1. Introduction

The nineteenth century Baba Malay system of address and reference includes pronouns, titles, kinship terms, ethnic names, personal names, and terms reflecting ways of earning a living. Some of the terms are of Chinese origin, others are of Malay origin, a few come from English. The diversity of origins reflects the history of the Babas, their Chinese origin, their acculturation to Malay society, and the strong British influence in nineteenth century Malaya. The study shows that the Malay system of personal pronouns has been reduced in Baba Malay. However, this reduction in the overall number of Malay pronouns is accompanied by the incorporation of Hokkien pronouns and other Hokkien terms into the Baba Malay system along with some English terms. The Hokkien terms of address and reference are usually used to mark Baba ethnicity.

The Baba Malay system of address and reference shows variation in its use, some socially conditioned, some conditioned by the degree of linguistic sophistication of the user. The socially conditioned variation is largely determined by how socially equal the speakers are but also in a small part by the speakers' ethnicity. Still other variation in use reflects the degree of linguistic knowledge of individual Baba Malay speakers. Some of them knew not only Baba Malay, but also formal Malay, and could switch to it under the appropriate conditions; others were much more limited in their command of both variants. The Baba Malay system of address and reference uses communicative strategies (Ochs 1990:289) which are part of "a set of norms, preferences, and expectations relating language to context, which speaker-hearer draw on and modify in producing and making sense out of language in context". Understanding how the Baba Malay system of address and reference functioned gives us significant insights into the social structure of the Baba Malay community, that is, the norms, the preferences, and expectations that are the underlying bases for the use of these terms.
This study first looks at the descriptions of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century Malay terms of address and reference found in Marsden (1812), Crawfurd (1852), Swettenham (1889), and Winstedt (1927). The presentation constitutes the basis for making a comparison between the nineteenth century Malay terms of address and reference and the nineteenth century Baba Malay terms. The analysis of Baba Malay terms is based on the data found in Lim's A manual of the Malay colloquial such as is spoken by all nationalities in the Colonies of the Straits Settlements, and designed for domestic and business purposes and on the Baba Malay newspaper Bintang Timor. The major difference between the two sources is that the data found in Lim (1887) in a certain sense represents the language of the author, a single speaker, while the data found in Bintang Timor represents the language of many speakers. The other difference is that the language found in Lim (1887) is less formal and less influenced by written Malay than the language of Bintang Timor. Thus, the two sources complement each other in providing an extended sample of both the colloquial and the formal uses of the Baba Malay terms of address and reference. This study joins other studies of no longer spoken languages. Like the studies of address systems found in the ancient Greek (Dickey 1997) or in Shakespeare's English (Brown and Gilman 1989) the data base for this study is entirely text-based.

2. Terms of address and reference in nineteenth century Malay

Malay has a rich system of personal pronouns, a system which codes various differences between the speaker and the addressee. In the literature on Malay grammar, the most prominent difference coded by the pronouns is the difference in the relative status of the speaker and the addressee. In order to use Malay pronouns in a conversation both of the interlocutors have to know their respective statuses, i.e. they have to know whether they are of equal or non-equal status and, if they are unequal, just how unequal they are. If the speaker is of a lower status than the addressee, one pronoun is used; if the speaker is of a higher status than the addressee, a different address pronoun is used; and, if the speakers are of equal status, still another choice is made.

Marsden (1812), Crawfurd (1852) and Swettenham (1889) provide descriptions of the usages of the nineteenth century Malay pronouns. According to Marsden (1812), the pronoun system of nineteenth century Malay is as follows:

Table 1. 19th century Malay pronoun system (after Marsden 1812)

| First person (singular): aku, hamba, beta, saya, patek, kita, kami | Second person (singular): angkau (kau), kamu (mu) |
| First person (plural): kita (orang) [incl.], kami (orang) [excl.] | Second person (plural): angkau |
| Third person (plural): dia-orang, marik itu (or marika itu) |

For the first person singular, the pronoun aku is a first person pronoun inherited from Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) *aku (Blust, personal communication), Proto Malayic *aku (Adelaar 1992:124). The remaining forms, most borrowed from Sanskrit, are primarily nouns that originally meant either 'servant': hamba, beta, or 'slave': saya, patek. Marsden (1812:43) explains the difference between the old pronoun aku and the newer terms such as saya, hamba, beta, and patek by referring to the relative status of the interlocutors. He says that aku is generally used by superiors talking to inferiors. He also mentions that it is sometimes used between equals, but does not elaborate. What differentiates aku from other terms of reference is that aku never originated as a form with the meaning of 'slave' or 'servant'.

