana**.

Q: Sondia do tongon ase boi **jadi** nasidai mula-mulana?

O: Goranna pe **cinta**. (*laughter*)

Q: Lang **mula-mulana**?

O: Tapi sanggah mardrama. **Jadi kan** mardrama Si Z on anakku.

Q: Ai.

O: Dang anakku.

P: Hanami **sebagai** hallet si Z do.

O: Jadi ihut homa halletna si Z pas sanga mardrama on.

Q: Oh, sangga halletna, i **drama** on hallet si Z on ma si E on.

O: Alo, hape sae **drama** tumbuh ma ta

Q: **Ipraktekkon langsung**.

O: Dang, **tumbuh** ma **cinta**, baru iaha ma homani, ilanjutkon, **semakin bersemi** do gatna homa.

Q: Unang holan **teori drama** ai tumang nina te **ipraktekkon** ma **langsung**. **Kenyataan** ma **langsung**.

Translation (35)

- P: Wasn't she with her **boyfriend** there?
 O: No, not any more, he's not her boyfriend any more you know.
 P: Why not?
 Q: It's what his name, the Karo boy **isn't it**?
 O: They say it wasn't allowed, they're relatives they say.
 P: Who didn't allow it?
 O: **The local government.** (laughter)
 P: **The government.**
 Q: Seriously, who didn't allow it?
 O: Their **family**.
 Q: How did they come to get to know each other **in the first place**?
 O: It was **love.** (laughter)
 Q: No, **in the first place.**
 O: But it was during the **play.** We were in this **play, you see, Z was my son.**
 Q: Oh.
 O: No, **my son.**
 P: We were **playing** the girlfriends of Z.
 Q: **So Z's girlfriend** was also in the **play.**
 O: Oh, his girlfriend at that time, in the **play, Z's girlfriend** was E.
 Q: Yeah, so after the **play** it **continued.**
 Q: They **put it into practice.**
 O: No, **love grew, then** it flourished, it **continued to blossom.**
 Q: It wasn't just **theory** in the **play, they put it into practice, it became reality straight away.**

PASSAGE 36 (RECORDING SESSION 7)

- R: Sonari **persiapan** hu jai **harus matang** do ijai.
 S: Sonari **memang** sonari domma iparsiapkon piga-piga halak janah hasoman hasomakku pe adong do homa hubuat sada. **Jadi** si P adong do homa nina.
 R: Oh, **jadi kira-kira** adong si P adong hasomanmu. **Jadi kemungkinan** nasida marbola. Sondia do **kemungkinan**?
 S: Nasida **memang jago** marbola **jadi kebetulan** homa **liburan** nasida **kan? Jadi** lang adong **kegiatan**na. Nasida **pemain bola. Jadi** huarahon, adong sada hasoman na huarahon **sambil berlibur** hita i hutakku nikku.
 R: **Jadi** songon nalewat ma **kan, memang** hita **mencarter** songon na Si B, **icarter** hita marbola ge. **Jadi maksud**hu nian anggo boi nian, **dalam biaya** sondia carana hu nasida,
 S: **Soal biaya** kan? Ya ... uhurni **organisasi** do manontuhon ai, anggo songon na sukkup **biaya, sibayar ongkos** na **kan?**
 Tapi nina Si B sahalion lang **bisa** nina bana.
 PPL do nina bana atau KKN.
 R: Oh.

Translation (36)

- R: Now the **preparations** to go there **must be complete** there.
 S: Now **indeed** now several people are prepared to go there, I've even put one of my friends there. **So** P will be there too he said.
 R: Oh **so it looks like** there'll be P, your friend. **So** how about the **possibility** for them to play football, is it **possible**?
 S: They're **really great** players. And **so by chance** they're **on holidays**, **aren't they?** **So** they don't have any **activities** on. They're **footballers**, **so** I asked, I asked one of my friends to go, **while holidaying** in my village I said.
 R: **So** like the other time **you see**, we **actually hired**, like B, we **hired** him to play football. **So** I mean if we can, how will we **organise funding** for them.
 S: **About the funding, is it? Yes** ... it's up to the **organisation** to determine that, if there's enough **funds**, their **expenses** will be paid, **won't they?** **But** B said this time he **couldn't** go. He said he had work experience or village work experience.
 R: Oh.

