

CHAPTER 2 : LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of the present study is to investigate language choice and use by members of Sino-Malay mixed marriage families, whose parents are native speakers of two different languages, namely, Malay and Chinese. In addition, the study aims to investigate the attitude of the children towards their parents' mother tongues. It also aims to study the parents' attitude towards their own mother tongues and whether they are maintaining the languages among the family members or show signs of shifting away to other languages.

This chapter contains literature concerning speech repertoires in multilingual settings whereby the concepts such as bilingualism and multilingualism will be discussed. Next, studies pertaining to language choice, language attitude, language maintenance and shift will be examined. Finally, this chapter will also highlight past studies on mixed marriages that would be relevant to the present study on Sino-Malay mixed marriages.

Before providing in-depth insight of the major sections of the study, an overview on the speech repertoire in Malaysia will be highlighted.

2.2 Speech Repertoire of Multilingual Community in Malaysia

Hamers and Blanc (1989) reported in their study that speakers of multilingual communities have a speech repertoire available for them to choose from when they interact in different social roles. This is similar in Malaysia since the population of Malaysia is multiracial. Baskaran (2005) points out that an individual can have language competence in more than one language. Thus speakers might interact in their mother

tongues or ethnic languages among members of their immediate and extended families or relatives such as cousins, uncles, aunties and grandparents who have similar mother tongues.

This is where the sociolinguistic factor dominates and decides whether it is the mother tongue or the other languages that the individual acquires initially. It provides frameworks with which to analyze the linguistic choices available to the multilingual individuals and their reasons for choosing one language from among the several that are available to them. The preceding discussion will be based on the language situation in Malaysia.

2.3 An Overview of the Language Situation in Malaysia

Historically, English was first introduced in Malaysia during the British colonial days. The use of English started to spread among the elite group of Malays, Chinese and Indians and today it is the second most important language in Malaysia. Technically speaking English medium schools in Malaysia has increased the number of English speakers in Malaysia. According to Ain Nadzimah and Chan (2003), English was used in so many domains even after ten years of Malaysia's independence. Today English is a compulsory subject in all Malaysian schools alongside the national language, Bahasa Melayu or Malay. Thus, English is seen as an asset to the country and is termed as a second language of the nation. According to Jariah Mohd Jan (in Chye 2006:18), the status and prestige of the English language was established during the pre-independence British regime. Like many countries in South East Asia, Malaysia also has chosen English as the principal foreign language for similar reasons such as a language for international communication and also as a language for the latest development in science and technology.

In 1963, the National Language Act was passed, making Malay the national language as well as the official language in Malaysia. The changes to the language policy have made a lot of changes in language choice and use among Malaysians. According to Solomon (1988:47) “the conversion of the English medium schools to Malay medium began in 1968 at a gradual pace and on a piecemeal basis”. Malay language began to be used as a main official language in West Malaysia and slowly became as a medium of instruction of language in education system of Malaysia since 1979. According to Asmah (1982:15) “Malay was chosen over other languages on several grounds but one of the most important was that to the Malays and bumiputera people, that the choice fell on Malay was the most natural thing”. According to Asmah (1982) Malay is the language of the “soil”. Besides that, Asmah, (1987:65) mentioned that Malay is the language that has its own privileges as a language of administration, language of culture, education and religion. The implementation of the BM policy has become an important way to make Malay a language of unity. In an effort to promote national integration, Malay language was progressively also made the main medium of instruction in schools and local universities.

At the same time, the people had the option to use their mother tongue or any other language such as Chinese, Tamil and Arabic which are offered as additional subjects in schools. The vernacular primary schools of Chinese and Tamil were allowed to use their respective mother tongues as the medium of instruction. It is noted that Chinese is one of the oldest languages and most widely spoken languages in the world. Malaysia is the only country outside mainland China, Hong Kong, Macau, and Taiwan, to have a completely Chinese-medium education system. The most widespread form of Chinese is Mandarin, which is regarded as a standard Chinese language and used as a language of

medium instruction in national-type Chinese primary schools in Malaysia. The usage of Mandarin language as formal language in education has resulted in the maintenance of this particular language in this community.

Besides Mandarin, Chinese language also has several dialects which can be retained for use at home or informal use. The Chinese community in Malaysia speaks a wide variety of Chinese dialects including Cantonese, Teo-chew, Hakka, Hainanese, Hok-chew and Hokkien. It is notable that these dialects are not mutually intelligible. Cantonese has gained popularity due to the influence of Hong Kong movies which is frequently broadcasted by Malaysian television channels. Although the Chinese dialects are still spoken among the Chinese community in Malaysia, many in the Chinese community especially the younger generation and those in urban areas seem to be neglecting the use of a variety of Chinese dialects as compared to Mandarin.