In his description of Malay pronouns, Marsden (1812:44) explains what it meant in nineteenth century Malay to designate oneself as a slave or a servant. He emphasizes that the person calling himself a 'slave' or 'servant' does not "necessarily regard himself as the slave, or even as the inferior of the him to whom he addresses himself, but only that it is his intention, by an affection of humility, to show his politeness." According to Marsden (1812:44-45), there is a 'humility' continuum that various first person pronouns code. Marsden (1812) mentions that patek implies more 'humility' than saya, while saya implies more 'humility' than hamba and beta. Understanding what degree of 'humility' was appropriate to use in nineteenth century Malay society would require an analysis of the actual language use by different interlocutors in various contexts, and is beyond the scope of the present work. Nonetheless, on the basis of Marsden's description of the usages of address terms it is clear that these displays of humility are directly related to the relative status of the interlocutors. Marsden (1812:45) also reports that the two pronouns for the first person plural, the inclusive kita and the exclusive kami, may be "used for the singular by royal personages".
For the second person singular, Marsden (1812) gives three forms: angkau (sometimes shortened to kau), kamu (sometimes shortened to mu), and tuan. He says that angkau "appears to be indifferently used both in the singular and the plural, by superiors and inferiors" (Marsden 1812:46). However, he observes that "when abbreviated to kau it is generally employed in a tone of overweening authority, approaching to contempt [...]". He gives the following example of kau being used contemptuously:

(1) tiada kau kanal
not 2s know
'Art thou not aware?'

In contrast to angkau, which occurs in various contexts, kamu and its shortened form mu are only used by the superior talking to the inferior. Marsden (1812:47) illustrates with the following example the use of kamu being used by a superior referring to an inferior:

(2) tiada kamimau ber-dami-an dengan kamu
not lp want make peace with 2s
'we do not choose to make peace with you'

Besides the two pronouns: angkau and kamu, Marsden (1812:47) also discusses the term tuan, and says that "[it] is employed as a pronoun personal in addresses from inferior, and politely, amongst equals"; for example:

(3) apa tuan mau makan?
what tuan want eat
'What do you choose to eat?'

As for the third person forms, according to Marsden (1812:49) there is basically one pronoun dia, which "has no positive character of superiority or inferiority." The pronoun dia is used to mark a singular as well as plural referent. However, as with some first person forms, if needed, plurality may be overtly marked by adding orang. Marsden (1812:49) mentions yet another third person plural pronoun, namely marik itu or marika itu, where marik or marika stands for 'person'. He says that "in sense it is nearly synonymous with dia orang, but much less common in conversation." Here we see mereka, the formal third person plural of modern Malay.

Like Marsden, Crawfurd (1852:24-26) uses the terms 'superior' versus 'inferior' to explain the nuances of Malay terms of reference and address. He shares Marsden's observation that the relative rank is a primary factor determining the use of Malay terms, adding that Malay politeness requires the interlocutors of equal status to refer to themselves as 'servants' or 'slaves'.

Another grammarian of the nineteenth century, Swettenham (1889:xviii), agrees with Marsden's and Crawfurd's descriptions of Malay pronouns. He devotes a few additional lines to the pronoun patek and says that "patek is the commonest form of expressing the pronoun of the first person when used by an inferior to a Raja, or between Rajas when the younger wishes to show respect to the elder or superior in office."

In response to these subtle coding differences, Malay speakers frequently avoid the use of pronouns altogether. Winstedt ([1927] 1957:107), for example, observes that "the Malay looks upon the personal pronoun proper as a rude form of address." Winstedt continues, saying that "rather than employ it, [the Malay] will omit the subject altogether, or if he knows the rank and status of the person addressed he will employ some kind of honorific, describing himself by some noun of self-depreciation."