PASSAGE 37 (RECORDING SESSION 7)

- R: Kemungkinan ai ma **persiapan** dalam rangka ahani kemerdekaan ai ningon ma.
 S: Alo ... Adong do pe homa ku ... aha **iuran wajib** tiap pemain, **iuran wajib**.
 R: Oh ...
 S: Pamana songon **anggota** Harisma bana, **lima ribu**, **jadi**
 R: Oh.
 S: **Jadi** anggo **lima ribu anggota** na lang Harisma bana lang ipatuk atek na tolu ribu ileanna, tolu ribu, **lima ribu** pe rohana boi do.
 R: Oh, **jadi istilahna sumbangan sukarela**.
 S: **Sumbangan sukarela**.

Translation (37)

- R: **Probably** that's the **preparation** for ah, what do you call it, **independence day**.
 S: Yes ... I still have to ask for ... a **compulsory fee from each player, a compulsory fee**.
 R: Oh...
 S: For example, for **members** of Harisma, **five thousand**, **so**
 R: Oh.
 S: **So** if it's **five thousand** for **members**, if they're not in Harisma it's not determined, or they could give only three thousand, or for example they could give **five thousand**.
 R: Oh, **so it's like a voluntary donation**.
 S: **Voluntary donation**.

PASSAGE 38 (RECORDING SESSION 7)

R: Kira-kira sondia do **tanggapanmu** anggo manonggar **daya tampung** nai hu aha hu anggota?

S: **Daya tampung** ni Harisma do maksudmu? Atek **daya tampung**

R: **Tempat ai**

S: **Tempat ai**. Memang **daya tampung** ni **tempat ai** ibandingkon hu **jumlah** ni anggotatta **terlalu kecil**, tapi iahap hanami, halani **kebanyakan anggota** Harisma ihuta do pe **kan**.

R: Oh

S: **Jadi kemungkinan** na roh dang pala bahat.

R: Istilahna **tempat** agepe etek bana **mencukupi**.

S: **Mencukupi**, bai dokin ai.

Translation (38)

R: What 's **your opinion about**, if you look at the **capacity** of eh for our **members**?

S: The **capacity** of Harisma, do you mean? I don't know about the **capacity**

R:

The place

S: The **place**. It's true the **capacity** of the **place** compared with the **number** of our **members is too small**, but we think that, because **most** of the Harisma members are in the village, **you see**.

R: Oh

S: **So probably** not that many will come,

R: You mean even though the **place** is small, it **will do**.

S: It'll be **big enough**.

PASSAGE 39 (RECORDING SESSION 7)

S: Soalnya acara partonggoan hita, **mendengarkan seseorang kan** na mamboan **acara**.

R: Oh.

S: Dang porlu **harus** marsidedaan, manonggor **situasi dan kondisi** nina.

R: Ai boido homa memang, tapi anggo **untuk** na laho roh nian. Ibaen hita memang sada partonggoan sonai anggo boi unang maetektu **tempatna**.

S: Memang iusahahon sonai do nian. **Jadi** alani isukkun nahami onde jabuni adong orang tua na i Medan on, parsilimakuta, lang boi ijon sahalion nina. **Sibuk** hanami nin hu luar kota hu luar kota nasida ari minggu on.

R: Oh, **jadi** lang **menerima** nasida nimma.

S: **Sementara** hanami BPH, Badan Pengurus ni Harisma on lang ibotoh hanami hu dia pe halani **waktu makin mendesakkan, tinggal** saminggu, lang **mungkin** itimai assogot. Haduan, **harus** hari ini **juga** **dicari tempat walaupun** mendapat **bahasa Indonesia** () **kan** **harus** ibuat **tempat** agepe inganan ai **sempit**.

R: Pokokna **masalah** on **harus** **tuntas** dalam **hari** on, aido maksudni nima.

Translation (39)

S: How about our prayer meeting, **listening to someone you see** who will lead the **program**.

R: Oh.

S: We don't **have to** be facing each other, they say it depends on the **situation and the conditions**.

R: That could be indeed, but for the next one, when we **actually** have a prayer meeting, let's make sure the **place** isn't too small.

S: Yes we did actually try that. **So** before, we asked about a house of some parents who lived in Medan, from Silimakuta, they said we couldn't hold it there this time. They were **busy** going out of town this week.

R: Oh, **so** they wouldn't **have us**.

S: **Meanwhile** those of us in the BPH, the Harisma Organising Body, didn't know where else to go because **time was pressing**, **wasn't it**, there was only one week **left**. We couldn't possibly wait until the next day or the day after, **we had to find a place that very day even though we got** In Indonesian () you know we had to find a **place**, even though it was **small**.