The changes of language policy in 2000 impacted the education field whereby the government made a decision on the use of English as the medium of instruction in teaching and learning subjects such as Mathematics and Science. The government of Malaysia felt that it is necessary to learn English since English has its own status as a language that benefits the speakers in trade and commerce. At the same time, our former Prime Minister Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohammad announced in 2002 that subjects such as Mathematics and Sciences were to be taught in English in Standard One in 2005. This announcement accelerated some changes in language perceptions among the people of Malaysia and the linguistic scene of Malaysia. Recently, the government has made a decision to revert to Bahasa Melayu for Mathematics and Science subjects in 2012. It is notable that the participants in this study are the second and third batches who went

through the system with Science and Mathematics in English and would be sitting for their SPM Mathematics and Science papers in English in 2009.

Next, the perspectives of bilingualism and multilingualism will be presented. In this study the term of multilingualism will be used as a situation where more than one language is used. In contrast, bilingualism will be referred to a situation where only two languages are used.

2.4 Perspectives of Bilingualism and Multilingualism

In Malaysia, the context of bilingualism or multilingualism is not a new matter because most Malaysians are either bilinguals or multilinguals. The education in Malaysia also can be considered as multilingual. In Malaysia each individual school is mainly seen as operating through one medium and is thus a monolingual school except that other languages may be taught as subjects. The following section will present an overview of studies on language acquisition, bilingualism and multilingualism.

2.4.1 Language Acquisition

Many scholars agree that children who are exposed to two languages at a young age will learn to use both languages naturally. It is believed that young children do acquire more than one language, either simultaneously or sequentially. This situation depends on when the second language is introduced. This shows that bilingualism is also related to the cognition skills. Some children become bilingual when they are exposed to two languages which are spoken in the home setting.

Language acquisition is a process of humans acquiring the competency to perceive, produce, understand and communicate the language(s) and this applies to either speech

or sign language. Language acquisition usually refers to first language acquisition. Studies of infants' acquisition of their mother tongue also deal with acquisition of additional languages. When children or adults acquire more than one language, they will be considered as bilinguals or multilingual. The ways in which they acquire their languages may vary. Some of them will have acquired both languages at home, some through school or university and also through their working environment. Within each of these domains (home, school/university, work), there will be further differences. For example, in the home domain, the bilinguals might acquire the languages depending on with whom the language is used and the frequency of use.

2.4.2 Bilingualism

The question of how to define bilingualism has been a daunting question for most researchers. Some researchers have favoured to narrow the definition of bilingualism and argued that only those individuals who are very close to two languages should be considered bilingual. More recently, researchers who study bilingual communities around the world have argued for a broader definition. They view bilingualism as a common human condition that makes possible for an individual to function in more than one language. Guadalupe Valdés, who reviews multilingualism in Linguistic Society of America online portal, mentioned that the researchers who study bilingual communities around the world have argued for a broader definition and they viewed bilingualism as a common human condition that makes possible for an individual to function in more than one language.

The question on how to define bilingualism is not only engaged among foreign researchers but also among local researchers in Malaysia. In fact, bilingualism is considered as a widespread epidemic in Malaysia (Gaudart, 1992; Nair-Venugopal,

2000; Ain Nadzimah Abdullah & Rosli Talif, 2001). Based on a close observation of the way the two languages, Bahasa Malaysia and English, are used in Malaysia, these two languages are often seen as complementary to each other. Both languages are used with much ease for different purposes and for different functions and often used vis a vis each other in a single function or situation.

Basically bilingualism studies normally are grouped together under two major traditions: the linguistic and the sociolinguistics or sociocultural. The linguistic tradition primarily examines how bilinguals acquire two or more languages by focusing on some linguistic aspects such as phonetics, phonology, morphology, semantics and syntax. At the same time this linguistic field is also used to examine how bilinguals employ those features in their utterances as conducted by Leopold (1970, 1978) that described the processes of a child's phonological, lexical and syntactic development in acquiring German and English.

On the other hand, studies in the sociolinguistics or sociocultural tradition looks from a broader perspective of language use in different contexts and focusing on the relationship between language and society. According to Yamamoto (2001), such studies generally try to identify the factors that promote bilingual development or use, which affect the maintenance or shift of languages with a minority-status. Thus, there are a number of factors involved in bilingual development and language use especially among children.

2.4.3 Multilingualism

In the study of Societal Multilingualism, Sridhar (1996) cited that the terms bilingualism and multilingualism are being used interchangeably in most studies which

refer to the use of more than one language by an individual or a community. The researcher concludes that multilingualism is a magnified version of bilingualism. When multilingualism is viewed as an individual phenomenon, issues such as how an individual can acquire two or more languages, how the languages are represented in the mind and how these languages play their role in speaking and writing have been highlighted. Whilst in societal phenomenon, multilingualism is more concerned with issues such as status and roles of languages, attitudes towards languages, determinants of language choice and the correlations between language use and social factors (Sridhar 1996).