The Malay uses a wide range of non-pronominal terms of address and reference. Included among them are kinship terms. Winstedt ([1927] 1957:111) observes that Malay kinship terms are often used as terms of address, noting that "the relationship may not be actual but merely a polite fiction." He lists the following kinship terms regularly used as address and reference terms:

- dato', to' 'grandfather'
- nenek 'grandmother'
- ayah 'father' (polite)
- bapa 'father' (vulgar)
- emak 'mother'
- anak 'child'
- abang 'elder brother'
- kakak 'elder sister', or rarely 'brother'
- adek 'younger brother or sister'
- chuchu 'grandchild of either sex'

The descriptions of the nineteenth century Malay address and reference terms make several Malay sociolinguistic norms
obvious. First, it is important for the speakers to acknowledge their relative status in the society. Second, it is usually more polite to address or refer to a person by his title (including if appropriate a kinship term) than with a personal pronoun. Third, it is polite to deprecate oneself. In addition, two of the grammarians, Marsden (1812:45,48) and Crawford (1852:24), observe that the Chinese pronouns gua and lu are also used in informal Malay. However, both of them note that these pronouns never occur in "any good Malay writings". Their observation that the Chinese pronouns gua and lu occur in the spoken variety of nineteenth century Malay is supported by Lim's (1887:i) general observation that "those Malays who live in towns and all those who constantly have intercourse with the public speak the Babas' Malay when communicating with the people in town." Lim (1887:i) stresses the fact that "the highest class of Malay when holding conversations with the Babas always speak as the latter do."

3. Baba Malay terms of address and reference

The Baba Malay system is a Hokkien influenced variant of the Malay system of address and reference. However, despite the many similarities, there are a number of obvious differences in the Baba Malay use of terms, the most prominent among them the incorporation of Hokkien terms into the system and a reduction in the overall number of pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First person (singular): gua, saya</th>
<th>Second person (singular): lu, angkau</th>
<th>Third person (singular or plural): dia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person (plural): kita</td>
<td>Second person (plural): lu-orang</td>
<td>Third person (plural): dia-orang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Baba Malay pronoun system (data from Lim 1887)

There are some important differences between the pronoun systems found in Malay and in Baba Malay. First, in Baba Malay there is only one Malay pronoun angkau referring to the second person singular. In Malay, it is the least marked pronoun, "indifferently used by superiors and inferiors" (Marsden 1812:46). Second, the distinction between the inclusive kita and the exclusive kami is not preserved in Baba Malay, where only kita occurs. Third, the plurality of the second person is formed analogically to the plurality of the third person, namely by adding orang 'people' to the second person pronoun.

Interestingly, the Malay word orang is added to the Hokkien pronoun lu 'you'.

The list of pronouns presented in Table 2 tells only part of the story however. In Baba Malay, as in Malay, pronouns constitute a somewhat restricted subset of the address and reference terms. One norm governing the choice of a particular term is the social status of the interlocutors. This status can be described in terms of what Brown and Gilman (1970) called, the T/V distinction. The T pronoun (from Latin tu 'singular you') is used to address either lower ranked speakers or equal and familiar speakers. The V pronoun (from Latin vos 'plural you') is used to address either higher ranked speakers or equal, but socially distant speakers. The other norm governing the choice of address terms in Baba Malay is the ethnicity of the speakers. The influence of the ethnicity of the speakers on the choice of a particular term, partially distinguishes the Baba Malay system from the Malay system.

3.1 Nonreciprocity in Baba Malay

Lim's conversations typically involve asymmetrical relations, for example, on the one hand, his conversations feature the lady of the house, the master of the house, or the doctor, and, on the other, the domestic help, or the tradesman (the cook, the gardener, the tailor and the shop keeper). What jumps out at the reader is the differences in how speakers of different ranks address each other. Baba Malay pronouns are used only by the speaker of higher rank; they are never used by the speaker of lower rank. In Lim's conversations, speech directed to lower status speakers is marked in one of two ways: either with the second person pronoun lu or angkau, or with a title reflecting some sort of occupation. Among the titles are: aya 'female domestic help', boy 'male domestic help', koki 'cook', tukang kebbun 'gardener', tukang jaet 'tailor' and tauke 'shop keeper'.

In the analysis of address and reference terms occurring in Lim's data, the major question which is pursued is what controls the choice between the Hokkien pronoun lu and the Malay pronoun angkau? A second question involves determining to what degree the titles, occupation terms, kinship terms and the like have been incorporated into the address system. Thus, care has been taken throughout to see which forms are used as address terms and which forms are used as terms of reference.

