

Word-Internal Code Switching in Malayic Dialects of Western Sumatra

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The phenomenon of code-switching usually involves a sequence of words in one language followed by a sequence of words in another. In some cases, though, it has been claimed that code-switching may also occur within words, with one or more morphemes in one language followed by one or more morphemes in another (eg. Redouane 2005, Petersen 2009); however, other scholars have claimed that word-internal code-switching is impossible, arguing that putative examples of it involve other processes such as borrowing (eg. Budzhak-Jones 1998).

This paper argues that word-internal code-switching does indeed exist. Examples are provided of word-internal code-switching from the naturalistic corpora of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology Padang Field Station in texts involving three combinations of languages:

- (1) (a) Indonesian and Minangkabau
eg. *mencubo* < Indonesian *men-* 'AG', Minangkabau *cubo* 'try'
- (b) Indonesian, Minangkabau and Tapus
eg. *maebuih* < Minangkabau *ma-* 'AG', Tapus *ebuih* 'boil'
- (c) Indonesian, Minangkabau and Sungai Penuh Kerinci
eg. *mengabéang* < Indonesian *meng-* 'AG', Sungai Penuh Kerinci *abéang* 'red'

What is characteristic of these examples is that they involve material from closely related Malayic languages or dialects. Nevertheless, the forms in question clearly belong to distinct languages or dialects over which multilingual or multiglossic speakers have clear command. Examples such as these are thus argued to represent bona fide instances of code-switching between distinct systems as opposed to cases of borrowing or dialect leveling.

Word-internal code-switching in the corpus is subject to a constraint based on the sociolinguistic status of the constituent languages/dialects, as represented in the following hierarchy:

- (2) Indonesian > Minangkabau > Tapus / Sungai Penuh Kerinci

With much greater than chance frequency, if a word contains a stem from one language/dialect and an affix from another, then the language/dialect of the affix will be higher on the hierarchy than that of the stem. For example, in (1a), *mencubo* is much more likely to occur than its mirror-image **macoba*, consisting of Minangkabau *ma-* and Indonesian *coba*. This constraint is somewhat surprising, as it appears to go against the tendency, widely attested in various kinds of language contact such as creolization, whereby it is the grammar of the lower language that combines with the lexicon of the higher one.

- Budzhak-Jones, Svitlana (1998) "Against Word-Internal Codeswitching: Evidence from Ukrainian-English Bilingualism", *International Journal of Bilingualism* 2:161-182.
- Petersen, Jennifer (2009) "Word-Internal Code-Switching Constraints in a Bilingual Child's Grammar", *Linguistics* 26:479-494.
- Redouane, Rabia (2005) "Linguistic Constraints on Codeswitching and Codemixing of Bilingual Moroccan Arabic-French Speakers in Canada" in James Cohen, Kara T. McAlister, Kellie Rolstad, and Jeff MacSwan eds., *ISB4: Proceedings of the 4th International Symposium on Bilingualism*, Cascadia Press, Somerville, 1921-1933.