In contrast, Kachru (1986), describes multilingualism as a phenomenon whereby a speech community can use more than one language which are available to them depending on the situation and function. In the case of multilingualism, the verbal repertoire is more complex and an important criterion of linguistic resources available to an individual or a society as it does not only encompass the varieties of some languages but also entirely different languages. According to Baskaran (2005), in countries such as Malaysia and India, multilingualism is more significant due to the many different ethnic communities that exist. Over the years, many researchers have taken into consideration the term multilingualism compared to bilingualism in a society.

Gaudart (2003) believes that attitude towards bilingualism or multilingualism has been consistently positive in Malaysia. One of the factors was the role of the institutional support such as that of the local government. For example, the former Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohammed had constantly reiterated the need for Malaysians to have a command of more than one language as he feels that "the acquisition of foreign languages can be an asset, never a liability" (Gaudart 2003:136).

The preceding section will describe some studies that are related to factors that influence language choice.

2.5 Language Choice and Factors That Influence Language Choice

Language choice is one of the famous phenomena in sociolinguistic studies and refers to the selection of languages for different purposes in variable contexts. In fact, many researchers have conducted studies on the patterns of language choice made by the groups of speakers in multilingual and bilingual communities regarding habitual language choices made by speakers. When pursuing social goals, speakers can choose between two or more languages in one conversation, or choose between languages across different settings.

Since the present study focuses on intermarriage of parents with two different ethnic languages, it should be pointed out that the dominating language of the children from these marriages could possibly be neither the mother's nor the father's mother tongues but one that is different from either of the parents. The framework of this study is based on language choice/use among families of Sino-Malay mixed marriages and the findings are analyzed according to Fishman's (1972) model of domains of language use, thus the study will do a review of several case studies about domains of language use. The following section will describe some studies that are related to the factors that influence language choice/use.

2.5.1 The Domain Construct

Domain analysis has been a familiar issue for many scholars who choose to investigate a community's norms of language use. According to Fishman (1972:19) "Who Speaks

What Language to Whom and When” can provide an important notion in the study of bilingualism from a sociolinguistics perspective. Furthermore, Fishman’s (1965) domain analysis makes it possible to investigate language use in a number of different aspects in a multilingual society. The domains refer to contextualized spheres of communication, for examples: home, friendship, work, education, religion, among others. Such domains are helpful in that they give us insight into language choice in bilingual situations. However, Fishman himself (1965:65) states that “these domains are not fixed; that they may differ in number and designation from one bilingual or multilingual setting to another depending on the ‘socio-cultural dynamics’ of the particular setting”. Group membership, topic and role-relations are important factors contributing to the concept of domain.

According to Fishman (1972:22), domain is

a higher order generalization from congruent situations, from situations in which individuals interacting in appropriate role relationships with each other, in the appropriate locales for these role relationships, and discussing topics appropriate to their role relationships is the contextualized sphere or total interaction context of communication.

Fishman (1965) was commented in his study that source of variance such as media variance (writing, reading and speaking) and role variance (situational of formal or informal) are also an important factor to illumine the patterns of language choice in multilingual settings.

Apart from Fishman studies, those by Parasher (1980) also show that people of India tend to use both languages, a mother tongue and another language especially English in the family domain. It is noted that English has influenced the domains such as education, government and employment, friendship and neighborhood. Hohenthal (1998) also reported similar findings in her case study about the role of English in India

and found that the languages preferred by the speakers are based on a particular domain. At the same time, Saghal (1991) described that language(s) was used differently in each domain such as for family, friendship and institutional.

On the other hand, in terms of domain distribution of language use, Wallwork (1981:57) suggests that “in some domains there may be contact with other people with whom there is a potential choice of two or even three languages”. He mentioned that language choice depends on the speaker’s role and topic of the conversation. In his study, he concluded that topic and role-relations are important factors contributing to the concept of domain as found in a study on a group in a bilingual situation. The study found that it tends to coordinate a specific topic with a specific language because the topic may belong to a domain in which that language is dominant.

Another researcher, Li Wei (2000:104) reports that

The concept of domains of the language choice represents an attempt to provide socio-cultural context and socio-cultural organization for considerations of variance in language choice in multilingual setting.

Li Wei (2000) suggests that if the study of language choice is mutually related with other sources of variance in language behavior, for instance, media variance and an analysis of role relations and topics is carried out, it might contribute important summaries about domains. Consequently, Li Wei agreed that domain analysis could be a promising methodological tool for the studies of language behavior in a multilingual setting.

2.5.2 Social Networks

Another phenomenon, social networks, has been identified as one of the mechanisms of language change. Social networks are a social relationship either informal or formal

within any human society and it is composed by their own patterns of language use. Milroy (1980) discusses the generalities of social networks and their relation to speech in *Language and Social Networks*. Milroy (1980:50) is concerned “with the manner in which patterns of linguistic variation characterize particular groups (social and cultural, geographic, male and female) within a complex urban community” and notes that “vernacular culture is related to vernacular speech, and that network membership is related to the communication of both”(1980:72). Milroy also mentioned that dense networks tend to be homogenous in their speech patterns and also tend to be lower-class groups, who are responsible for transmitting the vernacular. L. Milroy (1980) concluded that a closely-knit social network system is a significant device of language maintenance and can be applied universally. Hence, Milroy (2002:12) notes that the social network approach has the key strength of linking the community with the interaction level by focusing on daily behavior of social actors and multiple generations.