R: The main thing was that the **problem had to be solved that day**, that's what you meant.

PASSAGE 40 (RECORDING SESSION 7)

S: Jadi **kan** adong do rencana songon S bulan walu nina **kan** hita maraha **latihan koor**. **Kan** na ari Minggu ahu **kan** lang roh alani adong **halangan**, jadi **kemungkinan** ahani koor aina na songon dia ahana, istilahna tahap na maningun?

R: Anggo hutonggor **semangatni** S manang **ketua** Harisma au **sebagai wakil** do ijon **kan semangatna memang tinggi** do. Malo do bana nian mambaen **semangat** humbani anggota dalam keadaan **tidak** lang marsemangat soni **kan**? Ibaen bana bana marsemangat jadi anggota pe agepe.

S: **Usahanimma**.

R: Agepe-agepe **personilna** otik anggotana naro otik koor ai **tetap** do **jalan** jadi huahapon anggo ihitakin mardalan do acara koor ai .

Translation (40)

S: **So** S had a plan like this, he said in August we'd have uh **choir practice you see**. But last Sunday I didn't come **you see** because I had **something on**. **So it's possible** the uh **choir** is er still being organized.

R: If I see P's **enthusiasm**, or the **chairman** of Harisma, I'm a **representative** there, he's got **a lot of enthusiasm**. He's good at making the members **enthusiastic**, even though the members **aren't**, not **keen**, **you see**? He makes them **enthusiastic**, **so** even the members, even though..

A: He **tries**.

R: Even though there aren't many **people**, not many members come,

the choir still goes on. So I think that if we join the choir program it will work out.

PASSAGE 41 (RECORDING SESSION 7)

S: Dua minggu na lewat taringat si P hu au, sibahen do songon acara lelang-lelang. Siap, ai markoor akkin i huta

R: Ah.

S: Ase unang **sekalian hanya** markoor **kita meminta sumbangan kan, harus** adong sibahen imbalanna umpama **bentuk benda** ilelangkon i gereja, **jadi** hita adong usahatta **mencari blaya tidak dengan modal kosong.**

R: Istilahna **hanya meminta**, nini soni ti **harus saling memberi, harus saling memberi.** Sipindo **blaya** han orang **tuatta**, sibare humasida **berupa kenang-kenangan.** Setar ni koor ai, koor aipe nian kan ma **termasuk tapi** lang tarida, **hanya sekejap saja** dassa boima ni orang tua ai.

Translation (41)

S: Two weeks ago P asked me, whether we should hold an event like an auction, **after** the choir in the village.

R: Oh.

S: So **we're not only merely** singing and **asking for donations, you see,** we **should** also have **something concrete** for auction at the church, **so** we make an effort **to get funds, not just with no investment.**

R: You mean **just ask**, you say we **have to exchange, we have to exchange.** If we ask our **parents for funds**, we should also give them something **by way of a souvenir.** With the choir, the choir is actually **part of that, but** it's not concrete, **it only lasts a moment** for our **parents** to appreciate.

PASSAGE 42 (RECORDING SESSION 7)

S: **Jadi penelitian** kan nasida anggo **bagian peternakan** kan lang boi podas

R: Lang boi podas.

S: Lang boi alani iahado ai misalna sadarion **isuntik dengan dosis sekian** nina kan anggo misalna tolu ari naro ate saminggu **isuntik homa dengan dosis sekian** nina baru aima binoto **perkembangan** niaige. Tapi nakkin ai na **isuntik** ai lang sada **ternak** bana on **ternak** sada sono ibaen mabahat **ternakna** ge baru misalna sadarion na sada on do **isuntik** soni baru minggu na ro nasada on homa baru iamatl ma ai **setelah** piga-piga **bulan.**

S: I **praktek-praktek**ma ra ai ati.

R: **Praktek langsung** **sekalian** untuk aha **menyusun** homa.

Translation (42)

S: So with research, you see, in the animal husbandry department you see, they can't rush things.

R: Can't rush things.

S: They can't because for example today they give an injection with a certain dosage she said, you see, then for example three days later or after a week, they have to give a certain dosage then they can see the developments. But it's not just one animal they're giving an injection to but a lot, so for example if today they give one an injection then the next week another one too, then they can observe what happens after a few months.