The address and reference terms found in Lim's data are presented in Table 3. The first column gives the textual
frequencies for the two second person pronouns *lu* and *angkau*. The second column gives the textual frequencies of other terms. Here each occurrence of a particular term is coded as either an address term (AT) or a term of reference (RT). The numbers in the third column are the numbers Lim (1887) uses for his dialogues.

Table 3. Terms to address (AT) and refer (RT) to a person of a lower status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRONOUNS</th>
<th>NOUNS</th>
<th>dialogue #</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>lu</em></td>
<td><em>aya</em></td>
<td><em>boy</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RT/AT</td>
<td>RT/AT</td>
<td>RT/AT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>0/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>0/2</td>
<td>0/1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the 15 conversations analyzed, lower ranked persons are referred to 51 times with the pronoun *lu*, and 10 times with the pronoun *angkau*. Examples are given below.

(4) Sari sari pettang chakop jam, *lu* mesti bawah saya satu changker te,
‘Every afternoon when it is time you must bring me a cup of tea,’ (Lim 1887:58)

(5) Baeh la, bikin la apa kue *lu* suka,
‘Very well make LA what cakes 2s like,’ (Lim 1887:59)

(6) Saya mau tau apa kaen *lu* ada.
‘I want to know what cloth 2s have’ (Lim 1887:71)

In example (4), domestic help is referred to; in example (5), a cook is referred to; and, in example (6), a tailor is referred to. In each case, the Hokkien pronoun *lu* is used. However, in examples (7-8), a lower ranked addressee is referred to with the Malay pronoun *angkau*, not *lu*.

(7) Ini kuda suda jahat, kaloh *angkau* tidah pegang ras baeh baeh,
‘This horse SUDAH wicked if 2s not hold the reins good good’ (Lim 1887:77)

(8) Laken kali bila pettang *angkau* mesti siram aer smua pokoh.
‘For the future you must water all the plants in the evening.’ (Lim 1887:52)

The use of *lu* in examples (4-6) parallels the use of *angkau* in examples (7-8). Both involve the same relative status, that is, examples (4-6) like examples (7-8), involve a higher status speaker referring to a lower ranked speaker. What is most likely, although it is not obvious from this data alone, is that the difference between (7-8) and (4-6) involves the ethnicity of the addressees. This possibility follows from the pronouns themselves: *lu* is a Hokkien pronoun, and *angkau* is a Malay pronoun. Thus, it is quite likely that the pronoun *lu* is used, when the addressee is a Baba; and, the pronoun *angkau* is used when the addressee is a Malay. Some minor supporting evidence for this analysis is found in the fact that there is no pronoun mixing in any of the analyzed conversations. The Baba speaker of a lower status is always referred to with the pronoun *lu*, and the Malay speaker of a lower status is always referred to with the pronoun *angkau*. The preponderance of *lu* in the data simply follows from the fact that generally Lim's conversations involve the Babas.

A higher status person may refer to a lower ranked person with nonpronominal terms.

(9) *aya* mau saya bole kasi sikit,
‘If you want some, aya, I can let you have.’ (Lim 1887:45)

(10) *aya* tah siserkan
‘you have not combed it.’ (Lim 1887:74)
In examples (9-10), the term aya is the subject, and thus syntactically aya is an integral part of the sentence. In contrast, in examples (11-12) it is clear that aya occurs outside the sentence construction, because it is used vocatively.

(11) aya, chuchi sama sabun wa-ngi
aya wash with soap fragrant
ayawash with fragrant soap' (Lim 1887:74)

(12) Kasi mandi, aya.
give bathe aya
'Bathe him, aya.' (Lim 1887:73)

In Lim's data, aside from aya, other occupational terms are never used as terms of reference but only as terms of address; for example:

(13) Koki, lu tau masah lummah?
cook 2s know masak lemak
'Cook, do you know to prepare masah lummah?' (Lim 1887:63)

(14) Tukang_jaet, bila lu ada snang saya mau lu
craftsman sew when 2s be comfortable Is want 2s
'Tailor, when you have time I want you to
kasi tunjoh sama saya lu punya chonto kaen.
give show with Is 2s have sample cloth
show me your samples of cloth.' (Lim 1887:71)

(15) Boy, lu suda kasi pecha ini changker te?
male domestic help 2s SUDAH give break this cup tea
'Boy, did you break this tea cup?' (Lim 1887:47)

It is difficult to determine why only aya is used as a term of reference. It is possible that the lack of other occupational terms used as reference terms represents a gap in the data base due to the nature of Lim's conversations, or perhaps simply because Lim's conversations ultimately represent the language of a single speaker.