2.5.3 First Language

According to Dumanig (2007), language choice is influenced by many factors such as a speaker’s first language, community language, age, education, role-relationships, ethnicity, dominance of language, social status, economic and political position of the linguistic group and the neutrality of language. However, Dumanig (2007) stressed that the speaker's first language is the important factor that influences the choice of language. Following the same line, Fasold (1990), believed that in a situation whereby speakers are confused which language to be used, they tend to prefer to use the first language which they are familiar with. When speakers are familiar and fluent in that language, then they might be more at ease to use the first language to speak. David (2008) mentioned that speakers tend to choose the first language because it is not only influenced by its convenience and comfort but also tends to show one’s identity.

Furthermore, Spolsky (2004) cited that one's language displays one's ethnic identity and language loyalty. However, she agreed that this study might not be applicable to some bilingual and multilingual speakers, who sometimes, prefer to use a community language rather than the first language due to practical, political and economic reasons.

2.5.4 Proficiency

A number of studies have also recognized that proficiency is a constraint in making a language choice. Wallwork (1981) says that an individual's language proficiency plays an important role to determine the usage of particular language in any situation. David (1999) in her study of Sindhis in Malaysia, identified that some community might shift or lose their ethnic language if they lack of proficiency in their ethnic language. David also recognized that code switching is a component that reflects whether the speaker is in higher or lower proficiency with a particular language. Hakuta (1991) who did a study on bilingual education programme of Puerto Rican in New Haven pointed out that proficiency and attitude are usually characterized as a combination process that influences language choice.

2.5.5 Ethnicity

There have been some studies of ethnicity which affects language choice. Ferrer and Sankoff (2003) found in their study in Valencia, Spain that ethnicity and language choice are correlated with each other and language choice is closely related to motivation. On the other hand, few studies have been conducted on identity issues in Malaysia such as David's (1996) research on the Sindhis, Asmah's (1991) study on a group of bilingual non-Malay academics showed that there is a connection between language and ethnicity. Following the same line, Burhanudeen (2003) cited in her study

about the language choice of Malays in the Malaysian community that the participants' ethnicity is one of the factors that influences language choice.

2.5.6 Gender

Gender was also found as a factor to influence language choice. Lyon (1996) perceived that in a family, the father's mother tongue was set as the language of the home and concluded the father's mother tongue as a possible reflection of the gender power structure at home. Her findings suggested that wives appear to accommodate the main language of their husbands and this in turn sets the medium of communication at home. She explained that the language of the mother also plays an influential role in determining the language, not of the home, but of the child.

2.5.7 Age

Age is also an influential factor in language choice because people of different ages vary in their language preferences. The older members of a community may prefer a different language compared to the younger due to differences in language exposure and orientation. In a study conducted on language choice of one Hungarian community in Obertwart, Austria, Gal (1979) found that young people prefer to use German when talking with their peers but use Hungarian when talking with older members of the community.

In conclusion, it is clear then that many factors determine language choice. A number of sociolinguistic studies have shown a close correlation between social-demographic factors such as sex, age, and social class, place of origin, ethnicity and patterns of language use. In fact, the following social-demographic variables: sex, age, occupation,

education, educational qualifications, place of birth, place of residence and ethnic group were treated as independent variables in influencing the linguistic variables.

As the purpose of the present study is to investigate language choice of members of Sino-Malay mixed marriage families, and investigate whether they are maintaining the parents' ethnic languages or show signs of shifting away to other languages, this chapter will also look at studies pertaining to language attitude, language maintenance and language shift.

2.6 Language Attitudes

Holmes (1992) observed that there are three levels of attitudes in a social or ethnic group. The first level is the attitudes towards a social or ethnic group. The second level relies on the attitudes towards the language of that group while the third level is the attitude towards individual speakers of that language. She mentioned that these three levels are considered the foundation of attitude developmental levels. She also mentioned that generally, people do not hold opinions about languages in a vacuum. They develop attitudes towards language which reflects their opinions about those who speak the language, and the contents and functions with which they are associated.

According to Holmes (1992:16)

“the underlying assumption is that in a society, social or ethnic groups have certain attitudes towards each other, relating to their differing positions whilst these attitudes affect attitudes towards cultural institutions or patterns characterizing these groups such as language, and carry over to and are reflected in attitudes towards individual members of the group”.

It has been suggested that intelligibility is also affected by attitudes, so people find it easier to understand languages and dialects spoken by people they like or admire.

Holmes (1992:345) observed that people will consequently be more successful in acquiring a second language when they feel positive towards those who use it”.