R: They really do practical work, don't they?

S: They do the practical work so they can ~~uh~~ prepare their thesis too.

PASSAGE 43 (RECORDING SESSION 8)

M: Jerman gan monang dua-sada, atap tongon dai da?

J: Maksudku, aha doa.... menurut perkiraan, menurut pandangan na aha, hasil ahani pas do memang atap lang.

M: Ah, sosok, wajar do ai monang ge Jerman ba, pas dai, ganupan do kan si dea do menguasai pertandingan ai.

J: Oh.

M: () ganupan ai

J: Memang wajar halani. Memang anggo ibandingkan pe cekap Ceko humbani awal pe seng iperkirahon halak monang, kan ai.

M: Ai do tongon homa () kalah do sidea tiki ai ba ganupan.

J: Tapi Jerman pe sonaido pemainna lang boi main bahat lang boi main.

M: Oh baen lang aha ai, lang one sempurna ganupan ai tene sepe ai sebetulni ciri sidea.

J: Istilahni suruh main final berimbang do pe kedudukan ni

M: Oh.

J: Lang boi iprediksi, halak, lang boi itottuhon halak ise na monang iji ... na pasti lang aha ... na pasti kekuatan mental ni pemain do na mambahen monang ... Jerman. Sonai kekuatan mental pemain tumang.

Translation (43)

M: Germany apparently won two-one, what did you think of that?

J: I think, ah - according to, according to the opinion of - ah- was the result right or not?

M: Ah, fine, right, naturally Germany won, that was right, all of them controlled the game, didn't they?

J: Oh.

M: () all of them.

J: It's right of course, indeed. If you compare them with the skill of the Czechs, no one thought they'd win even from the beginning, did they?

M: Yes, sure, that's right, () they lost that time, all of them.

J: But the Germans are like that. The **players** can't play well, many of them don't know how to play.

M: Oh, because it doesn't matter, not all of them are **perfect**, that's not really what they're like yet.

J: I mean when they **had to play in the final**, their **positions** were **equal**.

M: Oh.

J: You couldn't **predict**, you couldn't determine who was going to win ... for sure it wasn't ah...it was definitely the **mental strength** of the **players** that made them win ... the Germans. It was just the **mental strength of the players**.

PASSAGE 44 (RECORDING SESSION 8)

M: Na mate?

J: Na mate =

M: =seng adong.

J: Seng adong. (*laughter*) **Panjang umur** pe ganupan.

M: **Ikan mahal**. (*laughter*) Udan lalap.

J: Age udan, maroppot.

M: **Mulai pagi**.

J: Ise pe lang adong na hu juma, sada pe lang adong na hu juma, i rumah manonton TV.

Translation (44)

M: Did anyone die?

J: Did anyone die? =

M: =no one.

J: No one. (*laughter*) **Long life** to all.

M: **Fish is expensive**. (*laughter*) It keeps on raining.

J: If it rains, it's a nuisance.

M: **Ever since morning**.

J: No one can go to the fields, nobody can go to the fields, at home watching TV.

PASSAGE 45 (RECORDING SESSION 8)

J: Memang seng marlajar bagas tapi, ahu ... na ha do makkatahon ai?

M: Lang **seratus persen terpenggil**? (*laughter*)

J: Sonai ma.

M: **Kan** marlajar i bagas do ganupan ai.

J: Sonaha ... diri maluah pe lape.

Translation (45)

M: Sure I won't learn it there, but I ... what do you say?
 J: You haven't **got the vocation 100 percent?** (*laughter*)
 M: Yes, that's it.
 J: Everyone learns when they go there, **don't they?**
 M: But ... I haven't even been confirmed yet.

PASSAGE 46 (RECORDING SESSION 8)

J: Ai ma anggo tardidi domma matua, maluah-luah tarolos pe nai do.
Tiba-tiba kan, ibotoh **kan** ibotoh panditani, nai do "Bulatni uhurmu?"
kan," Cas ma lobeil", nini.

Translation (46)

J: When some adults were going to be confirmed they had a "tarolos" confirmation. **Suddenly, you see**, the minister who knew him said "Are you certain?", **see**, "**Give me five** then!" he said.