While the higher ranked speakers may address or refer to the lower ranked speakers with personal pronouns, the lower ranked speakers can only use titles to either address or refer to the higher ranked speakers.

Table 4 shows that the master of the house can only be addressed or referred with the Malay term tuan, while the lady of the house can only be addressed or referred to with the English term ma'am; for example:

(16) Ma'am mana suda peggi jalan?
ma'am where SUDAH go walk
'Where have you been, ma'am?' (Lim 1887:45)

(17) Tuan bole kasi lapan rengget?
Sir can give eight dollars
'Will you give me eight dollars, sir?' (Lim 1887:49)

The two terms, tuan and ma'am, are the only terms the domestic help and the tradesmen may use to refer to the lady or the master of the house.

The hierarchical nature of these relationships is also reflected in the choice of the first person pronoun. There are two first person pronouns in Baba Malay: gua (from Hokkien) and saya (from Malay). In a conversation among the Babas of equal status the Hokkien pronoun gua is used in response to either being addressed or referred to by the pronoun lu (see section 3.2). However, in a conversation among the Babas of unequal status, the Malay pronoun saya is used by the speaker of the lower status.
In (18), the cook is referred to with the Hokkien pronoun *lu*. However, in his answer to the master's question, the cook refers to himself with the Malay pronoun *saya*. The unequal status of the two interlocutors is also illustrated in example (19), which shows the lady of the house referring to herself with the Malay pronoun *saya* and to her tailor with the Hokkien pronoun *lu*.

(19) *Tukang jaet, bila lu ada snang, saya mau lu craftsman sew when 2s be comfortable Is want 2s 'Tailor, when you have time I want you to kasu tunjoh sama saya lu punya chonto kaen. give show with Is 2s have sample cloth show me your samples of cloth.' (Lim 1887:50)

The asymmetrical relations also characterize the relationship between a doctor and a patient. Because of his profession, the doctor has a higher status than the patient. As a result, he is addressed either as *doctor*, or as *tuan*.

(20) *Doctor, saya mau tuan pegggi tengnog orang saket dikkat saja doctor Is want sir go see person ill near just 'Doctor, I want you to go and see a patient near here.' (Lim 1887:108)

(21) *Saya punya badan manyah panas, tah bole tahan, tuan. Is have body much 'hot not can stand TUAN 'My body is very hot, I can't bear it, doctor.' (Lim 1887:109)

The address terms used between the doctor and the patient are asymmetrical, as a result the patient is never addressed as *tuan* by the doctor. Instead, he is addressed with the pronoun *lu*, for example:

(22) *O, lu, jangngan minom aër sэdjoh lagi, o 2s don't drink water cold again 'Oh, don't drink any more cold water,' (Lim 1887:109)

At one point, the doctor calls his patient *orang pute* 'white person'.

(23) *Satu kali makan satu sendoh bёssar, orang pute, satu hari tiga kali, one time eat one spoon big person white one day three times 'A table spoonful to be taken thrice a day.' (Lim 1887:110)

It is not clear from the text itself or from the term *orang pute*, which was at times used to address both Europeans and Babas, whether the addressee in this example was a European or a Baba. The possibility that the addressee is a Baba is based on Vaughan's ([1879] 1974:3) observation that "Babas on being asked if they were Chinamen bristle up and say in an offended tone 'I am not a Chinaman, I am a British subject, an Orang putih' literally, a white man."

The title *tuan* may co-occur with some professional titles. For example, the editor of *Bintang Timor* is addressed as *tuan editor*.

(24) *Tuan Editor, tolong-lah atas perkara ini. Tuan Editor help-LAH on top of matters this 'Tuan Editor please help spreading the word.' (SPA:31)

The term *tuan editor* is also often used as a term of reference; for example:

(25) *Tuan Editor punya fikiran tentu berstuju dengan fikiran sahya ... tuan Editor have thought certain agree with thought Is 'Tuan Editor will certainly agree with me ...' (SDAP:30)

Like titles, Baba Malay kinship terms also function as terms of reference.