Attitude is an important issue in any multilingual society. According to Baker (1988:112), “attitudes vary from favorability to unfavourability and attitudes are complex constructs”. To promote and to preserve a language, speakers will do everything possible. It is notable that the speaker will have positive attitude towards their own language if the language has many speakers, carry out many functions and has a codified form. On the other hand, speakers will show their negative attitudes to a language when there is no favourable feeling towards the language and will withdraw from using the language.

Similarly, Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) noted that attitudes posed direct influences on behavior. An individual’s attitude towards language depends on his or her overall pattern of responses to it. Therefore, the chief determinant to perform a particular behavior is an individual’s intention or preference. Therefore, language attitude is concerned with opinions, feelings or beliefs that people have towards a language. Adegbija (1994) stated that language attitude is an assessment of its utterer’s efforts in encouraging, maintaining or planning a language or even towards learning and teaching it.

In addition, according to Fasold (1984 in Hohenthal 1998:7) “attitudes are crucial in language growth or decay, restoration or destruction: the status and importance of a language in society and within an individual derive largely from adopted or learnt attitudes”. It is noted that attitude of an individual towards language begins with an accumulative behaviors of learning language(s) that are available among them.

According to Saghal (2007) domain analysis and language attitude are linked to each other. She claimed that analysis of domain and attitudes towards language can be used as determiners to identify the languages that might take place in a society.

According to Paulston (1994: 13) “language shift often starts with women, and is ‘manifested in their choice of code...and in the language in which they choose to bring up their children’”. Whilst, Lyon(1996: 185) cited that “the role of housewife and mother is a primary factor in maintaining the mother’s language, and it is very likely that a child will be fluent in that language for this reason”.. In addition, De Houwer (1999) also claimed that parents play a role in the way children acquire a language. Harrison and Piette, (1980) mentioned that cultural and societal norms might also influence the parent’s language especially among mothers whereby in later years the mother’s language choice in turn affects the children’s language choice. It seems that mothers' role in influencing the choice of language among their children is more effective than their husbands.

At the same time, according to Lyon (1996:214) father’s language also influences choice of home language in cross-language marriages’, because women are ‘more likely to adapt their language use than men in cross-language partnerships. Lyon mentioned that fathers' language also influenced some of the children linguistically. Rubin (1968) claimed that both parents’ attitude and children’s attitude clearly affect the language transmission to the next generation. Harding and Riley (1986) also pointed out that the child’s language especially bilingual development relied on parents’ attitude towards their own languages. The conclusion that can be made is that parental attitudes along with societal attitudes are likely to have a rather strong influence on the pattern of language use in the family.

2.7 An Overview of Language Maintenance and Language Shift Studies

Sociolinguist, Joshua Fishman was one of the first linguists to alert the world to the dangers of language-shift and language-loss and suggested that language-maintenance might constitute a worthwhile field of scholarly. He has documented, supported, and guided efforts for almost four decades to revitalize endangered languages and his contributions have helped to develop and energize what has now become a worldwide programme to stem the tide of language-loss. Mesthrie (2000:253) cited that “language maintenance denotes the continuing of a language use in the face competition from a regionally and socially more powerful language”. As noted, language maintenance is a process where the language survives from being categorized as endangered language and is still in use among the society members. He has mentioned that some languages will be maintained from loss if the languages are available to be used among members of society as a main language or favorable language.

Fasold, (1984:213) defined that “language shift refers to changes in language use among a community of speakers such as when a community starts to use one language in domains and functions in which its members had previously used another language and a shift in the number of speakers of a language”. It clearly shows that language shift could happen if the language that is available is not favoured by members of the society and they tend to use another dominant language that is available in that particular society. Thus, both language shift and language maintenance are the terms that refer to a choice made by a society as to which language will be used for certain functions.

According to Holmes (1992:60), “when language shifts occur, it almost always shifts towards the language of the dominant powerful group A dominant group has no incentive to adopt the language of a minority since the dominant language is associated

with status, prestige and social success. It is used in more "glamorous" contexts in the wider society – for formal speeches and ceremonial occasions, by newsreaders and radio, and by those whom young people admire - pop stars, fashion models and disc jockeys". Holmes stressed that many young minority group speakers have abandoned their own language for this purpose. Gal's (1979) in her study also mentioned that younger community members play the role of shift agents of community language use. According to David, Ibtisam and Kaur (2003), the study on Punjabi Sikh community also showed that the community shifted to English and/or using a mixed code which consists of three languages a mixture of English, Malay and Punjabi. The shift away from using Punjabi at home is greatest among the young and middle age groups.

According to Lieberman (1982) and Fasold (1984), the factor that is associated with language shift is that of migration. They claimed that a large number of speakers of the other language may migrate or be imported to a society. Across times, these speakers may in fact outnumber the native population of the area and might create an environment propitious for language shift.