PASSAGE 47 (RECORDING SESSION 9)

I: Adong aha laho markatehisasi hanami ijai, ge.
 H: Ai dope ase **baca-baca** bibel ho ijon.
 I: Alo.
 H: Ai **katehisasi** aho do?
 I: Ahani **sayembara**, saresort.
 H: **Pemuda**.
 I: **Pemuda**.
 H: Ija?
 I: Dohor-dohor huta nami ai do Dolok Pardamean botoh kam dai hutani Bang N.
 H: Ai mulak hujon attigan?
 I: Ari Rabu mungkin.
 H: Podasma da na mangaha do ijai ho?
 I: Ah?
 H: Na mangaha do ijai?
 I: Ai tumang dassa marayoh ihuta. Jai mangaha ho? Laho martondur?
 H: Dalan-dalani dassa. **Shopping-shopping** lobe ya.
 (*laughter*)
 H: Ijon do hape ho **liburan**.
 I: Lang saminggu dassani ahu ijon.
 H: Ai?
 I: Mulak hu huta.
 H: Sendong rencanamu **liburan**?
 H: Mangidah ma anggo ilean holi.
 I: Na si K sondia do?

H: () goranni ai? (*softly*) tanggal sapuluh dua.

I: Sapuluh dua, bulan walu.

H: Alo.

I: () seng ku botoh. Lape siap hanami **ujian**.

H: Attigan nasiam siap?

I: Patar.

H: Patar.

Translation (47)

H: What's going to happen with our **catechism** there?

I: That's so you will **read** the Bible there.

H: Yes. What kind of **catechism** will it be?

I: What do you call it, **a competition**, from one district.

H: **The youth**

I: **The youth**.

H: Where?

I: Round about our village, Dolok Pardamean, you know, near where N comes from.

H: So when are you coming back here?

I: Maybe on Wednesday.

H: Very quickly. What are you doing there?

I: What?

H: What are you doing there?

I: That's all, lazing around in the village. What are you doing? Do you want to go out with your boyfriend?

H: Just hanging around. **Going shopping** first.

(*laughter*)

I: You're **spending the holidays** here apparently.

H: No, just one week here.

I: After that?

H: Go home to the village.

I: You don't have any plans for the **holidays**.

H: We'll see later if I'm allowed.

I: What's the news about K?

H: () it called. On the twelfth.

I: On the twelfth of August.

H: Yes.

I: () I don't know, we haven't finished our **exams** yet.

H: Later.

I: Later.

PASSAGE 48 (RECORDING SESSION 9)

H: Ai ma kan na juppah onde hanami ai, **kan serius** si Y kan?

I: Alo.

H: Ai ge, ari aha do ai.

I: Ari: Jumat

H: Jumat. A... ai, ah, mingguni ma **kan**, marpesta ma hanami, adong **kawan** na maluah ai ge.

I: Alo... a a.

H: Lang idah do da baya, () ahu. I, I hari aha ai dou **kan**? Alasip ia baya, "Kak, kak ijon baen han parburihan in", nikku, sip ia, seng kawahkon, **gawat**. Lang isukkun han gatni par ja ia, age dom sip ia ban nami, songon na sinis do.

I: Memang sinis do mukani.

H: Latihan homani ge adong **kawan** par aha par Fisipol, "Seng pala saut hita **latihan** patar do", nini. **Latihan** aha gan doding.

I: Ah. . memang ia mandoding do, lang manottor. Ai mase ia mallatih hanima, panitiani ia?

H: Lang panitia ia, **cuman** **la** **kepengin** roh ai do hassa, halani halak ai **kan** han aha lobei, han etno, **jadi** dihut ia, ai dassa ni ai.

Translation (48)

H: That's it, when we met before, **you know** Y was **serious wasn't he**?

I: Yes.

H: That's right, you know, the other day

I: On: Friday.

H: Friday. Oh...that, oh, that Sunday **you know**, we had a party, one of our **friends** was confirmed.

I: Yes ... ah.

H: Didn't you see() me. I, I what day was that **then**? Oh.. she didn't say a thing. "I'll put the fingerbowls here," I said, she didn't say anything, she didn't even look, it was **awful**. We didn't ask her where she was from, because she wouldn't talk to us, as if she was angry.

I: She **really** has an angry-looking face.

H: My **friends** from the Science Faculty were having a practice. "You don't need to **practise**, just tomorrow" she said. It was a kind of singing **practice**.

I: Oh....She actually sings, does she, not dances. That's why she's training you, she's on the **committee**?

H: She's not on the committee, but **she just wanted** to come because **you know** she used to be in Ethno, **so** she came along, just by herself.