(26) *Mak ada kah pukol sahya bergitu kuat mother be Q beat Is so strong 'Mother, you are hitting me so hard.' (TLMT:3)

Some Baba Malay kinship terms are of Malay origin, others are of Hokkien origin. For example, according to Lim (1887:134),
Baba Malay has two terms for 'elder sister': the Malay term *kakah* and the Hokkien term *tachi*. Lim (1887) says that within the Baba community, the Hokkien term is used, while in conversations with the Malays, the Malay term is used. As in Malay, the kinship terms may be used to address someone who is not related to the speaker. For example in the story *Smoa pun baik jikalau penghabisannya* 'All's well that ends well', a female neighbor is referred to as *tachi* 'elder sister'.

(27) Kenapa *tachi* begitu takot dengan si Bachik, why elder sister so afraid with si Bachik 'Why are you, Tachi, afraid of si Bachik?' (SPB 8:23)

In Baba Malay, the use of some terms has variation that reflects, not relative social status, but the degree of linguistic knowledge of individual Baba Malay speakers. Some of the Babas knew not only Baba Malay, but also formal Malay, and could switch to it under the appropriate conditions. In the following example the speaker uses the Malay enclitic -*ku* for the first person possessive pronoun, which otherwise does not occur in Baba Malay.

(28) Mengapakah anak-*ku* jadi demkian itu. why *Q* child-Is become thus that

'Why did you, my child, become like that?' (Kab:6)

However, even in the somewhat formal *Bintang Timor*, it is more common to find *anak saya* 'my child' instead *anak-**ku* 'my child'.

Some Babas also knew the terms required when one was to address a Malay rajah. Those of the Babas who were able to talk to a Malay rajah, referred to him in the same way the Malays did, namely with the term *tuanku* 'my lord'. Additionally, a Baba would refer to himself in the same way that the Malay subject would, namely with the special first person pronoun *patik*.

(29) jikalau *Tuanku* sudi ajak patik makan bersama sama if Tuan-Is pleased invite Is eat BER-with with

'*If my Lord is pleased to invite me to eat with your*

*Tuanku, patik terlebih suka makan makanan Malayu. Tuan-Is TER-more like eat food Malay Majesty, I would prefer to eat Malay food.' (DDR:57)

Example (29) shows the competence of some Baba Malay speakers in applying the formal Malay system of reference when talking to a rajah.

3.2 Reciprocity in Baba Malay

A Baba of an equal status is referred to with the Hokkien pronoun *lu* 'you'. And, in order to code familiarity, the speaker refers to himself with the Hokkien pronoun *gua* 'I'.

(30) *Lu* ada mēnniaga bēssar sama dia? 2s be MENG-trade big with 3s

'Have you been doing a large business with him?' (Lim 1887:90)

(31) *gua* suda mēnniaga sama dia ada lima anam taon suda 1s SUDAH MENG-trade with 3s be five six years SUDAH 'I have had business transactions with him for the last five or six years.' (Lim 1887:90)

In *Bintang Timor*, in which articles were written in a more formal variety of Baba Malay, there was usually no need to mark familiarity, but even there one can occasionally find conversations in which familiarity is expressed. For example, in a conversation that appeared in *Bintang Timor* on March 11, 1895, two friends are talking about how to get a letter published in the newspaper, and use *lu* and *gua*. At one point they start to quarrel and one of them says:

(32) *Gua* kata *lu* satu besar bodoh. Is say 2s one big stupid

'...say you are very stupid' (SPB: 20)

When a policeman joins in, he addresses them both with the pronoun *lu* marked for plurality with *smoa*.

(33) Pegi, pegi, *lu-*smoa — apa gadoh gadoh di sini? go go 2s-all why fight fight here

'Go away, both of you — why are you fighting here?' (SPB:25)

Examples (32-33) illustrate again that the pronoun *lu* is used in two kinds of situations. It is used reciprocally to refer to a person of equal status and a friend, and it is used nonreciprocally to address a person perceived as having a lower status.