Fishman (1977) and Fasold (1984) in their study have mentioned that industrialization and modernization brings a technological environment which generates another language speaking population. Lieberman (1984) mentioned that the association of a language with modern transportation and communication may lead to a shift of language. The society in which it occurs may then find that only through the learning of an additional language that is dominant in that society, the people will have access to social mobility via power and resources. These resources include access to better job opportunities and achieve a higher prestige and privileges associated with this language. In the same way, David, Ibtisam and Kaur (2003) mentioned in the study that the

second generation of Punjabi Sikhs in the Klang Valley have experienced highly upward mobility and many of them are in private sector jobs which require the use of the English language and in government jobs which these days, necessitate a need for both the national and international languages in Malaysia.

Then again, Gal (1979) also stressed the concern of language shift among Hungarian-German speakers. She mentioned that German is starting to replace Hungarian in almost every domain. She claimed that the reason for this shift is because of socially-motivated linguistic changes such as industrialization, urbanization, loss of isolation, and others that consequently influence the speaker's daily communication. Thus, there is big portion of the population of Hungarian speakers who are motivated to change their language choice in different contexts of social interaction, and eventually abandoned their language. Gal (1979:17) made a conclusion that Hungarian and German has been reallocated: "Hungarian to a narrower and German a wider range of speakers and of social environments". Thus, Hungarian is not used by the present generation in many social contexts where it was common for previous generations.

Fishman, (1977:116) says that "for language spread, schools have long been the major formal (organized) mechanism involved." In order for language shift to occur, the spreading language must allow access to power and resources, and this is achieved primarily through the educational process. It is education that will allow people access to better positions, specialized knowledge and control over human and material resources". In another work, Fishman (1991); and Day (1985) agreed that the school policy may also include the promotion of the cultural characteristics related to a particular language and some deem phases on cultural aspects of the natives including in some cases the prohibition of vernacular use on school grounds. The study by Clyne

and Kipp (1997) also shows similar findings as Fishmans'. They investigated shifts in home language use in Australia and identified factors influencing language shift such as cultural distance, ethno linguistics vitality and governmental language policy. Another factor found was that, in general, among children of some ethnolinguistic groups, language shift accelerates upon entering school or during the school years. They also mentioned that the time when children enter the labour force or become independent from their family seems to be another period of increased language shift.

At the same time, David and Nambiar (2002) who studied the Malayalee Muslims also suggest that this minority group shifted to Malay language which is also a school language. The language policy whereby the government intended Malay language as the national language of Malaysia which is taught in primary and secondary levels of education in Malaysia, might impact the integration of minority Muslim communities have more significant implications for language shift to Malay. Thus we can conclude that another factor promoting language shift is the language used in schools.

Based on studies of Fasold(1984), Dressler(1984), Beer and Jacob(1985), Lewis(1982), Fishman(1991), it is notable that the language used in other government agencies is also important in supporting of a language in shift or maintenance. According to Fasold (1984:253) "The language that governments use for legislative debate and the language in which laws are written and government documents are issued are also means that can be used to promote a selected language or language variety". It seems, then, that the language that the government chooses for its schools and for communication with its people can also promote language shift if there is no support for the maintenance of the mother tongue. Along, in Malaysia the government policies that impact the ethnic integration of a community have significant implications on language shift. David

(2003:113) reveals that “Pakistani men who had married Kelantanese Malays, shifted to Malay Kelantanese dialect in a state where the Kelantanese Malays formed the large majority and have high ethnolinguistic vitality”. Mohamad Subakir Mohd Yasin (2003) who studied the Javanese minority group also found that the Javanese community has taken on a Malay language and shifted away from their heritage languages.

David (1996) found that there has been a massive shift in linguistic usage among the Sindhis, that is, from Sindhi to English and some of them to Malay. She mentions that the Sindhi language remains for some of the functional uses and a Sindhi word is used in mixed English-Malay speech. She mentioned code-switching took place among Sindhi speakers when Sindhi lexical items are included in English dominated discourse meanwhile they use Sindhi lexical terms when English terms are not available in Sindhi. Sindhi language is used for terms of respect, kinship, quoting, and reference to food, cultural and religious reference such as ceremonies, references to God, prayers and holy days. They are also used to fill in lexical gaps for specific speech acts such as directives, teasing and providing negative responses. She concluded that generation one uses Sindhi with some English words; generation two speaks English but code-switches using Sindhi; the third generation speaks more English mixed with Sindhi or Malay. A conclusion derived from this study is that Sindhi has lost its cultural identity among the Malaysian Sindhis.

Researchers such Appel & Muysken on language and bilingualism, (1987:37) pointed out that “societal variables such as the status of the languages within the society, geographical and demographic distribution, extent of and number of entering immigrants of the same language background, and what have been called “institutional support factors” like group representation of the minority group language “in the

various institutions of a nation, a region or a community” and also the mass media and education are the factors that contributed to language maintenance or shift”. Ting Su Hie (2006) in a case study of language use with the younger generation in Foochow families mentioned that the socio-economic factors are the main factors that speed up of inter-generational language shift in the family.

According to David (2003:114), “Language shift describes a situation which through a course of action leads to a movement away from the habitual use of the ethnic language, two or even three generations later for an entire community”. She mentions that there are many factors involved in language shift thus it is not an easy way to identify the specific factor clearly. She also mentioned that the reasons which apply to some communities may not be suitable to all communities because it is notable that in Malaysia some communities may shift to an international language English, while others shift to the national language, Malay for different purposes.

In conclusion, based on study which was done by David (2008) on language use among the ethnic minorities in East Malaysia, it can be summed up that there are macro and micro level of variables. The variables of language shift among the minority languages could rely on migration and economic changes, urbanization, exogamous marriages, religious and others.

The following section will highlight the studies of mixed marriages that have been done by researchers.

2.8 An Overview of Mixed Marriages

This literature review explores the perspective of previous research findings on the linguistic behavior among mixed marriages from studies that have been done in Europe and South East Asia. Although studies of mixed marriages in Asia are presented in a small proportion (especially in Malaysia), it is significant for this current study and for some further studies of mixed marriages in minority group.

2.8.1 Definition of Mixed Marriage / Intermarriage

Maretzki (1977) cited in (David 2003:218) defines mixed marriages as marriage between spouses of different cultural backgrounds and languages who may have different values, beliefs, customs, traditions or lifestyles. Such differences may be advantageous or disadvantageous to their offspring. If the parents and their children use both languages it will enrich them to acquire the languages but if one language or culture is abandoned, this can be disempowering and is a form of negative bilingualism.

2.8.2 Mixed Marriages in Malaysia

Mixed marriage does happen in Malaysia, although very few. Tan (2007: 31) mentions that “intercultural marriage among Malaysians occurred regardless of ethnic background and religious orientation, the most frequently recorded being Indian-Malay Bumiputras and few among Malay Bumiputras-Chinese”. The inter-racial marriage in Malaysia may be rare because of the religion and culture of the Malays. According to Malaysian laws, when a child is born into a mixed marriage family whereby either the husband or wife is a Muslim, the child automatically becomes a Muslim. David (2003) gives an example in one of her studies that a Malay man who is a Muslim, speaks Malay and lives a Malay way of life, if he is married to a non-Malay, immediately the non-

Malay spouse will have to become a Muslim and has to abandon his/her cultural values and assimilate to cultural values of the Malay.

Tan (2008) says that the phenomenon of intercultural marriage in South East Asia was first reported only in 1960s (Hassan & Benjamin, 1973; Djamour, 1965; Kuo & Hassan, 1976). According to the history of Malaysia, intercultural marriage in Malaysia can be traced back to the Malaccan Empire in the 15th century. It is recorded in the Malay Annals, which documented the history of the Malay Peninsula (now known as Peninsular Malaysia), that the first Chinese-Malay Bumiputra intercultural marriage reported in Malaya was between Princess Hang Li-Po of China and King Mansor Syah (1458-1477) of Malacca. Edmonds, (1968) based on Peranakan study, mentioned that from this union, the Baba and Nyonya culture came about, referring to the descendants of the intercultural marriage who adopted many Malay customs and spoke fluent Malay, and yet are socially identified as Chinese.

The inter-racial marriage in Malaysia may be rare because of the religion and the culture of Malay. According to Malaysian laws, when a child is born into a mixed marriage family whereby either the husband or wife is a Muslim, the child automatically becomes a Muslim. Sanusi (1981), who studied inter-ethnic marriages in Malacca, revealed that intercultural marriages were also recorded among other ethnic groups for examples Malay Bumiputra, Chinese, Indian and Portuguese. He found that the number of intercultural marriages among them to be more prevalent compared to previous generations.

2.8.3 Mixed Marriages and Bilingualism

The recent strand shows that some studies have focused on the mixed language family, and the argument is about the bilingualism among these families. According to de Klerk (1999), in order to achieve bilingualism in cross-language families, there are typically two approaches: strategies of dichotomy (or fixed choices), and strategies of free alternation. The strategy of dichotomy is commonly used when each parent consistently uses only his/her language to the child which is called as the one-person one-language approach. According to Grosjean, (1982:173) “It was the French linguist Grammont who, at the turn of the century, formally proposed such a strategy, and called it the ‘*u personne, une langue*’ principle.

Luke and Luke (1998) conducted case-study of twenty intermarriage families of mixed Australian Anglo and Indo-Asian heritage, clearly emphasizes that diversity of both experience and perspective to be found amongst intermarried individuals. Similarly, Piller’s (2002) who studied the linguistic practices of English-German speaking couples highlights the complexity of personal issues faced by intermarried couples. They strive to become late bilinguals, and the evolving identity transformation often takes place in that process.

The study by Lanza (1997) investigated the language mixing of two young simultaneous bilinguals, Siri and Thomas. They were both 2-year-old Norwegian-English bilinguals in two families living in Norway, each with an American mother and a Norwegian father. The analysis of data derived from the study, concludes that bilingual children as young as 2 years of age can and do use their languages in contextually sensitive ways and young bilingual children are able to either differentiate two languages or mix them when the context is appropriate.