The reciprocal use of formal terms also signals that a social distance exists between two speakers.
In (34), the speaker refers to himself with *hamba* and his interlocutor with *tuan*. Both terms mark the speaker as an inferior speaking to a superior. However, in his answer, the interlocutor uses the same terms, marking in turn himself as an inferior speaking to a superior. Compare (34) and (35).

(35) *hamba* handak jual juga; adakah *tuan* handak membeli?

> *hamba* want sell still be -Q *tuan* want MENG-buy
> ‘I want to sell it; do you want to buy it?’ (PH:15-6)

When the two Baba Malay speakers refer to each other as *tuan*, and refer to themselves with the pronoun *hamba*, they mark the mutual relationship not only as socially equal, but also as very formal.

### 3.3 Personal names

In Baba Malay, personal names are used as address terms. Names used by the Babas are usually of Chinese origin. As an illustration see sentence (37), which was uttered by a Malay speaker.

(36) *Keong Soon, angkau* betol tada patut skali;

> *Keong Soon 2s* good not be proper very
> ‘Keong Soon, you shouldn’t have done it,’ (SPB:5)

In (36), a Baba is addressed with his personal name *Keong Soon* and referred to with the Malay pronoun *angkau*.

A Baba would also use his or her personal name to introduce himself or herself; for example:

(37) *Look Yan Kit, tukang gigi*

> *Look Yan Kit, craftsman tooth
> ‘Look Yan Kit, a dentist’ (Ad.3)

In (37), the Baba introduces himself with his Chinese name and a professional title, *tukang gigi* ‘dentist’.

Personal names are also used to refer to a third person. However, when personal names are used to refer to a third person, they are preceded by what Wilkinson (1959:1101) calls ‘a titular prefix’. The titular prefix that Wilkinson specifically mentions is the Malay *si*. When occurring in front of personal names, the polite prefix *si* is best translated as ‘Mr.’ or ‘Mrs.’

(38) Bachik, *si Tia Oon* itu sudah lebih makan dan minum, Bachik Mr. *Tia Oon* that already more eat and drink

> lebih pula chakapnya!
> more also speak-NYA
> ‘Bachik, that Mr. Tia Oon the more he ate and drank’ (SPB 2:68)

(39) dia dapat khabar *si Watt Neo* itu sudah lari, 3ps get news *si Watt Neo* that SUDAH run

> ‘he learned that Mrs. Watt Neo had already run away,’ (SK 2:4)

Further, as examples (38-39) illustrate, *si* may occur in front of names referring to men (example 38) and in front of names referring to women (example 39).

It is not clear, however, exactly what *si* marks. Wilkinson’s characterization of *si* as a titular prefix is not followed by Lewis (1968). Lewis (1968:123) characterizes *si* occurring in front of a personal name as denoting ‘friendly familiarity’. She gives the following example:

(40) Biar kita ajak aku *si-Kasim*.

> let we invite Is *Si Kasim
> ‘Let’s ask ‘our’ Kasim to come along.’ (Lewis 1968:123)

It is possible, however, that both Wilkinson and Lewis are right, and *si* occurring in front of personal names functions as a titular prefix that marks what Lewis calls ‘friendly familiarity’. The proof that there is an element of familiarity associated with *si*, is that narrative stories *si* never occurs in front of personal names of newly introduced characters.

In my data, *si* also occurs in front of common names, in the same position that *tuan* may occur. As an illustration, compare examples (41-42).

(41) Demi di dengar ulih *si penjaja*, suka chitalah dia,

> at (when) DI hear by Mr. seller like joy -LAH 3s
> ‘When the hawker heard it, he became very happy,’ (PH:12)

(42) maka *tuan penjaja* pun menjawablah dengan adab sopannya.

> and *tuan seller* EMP MENG-answer-LAH with courtesy show respect
> ‘and the hawker answered him respectfully.’ (PH:10)
The parallelism in the distribution of si and tuan exemplified in (41-42) at least suggests that si functions as a titular prefix.

3.4 Ethnicity and terms of address

In referring to a third person, personal names are often preceded by the term Baba. The origin of the term Baba is not known. In the literature, the most often quoted explanation is the one given by Vaughan ([1879] 1974:2), who says that “the term Baba is used by the natives of Bengal to designate the children of Europeans and it is probable that the word was applied by the Indian convicts at Pinang to Chinese children and so came into general use.” The term Baba used in front of a personal name denotes the referent as a member of the Baba community.

Example (46) comes from a letter published in Bintang Timor on November 19th, 1894. In this letter, the author, calling himself ‘a straits-born Chinese’, discusses the Babas' conditions of living and suggests that they should be improved. In (46) he is suggesting that the Babas should meet and discuss how to improve their lives.

When reduplicated, the term Baba baba is used to refer to all the members of the Baba community.

Some authors prefer to separate out the Babas and refer to them explicitly; others prefer to refer to all the members of the Singaporian society as Mem-.
mem and Tuan-tuan, incorporating the Babas into the more general terms.

In example (49), the ethnicity of the groups referred to is again coded. The European women are referred to as Mem mem and Missi missi, while the Baba women are addressed as Umbok umbok.

(49) dan tunjok-kan smoa ini kata-kan di Town Hall kepada
and show -KAN all this say -KAN at Town Hall to
‘and would show all this at the Town Hall to you,

Mem mem dan Missi missi dan Umbok umbok
Mam Mam and miss miss and umbok umbok
Ma'am, Miss and umbok’ (SPS:21)

The term umbok is translated by Wilkinson (1959:299) as “mother, elder sister; dear lady.” Wilkinson (1959:299) also says that “umbok is not so much a definition of relationship as an appellation of respect and affection for ladies somewhat older than the speaker.”

4. Conclusions

The Baba Malay system of address and reference reflects the Chinese origin of the Babas, their assimilation to Malay culture, and the English influence on them. The Chinese origin of the Babas is reflected primarily in the Hokkien kinship terms as well as in the two Hokkien pronouns: gua ‘I’ and lu ‘you’. The Malay assimilation is reflected in the Malay titles, the professional terms, and the pronouns saya ‘I’ and angkau ‘you’. The English influence is reflected in titles borrowed from English.

The analysis has shown which of the Baba Malay terms were used nonreciprocally, and which were used reciprocally. The Hokkien pronoun lu was used nonreciprocally to refer to individuals of lower rank. It was also used reciprocally to refer to individuals of equal rank and familiaris. The Malay term Tuan was used nonreciprocally to either address or refer to individuals of higher rank or reciprocally to address socially distant equals. The development of the T/V distinction in Baba Malay supports what some linguists refer to as “universality of the rules of address” according to which “the forms of address used by the superior of an unequal dyad are also the forms reciprocally used between intimate equals, whereas the forms used by the inferior of an unequal dyad are also the forms reciprocally used between distant equals” (Kroger and Wood 1992:148).

The Chinese ethnicity of the Babas is not only reflected in the Hokkien pronouns, but also by how these pronouns fit in the system. The Hokkien pronouns are used at home and among those one knows very well. Likewise, the Hokkien kinship terms are used primarily among the Babas themselves. In contrast, the Malay and English terms are used outside the home. This differentiation between the Hokkien terms used at home and the Malay and English terms used outside the home parallels the constraint that Gordon (1964) claims is true for assimilation in other spheres of life. Gordon (1964:79) observes that the last place one finds assimilation is in the private spheres (religious beliefs and practices, ethical values, and family). In the case of the Baba Malay language, the Hokkien inherited terms were preserved at home. What is more, the Hokkien terms became the mark of the Chinese ethnicity of the Babas. As a result, they were often used also by the Malays addressing the Babas.

Note

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Appendix

LIST OF TEXTS FROM BINTANG TIMOR

News reports:
(1) Kabajikan (Kab)
(2) Perbuatan peranakkan Baba baba (PP)
(3) Dua orang Hokkien (DOH)

Narrative stories:
(1) Di ceritakan dengan rengkasnya waktu kawinnya Tuan putri anak-anda Beginda Sultan Johore (DDR), by Kalam Langit
(2) Pengil Hari (PH), by Mastardi
(3) Smoa pun baik bijakalau penghabisannya baik (SPB)
(4) Terlampau lekas muatu tolong (TLMT) by Tit-Bits

Letters:
(1) Surat dari Ahli Pembaca (SDAP)
(2) Surat Peranakkan Singapura (SPS)

Advertisements:
(1) Advertisement from September 21, 1894 (Ad.1)
(2) Advertisement from December 2, 1894 (Ad.2)
(3) Advertisement from April 16, 1895 (Ad.3)
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