2.8.4 Mixed Marriages and Language Use / Choice

One of the few studies of Pauwels' (1985) examined patterns of language used by Dutch-born migrants in Australia. Her study involved three different marriage forms: intra-ethnic between two Dutch-born partners, inter-ethnic between Dutch and Anglo-Australian partners followed by inter-ethnic between Dutch and non-Anglo-Australian partners. Pauwels found that both inter-ethnic marriage types strongly affect the pattern of language use in a family, especially the language use of the Dutch spouse and the couple's children, in a negative way for Dutch maintenance. Pauwels (1985:54) claims that the children in these inter-ethnic families are almost completely monolingual in English and that "[t]he L1 of their parents is neither understood nor spoken by them".

David (2003), in her study on the language choice of some Sino-Indian Malaysians in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, found out that the language choice depended on the domains and the different speech partners. According to David (2003), Sino-Indians are the offspring of marriages between Indians and Chinese. She reported that the findings reveal that language choice in some Sino-Indian families is influenced by factors such as age, domains of communication, attitudes towards the language, and identity. Age is an important factor in language choice, particularly in the home domain. She mentioned that the older Sino-Indian speakers are bilingual in English and Malay; the middle-aged speakers are trilingual and speak more in English and some Tamil and Chinese. However, she posits that though the younger speakers are multilingual but the use of English is more favorable among this younger generation.

In a study of Sino-Indian children, Arumugam (1990) found children are exposed to languages either Tamil or Chinese dialects or both languages from the home domain, such as parents, cousins, and grandparents. She also made a conclusion that, Sino-Indian

children have the most advantage when it comes to languages as they can either use the languages of one or both their parents. However, in all cases the children use both the national and international languages of school. Arumugam (1990:35) argues that “Sino-Indians have the opportunity to swap identities anytime depending on the situations they encounter as their physical features resemble that of the dominant group in the country, such as the Malays”. In addition, the fact that they are able to speak three or more languages helps the Sino-Indians to blend in with the larger community in multiracial Malaysia.

Nadarajan (1994) cited in David (2003:218) who has done a study of five Sino-Indian families revealed that cultural markers (such as language) are determined by the spouses’ ethnic rootedness. It is clear in the case of Sino-Indian families, the choice of either Tamil or Cantonese or Hokkien (both are Chinese dialects) or both were dependent on the following factors such as accommodation of family members, friends (according races) and practice of cultural accommodation.

2.8.5 Mixed Marriages and Language Shift

Clyne and Kipp (1997) also found exogamy, such as marriage between spouses of different countries, to be a factor promoting language shift at home. It is reported that the rates of language shift tend to be higher in exogamous marriages than in endogamous. Moreover, the study also found that in exogamous families across the board, a shift to English in the second generation occurs more when the father’s background is non-Australian compared to the mother’s. It is significant to note that the studies that have been done by Clyne and Kipp (1997), Paulston (1994) and Pauwels (1985) claimed that interlingual marriage itself functions as a factor for promoting language shift among minority language-speaking families. It implies that among

interlingual families, either the minority language is not used as frequently as the majority language, or differences in language use exist.

In the study of Malaysian Malayalees by Nambiar (2002), concluded that the minority Malayalee groups have shifted from their own language, Malayalam to English. The internal reason for language shift is when a significant number of exogamous marriages and out-migration take place among this group. When an exogamous marriage is contracted it has been found that English, which was not one of the partner's languages, becomes the language of this middle class professional family.

Another researcher, Cheng (2003), who has done a case study of language shift and maintenance of Malaysian-Chinese mixed marriage family determined that linguistic considerations is influence by external and internal factors. In this study Cheng (2003) mentioned that many factor influence the language shift and maintenance of Malaysian-Chinese mixed marriage family such as location, community structure, situation, topic, and participants.

As noted, a shift of one language cannot be affected without an overriding period of some languages that are important in a society. Meanwhile maintenance of one language depends on the power or prestige of the language(s). Overall, this study revealed that linguists of language maintenance and shift are increasingly aware that they have a role to play in helping communities safeguard their linguistic traditions.

2.9 Conclusion

The literature reviewed in this chapter hopes to make a deep connection between the research questions and the following categories: Language Acquisition, Bilingualism and Multilingualism, Language Choice and the factors, Language Attitude among

parents and children, Language Maintenance and Shift and finally Mixed marriages. Each section includes the descriptions of studies that have been conducted in recent years, although some researches that are fundamental in the field date back to the 1900's.

Eventually, the literature review will provide a significant starting point for understanding what can influence the children of Sino-Malay families overall language choice, and their attitude or behavior that influence language maintenance or shift. The following chapter will describe the participants involved in the present investigation, how the data was collected and how the research will attempt to investigate factors that determine language choice and shift among Sino-Malay families. It will also present the description of the instruments used.